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DEVELOPMENT IN QUESTION: TEACHERS, SCIENCE AND ECONOMIC
IMPERATIVES

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

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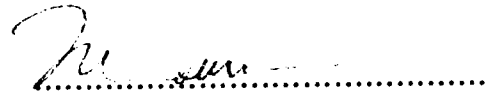
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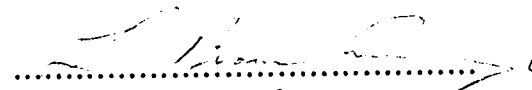
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Development in Question: Teachers, Science and Economic Imperatives* submitted by Allan G. Meunier in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

What is the meaning of development for teachers? What is teacher development? Beginning with these questions this hermeneutic study draws into question the very notion of development. The interpretations emerge from the discourse about international development, teacher development and the narratives of two teachers.

The picture of development that emerges from international development has three important characteristics. 1) Development is seen as an ideologically loaded term which carries its own hegemony. 2) Science is the authority used to justify decisions about what to do and as importantly what not to do. 3) Economic discourse is privileged as the single legitimate discourse to define the goals of development.

Many of these same characteristics are present in education. In particular the use of economic imperatives to describe the goals of education and the use of positivistic science providing the means to achieve these goals is common in official government and business discussions of education.

The surface of teacher development becomes the locus upon which economic imperatives is but one discourse competing to define teacher development. This surface is complicated by discussions about competing goals of education, and different historical genealogies that also seek to define teacher development. Below the surface is the daily experience of teachers in schools.

While teacher development in official government discourse is often viewed as a locatable stage in a linear and sequential process the narratives of two teachers reveal a much different meaning of teacher development. Development is described as discursive, temporal and dynamic. Teacher development is viewed from within a specific context. Teachers described themselves as people within community. It is the important relationships within these communities that become the source of teacher development. It is suggested that this relational aspect of development should be expanded to consider that we are part of a systemic and interdependent global community.

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This study has been inspired by many colleagues and I am indebted to them for their friendship, stories and exchange of ideas. I would also like to thank Dr. Larry Beauchamp and Dr. Swee-Hin Toh for their helpful comments and thought provoking questions.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE QUESTIONS WITHIN DEVELOPMENT

> From a hermeneutic perspective there can be no such thing as a
> final "truth" of the human subject and the human condition, for
> we investigators are not the disengaged spectators that such a
> scientific inquiry would require. We are ourselves the subject of
> the inquiry, and the asking of the question is a considerable part
> of what it means to be such a subject. (Kerby, 1991, p.14)

The intent of this study is to open up the divers conversations (Hart, 1991) that question the meanings of development for teachers. In asking the question I am beginning a quest to find the lived meanings of development for teachers. The aim is the continuing journey of the quest rather than a desire for a specific final answer. This is an exploration of the meanings teachers attach to the notion of development in their lives.

During a one year sabbatical from teaching in a secondary school I had a chance to step back from my practice and reflect about teaching. I was concerned about professional development, this, after all, was the reason why I had returned to university. As I began reading about the professional development of teachers, I became curious about the many ways in which educators talk about development. Development is used to speak about professional development, staff development, teacher development, curriculum development, student development, skill development, program development, to name a few. There are variations in definitions between and within each of these terms but they all have the common thread of development. What is rarely talked about is the notion of development itself.

Often development refers to a linear and value laden hierarchy where those who occupy the lower levels of the hierarchy are 'less developed' then those at the top. One example would be Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development; six stages of moral development are outlined. Those occupying what Kohlberg calls the preconventional stages are 'less developed' then those occupying the conventional and post conventional stages. A similar progression is seen in Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which begins with physical needs and progresses through to a state of self actualization. As a person enters each new stage they are considered to have become more developed. In education Bruce Joyce and Beverly Showers in their (1988) book, Student Achievement through Staff Development, identify a continuum of three broad categories of teachers. The most valued type of teacher for staff development is termed an *ominivore* and

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occupied a place at the top of the hierarchy and the category of *reticent consumers* are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. Development is often conceived of as a process by which people move from one way of being to a more desirable way of being.

Perhaps the source of this concept of development is the residue of colonialism where the development idea has been a unidimensional concept. The standard has been set by those who conceived of the development idea, placing th .elves at the top. In colonial times all societies were seen as fitting somewhere into a grand hierarchy, with white Europeans on top. In 1885, an American, Josiah Strong wrote:

> Only those races which have produced machinery seem capable of using it with the best results. It is the most advanced races which are its masters. Those races which, like the African and the Malay, are many centuries behind the Anglo-Saxon in development, seem incapable of operating complicated machinery as they are of adopting and successfully administering representative government. (cited in Alvares, 1988, p.90)

Here we see development invoked as the path of human progress that all so ieties will eventually travel; although some are much slower than others.

In education there is often a great deal of frustration that there is not a similar linear path that can be marked out. A popular indictment to be made against education is to compare it with the history of medicine. 'If you think of a hospital a hundred , ago,' so the line goes, 'and compare it with a modern hospital today the remendous difference. If you make the same comparison with a classroom years ago you will see there is not much difference.' There is a sense i ucation has somehow been outside the pale of modern, technological prog,. .s.

Teacher development and staff development are often conceived of instrumentally as a means of achieving some new reform. The origins of the new reform are rarely located within the school; frequently these reforms are political in origin, with scientifically grounded research providing both a justification for the reform and a means to implement it. Those who conceive of the reform often prescribe development as a technical enterprise which will bring the reform about. The notion of development in this sense contains a type of external standard that students, teachers and administrators must correspond to or imitate to achieve the "developed state".

Teacher development, from this technical perspective, is often equated with the acquisition of techniques and methods that will ensure increased student achievement. These methods are derived from a positivistic type of research which regards teaching as the cause and learning as the effect. Many educational researchers and administrators feel that we now have a strong base of reliable research findings that tell us what constitutes good teaching (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992). The sense of certainty surrounding these findings has led to the wide spread use of a 'skills and knowledge transfer' approach to teacher and staff development.

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As I read the literature about teacher development , I became increasingly struck by the similarities between the use of the word development in education and the use of the word development by international aid organizations. This led me to explore some of the literature about international development and to begin to question the very notion of "development."

The German scholar, Wolfgang Sachs, in looking at international development, has argued that the notion of "development comes with its own hierarchy and hegemony implied by the very terms developed, developing, and underdeveloped." (Sachs, cited in Ekins, 1991, p. 65). If we can conceptualize under development it necessarily implies that there is a preconceived picture of development. In international development the preconceived picture of development has typically been the United States' economy. For many, the act of developing is moving in a linear fashion towards this ultimate goal. In fact, the discourse has sparked its own hierarchical language to describe the state of a country's development. "Least developed countries (LDCs)" are farthest away from the ideal model, "Intermediate countries" are a little closer and "developing countries" are the closest.

What of education? Is the same conception of development at work in education? Is staff development or professional development based on moving people to some preconceived destination, to an already decided state of being developed? Who decides what constitutes the state of being developed? Just as important, who has not been listened to in deciding what a developed state would look like?

In the past decade education has commanded widespread attention. It is frequently front and centre in the media. Task forces, panels, and vision statements, abound. What this discourse has in common with international development is that development begins as an intellectual cognitive act rather than as attention to life as it is lived in schools or countries of the south. While various groups seek to improve schools, they seldom include the voices of the people who live in the schools on a day to day basis with the children. The metaphor might be that teachers are something like the subsistent farmers, inherently deficient, and waiting for the experts who live in the developed world help them improve. Development becomes something that is aimed at teachers.

Development as it is presented so far is the technical process of bringing about the developed state. Once it has been decided (and one needs to attend to who makes the decision and on what basis) what the goals will be, development refers to the various methods employed for achieving these goals most efficiently. This technical perspective may make teachers objects of development. Smith (1989) has warned that:

> The objectification of others into formalized, manipulable, theoretical categories means that any necessary connection between self and other is severed. Others become banished to the service of being examples of something you already know everything about; one is no longer related to others in any deeply human or ongoing sense.(p. 5)

The word development, in this sense, suffers from what the French writer

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Jaques Derrida describes as logocentrism or the metaphysics of presence. That is, development refers to something that is known, fixable, and nameable once and for all. This ignores the struggle that has occurred in the creation of the present meaning of development. In particular if we consider the framing of development as an instrumental and technical project, we must ask what has been left outside the margins that has allowed this particular notion of development to surface. Smith (1989) argues that present meanings, are the result of a set of arrangements and he goes on to say:

> Within every set of arrangements there are voices, desires and intentions which have been translated out of the present by virtue of the triumph of present interpretations.(p.5)

This problematizes the notion of development and my inquiry leads me to ask what has been lost, suppressed, or deferred that has allowed the present meaning of development to surface? What is the interplay between the official and bureaucratic notions of development in education and the understandings of development by people who live in the school on a daily basis? It is within this interplay that I ask: What are the meanings of development for teachers? As people begin or continue the journey of being a teacher, what do they identify as the sources of their own development as teachers? How does their story compare with academic and political/economic discourses about development?

Autobiographical Interest in the Question

My questioning of development has two distinct origins. One is in the area of international development and deals with such things as foreign aid, disparity between Northern and Southern hemisphere, the debt crisis. The other deals with teacher development. It is my intention in this thesis to use the questioning of the very concept of development that occurs in the discourses of international development as a fresh perspective from which to question the concept of development in teacher development.

Interest in Teacher Development

As a classroom teacher I have felt a deep sense of frustration with a work situation which has made it very difficult for me to grow professionally, and in my mind my work situation has actually hindered my personal and professional development. What helped me to formalize the connection between my work as a teacher and some of the things happening in international development, was a metaphor employed by Oldroyd & Tiller (1987) comparing teachers with subsistent farmers. This metaphor struck a responsive chord in me. I felt very much like a subsistent farmer, working hard just to survive, having little time or energy to devote to changing or improving my practice. Three types of experience will serve to illustrate the source of much of my frustration.

1) In the first type of experience, I was allowed go to a conference or attend a workshop; I was given access to what we might call *intermediate technology*. As a novice teacher I had sometimes pictured my own development as an attempt to correspond with a model of "the good teacher" provided to me from the different

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presentations. From various charismatic speakers, I searched for the model I could or should follow. Often these models were presented as cure alls or panaceas. I would return to my classroom filled with enthusiasm that here at last was the way I could become a better teacher. I would keep these ideas in a file folder in my desk, determined to use them in my teaching. However, as soon as I returned back to my classroom and the subsistence of daily practice, I often, had no time to look at the file folder until the end of June when I was cleaning out my desk for the summer.

On the occasions that I did attempt to implement particularly interesting ideas, I soon discovered that my students did not respond in quite the same as they had in the stories told by the motivational speaker, or an improvement in one facet or aspect of my teaching opened new problems or questions to be answered. I felt that in order to change my teaching practice a certain amount of time and space were required to reflect and to adapt ideas to the specific content. I felt a deep sense of frustration in not having this time.

2)   As a beginning teacher I worked with a young staff; over half of us were first or second year teachers. We liked to think that what we lacked in experience we made up for in enthusiasm. Often we would discuss ideas about innovations that excited us. Over coffee we would brainstorm the exciting possibilities. Sometimes we were able to bring about interesting changes in our classrooms. Unfortunately, more often than not, too many obstacles created by the way school life is organized conspired to prevent us from working together colleagially. When we started discussing what would be required to bring about the changes and tried to set up meeting times, people started to consult their coaching schedules, committee meeting schedules, family commitments, and began to nervously eye the piles of unfinished marking on their desks, they reluctantly decided that perhaps this idea would have to be put off until another time. We would all jump back to our isolated classrooms without making some of the most interesting changes we had discussed.

There are a number of reasons for these two problems. One stems from school design, schools were built as if teaching requires no preparation. Curriculum history indicates that with the advent of industrialization schools adopted many of the characteristics of assembly line factories. One view of teachers became that of a technical worker who followed prescripted packages that had been developed by experts in the field. All teachers had to do was deliver these packages with technical efficiency. This would lead to the view that preparation is done outside the school by experts. Teachers in these factory like schools were to become another form of Eli Whitney's interchangeable parts.

3)   A third source of personal frustration stemmed from the public discourse about education, which had adopted this technical view of teachers and teaching. In the late 1980s and early 1990s some commentators and politicians began to call for the development of a "teacher proof" curriculum and characterized teachers and their professional associations as being a major stumbling block to reform. This suggestion did not receive a lot of support but it did serve to focus much of the debate on teachers as the focal point or major source of the perceived problems in education. Other commentators put forward the results of various educational research and argued that there was enough evidence to indicate a clear course of action to improve schools and in particular student achievement. There

was a tendency to criticize teachers fo. either being unaware of this research or consciously choosing to ignore its obvious implications for improved practice. In this discussion teachers voices seemed to me to be silent. I was left with the impression that teachers daily experience in schools was viewed by many of those engaged in the reform debate has having nothing of value to offer.

At the same time I became concerned that this discourse, much of it originating in the United States and heavily influenced by an atmosphere dominated by neoconservative ideology, often took for granted that the most important function of education was to make the country more economically competitive. As a teacher I felt frustrated with the ascendancy of the economic perspective in education.

It was at this time that I first returned to university and I felt myself immediately drawn to literature which advocated teacher empowerment. Many of the catch phrases in this literature, such as, 'there can be no curriculum development without teacher development,' or, 'give teaching back to teachers,' struck a responsive chord in me. I had a strong sense that as a profession teachers had been shut out of many important decisions that affected their daily lives in the classroom. A major factor in excluding teachers from decision making had been the way in which traditional research has been done. It was from this perspective that I began to explore teacher development.

Interest in International Development

In the summer of 1980 I had recently finished my education degree and had not yet begun my teaching career. I took this opportunity to become involved in a short term volunteer placement in Bangladesh. I had the opportunity to visit various development projects in what was (and is) one of the poorest countries in the world. During my travels I observed first hand the work being done and was able to discuss the philosophy of development with the workers at the various projects. Two irrigation projects exemplify contrasting views of development.

In many parts of Bangladesh farmers are able to grow two or three crops a year, but in some places only one crop a year can be grown. In these areas the use of irrigation pumps can make a tremendous difference to the income of the farmers. The southern part of the province of Rangpur was just such a place and it was there that I encountered two irrigation projects.

In the first project, the aid organization simply wanted to provide the small farmers of this area with a an inexpensive motorized irrigation pump. The engineers from the organization had gone in and assessed the best place to put the pump, had placed the pump and left. There had been some contact with the people to inform them of what the organization was doing for them. Whenever the pump broke down the organization must send out a mechanic to repair it. This can take several days or sometimes weeks. Although I did not spend a lot of time at this project to investigate it fully, some of the people led me to believe that most of the irrigation took place on the land of the wealthier farmers. When I observed the interaction between representative from the head office and the farmers there was a visible superior - subordinate relationship

Three miles away another small irrigation project was being operated by

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another aid organization. This organization had the same goals as the first project but in addition, wanted to make sure that the people could repair the pump themselves. They also wanted to make sure that the wealthy farmers did not try to usurp the benefits of the pump. The project workers started by asking if there were any small farmers interested in irrigating their land. Several farmers responded and the organization then began to work with the farmers. The project workers first told the farmers that they would have to pay for the motorized irrigation pump. Not surprisingly, the farmers were initially disappointed; they were aware of other irrigation projects where motorized irrigation pumps were provided for free. After their initial disappointment the farmers met and discussed a collective way of raising the money. The money was to pay for the installation of the pump and the training of one of the farmers to maintain and repair the pump.

When I visited the project (one year after it began) the farmers proudly showed me their pump. They also enthusiastically explained to me that they had been so successful in raising money for this project that they had formed a collective and started two new projects. One project was a lending program that allowed collective members to borrow money during tough times. The farmers also proudly showed me their second project, they had just begun construction of a small school for their children.

The intended outcomes of the two projects are very similar. Both projects provided a motorized irrigation pump. However the spinoff benefits of the second project were far greater. If we use statistical measures of efficiency the first project is superior. No doubt the first project was more expedient, their pump had been installed in a much shorter period of time. The cost to the organization in terms of man hours spent preparing the farmers for the pump is also less for the first project. If however we consider the human consequences for the lives of the people as a result of the second project these statistical measures sink into insignificance.

The second project had involved the farmers and had empowered them. This process produced very real benefits that are difficult to measure in a quantifiable way; the sense of pride and accomplishment the farmers exhibited in the very manner in which they talked to visitors, the creative energy and enthusiasm that were unleased by their initial success.

At the time of this experience I did not take much notice of it, however later as I reflected on my work as a teacher it became very influential on my thinking about the role of teachers in schools.

Investigating the Questions Within Development

When one thinks of what *development* is not, usually such things as decline, or stagnation come to mind. Development according to this conception is, moving forward, a linear progression, a pre-defined destination that is to be obtained. An example of this would be the many professional/staff development programs designed to bring about specific predetermined changes in teacher behaviour.

Etymologically, the original meaning of development is much different. The

opposite to the word development is envelopment. The root *velop* is not a word in English but the root appears in the Italian word *vilupare*, meaning to enwrap, to bundle, to fold, to roll up . In this (now obsolete) sense, to *develop* means to unwrap or to take out. The original use of the word development when applied to growth (of a child or plant) was metaphorical (Lummis, 1991). It implied that the mature being was already wrapped up inside the immature being. The process of development was the unwrapping or unfolding of the immature being.

This definition of development is quite different from the instrumental rationalism that is associated with most current notions of development. In terms of either education or international development we can see that if we were to apply this etymological meaning of the word development, our project would be to unwrap or uncover the authentic nature of the teacher, the child, the village, or the country. Our quest would be to find what is already there as opposed to trying to produce a change to create something new.

This study intends to explore questions about development in two distinct but related contexts. In chapter two literature that problematizes the word development in the context of international development will be explored. This discourse that questions development at a conceptual level will be useful in rendering the concept of development in education as problematic.

Chapter three can be seen as an exploration of the landscape of teacher development. The chapter begins by exploring connections between international development and teacher development. These connections will provide a starting point from which to question the notion of teacher development. From this starting point the ambiguity of the term "teacher development" is considered. The term is seen as referring to both the development of the teaching profession in general and also the development of individual teachers. A historical consideration of different reform movements within the teaching profession will provide a backdrop from which to consider the notion of development of individual teachers. To use the analogy of a picture's figure and ground, the development of individual teachers is the figure and the development of the teaching profession is the ground. This chapter concludes by applying the various discourses about teacher development to a consideration of the current context of teacher development in Alberta.

In Chapter four two teachers' stories of their own development are explored. The intention is to place these narratives of development alongside the discourses of development from Chapter 3. The academic, political and economic discourses on development in chapter 3 can be seen as providing an exploration of the surface meanings of development and the narratives in chapter 4 deal with meanings of development in the daily lives of two teachers that have been pushed below the surface by the other discourses.

Chapter five can be seen as a methodological reflection on the nature of research. This chapter should be read on two levels. On one level its purpose is to situate teacher narratives within the philosophical discussions about research. It does this by examining the influence that the postmodern turn has had on research and to explores the notion of a post critical methodology. On a second level parts of the chapter can be read as providing important background from which to view development. Specifically the the postmodern critique of the certainty of science is

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important because in both international development and teacher development science has played an important role in justifying a top down, expert driven model of development. Along the same line, there is a brief consideration of some of the work in quantum physics. This work has had an important influence on research methodology, but in the context of this chapter it can also be seen as providing important information about the relational aspects of development.

In chapter six I summarize the preceding chapters and present a reconceptualized notion of development. This chapter concludes by bringing the hermeneutic circle back to autobiographical concerns about development.

CHAPTER TWO

AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE OF DEVELOPMENT

Development is a genocidal act of control. It represents a
contract ... between the modern nation-state and modern western
science. (Visvanathan, 1991, p.378)

In both education and international development, the concept of
development has become closely associated with the notion of economic
development. Employing western science, and western notions of progress and
economic growth, international development has had the noble goal of trying to
raise the living standards of the poorest people in the world. International
development has been an attempt to accelerate the progress of poor countries along
the path already travelled by "developed" countries. Currently, as the opening
quote would suggest there is a questioning of the concept of development. This
questioning goes beyond debating the validity of various approaches to
development and questions the underlying concept in the word itself. It is for this
reason, the questioning of development at a conceptual level, that I intend to argue
that the discourses of international development will provide a fresh perspective
from which to question development in education.

The connection between international development and education is two
fold. 1) Both education and international development have been influenced by the
discourses Western science and economics, and 2) education is often seen as one
of the major tools used to achieve development in poor countries, and enhance
economic development in rich countries. Development is often portrayed as a
movement towards an inevitable destination that is beyond our control to alter. I
intend to problematize this notion and argue that we should interrogate
development as a socially constructed notion that is the result of human decisions
of what is to be done and, just as importantly, what is not to be done.

International Development

Almost 40 years of international development efforts have passed
without any fundamental changes in the lives of the poor.
Something must be very wrong. (Sithembiso Nyoni, Cited in
Carmen, 1991, p. 69 - 70)

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As Nyoni suggests, international development is facing a crisis of confidence. This crisis is characterized not only by dissenting voices regarding current models and strategies of development, but also by the questioning of the concept of development itself (Mathur, 1989). The questioning of development is punctuated by phrases that refer to development as, "opium for the people," "maldevelopment," and "development destruction." (Carmen, 1991) This questioning of development has led to a call for its outright abandonment, or at the very least its reconceptualization. Why has there been this criticism of the very concept of development?

Despite the apparent success of international development in reducing infant mortality rates, and increasing life expectancy, literacy, and access to clean water, the case against development is strong. The primary evidence to support this claim is the growing disparity between the rich and the poor. In 1960 the richest one-fifth of the world's population received 70% of world income, 30 times the income of the poorest fifth. By 1989, the richest fifth was receiving over 80% of world income, 60 times the income of the poorest fifth. Currently, 1.4 billion people (40% more than 15 years ago) live in "absolute poverty", meaning that they are too poor to obtain the food they need to work, or adequate shelter, or minimal health care, let alone education for their children (United Nations Development Programme,1992). After over four decades of development efforts aimed at improving the lot of the poor, the majority of the people on this planet struggle to meet basic physical needs and many are losing that struggle. Worse yet there seems to be no indication that things will get better in the near future:

> Poor countries will go on being poor and their populations
> malnourished until such time as a more equitable trade regime is
> established and they can expect a better return for their exports.
> (United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, 1992)[1]

To add to this problem, the decade of the 80s saw the levelling off and the reversal of many of the previous gains in health and education . At the close of that decade, the United Nations Children's Fund in its 1989 report presented this dismal assessment:

> Throughout most of Africa and much of Latin America average
> incomes have fallen by 10% to 25% in the 1980s. The average
> weight -for-age young children, a vital indicator of normal growth,
> is falling in many of the countries for which figures are available.
> In the 37 poorest nations spending per head on health has been
> reduced by 50%, and on education by 25%, over the last few
> years. And in almost half of the 103 developing countries from
> which recent information is available, the proportion of 6-to-11
> year-olds enrolled in primary school is now falling. (UNICEF,
> 1989, p.1)

In the face of this failure to improve the lot of the poorest people or address the huge disparity between the rich and the poor, the concept of development has been questioned

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[1] Statement on World Food Day, October 16, 1992.

Hegemony[2] of Development

The idea of international development, as it is used today, first appeared in the post World War II era, when it was envisioned to become a kind of "Marshall Plan" for the Third World(Lummis, 1991). Wolfgang Sachs, (Cited in Ekins, 1991) argues that the notion of development comes with its own hierarchy and hegemony. Ever since President Truman coined the term "underdevelopment" in his 1949 inaugural address, there has been the implicit idea that there is a developed state that "underdeveloped" countries should strive to reach. In this address Truman stated:

> We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of the underdeveloped areas. (Cited in Lummis, 1991, p.45).

The richest country in the world, the U.S. became the quintessential model of a developed country, the clear goal was to establish the mass consumption society. Nandy (1988) argues that the need for a word like development at the time is apparent by the rapidity with which Truman's new meaning for the word caught on.

"Underdevelopment" is a remarkable concept that places the vast majority of the world's population into one category based on the absence of what white Europeans regard as important. For example, Lummis (1991) points out that lack of an efficient telephone system or of western credit institutions in places like remote jungle regions or desert areas occupied by semi-nomadic herders constitutes underdevelopment. This is only the latest of such categorizations; historically non-Europeans were referred to as barbarians, non-whites were referred to as colored, non-christians were referred to as pagans. Esteva (1985) argues that development is more dangerous than these other categories because it has been largely accepted by people as their self definition. People come to see themselves as underdeveloped and their traditions as obstacles to development.

Development has carried with it the idea of a path, of motion, of passing through inevitable or evolutionary stages. The hegemony of the word development comes in the form of imitating the so called developed countries. The idea is that by following Western scientific precepts a nation can achieve the status of being developed, move in a lock step fashion from an underdeveloped to a developed state. This leaves us with a binary view of the world as being developed and undeveloped. The belief was that an underdeveloped country could look at the history of a developed country to see its own future. The idea of inevitability masks the true situation that development is the result of human decisions about what is and is not done:

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2 Hegemony, as defined by Italian writer Antonio Gramsci, refers to the power of a particular discourse to dominate and become considered as common sense by the masses Hegemony refers to the construction of legitimation of a particular ideology. Gramsc rejects the notion of ideology as false consciousness, which would imply some foundational truth from which to unmask the untruth of a particular ideology. Rather Gramsci sees all ideology as partial. Hegemony is the process of consensus formation in support of a particular ideology.

Development is portrayed as something that will happen by itself as soon as the obstacles to development are removed. In fact, virtually all of the changes that take place under the ideology of development are of an entirely different sort. Villagers are driven out and dams are built; forests are cut down and replaced by plantations; whole cultures are smashed and people are recruited into quite different cultures; people's local means of subsistence is taken away and they are placed under the power of the world market. It is not correct usage to apply the term development to knocking down one thing and building something else in its place. Calling such activities development conceals the fact that they are human choices, that is, activities that human beings are free not to do. (Lummis, 1991, p. 48)

Development does not universally apply to the various ways in which people make a living, rather it has come to mean the replacement of traditional production by historically specific practices originating in Europe and is based on Western science as the universal form of knowledge. If we begin to consider what has gone on under the name of development, as being the result of human agency, the product of what Lummis calls the "ideology of development," it opens up our discourse. What alternatives are there to the processes and goals that have been portrayed as inevitable by this ideology? What other knowledge or perceptions have been pushed below the surface by the ideology of development? What new possibilities can be imagined by opening up the discourse of development to these submerged ideas?

We can identify three important influences that have underpinned the "ideology of development." Ekins (1991) refers to these as "engines of development", and they are, Western science, economism and the nation state. We can organize our questioning of development around the underlying assumptions of each of these influences.

The Elevation of Western Science: The First Engine

In international development the elevation of science to the level of the only valid way of knowing, begins with Truman's call to make, "the benefits of our scientific advances" available to the "underdeveloped world." This theme continues when, in 1961, talking about the people of Latin America, the American president, John F. Kennedy, observed that, "To the North and East they see the abundance which modern science can bring." (Technology as a Trojan Horse, New Internationalist, June 1992, p. 14). Western science becomes the solution to underdevelopment. Nandy (1988) has noticed that since the second World War, two new reasons of state have been added to the traditional one of national security. These are science and development. Nandy traces science as a reason of state to Kennedy's 1962 pledge to put a man on the moon by the end of the decade. Nandy observes:

A state for the first time on that occasion sought to out rival another state not in the political or military arena, nor in sports, but in science redefined as dramatic technology....for the first time Kennedy's speech showed that a wide enough political base had been built in a major developed society for the successful use of

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science as a goal of state... (p.3).

Nandy goes on to argue that the boundary between science and technology, although it is blurring, will be maintained. This will be done not for philosophical reasons, but to deflect criticism away from science towards technology and help to preserve the image of pure science as "the pursuit of truth uncontaminated by human greed, violence and search for power." (p. 4)   The implication being that science is immune to public scrutiny.

The Indian scholar Claude Alvares, in an alternate view from that of 'pure science,' sees Western science as being closely related to colonialism and violence. He describes science as anti-rational, culturally and socially oppressive, ecocidal and generally anti-life.   On a continuum from experiential to abstraction science occupies a place at the far end of the abstraction side. Even experiments, generally considered to be empirical, are characterized by Alvares (1988) as abstractions.

> The experiment ideally restricts: it first eliminates historicity. The scientific experiment is, in fact, an exercise in pure abstraction....It is devoid of historicity, of uniqueness of time. In order to experiment, one has to create one's facts to fall in line with certain postulates. These postulates themselves are not subjected to 'scientific' scrutiny nor to any systematic reasoning as to why one postulate is preferred to another. (p. 75)

According to Alvares, pure experience, at the other end of the continuum from science, is incomprehensible and incommunicable because it is unique.   For this reason it is tolerant of other unique events.   Pure experience in nature and nature itself cannot be controlled. On the other hand,

> Abstraction increases control by homogenizing its subject matter. It eliminates the basis of diversity, the personal and the historic, creating an artificial reality which can be completely controlled. (Alvares, 1988, p.85)

Science has not controlled nature, rather science has sought, unsuccessfully, to replace nature and in the process destroyed nature.   Alvares points to the ecological damage done in the name of scientific projects and the scientific creation of machines of mass destruction.   Even in the area of medicine, Alvares is critical of a reductionist scientific view which treats symptoms. The fact that many diseases are becoming resistant to stronger and stronger antibiotics is seen by Alvares as evidence of the shortcomings of this reductionist approach.

Through the scientific gaze, nature is viewed instrumentally in terms of how it might be exploited by humankind.   The result has been a series of serious environmental problems;   for example depletion of the ozone layer, buildup of greenhouse gasses, increasing desertification, and reduction of biodiversity.   One cause of the reduction of valuable diversity has been the introduction of monocultures in forestry and agriculture.   To illustrate this process, Alvares analyses the Green Revolution in his native country, India. This is an important example because it illustrates the strong relation between Western science and the pursuit of economic growth.   The Green Revolution was an attempt to use the scientific and technological knowledge from the West to increase agricultural

production. In India this took the form of developing new strains of high yield rice and introducing Western farming techniques like the use of fertilizers and pesticides to increase yield per acre. Prior to the green revolution there were thousands of varieties of rice, some were associated with different communities for various reasons. Some carried a particular scent that became part of the identity of a particular village. Others helped to eradicate wild rice, others were early maturing and suited to a particular climate. Some varieties of rice were valued for their medicinal properties, still others could be ground into flour and tasted like wheat, other varieties tasted like dry milk. Alvares points out that of the over 50,000 varieties of rice that existed in India, modern science sought to develop less than 10. This unidimensional view of rice, i.e. yield per acre, showed a complete disregard for the rich and complex diversity of rice throughout India, and for this reason met with significant resistance from people in the countryside.

At a deep level Western science has imposed a foreign world view on developing countries. This view is reductionist and mechanistic and has led to a development of objects (factories, power dams, agribusiness) rather than people. Visvanathan (1988) builds on Alvares' work, arguing that development makes judgments about which traditional beliefs, practices, and entire cultures should be seen as obstacles to development and therefore removed. These judgments are based on notions of a rational society, progress and experimentation.

In the face of serious failures, the discourse on development is beginning to attend to what has previously been discredited or suppressed by the dominance of Western science. Most recently there has been increased interest in indigenous knowledge:

> Where 'western' social science, technological might, and institutional models - reified in monolithic ways - seem to have failed, local knowledge and technology - reified as 'indigenous' - are often viewed as the latest and the best strategy in the old fight against hunger, and underdevelopment.(Arun, 1995, p. 413)

From the indigenous knowledge literature, Arun summarizes the main characteristics that have been said to differentiate indigenous knowledge from scientific knowledge as follows: 1) it is embedded in its particular community; 2) it is contextually bound; 3) it does not believe in individualist values; 4) it does not create a subject/object dichotomy; 5) it requires commitment to the local context, unlike Western science, which values mobility and weakens local roots. Arun goes on to be criticize advocates of indigenous knowledge who, while rejecting science as being inappropriate to solving many of the problems of developing countries, employ its very method in their proposal to record, catalogue, and disseminate indigenous knowledge. Arun also cautions us against accepting the science/indigenous knowledge dichotomy, arguing such a dichotomy regards the diverse traditions within both Western thinking and indigenous knowledge, as being monolithic.

In order to preserve indigenous knowledge and prevent it from becoming just another instrumental approach to the imposition of development on indigenous people by foreign experts (albeit using their own forms of knowledge this time), Arun suggests that the relationship between power and knowledge be examined.

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In order to save indigenous knowledge, methods that engage politics must be recognized. Ultimately indigenous knowledge can best be protected by ensuring that those who produce such knowledge have the political power to protect it themselves.

Development was to be the masterpiece of Western scientific thought, where the goal of development was conceived of as an intellectual cognitive act, to be implemented with technological efficiency based on scientific methodology. Rather than the 'pure' pursuit of truth, science in development has tended to be hegemonic, oppressive, and destructive. The privileging of science as the dominant way of knowing, has silenced many voices that have valuable perspectives on development to offer.

Economic Imperatives: Questioning Economic Growth

People who have for millennia taught that the overt and unlimited pursuit of material gain was offensive and dishonourable now began to reject this way of thinking as ignorant and backwards. The development metaphor, teaching people to see themselves as obstacles to development, promotes a colonization of consciousness of the deepest sort and is profoundly antidemocratic: it takes away from the hands of people the possibility of defining their own ways of social life (Esteva, Cited in Lummis, 1991).

The second engine of development has been the privileging of economic discourse as the only legitimate discourse in speaking of development. Where as science provides the ways and means, it is the ideology of economic growth that provides development with its specific direction. In the discourse about development everything that makes up a diverse and complex society is reduced to a narrow focus on accumulation and consumption. Economic success is determined by measures considered to be objective, exact, and quantifiable; in other words per capita gross national product (GNP). The centrality of economics is a relatively new phenomena which begins in the Truman era. Even during the age of colonialism and mercantilism, the quest for wealth was tempered by other concerns. "For Britain and France during the colonial period, dominion over their colonies was first of all a cultural obligation which stemmed from their vocation ι ; a civilizing mission." (Development : A Guide to the Ruins, New Internationalist, June, 1992, p. 5). In the Truman era the level of civilization of a country became equivalent to its per capita GNP.

Development based on ever increasing economic output has been referred to by David Korten (1991) as "a problem posing as a solution." The implied goal of the dominant development paradigm, that everyone will reach the standard of living enjoyed by Western industrial societies, is problematic for two reasons. First, there is wide spread agreement that the earth does not contain the resources required to provide mass consumption for everyone. This is illustrated by the often cited observation that if everyone on earth consumed like the people of Los Angeles we would require five planet Earths survive. Second, even if the Earth did have the resources, current environmental concerns have prompted us to question whether the processes of continuous economic growth can be maintained without doing irreparable damage to the environment.

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This 'limits to growth' position is an important shift. Originally the idea of economic development was based on a belief that the Earth is an open system, i.e. infinite. The belief was that although the Earth had physical limits, humankind would not have the ability to ever reach those limits; we were so small and the world was so big. This led to a focus on economic growth.

For much of this century, economic debates have concerned themselves with whether socialism or capitalism is the best way to organize a modern economy. Despite their many differences, both economic systems converge in their desire for rapid economic growth and efficient exploitation of resources. According to Lummis (1991), it does not matter whether we examine socialist or capitalist notions of development both are trying to organize society to maximize efficiency and to squeeze maximum productivity out of the individual worker. Lenin, the father of the communist revolution in Russia, observed:

> The Russian is a bad worker compared with people in other
> countries. It could not be otherwise under the Tsarist regime and
> in view of the persistence of the hangover from serfdom. The
> task that the Soviet government must set all the people in its scope
> is - learn to work. The Taylor System, the last word in capitalism
> in this respect, like all capitalist progress, is a combination of the
> refined brutality of bourgeois exploitation and a number of the
> greatest scientific achievement in the field of analyzing mechanical
> motions [sic] during work.....The Soviet republic must at all costs
> adopt all that is valuable in the achievements of science and
> technology in this field (Cited in Lummis, 1991, p.40).

Neither capitalist nor socialist systems question the goal of rapid economic growth, they only concern themselves with how to achieve this growth most efficiently. During the 1980s, at the height of the preoccupation with economic growth in the West, there were growing questions about the environmental impacts of economic activity. In the face mounting evidence of global environmental damage, the United Nations established *The World Commission on Environment and Development,* the Bruntland Commission. In 1987 the report of the Bruntland Commission, Our Common Future, was published. This report popularized the term "sustainable development", which it defined as development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. However, embedded in the report is a tacit acceptance of the view that economic development necessarily implies continuous growth and expansion:

> It is essential that global economic growth be revitalized. In
> practical terms, this means more rapid economic growth in both
> industrial and developing countries, freer market access for the
> products of developing countries, lower interest rates, greater
> technology transfer, and significantly larger capital flows, both
> concessional and commercial. (Our Common Future, p. 89)

Instead of questioning the value of ever increasing growth, this report frames the problem as one of finding a way to maintain economic growth, without hurting the environment. The report continues with the suggestion that the use of the western approach is the only possibility:

> A continuation of economic growth and diversification, along with
> the development of technological and managerial skills, will help
> developing countries mitigate the strains on the rural environment,
> raise productivity and consumption standards...(p. 89).

Here the notion of sustainability, which carries with it the implication of
care and concern, and self restraint, is matched with the contradictory term of
development, which, in the last half of this century, has come to imply the
growth of production and consumption and the continued efficient exploitation of
resources (Visvanathan, 1991). There is now a need to question the assumption
that continuous growth is a necessary precondition for economic well being.

In addition to the 'limits to growth' concerns, economic growth has been
criticised for expanding poverty. Embedded in the ideology of economic growth
is the belief that scarcity is the cause of poverty. Conventional development
theory has implied (though rarely stated) that the solution to this scarcity is a form
of trickle down economics, where rapid industrial expansion is held out as a way
of eventually improving the standard of living for every one in the country. It is
argued that countries should accept the sharp inequalities that result in the short
term in order to reap the benefits of a larger cake of national wealth that will
eventually trickle down to the poor. Lappe and Collins (1986) have pointed out
that the trickle down approach has seldom worked. They argue that trickle down
economics has simply served to further entrench existing unjust economic
relationships which are the root causes of poverty. This has led to the paradox
of expanding poverty in the face of rapid economic growth.

One example that illustrates the failure of the trickle down theory is the
Green Revolution mentioned in the last section. This is an important example
because it illustrates the strong relation between Western science and the pursuit of
economic growth. As new strains of high yield rice were introduced, small
farmers and landless labourers were displaced to make room for large, export
oriented farms. Large farmers were able to appropriate most of government
subsidies and aid for themselves and greatly improved their own position. India
during the 1970s went from being a recipient of food aid to being a food exporter.
During this same time the proportion of people living in absolute poverty
increased. According to Lappe and Collins' analysis, this so called Green
Revolution actually resulted in an increase in environmental damage and absolute
poverty. They argue the reason for this is the mistaken view that scarcity was the
cause of hunger. Since scarcity was never the cause of poverty, increased
production brought about by the Green Revolution did not end hunger. Collins
and Lappe suggest the cause of hunger is to be found in the unequal power
relations between people in the community.

The Green Revolution can be seen as an attempt to follow a well known
path of economic development in the West. In the 1700s, the agricultural
revolution in England helped bring about the industrial revolution. Small farmers
were forced off the land and into the cities where they became a cheap source of
labour for newly built factories. Jacobs (1984) has indicated that in India, rural
poor, displaced by the Green Revolution, moved to the cities which did not have
the capacity to employ them productively and they became urban poor. Jacobs
has argued that any attempt to improve agricultural efficiency will lead to poverty

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without cities that have export replacing industries. This example reflects an overall global trend which sees increasing poverty in the face of decades of a trickle down approach to economic development.

The failure of the trickle down approach to development has been linked to the international debt crisis and increasing levels of environmental damage. This connection is due to the fact much of the aid that sponsored development projects came to poor countries in the form of loans. When these projects did not succeed the recipients were unable to repay the loans. This created a debt crisis that has exacerbated environmental and poverty problems. As of 1988 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development estimates that $60 billion U.S. is transferred to third world countries annually in the form of aid (Cited in Korten, 1991, p.87). In spite of this transfer of money, since 1983, there has actually been a net flow of capital from the south to the north (Postel & Flavin, 1991). Growing debt had compelled many poor countries to make enormous interest payments to the North. We now see the perverse situation of the poorest countries in the world subsidizing the richest. The story of the Balbina power dam in Brazil will serve as an exemplar of this process.

According to Adams (1991), the Balbina power dam was funded by a $500 million loan from the World Bank in the early 1980s. The main purpose of this dam was to provide electric power for the aluminium industry in Brazil. The dam resulted in the flooding of 2,360 square kilometres of pristine rain forest. The amount of rotting vegetation under water, made it poisonous for marine life. Animals in the area scrambled to the high ground throughout the area and died a horrible death on isolated hills surrounded by water. The terrified aboriginal population had no warning of the flooding until they actually saw the water rising and had to flee. An economic analysis shows that if aluminium companies paid the actual cost of the electricity from this dam, without government subsidy, they would have to produce aluminium at a loss of $100 a ton. The final irony was that because of a mapping error, the reservoir was unable to fill sufficiently to produce any electricity.

The result of the project was that the people of Brazil were left with a devastating environmental catastrophe and a $500 million debt. Often the voices of the people who have been subjected to development, have been silenced by the discourse of international development. To put a human face on this example of development Adams quotes Fofrasia Castro da Silva, a village matriarch, who observed there were so many dead fish in the shallow river bed that, "You could have walked across the water and not even gotten wet." (p.17) da Silva goes on to say:

> I sat down and cried... We had beautiful water, a beautiful river
> and life here was wonderful. But they killed our river and now
> life here is very hard. What they have done is a crime. (p. 17)

One of the reasons the voices of those subjected to development have been silenced is the rise of the expert. Trickle down theories tend to focus on large scale projects and these require experts. Plans were conceived of by outside experts, whose goal was to increase per capita GNP. It has been considered common sense that an increase in GNP will inevitably lead to a better life for the entire population. In the face of this argument Esteva (1985) has argued that:

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No [economic] indicator can reflect the pain caused by the loss of
self-reliance, dignity and solidarity that are the unmeasurable
shadow-price of a quantifiable progress. (p. 78)

Traditionally economists have relegated specific concerns about the
environment, and human suffering caused by economic decisions to the status of
externalities; that is, while these may be important issues to discuss they do not
have any impact on the market place and therefore remain outside of purely
economic decisions. This thinking was manifest in the North American Free
Trade negotiations between Canada, Mexico and the United States, when then
president Bush of the United States refused to allow environmental issues to
interfere with, what he regarded as "economic" negotiations.

Despite a growing concern about these externalities, the wealthy in both the
North and and South have continued high levels of consumption. Although the
people of the industrialized nations make up only 20% of the population of the
planet they consume two thirds of the global use of steel, more than two thirds of
aluminium, copper, lead, nickel and three fourth's of the world's energy. At the
same time their economies pump out over two thirds of the world's green house
gasses (During, 1991, p. 156).

The growth centered view of development has been challenged before.
In the late 1960s and 70s, even such main stream and conservative development
institutions as the World Bank, recognizing the inadequacy of trickle down
economic growth, began sanction people centered approaches development like
'basic needs', 'integrated rural development', and 'participatory development.' In
the 1980s under the influence of neoconservative leaders like Ronald Reagan in the
United States and Margaret Thatcher in Britain, the primacy of large scale
industrialization became re-established. In the 1990s there are renewed efforts to
establish more people centered economics.

The dominant model of development, based on ever increasing economic
growth is problematic for two reasons. The first reason is the notion of limits to
growth. In the late twentieth century it has become quite apparent that we are
reaching these limits. The second reason is the evidence of increasing poverty in
the face of economic growth. Even if the limits to growth did not exist, evidence
indicates that in spite of a quadrupling of economic production in the last forty
years there has been a disturbing increase in absolute poverty (Brown, 1990).

Growth is a blunt instrument which ignores the finite and interdependent
nature of the world and anything that is not easily quantifiable. Growth centered
economics has been dehumanizing in that it divorces people from any human
characteristics that do not have a narrowly defined economic purpose.

The Nation State: The Third Engine of Development

Ekins (1991) argues that economic imperatives alone could, "never have
wrought the transformations in the name of development which we have
witnessed in the past four decades" (p. 65). A third engine of development, the
sovereign nation state, was needed to facilitate this process. The nation state

helped move many nations from a focus on local self sufficiency to market oriented trade.

Competition can only rule when their are markets and commodities that are distributed according to price established by supply and demand. Ekins argues that when resources are controlled by the community structures and goods are produced primarily for self consumption that competition in impotent. In the post-World War II era the majority of humanity lived in self sufficient societies in which people consumed what they produced. These systems, according to Ekins, might have eventually been corroded by markets over time, but nothing like the rapid and wholesale redefinition of property rights brought about by the nation state in favour of the elites involved in exchange oriented markets. It was these elites, serving their own self interest, that redefined economic conditions in terms of market economies. Ekins sees Western forces of international development, in partnership with the elites of sovereign states, devising policies and exchange systems that have deprived the common people of their means of livelihood.

In the current context however, the continued power of the nation state is in question. The state has become too large to deal with regional matters effectively and is in the process of delegating decision making to local levels. At the same time the state is too small for larger issues and must defer to multilateral decision making. It is becoming increasingly clear that issues like environmental damage, trade, unemployment, inflation, can no longer be dealt with adequately by the nation state and require. This has led to simultaneous and seemingly paradoxical calls for decentralization and globalization. In the face of globalization the power of transnational capital is expanding.

Economic Globalization and Development

In addition to Ekin's (1991) three engines of development, the dynamics of the current process of economic globalization need to be considered in order to question development. This is particularly pertinent in this study because much of the discourse about educational reform is fuelled by a perception that countries need to become competitive in the new global economy.

Economic globalization is best characterized by the drive for global free trade. Global free trade is often described as an inevitable process occurring beyond the influence of any single state. The argument is that all nations are already deeply involved in international trade and no nation would want to restrict its access to the new globally integrated market place. The 1988 North American Free Trade Agreement, the 1993 Maastricht Treaty in Europe, and the 1994 agreement of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade all speak to expanding free trade. The logic of free trade is based on the notion of comparative advantage, where those who can produce a product most efficiently will provide global consumers with the best quality product at the cheapest prices. This will hold true as long as producers are subject to world wide competition which necessarily implies free trade.

Economic globalization reifies the centrality of economic growth as the an end in itself. Free trade, like trickle down economics, is said to create a greater

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cake of wealth for all to share. This raises several question in the context of this study. Questions about the very real limits to economic growth and about expanding poverty in the face of economic growth have already been addressed. Two other questions to consider are: 1) Does the argument for comparative advantage, which underpins the rational for global free trade, make sense in a world of free capital mobility? 2) Is the globalization of the economy inevitable or are there other alternatives?

Daly and Cobb (1989) take up the first question by examining the notion of comparative advantage in the seminal texts, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations by Adam Smith and, The Principals of Political Economy and Taxation by David Ricardo. They argue that comparative advantage is quite easily justified in a world where capital is immobile but becomes problematic in the current context where capital flows around the world at the speed of light.

In classical economics comparative advantage makes sense when each trading partner has an advantage in a different area, eg. England produces cheaper cloth and Portugal produces cheaper wine. The difficulty occurs when one country has an absolute advantage, eg. Portugal produces cheaper cloth and wine. What is the incentive to trade? Ricardo describes this scenario:

> England may be so circumstanced, that to produce the cloth may require the labour of 100 men for one year; and if she attempted to make the wine, it might require the labour of 120 men for the same time. England would therefore find it in her interest to import wine, and to purchase it by the exportation of cloth.
> To produce the wine in Portugal, might require the labour of only 80 men for one year, and to produce the cloth in the same country might require the labour of 90 men for the same time. It would therefore be advantageous for her to export wine in exchange for cloth. This exchange might even take place, not withstanding that the commodity imported from by Portugal could be produced there with less labour than in England. Though she could make the cloth with the labour of 90 men, she would import it from a country where it required the labour of 100 men to produce it, because it would be advantageous to her rather to employ her capital in the production of wine, for which she would obtain more cloth from England, than she could produce by diverting a portion of her capital from the cultivation of vines to the manufacture of cloth. (David Ricardo, cited in Daly and Cobb, 1989, p. 212)

Here we see that Ricardo's notion of comparative advantage is premised on the belief of the immobility of capital. In this example, English capital is unlikely to invest in either Portuguese wine making or cloth manufacture. It must seek the most efficient production possible within its own borders. Ricardo explains capital immobility in this way:

> Experience, however, shews, that the fancied or real insecurity of capital, when not under the immediate control of its owner, together with the natural disinclination which every man has to

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quit the country of his birth and connexions, and intrust himself
with all his habits fixed, to a strange government and new laws,
check the emigration of capital. These feelings, which I should be
sorry to see weakened, induce most men of property to be
satisfied with a low rate of profits in their own country, rather
than seek a more advantageous employment for their wealth in
foreign nations. (David Ricardo, cited in Daly and Cobb, 1989,
p. 214)

Ricardo presupposes that capitalists are first and foremost members of a national
community and that these ties to the community make capital immobile. Like
Ricardo, Adam Smith also assumes that it is in the public interest for national
capital to be invested at home:

By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry,
he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in
such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he
intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other
case, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no
part of his intention. (Adam Smith, cited in Daly and Cobb,
1989, p. 215)

In the current climate there is an absence of the notion that capital has any
national allegiance. International finance transfers billions of dollars of currency
daily. Capital will make split second moves from one end of the globe to the
other to at the speed of light to respond to a difference of one tenth of a percent in
the rate of return. Capital has severed ties with its various national communities
and speaks of the global community. Daly and Cobb argue that there is no global
community and that capital has entered a gap between communities and therefore,
"the cornerstone of the whole classical free trade argument, capital immobility has
crumbled into loose gravel." (Daly and Cobb, 1989, p.216) In current trading
relations some countries have an absolute, rather than a comparative advantage
over others and this has led to trading relations not of interdependence but
dependence on the part of one partner.

In addition to dependent trading relations, the overall power of national
governments to influence the economy is receding and significant political power
now resides in economic entities. Countries compete against each other for scarce
venture capital. This creates pressure for an unfettered free market where there
are lower environmental standards and a decrease the power of organized labour.
The emergence of this global 'free market' has led to the increase in what
Borgman (1992) has called the contingent work force. In referring to workers as
'civilians' and the business elite as the 'vanguard,' Borgman has observed that:

The weakness of civilians is apparent in the disposability of the
noncombatant work force. The vanguard disposes of workers in
a number of ways. It is free to determine the size of the work
force according to the requirements of economic productivity and
stability. If relatively few or fewer can be conscripted profitably,
so many more will remain unemployed. The vanguard can adjust
wages downward if international competition requires it, and,
above all, the fighting elite is entitled to employ and dismiss the

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supporting troops as opportunity or difficulty dictate it (p. 16 - 17).

In the face of the globalization of capital and the commodification of labour, North - South distinctions are beginning to blur. We might say that we have a stereotypical 'South' residing in the North. This 'South' has been given the name of the permanent underclass in the United States, and in other countries they have been referred to as 'victims of structural unemployment'. This situation has been exacerbated by a sustained dismantling of the welfare state in Europe and Canada. This brings us to the last question to consider: Is the globalization of the economy inevitable or are there other alternatives?

Any economic system is first and foremost a human construction. Even if we consider so called premodern societies, their economic systems are embedded in the values, traditions, and history of the culture. The so called global economy is also a human construction and not a force of nature or the next stage in some inevitable evolutionary path (evidence of the hegemony of the current economic discourse is the degree to which global economic trends are considered 'natural'). In fact the current directions in the global economy are destructive and cannot be sustained. What is inevitable is that in order to maintain human survival it will become necessary to factor, so called, externalities like the environment, into economics and recognize that the Earth is a closed system. Daly and Cobb (1989) have put forth a notion of "steady state economics." They argue that economics based on the Earth as a closed system must take into account entropy - which denotes the tendency of the energy of a closed system to become less available with the passage of time. The focus of economics based on a closed system would become maintaining a healthy system rather than growth.

Sen (1995) believes that economic needs to focus on human development:

A focus on human development as the goal of economic and social processes reaffirms the centrality of people realizing their potential to be creative, useful and fulfilled members of society. Acquisition of material wealth is a means to that end, not an end in itself. It stresses values of self-realization through creativity, through participation in community, through sharing and reciprocity, and through a rich spiritual life. (p.10)

Role of Education in Economic Development

Education is related to a new reason of state in industrialized countries and that is global economic competitiveness. As was argued earlier, even during the mercantilist period of colonialism, profit was considered secondary to cultural domination. During the Cold War economic competitiveness played a secondary role to political influence and military strength. With the end of the Cold War, nations have turned their attention increasingly towards economic competitiveness. Government initiatives in many countries have as their stated goal increased competitiveness in the global market place. In both developing and developed economies converge in their view that a fundamental role of education is to enhance economic development and global competitiveness.

One cannot read development literature without seeing education in a

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prominent place. Often, education is held out as the salvation for poorer countries. The human capital theory equates human productive capacities with physical commodities that are given a market value. Morales-Gomez (1991) explains:

> The role of education is thus primarily economic. Educational decisions at a micro level are investment judgments. At a macro level, education is linked to industrial development and economic growth. This rationale establishes linear links between low productivity, social disparities, poverty, and education. The options to produce, share available wealth, and benefit from development can be linked to more or less effective investments in human development rather than to problems of inequality among social classes. By investing adequately and efficiently in education, four major problems in developing societies are expected to be solved: aggregation, investment, growth. and income distribution. (p. 43)

Morales-Gomez argues that the focus on education as a means of development may tend to hide other more important factors of poverty, such as unjust economic relations. Once success in education becomes defined by what is valued in the marketplace, this becomes a powerful tool to reproduce the very economic relations within a society that may, in fact, be the root causes of poverty. In a similar vein, in industrialized countries, if the acceptance of the concept of a learning culture, is done within the context of becoming globally competitive, then the global economy as it is currently constructed is never debated but is tacitly accepted as inevitable.

In the poorer countries of the South, formal education has often played the role of defining an educated person from a Western point of view. School systems, universities, curricula and text books have been largely imported directly from the West with little regard for the individual context within which they are located. Those teachers who were educated in the West tend to become the most valued and sought after. All this lends itself to an image of development as imitation. It reinforces the notion of development as an evolutionary path upon which all countries travel.

In the industrial countries of the North there is the danger of a similar hegemony in education. If we allow education to be viewed primarily as a means of achieving global competitiveness we will be accepting for everyone a world view held by a narrow economic elite.

Reflections on the Discourses of International Development

Esteva (1985) explains that development has come to mean:

> having started on the road that others know better, to be on your way towards a goal that others have reached, to race up a one-way street. Development means the sacrifice of environments, solidarities, traditional interpretations and customs to ever changing expert advice. Development promises enrichment and has always meant the progressive modernization of their poverty;

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growing dependence on guidance and management. (p. 79)

Success in development will not be achieved by new techniques or strategies. As Esteva so eloquently points out, the current conceptualization of development is not desirable, even if it were achievable. The very notion of development is itself wrong and unobtainable and no amount of effort will change that. It is this questioning of the very concept of development in the international arena that I would like to employ in questioning the concept of development in education.

There are four broad characteristics of international development that have been briefly sketched out in this chapter. They are:

1. Development is not a neutral notion, it is an ideologically loaded term which carries with it its own hegemony.

2. Science is used as the authority to justify development decisions. The dominance of Western science as the only legitimate way of knowing has silenced the aspirations, perceptions, and knowledge of those being developed.

3. Unique and diverse contexts in which development takes place, have been ignored because the abstraction of science has homogenized these contexts in order to develop communicable and universal laws.

4. Economic discourse is privileged as the single legitimate discourse to define the goals of development.

To sum up then we can say that development has been characterized by the Western notion of progress or modernization. Development has been driven largely by the force of scientific and economic discourse, and has been facilitated by the modern nation state. Employing the perspectives of Western science, and conservative economics, development has often treated both people and their environment as objects to be exploited for perceived economic gain. In this process the people being developed have often been ignored. Their way of life, traditions, values, and knowledge have been characterized as obstacles to development.

These tendencies are accelerating in the global economy and some of the signposts of underdevelopment in the South are being recognized in the North. Many 'developed' countries of the North are haunted by the possibility of permanently high levels of structural unemployment and underemployment. In addition, the traditional safety nets that have shielded those in the North from the ravages of poverty are being dismantled creating an atmosphere of fear in the face of uncertainty. The connection between some of the economic concerns in both the North and the South, and the close connection between economic development and education lead me to question the notion of development in education.

International development has been partial, destructive and ideologically conservative. This study will now explore the concept of development from the perspective of education to determine if teacher development suffers from the same deficiencies.

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CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION

> The hypothesis [is] that the species itself contains *in potentia*
> levels of cognitive and moral development which various
> environments will activate with greater or lesser efficiency and
> success. (Howard, 1982 p. 118)

> The term teacher development is Orwellian. No one could be
> against teachers developing, but there is a critical difference
> between developing and being developed (M. Holmes cited in
> Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992, p. 12)

       This chapter is an exploration of the landscape of teacher development.
The chapter begins by exploring connections between international development
and the dominant form of teacher development, known as the skills and knowledge
approach. These connections will provide a starting point from which to question
the notion of teacher development. From this starting point the ambiguity of the
term "teacher development" is considered. The term is seen as referring to both
the development of the teaching profession in general and also the development of
individual teachers. A historical consideration of different reform movements
within the profession, as well as the competing goals of education will provide a
backdrop from which to consider the notion of development of individual
teachers. To use the analogy of a picture's figure and ground, the development of
individual teachers is the *figure* and the development of the teaching profession is
the *ground*. Finally this chapter concludes a consideration of the dominant
economic discourse of education in Alberta and how this relates to teacher
development.

Making the Link Between Teacher Development and International Development

       Development in education can take at least two quite distinct directions.
One is based on a bureaucratically structured delivery system, designed by
experts from outside of schools, with the goal of trying to remediate the
deficiencies of teachers. The other is a participant involved system, based on the
goal creating structures that allow teachers to develop themselves. A top

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down bureaucratic model has been by far the most dominant model of teacher development and is usually associated with what Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) have termed "knowledge and skill development". This approach is premised on the belief that educational research has provided us with a strong knowledge base about what constitutes good teaching. The knowledge and skills development approach shares many of the same characteristics and failures of international development outlined at the end of Chapter 2,

1. Development is not a neutral notion, it is an ideologically loaded term which carries with it its own hegemony. In education, teacher development is often associated with a particular reform. This being the case, teacher development often takes on a technical and instrumental character. Teachers become the objects of development in order that they might produce students who at, various times, were to help defeat the Soviets in the space race, or make the country more competitive with the Japanese and Germans.

2. Science is used as the authority to justify development decisions. The dominance of Western science as the only legitimate way of knowing has silenced the aspirations, perceptions, and knowledge of those being developed. In education, until recently, scientifically grounded research held a dominate position. The overall effect of this research on teacher development was that notions about good teaching and teacher development have tended to to come from 'expert' researchers from outside the school. The voices of teachers, those being developed, are often silenced because they are the 'objects' of research and therefore are to be observed but not 'listened' to. Scientifically grounded research has produced a body of knowledge about various teaching techniques, which some researchers and government policy makers believe provide us with fairly certain knowledge about what constitutes good teaching. It is in some of the attempts to have teachers adopt these techniques that much of the hegemony of teacher development is seen.

3. Unique and diverse contexts in which development takes place, have been ignored because the abstraction of science has homogenized these contexts in order to develop communicable and universal laws. In schools, the unique context is seen as something that can and should easily be overcome or bracketed out in order to adopt the preferred techniques or approach indicated by research. In some cases these recommended approaches can become quite prescriptive for teachers as they become incorporated into teacher evaluation and establish a standard by which teachers are measured and encouraged to measure themselves.

4. Economic discourse is privileged as the single legitimate discourse to define the goals of development. At the current moment it is nearly impossible to find a discourse about reform that doesn't take economic competitiveness as its point of origin. Economics becomes both the form and substance of educational reform. In other words the substance of the reform is producing students who will make the nation more competitive. In form economic language is being used to discuss education and in this form of the discourse teachers become educational

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inputs, teaching becomes a production process, and education students become finished products or outputs.

Hegemony of Development

In education the dominant model of development begins with an expert who is well versed in scientific research and how to apply it to a given situation. The expert is able to transfer knowledge and skills to teachers who in turn employ them in the classroom. As in international development, there is a hegemony associated with the 'knowledge and skills' approach to teacher development. The preconceived notion of what a developed teacher is, implies the 'underdevelopment' of teachers. The hegemony of this position is hidden in the belief that the characteristics of a 'good teacher' come from research that is objective and ideologically neutral. Hargreaves and Fullan(1992) have noted that this forms of teacher development have been criticized because they regard teachers, "as belonging to the same category as children and Third World nations: people who need help and who are dependent on our superior insight and expertise." (p.12)

The hegemony at work is embedded in the language of professional development. For example, one of the most popular approaches to teacher development activities is commonly termed the deficit model. This model assumes that teachers are deficient in some manner. Experts devise workshops, inservices or seminars to remediate the deficiency.

Often in the discourse about international development, it is quite evident that the people who live in so called underdeveloped countries, are viewed as being deficient in some way. Consider the popular proverb in development circles: 'Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach him to fish and you feed him for a lifetime.' The inherent paternalism of this statement is seldom discussed. The very clear assumption is that these people need to be shown how to survive. We could imagine the potential fisherman in the proverb responding indignantly: 'I already know how to fish but foreign fishing trawlers have over fished my waters and there are no fish left.' or 'transnational processing plants have pushed me out of the market so I can no longer make a living.' In much of the talk about development the voices of those who live in the southern hemisphere have been silenced by dominant discourses.

Likewise, in the talk about education teachers are often viewed as obstacles to various kinds of development. They are referred to as target groups. Development is something that is aimed at teachers. The voices of teachers are seldom heard in discussions of development from this point of view.

When change is proposed in schools the impetus for the change and the specific change agenda often comes from outside or from the top. The lack of involvement of teachers in decision making is accounted for by Lortie (1975) by the fact that teachers are perceived (and perceive themselves) as lacking a shared technical culture like the one shared by doctors or lawyers. This view makes teachers less assertive in educational matters and causes legislators and policy makers to feel less compelled to consult with teachers about educational change. Teachers are often regarded as the source of the problem not the source of the solution.

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In Alberta the education minister's discussion paper, "Vision for the Nineties," outlines a plan of action for schools to take Alberta into the twenty first century. This document is striking in its omission of teachers' voices in the consideration of where education ought to be going. In the section of the "Action Plan" dealing with teachers the report advocates that we:

> Revise teacher certification requirements to ensure that they reflect
> the most current knowledge about effective teaching practices
> (Alberta Education, 1991, p. 22)

This statement implies the "most current knowledge about effective teaching practices" resides outside of the teaching profession and that by revising teacher certification, teacher education programs will be compelled to make use of this knowledge. What of inservice teachers? The minister writes:

> [The] use of training and professional development activities to
> improve the ability of teachers to assess student learning needs
> and achievements and to use these results to adapt their teaching
> practices to meet the needs of individual students (Alberta
> Education, 1991, p. 22)

Nowhere in this vision is there any mention of the impetus for change coming from within the teaching profession. Teachers are portrayed as passive reactors, as vessels to be filled with the most up to date knowledge, generated by outside experts. Teacher development has been co-opted as a way of having teachers conform to a top down change strategy. Teachers are completely excluded from the fundamental decisions about the future of education. This process has been referred to as the deskilling of teachers (Apple, 1991; Giroux, 1990). The question for me becomes: What is the underlying conception of development at work in all of this?

The skills and knowledge approach to teacher development views teaching as a series of techniques that are developed by experts outside of the classroom. This view sees teachers, not as a resource to be accessed, but as a hurdle to be overcome. Often policy makers and initiators of change from outside of schools express frustration with teachers who do not assimilate change. The failure of teachers to assimilate change, to become developed, is attributed either to incompetence or wilful defiance on the part of teachers and has led some policy makers to call for a so called *teacher proof* curriculum. Teacher development becomes an attempt to redress perceived deficiencies that exist within teachers and make them more efficient in implementing expert knowledge. For teachers and people from the South, development is something that is received from the hands of experts.

The Authority of Science

Reliance on science in the area of teacher development has led to an instrumental and mechanistic view of teaching. There is a separation between the teacher and teaching. Teaching becomes a series of techniques that are derived from research. The teacher, as a person, is only important to the extent that they are able to assimilate and use specific techniques. According to this view the

goals of education are given and the only question that educators need to concern themselves with is how to achieve these goals most efficiently. There is a separation between conception or planning and execution in teaching. In other words those outside the classroom make the decisions and teachers carry them out. Apple & Jungck (1992) have argued that this leads to a degradation of labour and an increase in control over workers, in this case teachers.

Scientifically grounded research is crucial to the skills and knowledge approach to teacher development. Underlying this approach are two assumptions: 1) is the separation of theory and practice. Theory is something that is developed and tested by experts outside of classrooms and practice is the implementation of these theories by teachers inside classrooms. This assumption grows out of the positivist paradigm that regards the scientific method as an unproblematic vehicle to discovering the truth. 2) The second assumption, which follows from the first, is that the rightful role of teachers is to become successful implementers of the answers that have been provided to them by scientifically grounded research. Here we see education locked into an instrumental rationalism where the concept of development is to move people and/or the institutions to the most efficient or optimum practices identified by research.

These assumptions seem reasonable and logical at first glance, however there are certain characteristics about the classroom that render them problematic. Eisner (1987) has described scientific research in education as typically dealing with single isolated variables of cause and effect. This reduces the complex life in a classroom to a series of variables that can be manipulated to bring about desired results. Eisner argues that even if the social sciences were able to to formulate law like generalizations about human behaviour, no teacher without help and on the run deals with only two variables or even three or four. Their are multiple variables. Eisner has argued that with multiple variables the science of teaching must give way to the art and craft of teaching.

The second challenge to scientifically grounded research is whether or not it can really produce law-like generalizations of cause and effect. The tendency towards making teaching a purely technical endeavour could perhaps be tolerated if there were universal laws of behaviour and if these laws could be applied in a technical fashion. This view is based on a positivist notion of science which is increasingly difficult to defend. Not only has this approach come under attack in the social sciences but it has been largely discredited in the so called foundational science of physics for the last fifty years.

Within the educational research community there has been a growing questioning of the role of scientific research in education. One of the best known examples of this is Gage's (1989) paper, reviewing the "paradigm wars" in educational research. Nathaniel Gage, of Stanford University, has been regarded as one of the leading and most widely respected proponents of scientific research in education. This paper is his address to the 1989 AERA annual meeting. Gage adopts the position of a researcher writing in the year 2009 looking back on the paradigm wars of the 1980s and 90s. This fictitious researcher acknowledges that the scientific paradigm was defeated in the 80s and 90s by various forms of qualitative research. Given Gage's history as a quantative researcher, this article aroused much interest, and was regarded by many as a surrender seeking terms on the part of scientific, quantitative researchers. In his summary of this article Pinar

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(1995) states, "the search for a scientifically-grounded way to understand and improve educational practice had led no where." (p. 64) As Gage himself points out that even if quantitative scientific research had succeeded they would only work in an authoritarian top down system.

In educational research the critique of the positivist paradigm has spawned renewed interest and regard in a variety of so called qualitative work, which in the past has been regarded as somewhat outside the mainstream (Gage, 1989). In education this has resulted in calls for involving teachers more actively in decision making. These calls are far from new, but they have been reinvigorated by the recent trend to school based management, and by major works about school reform (Goodlad, 1990) and educational change (Fullan. 1991). What is common to the work of Goodlad and Fullan, is the belief that past failures in educational change and reform resulted largely from a reliance on a hierarchical, top down model which left teachers out of the process. Scientifically grounded research can be seen as supporting this hierarchical view of schools and teacher development.

In both education and international economic development, science has provided external experts with the authority to prescribe what should take place. It is because of the intimate relation between science and development that the current questioning of former must necessarily lead to a questioning of the latter.

Ignoring Context

Another common criticism of the knowledge and skill development approach is that it fails to acknowledge the importance of context.   The common claim of the knowledge and skills approach to teacher development is that there is a body of generic skills that have been developed by research that will work everywhere, for all children, if implemented properly.   The context of the school, the combination of personalities and personal backgrounds of students and teachers have been homogenized or bracketed out to make research results transferable.

Economic Growth Privileged as the Single Legitimate Discourse

In education there has always been a tension between the goals of social justice and efficiency. There are those for whom efficiency, skill development (particularly skills valued in the market place), and education for global competitiveness are the predominant goals in education. On the other hand some see the values of equality, social justice and democratic citizenship as the most important goals to be pursued by education. Clearly the move to identify teacher development with skill and knowledge development, with quantifiable and measurable results places it within the view that believes education first and foremost must serve an economic purpose. This is an attempt to establish economic discourse as the only legitimate discourse in education. In a pluralistic society it is privileging one world view over all others.

Grace (1991) analyzes how the New Right uses language in New Zealand to establish a strong ideological position.   He identifies the New Zealand Treasury Board as being fairly representative of the 'New Right'. Grace refer's to the Treasury Board's use of economic terms such as inputs, outputs, and

production functions, as an ideological manoeuvre in policy discourse, and charges that:

> An ideological position makes constant use of a particular form of language which it attempts to naturalise in a common sense way. If that language is accepted, taken up and used without question an important part of that ideological position has already been assimilated. (p. 268)

The ideological manoeuvre here is the implied belief that looking at educational research as a study of inputs, outputs and production functions is an analytically more robust way of doing research. According to Grace's analysis of this view, students become inputs, educated citizens become outputs, and the varied experience of education becomes a production function. Researchers become a type of accountant or auditor of the production process. By deconstructing the use of language in this way, Grace has brought to the surface the ideological position that had previously been hidden.

Grace goes on to point out the way in which the New Zealand Treasury Board uses economic analysis to establish education as a market place commodity rather than a public good. "Without a blush" (p.270) it establishes economics as the intellectual discourse used to define public good. This argument is technicist and reductionist and attempts to "marginalise the social and political functions of education in a democracy" (p. 270).

Ultimately what is at stake here is whether or not a single privileged group is allowed to define the goals of the education system and in so doing, go a long way to defining what gets considered as common sense in society. We must attend to what is not being said in this discourse and ask what alternative discourses have been pushed the margins. It is from within this context that we must question the notion of teacher development in education.

Conclusion

Like international development, teacher development, in particular the knowledge and skills approach, often comes with its own hierarchy and hegemony. Science is used as the authority to justify development decisions. In both education and international development the dominant ideal is that policy decisions will grow out of scientific research. This scientific research is thought to be ideologically neutral and objective. The primacy of science has led to a top down, expert driven model of development. Solutions are conceived of by peor from outside of the community who will not be directly affected by the decisions made. Policy makers and those in positions of authority are often viewed as having two important skills: 1) they are prudent consumers of the results of scientific research and 2) they skilful in the use of the levers of power to bring about the changes indicated by this research. In addition scientifically grounded research often attempts to bracket out culture in the case of international development or context in the case of education.

Finally in both education and international development there is an attempt to establish economic discourse as the single legitimate discourse. International development by and large has been economic development. The goal of

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development is to increase economic output - it is uncritically considered that this will lead to a better life. Currently in education, with the rise of global economic competitiveness as a new reason of state, economic discourse is also dominant. The role of education is to enhance competitiveness in the global market. It is important to name the dominant discourse and to recognize its partialness so that we might attend to what has been pushed to margins.

A Historical Genealogy of Teacher Development

The term teacher development is itself relatively new. Terms such as professional development, staff development, inservice education, and teacher renewal, are some of the terms used to describe various programs designed for the development of inservice and preservice teachers. The term 'teacher development' suffers from ambiguity. It could refer to how individual teachers develop in the process of their careers or it could also refer to how the teaching profession as a whole has developed over the years (Jackson, 1992). I would like to accept this ambiguity and examine both of these aspects of teacher development which are two sides of the same coin. In this section I will examine how the profession as a whole has developed.

This section begins with a survey of some of the important historical movements in the development of the teaching profession. This is followed by a historical analysis of competing goals in education. This exploration of the landscape of teacher development will try to trace historical lines of descent of many of the movements and reforms in teacher development. Rather than analyze competing reforms with the purpose of trying to establish a new regime of truth, teacher development will be seen as growing out of the tension between different and often competing genealogies or lines of descent that have been present in education for a long time. Most of the ideas about teacher development can trace their beginnings to the previous century and their origins to a much earlier time. It is important to attend to which discourse gets listened to in education and which discourse has been pushed to the margins.

Historical Development of the Teaching Profession

In looking at teacher development from the perspective of the profession as a whole, Shea (1991) has argued that historically there have been three aspects of teacher development which she refers to as reform movements. These are Moral Reform, Behavioural Reform, and Child Centered Reform. These have been manifest in various approaches to teacher education. We can consider each of these as a line of descent or lineage because each of them are present in some form today.

Moral Reform Model: The moral reform model, in the United States, is associated with the work of Horace Mann in the mid nineteenth century. Teachers were to be developed through the inculcation of certain desired traits of moral character. Its intent was to develop an authoritarian, rule governed character with an emphasis on obedience to religious and legal authorities. This reform and the attitude to the teaching profession in general was influenced by the fact that at that time teaching was almost exclusively a female occupation and therefore attitudes towards teaching were closely associated with attitudes towards

women in general:

> That women should be the educators of children, I believe to be as much a requirement of nature as that she should be the mother of children ....Education then I say emphatically is women's work; the domain of her empire, the sceptre of her power. (Mann, 1853: cited in Shea, 1992, p. 6)

Not only does teaching continue to be regarded as a form of woman's work and therefore of low status, Shea has also pointed out that the moral r form model still continues to influence trends in teacher education. In his 1985 book, *Challenge to American Schools,* Gerald Grant writes :

> The reformers of Horace Mann's generation did have a notion of character ideal, and they drew on examples of the founders of the Republic and on McGuffey's readers to express those ideals in ways that made a strong imprint. We cannot put McGuffey's readers back on the shelves, nor can we return to a supposed golden age. But we must have the courage to reinvent a modern equivalent of McGuffey's readers. (Cited in Shea, 1992, p. 6.)

Such a perspective is not designed to promote public education as a forum to debate pressing moral issues of the day, rather these debates have already been decided and the task of teachers is to adopt the appropriate character traits.

Behavioural Reform Model: The second reform model was the behavioural skills reform approach, whereby teachers acquire certain skills and techniques that will increase student performance. This approach grew out the work of Edward Thorndike, John Watson and later B. F. Skinner. Schools were to be modelled after assembly line factories and teachers as assembly line workers were to acquire a common set of pedagogical techniques that would maximize student achievement. In 1915, The Yearbook for the National Society for the Study of Education, published a list of 150 factors judged to be the characteristics of the effective teacher. This list was later reduced to 25. Despite the long and unsuccessful history of such an approach to teacher development, it persists and flourishes today. Barth (1990) writes of the current moment:

> The assumption of many outside of schools seems to be that if they can create lists of desirable characteristics, if they can only be clear enough about directives and regulations, then these things will happen in schools. For instance, the intention of one state legislature is to identify competencies of effective teaching through research, develop training, certification, selection, and compensation procedures that recognize and support these competencies. (p.38)

This model has often been associated with reforms in education designed to promote better coordination between schools and the skill needs of business.

Child Centered Model: The third historical aspect of teacher development is the child centered reform movement. In this movement the relationship between the teacher and student was emphasized. Certain emotional and personality traits fostered by a particular kind of teacher education were emphasized in order to enhance this teacher - student relationship. This approach to teacher development is most noticeable today in the response to teacher stress and teacher burnout. Rather than questioning the underlying structures that lead to burnout the emphasis is on developing the personality traits that will help teachers cope with stress.

Shea has argued that each of these historical movements has been motivated by a desire to remediate some deficiency on the part of teachers:

> The emphasis in teacher reform programs has always been on changing some deviant trait of moral character, inadequate technical skill or supposedly dysfunctional emotional personality structure. The focal point of interest in these programs has always been on the larger social order; teachers were often perceived as pawns to be manipulated and socially controlled in order to achieve greater social goals. (Shea, 1992, p. 11)

Competing Goals in Education: The landscape of teacher development is shaped by perennial educational reforms that are so common and seemingly repetitious, that they have entered the folk wisdom of policy makers and practitioners in the metaphor of the inevitable pendulum. Several authors (Cuban, 1990; Giroux, 1992; Labaree, 1992) have pointed out that one of the reasons for the pendulum like changes in education is the contradictory purposes pursued by various educational reformers. Pinar et al. (1995) have identified competing goals between the progressives on one hand and those advocating social efficiency on the other.

On the one hand the progressives advocated political goals like, freedom, equality, and social justice, i.e. to foster responsible, critically thinking citizens in a democracy. This was to be achieved by a child centered curriculum characterized by active learning, discovery, and connections to the larger world outside. On the other hand are social efficiency goals like excellence, vocational training, individual status attainment, and the satisfying of labour market imperatives. Typically these goals are to be achieved by a tough minded, teacher centered approach that emphasized rigorous academic standards.

What was emphasized in schools depended on which group was more successful at the time. Cuban (1990) has pointed out that the conflict between teacher centered and student centered instruction dates back at least to the mid 1800s when advocates of a child centered curriculum criticized the practice of having students memorize and recite entire chapters of text or the entire American constitution. In the early 1900s the progressive movement attempted to make schools more child centered with calls for more student involvement, active learning, small group activities and the use of new technologies of film and radio.

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The early 1900s was also a time when scientific experimentation began its ascendancy in education, most notably through the work of John L. Thorndike. Thorndike's "faith in statistical research and measurement functioned to legitimate another emerging reform movement, the social efficiency movement" (Pinar et. al., 1995, p. 95). Using Thorndike's psychology and importing the management theories of Frederick W. Taylor, Frank Bobbitt sought to promote social efficiency by organizing the schools along the lines of a corporation, with the classroom operating like an efficient assembly line.

The 1920s and 1930s saw a battle between social efficiency and the progressives. In 1920s, a period of rapid economic growth, social efficiency theorists held the dominant position, with the advent of the depression the 1930s belonged to the progressives.

The 1940s began with Progressives in control, however the war served to erase Progressivism's influence. By the end of the decade, under the leadership of Ralph Tyler, social efficiency reasserted itself. (Pinar et. al., 1995) In the 1950s with the Cold War in full force, the launching of Sputnik gave a sense or urgency to those advocating social efficency. New curriculums in science and math were launched to help Americans close the perceived gap between themselves and the Soviets in technology and science.

The 1960s and 70s were marked by a push for equality, there was pressure to end class based tracking, racial and sexual segregation, and attempts to promote social justice. Equal opportunity and citizenship were the focus. In the early 1980s there was a shift in emphasis towards excellence. It was charged that schools were failing to meet minimum levels of academic achievement and this would undermine economic competitiveness. Again in the early nineties we are beginning to hear strong critiques of the technical and mechanistic approaches to education.

Three important observations should be made about this brief and in many ways oversimplified review of two competing goals in education:

1) Although there is an appearance of a pendulum like shift back and forth between these competing goals we should not make the mistake thinking that the pendulum is moving between two constants. The tendency towards social efficiency in the 1980s grows out of a different historical moment and context than the same tendency in the 1920s, 40s and 50s. Likewise the progressives of the 1970s and 90s have different concerns from those of the 1930s.

2) It would be wrong to assume that when one goal is dominant the other goal is absent. Both goals are always present to a greater or lesser degree and there is always tension between these goals. Writing at the height of the post war reforms in education, Bertrand Russell's (1950) comments about how the economic development reforms affected teachers, would not be out of place today:

> The profession has a great and honourable tradition, extending from the dawn of history until recent times. But any teacher in the modern world who allows himself to be inspired by the ideals of his predecessors is likely to be made sharply aware that it is not his function to teach what he

thinks but to instil such beliefs and prejudices as are thought useful by his employers.

3) Lastly we must keep in mind that these assessments of dominance of one goal over the other are largely based on the discourse of policy makers and academics, not teachers. It is unclear to what extent this discourse has influenced practice at the classroom level. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that many of the reforms associated with these competing goals in this century floundered on the rocks of teacher socialization. Several authors (Eisner, 1987; Lortie, 1975; Nias, 1986) have pointed out that teacher development (preservice or inservice) has little chance of counteracting the teaching culture in the schools and the potent force of socialization. This socialization begins at age five when perspective teachers enter school and continues and intensifies at university where (child-centered) content is often contradicted by the form of instruction. Then, a host of forces help to shape the novice once they enter the school as a teacher for the first time.

The tension between these competing goals in education continues to be present today and is an important part of the context within which the discourse about teacher development occurs.

Contemporary Context: Teacher Professionalization

Now to turn to the state of the profession in the current context. In Labaree's (1992) analysis of current attempts to improve education by professionalizing teachers there are many of the tensions from competing goals in education. Labaree has identified three reform movements. The free market reform which is reminiscent of the social efficiency movement; Teacher empowerment and decentralization which has some elements of progressive child - centered education infused with critical theory and postmodernism; and the science of teaching which echo's Thorndike's behaviourism.

Free Market in Education: The first trend of reform was formulated in the early 1980s and reflects the strong neoconservative ideology of that time. Proponents of this reform argue for an educational system where parents have a choice of where they send their children and schools compete for students. Teachers are encouraged to voluntarily seek additional certification through examinations, and it is believed that competition for jobs will motivate teachers to seek these credentials. This is closely related to the social efficiency goal described earlier and the attempt to make economics the dominant discourse in education.

Teacher Empowerment and Decentralization: The second Movement identified by Labaree is similar to Shea's portrayal of the moral aspect teaching. Growing out of feminist literature, proponents of this movement point out that teaching has been shaped by its image as women's work. It has long been a prototypical form of women's work, which mimic's the nurturing role of the mother with students, and the subordinate role of the wife in relation to male dominated administration. With the rise of feminism in society and the acceptance of feminist writing in the academy, attempts have been made to increase the status

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of the teaching profession. Writers such as Grumet (1988) see such attempts at professionalization as a form of masculinizing teaching. In other words these attempts at professionalization show a tacit acceptance of the inferior status of women by having the profession adopt and define itself in the male terms of rationality and certainty based on an acceptance of a positivist view of science. In support of this position Robertson (1992) in her critique of Joyce and Showers' (1988) work in staff development has specifically been critical of their valorization of competition, their belief in the certainty and transferability of scientific research findings, and their hierarchy of personality characteristics with the top rungs occupied by characteristics commonly associated with maleness.

Reforms that have grown out of this lineage tend to be more progressive, argue for teacher empowerment and see the individual school as the unit of change. This position has made significant inroad and has been cited by such mainstream educational literature as the 1990 Holmes Group Report, Michael Fullan (1991), John Goodlad (1990).

The Science of Teaching: The third lineage of the teacher professionalization movement has been rooted in the attempts by teacher educators to achieve greater status in their own institutions by adopting a *science of teaching* approach. In spite of the fact that positivistic research in the social sciences is becoming increasingly difficult to defend, many faculties cling to it to address what Lortie (1975) identified as a lack of a shared technical knowledge base. Those advocating this approach to curriculum and teaching are the heirs to Thorndike's legacy of social engineering.

I have tried to show that from the perspective of the profession as a whole, the landscape of teacher development is diverse and complex. Not only is there a lack of consensus about what the aims of education ought to be, and what the role of the teacher should be in achieving those aims; the schools themselves are complex organizations that defy generalized prescriptions for improvement. Standing amid these various lineages and perspectives we can now turn our attention to the notion of development for individual teachers.

Teacher Development of Individual Teachers

At the beginning of this chapter the skills and knowledge approach was identified as the dominant approach to teacher development. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) identify two other broad categories of teacher development that we can turn our attention to now; teacher development as self understanding and teacher development as ecological change. What differentiates these approaches from the knowledge and skills approach is that they usually take place in the context of daily practice.

Teacher Development as Self Understanding

Although the knowledge and skill development approach to teacher development still predominates other models are enjoying increasing notoriety and interest. Teacher development as self understanding encompasses a wide variety of writers and approaches that are significantly different. The view of teachers as technicians has come under attack by many who feel that this is causing a

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deskilling of teachers (Apple, 1991; Giroux, 1990). Others writers criticize the separation of theory and practice in educational research (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Elliott, 1991). Still others objected to the separation of teaching behaviour from the teacher, personal knowledge from professional knowledge (Butt, Townsend, &Raymond, 1990; Goodson, 1991)

These criticisms have opened up a number of teacher development models. Today teachers are involved in a number of collaborative research relationships such as: Investigation of teacher biographies, teacher narratives, and collaborative action research. These types of research are characterized by an attempt to eliminate the distance between theory and practice, and a rejection of the notion that research can be objective and value free. This type of research acknowledges the importance of the context and of the personal characteristics of the teacher.

Goodson (1991) makes a comparison between teachers and the study of teaching and the folklorist study of folk music. To make his point he quotes folk song collector Robin Mortin:

> The opinion grew in me that it was in the singer that the song becomes relevant. Analyzing it in terms of motif, or rhyming structure, or minute variation becomes, in my view, sterile if the one who carries the particular song is forgotten. We have all met the scholar who can talk for hours in a very learned fashion about folk songs and folk lore in general, without once mentioning the singer. Bad enough to forget the social context, but to ignore the individual context castrates the song. As I got to know the singers, so I got to know and understand their songs more fully. (p. 36)

Goodson believes that teaching must be understood from within the individual context.

We can identify at least three distinct approaches to teacher development within the Self Understanding category of teacher development: 1) Adult Development Theory, 2)Teacher Biographies, 3) Teacher Narrative.

Adult Development Theory in Education: Although in general adult development theory has been used sparingly in education, primarily because of a general lack of attention paid to the development of teachers in general, there has been some interesting work done in this area. Adult development theory is often divided into two broad areas, phase theories and stage theories (Burden, 1990). Phase theories identify characteristics that are common at a particular age, and stage theories identify progressions that people pass through that are not related to age. The former would reflect the work of theorists like Erik Erikson, (life cycle phases and identity formation) and Daniel Levinson (life cycle) . The latter would reflect the work of such theorists as Jean Piaget (cognitive development), Lawrence Kohlberg (moral development) and Robert Keegan (ego development).

Stage theorists are often called cognitive developmental theorists because they focus on the cognitive basis of thought, interpersonal relations and emot: onal structures. They see people passing through hierarchically organized levels. One

interesting example of the use of stage theory in education was reported by Oja (1988). In this study Oja used various instruments to determine the developmental level of student teachers and then supervision practices were modified accordingly. The hypothesis was that people at different developmental stages responded better to certain types of supervision. While this work was carried out as an action research, it was quite a technical project with an underlying purpose to predict and control; where treatment X will produce result Y.

Sergiovani (cited in Fessler, 1990) provides us with a slightly different approach to stage theory based on a modification of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. He identifies the "importance of establishing security needs for teachers in the form of money, benefits, tenure and role consolidation before concerns switch to social need satisfaction, self-esteem, autonomy and self-actualization" (p.60). Again the point of this work is to find ways to move individuals from one stage to another or failing that to identify the level that people are at so we can deal with them more effectively.

Phase theory identifies a life cycle and shared characteristics that everyone experiences at specific ages. For example, Jennifer Nias (1986) in her study of 99 elementary school teachers in Australia identified phases that parallel Daniel Levinson's life cycle theory but specifically applied to teachers. Nias sees teachers going through following stages. Survival stage where the young adult is able to prove to themselves that they can in fact teach. Then the identification stage, is where teachers are not ready to identify themselves as teachers, they are uncertain of their career future. Teachers attempt to match their personal values with the values of their work place. Next Nias identifies a stage of consolidation and extension within teaching. At this point, having identified themselves as teachers, "they pursued the highest professional standards of which they were capable and expected others to do the same" (Nias, 1986, p.18). Nias claims at this point some seek higher positions in the hierarchy to see the spread of their ideas. Teachers seek increased influence. At this stage teachers begin to evaluate their ideas, and if they find them to be as good or better than other decision makers they seek to have greater impact. If this need is not met this could lead to a sense of frustration, complacency and stagnation.

Not every idea is dangerous, but every idea has a dangerous moment. In the case of adult development theory in education there are many dangerous moments. On the one hand these theories can be used to increase understanding and act as guides to enriching the lives of adults who work in schools and there by improving education for students. There are however moments of oppression. Both phase and stage theories may be used to define optimum personality type, or may be used to create models that teachers must fit into. Already we can see that many applications of adult development theory are premised on the belief that schools are and will continue to be sights where there is a firmly entrenched and well defined hierarchy. Many of these theories have been used most extensively in educational administration, where the goal is to move individual teachers, staffs or schools from point A to point B. Within much adult development theory in education there is an underlying conception of development as linear progression towards a fixed destination, and there is an underlying ethos of prediction and control.

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Phase and stage theories have also been criticised for reproducing and reinforcing unjust power relationships. Gilligan (1982) for example has pointed out how Lawrence Kohlberg's work on moral development is biased in favour of men and against women. The highest levels of moral development are characterized by stereotypical male characteristics. Gilligan points out that a tendency for woman to focus on relationships with others and their concern for how their decision will affect others, places them in at a lower stage of moral development according to Kohlberg. Robertson (1992) as was mentioned earlier charges that Joyce and Showers use of personality types is sexist and biased in favour of males. In their hierarchy of personality types, the *omnivores,* who occupy the top position in the hierarchy, are competitive, like sports, and are open and hungry for any kind of professional development activity. Robertson points out that these characteristics tend towards male characteristics and are biased against women who typically have greater responsibilities in the home.

Teacher Biographies: Closely related to the work on life cycle in adult development theory is the area of biography. In this work there is a strong link made between a teachers personal biography and the development of craft knowledge and teacher thinking (Elbaz, 1990). Butt, Townsend & Raymond (1990) have advocated providing teachers with,

> The opportunity to evolve their personal and professional life stories in collaboration with other teachers so that all participants gain a collective sense of teachers' knowledge and development while catalyzing the writing and interpretation of each other's stories (p. 257).

This activity is meant to bring teachers to a clearer and deeper understanding of why they teach in certain ways in particular contexts. This type of activity aims at addressing one of the criticisms of the skills and knowledge approach and that is attending to the voice of the teacher. As Goodson (1991) points out:

> In the world of teacher development, the central ingredient so far missing is the *teacher's voice.* Primarily the focus has been on the teacher's practice, almost the teacher *as* practice. What is needed is a focus that listens above all to the person at whom 'development' is aimed (p. 39).

In Goodson's play with words he reveals the notion of development as some external commodity that is some how projected on to the, often unsuspecting, teacher. By bringing development and research together on the cite of the teacher's own life story the problem of development always coming from outside might be addressed. Research and teacher development occur simultaneously.

Teacher Narratives: Another route to teacher development through self understanding has been teacher narrative. In this case teacher narrative has become both a form of research and a means of self understanding or as Connelly & Clandinin (1990) point out, "Narrative is both phenomena and method" (p. 2). Humans are story telling organisms and we use stories to define our lives. Aoki (1991) sees narratives as textual surfaces upon which themes of lived meanings

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emerge. This then can lead to, a threshold that may allow an unfolding into the deeper realms of lived meanings. The notion of unfolding here brings us very close to the etymological source of develop which is to unwrap. We might say that teacher development through narratives helps u. to unwrap and get in touch with the authentic teacher within.

Narratives become a source of self understanding and s. ;. ..s of .. ..ching can become powerful source of reflection. This reflection may help us .o reach a deeper understanding of *what* is happening instead of rushing on the the question of why it has happened. As Denton (1970) explains:

> The question, 'What is happening?' is quite different from
> the question, 'What caused it?' and the choice between the
> two establishes the direction and the nature of one's inquiry.

The function of the narrative in teacher development is one of looking for meaning in the everyday occurrences of teaching. This stands in stark contrast to the more technical forms of teacher development.

Teacher Development as Ecological Change

Unlike the knowledge and skills approach to development which often ignores context, the ecological change model of teacher development makes the context the prime focus of teacher development. Context becomes the focus in two distinct ways. In the first instance context is seen as a way of enhancing or hindering teacher development efforts. Such things as class size, quality of instructional materials, planning time, release time for teachers the quality of leadership shown by principal, all can be important factors in the success or failure of teacher development activities. In the second instance the context itself becomes the source of teacher development. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) explain that the creation of a collaborative culture in schools where teachers routinely support, learn from and work with one another is an important factor in success of teacher development.

In both the self understanding and the ecological change approach to teacher development, the actual context within which teaching takes place becomes important. I would like to extend this and examine the wider context of educational discourse.

Economic Imperatives: The Discourse of Global Competitiveness

Education takes place in a wider social and historical context. Much of what has gone on in education is directly influenced by the larger context of society. For this reason it is important to situate any discussion of teacher development within a particular historical context. Therefore this chapter concludes with an analysis of that context.

Education in general, and curriculum theory in particular has never existed as a monolith, rather it has always been the site of struggle (Giroux, 1990). The nature of this struggle in the current context will help us to understand the term development, itself as a site of struggle. Whereas the notion of development in third world countries has been dominated by attempts to have them imitate

economic practices in the west, the notion of development in education in Canada is becoming increasingly dominated by the goal of making us more economically competitive.

Education has been the focus of considerable public attention for the last ten years. In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education, published a report in the United States entitled, A Nation At Risk. In the report the commission claimed that no hostile foreign power could have done a better job of undermining public education in the United States then the Americans themselves had done. This began an almost endless stream of reports, rhetoric, and reforms, designed to deal with the crisis in public education in the United States. Policy makers in Canada began to investigate the new crisis in education in our own country.

Within this context many groups are attempting to influence the the future direction of education. One of the most sustained, well organized, and best funded pressure groups is the corporate sector in Canada. There have been a series of government and business reports, and speeches from ministers, all emphasizing education as the key to global competitiveness. Kuehn (1992) has argued that the government and corporate agenda in education is to try and control what gets considered as common sense. Relying on a Gramscian notion of hegemony he argues that these interests are trying to establish an ideological position with out engaging in a debate. Rather the process is one of trying to control public opinion with a three point plan.

First, conservative think tanks like, BC's Frazer Institute, and the Conference Board of Canada, through a series of reports and initiatives that establish achieving global competitiveness as the most important and primary goal of education. These reports do not discuss the merits of adopting this goal in education, they merely focus on a detailed analysis of how to achieve the goal, thus establishing an ideological beach head where the goal of global competitiveness is regarded as common sense and therefore goes unquestioned. This goal takes on the aura of an objectively defined end to be attained by various techniques. It becomes less real and recedes into the distance of abstraction and futurity. The means of obtaining the goal become the substance of the discourse and those engaged in the dialogue become oblivious of the ideology.

The second means by which control over common sense will be established according to Kuehn, are a corporate skills profile. The business community will identify very specific skill goals and then establish centres of excellence to achieve those goals. They will honour teachers who have achieved their goals most efficiently. In this way corporations will establish a type of horizontal leverage, where their contributions to education provide them with the maximum influence per dollar.

The third step is to establish school business partnerships. These shape education in two ways, 1) he who pays the piper calls the tune and 2) the (limited) money coming from business is usually for specific, high profile projects. This form of tied aid becomes another powerful tool to shape education.

In light of Kuehn's analysis we can examine some of the publications of government and business. There is significant public discourse about becoming

more competitive in the global market place. Within this discourse there is often a sense that Canada is falling behind and that our future standard of living is in grave danger of dwindling to very low levels. These discussions are often accompanied w h calls to improve schools to meet this new competitive challenge. This is clearly reflected in the words of Alberta's former minister of education Jim Dinning:

> Quality education is the key. it's essential to a prosperous future. And our responsibility is to do all we can to equip our children for the future... and it's not going to be a world of a booming economy, easy money, or a rapidly expanding job market. It will be a much tougher, more demanding, less forgiving world of portable high technology, mobile capital, and intense global competition.[3]

In this argument education is "the key" to making us more competitive. In the absence of any historical perspective regarding educational reform, this position is in danger of becoming regarded as common sense. There is a sense that there is nothing we can do about these global trends. In the Canadian context there is little attempt to view the general direction of the global economy as growing out of a particular philosophy or world view. The conditions of global competitiveness are taken as the given and natural, not as human constructs. Clearly according to this view the future is known and inevitable.

The Federal government of Canada has put out a publication entitled Prosperity Initiative. This consists of a series of discussion papers and add campaigns aimed at getting Canadians to be more competitive. In the discussion paper entitled, *Learning Well... Living Well,* the government clearly endorses the link between education and economic prosperity:

> Every nation is gearing up for international competition. They are all improving basic and functional education skills of their citizens and aiming to develop and maintain world-class work forces with advanced workplace skills. Every country is taking steps to strengthen instruction in mathematics, science and foreign languages as well as to enhance its research and development capacity (Government of Canada, 1991, p. 11).

The government gives this initiative a type of bandwagon appeal by citing similar initiatives in other industrial countries. This leaves the impression that this as a non-ideological and perhaps even inevitable trend.

In Alberta, The Alberta Chamber of Resources,[4] in conjunction with, and published by Alberta Education,[5] sponsored a comparative study entitled, International Comparisons in Education. This report also links public education

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[3] Jim Dinning, Speech to the Alberta School Boards' Association, November 5, 1991, Calgary Convention Centre.

[4] A group of representatives from various resource based industries in Alberta.

[5] The provincial department of education.

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with global economic competitiveness. This goal is never debated, and the case is never made for it, the report instead assumes this goal to be common sense, and concentrates on how the goal can be achieved most efficiently. In the summary of the report the authors write:

> Stake holder partnerships are seen as a way to promote communication, understanding and new approaches to education issues.

> Business is in a position to publicize the connection between education and individual and national prosperity. At the same time, it needs to become more involved in education issues and partnerships and communicate its expectations of the education system.

> For education, recommendations include more focus on academic achievement and improvement of education practices through learning from other effective models. Curriculum designers need to eliminate unproductive repetition and should consider the introduction of more science earlier.

> Education policy makers need to continue enthusiastically with the focus on academic achievement as a top priority, and to do their part to facilitate improvement of education practices incorporating lessons from effective school models. (Alberta Chamber of Resources and Alberta Education, 1991, p. 4)

Linking Economic Development and Teacher Development

This discourse takes on the scope of becoming an important societal frame of reference from which to view education. Education is valued in terms of what it can do for global competitiveness. What is to be the role of educators and educational research? If we accept the statements of the minister, the federal government and various corporate groups, it seems implicit that the research community is to devise ways in which schools can turn out graduates who will make us competitive. Teachers in turn must accept the goals of education as external and given and only concentrates on how best to achieve these goals using research tested methods.

Teacher development is affected indirectly by this societal frame of reference. Comparisons of education systems in Canada to those of our economic competitors, Japan and Germany, often focus on outcomes and methods. Typical of this view, is Dr. Joe Freedman's[6] preface to *International Comparisons in Education:*

> It is crucial that we get our education right. We have not. To know that, one has only to take off one's parochial blinkers and look hard at the methods and outcomes of the strong systems of Europe and Asia. No one viewing Professor Harold Stevenson's

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[6] Dr. Freedman is a medical doctor, parent and a self-proclaimed educational activist from Red Deer, Alberta.

eye-opening videotape, 'The Polished Stones,'[7] can escape the feeling of panic and despair. Those classrooms work! Every observant parent senses that what is going on in those rooms is precisely what they want for their own children.

Fortunately, what parents want and what the country needs are the same; a strong curriculum, and effective methods and a system that works. It is our further good fortune that the "quiet revolution in educational research" clearly spells out the practice necessary for student and school success. The bad news is that it is practiced best on the other side of the ocean. (p. ii)

The notion of 'getting education right' and of educational research that clearly spells out practice, implicitly valorizes the skills and knowledge approach to teacher development.

The relation between economic development and teacher development are in both substance and form. The substantive relationship is related to the way in which the dominant economic discourse shapes the public's frame of reference and government policy towards the the goals of education. This manifests itself in schools in the form of outcomes based education and increased centralized testing. This in turn influences teacher development in the sense that schools and teachers are pressured to define themselves in terms of how the measure up to external standards. This view reinforces the idea that development occurs when teachers assimilate the work of outside experts.

In form, the discourses of teacher development and economic development are similar that the dominant discourse tends to be unidimensional which belies a complexity and diversity contained in voices that have been marginalized.

If we accept the dominant discourse of economic development, it becomes natural that education be assigned a clearly defined economic function, i.e. to make us competitive in the global market. Throughout North America this view of education predominates and is seldom challenged by any government at either the provincial or national level. The forces of technical rationalism are powerful and despite the clear ideological foundation of this world view it is made to appear as *common* sense.

Questioning the Assumptions of Economic Imperatives

Four underlying assumptions of the dominant discourse of economic development that will be questioned are:

1. The conditions of the global market place are a given, beyond our control, and our only hope is to try and maintain or improve our position in this market place.

2. There is an unproblematic link between education and economic prosperity

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[7] This documentary film examines Japanese schools and classrooms.

3. The most important purpose of education is to produce better qualified workers to fit the changing needs of the Canadian economy.

4. Business and government are capable of prescribing a new curriculum and new pedagogy that will ensure Canada's global competitiveness

1. The conditions of the global market place are a given, beyond our control, and our only hope is to try and maintain or improve our position in this market place.

In chapter two I referred to Nandy's concept of science becoming a reason of state, in other words, a prime goal of government. In the current context economic competitiveness in the global market place has become a new reason of state. I would like to examine what effect the emphasis on global competitiveness has had on education. Furthermore I would question the belief the these global market forces are beyond our control.

Much of the technical rationalism that is experienced in education comes from a conception in broader society that many of the structures that affect our daily lives are *natural* and beyond our control. Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (1991) believes that a great deal of the way in which our different actions are coordinated and become compatible together is carried out by, what one might call, invisible hand processes. Taylor describes these processes as those which are neither planned nor decided by anyone, nor determined by purely traditional norms, rather, these processes emerge out of the structures that we have come to live in as they operate impersonally around us. Taylor identifies one mode of invisible hand processes in the market place, and another emerges as the result of the operation of modern large scale bureaucracies. These processes are supposedly operating behind our backs and beyond our control.

This view, according to Taylor, regards humankind as being locked in what sociologist Max Weber called an *iron cage*. According to this metaphor we are unable to bring about change in the basic structures of society and therefore are inevitably subject to invisible hand processes that control our lives to a large extent, hence the iron cage. In particular, Taylor refers to the instrumental rationalism of modern technological society, that compels us to assess everything in terms of maximum efficiency and cost output ratios. We have become obsessed with obtaining the most efficient 'means' and often ignore giving due consideration to the ends we are striving for. There is a lot of truth in this view; but we need to consider the important question asked by Taylor. While these mechanisms certainly reduce our degrees of freedom and make it impossible for us to do anything we want, do they reduce our degrees of freedom to zero?

For example, if the existing systems we live in seem to be pushing us towards ever increasing growth, ever increasing pressure on the environment, ever increasing competitiveness in the global market leading to long term unemployment; is coming up with a better way to cope with these inevitable conditions the best we can hope for. The answer to this question has important implications for education.

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The argument for inevitability of these invisible hand processes seems particularly cogent when referring to the global market place and the role of transnational capital. Coomb (1991),working in the area of cultural anthropology argues against adopting a view that we are locked into an iron cage and makes the point that:

> strong curriculum, and effective methods and a system that works. It is our further good fortune that the "quiet revolution in educational research" clearly spells out the practice necessary for student and school success. The bad news is that it is practiced best on the other side of the ocean. (p. ii)

The government of Alberta seems to have fallen prey to this "fatalistic complacency," (or is actively reinforcing it) and considers certain trends as inevitable and unalterable. The whole focus of their recent pronouncements about education, is that schools must provide students with the skills to cope in the new world. As we have seen there are a series of reports and initiatives designed to rationalize Alberta's schools with the needs of the global market place.

The most hopeful signs that we are not locked into an iron cage, and some would argue must not be locked in if we want to survive, center around the ecological movement. This resistance to the dominance of instrumental rationalism has begun to make some inroads, however small, into the dominant discourses of public policy. This a hopeful sign that there can be systemic change without a radical elimination of current bureaucracies.

2. There is an unproblematic link between education and economic prosperity.

Kerr (1991) has argued that any relationship between quality of education and economic prosperity is at best extremely weak. In fact the whole relationship between test scores and the state of our economy is erroneous. Historically there is little evidence to suggest that education can lead a country into global competitiveness. In the wake of the launching of Sputnik in 1956, the Americans launched the *National Defence Act* (1958) which clearly linked education and defence by making money available for (largely science) curriculum development. In this case education was linked to global military competition. This educational reform was a dramatic failure (Fullan, 1982).

Even if the link between between economic prosperity and education was unproblematic, critics question the sincerity of both government and business by pointing to the funding cuts which creates a shortage of space in post-secondary institutions. Despite constant calls for a better educated work force the Canadian government in practice has cut transfer payments to the provinces for higher education. A new coalition of university teachers, students and employees has estimated that entrance quotas brought on by the cuts have kept 70 000 qualified students out of university ("No Room at University," 1992). Let us compare this statistic with a quote from the federal government's Prosperity Initiative: Learning Well...Living Well:

> strong curriculum, and effective methods and a system that works. It is our further good fortune that the "quiet revolution in educational research" clearly spells out the practice necessary for

student and school success. The bad news is that it is practiced
best on the other side of the ocean. (p. ii)

And later in the same document:

Action is urgently required: the demand for educated, skilled and
innovative personnel is accelerating in all sectors world wide as
national economies upgrade their technical base. Increasingly,
countries will be competing with each other on the basis of skills
of their labour force. (p. xi)

There appears to be a contradiction between the government's stated belief that
education is to become a vehicle for global competitiveness and their actions.

Barlow and Robertson (1994) have argued that the need for a better
educated work force is a dangerous myth that will lead to social unrest due to
unrealistic expectations. They argue that rather than needing more education we
have an overqualified work force in a shrinking job market.

The real problem is the overproduction of qualified young people
for a dramatically shrinking work force. There is a critical
discrepancy between the educational levels that jobs require and
the educational levels that students are acquiring. (p. 85-86)

They go on to point out that increasing levels of education will not create wealth:

If everyone in Canada had a Ph.D., we would still have a million
and a half unemployed, a million underemployed, and many
millions doing boring, mindless, poorly paid jobs. More
education for some allows them to displace others, but it does not
create new jobs. (p. 88)

3. The most important purpose of education is to produce better qualified
    workers to fit the changing needs of the Canadian economy.

Over and above the questions about whether education is in fact capable of
ensuring our economic competitiveness, and whether or not the government is
sincerely interested in improving the work force through education, we need to
seriously question the whole notion that the purpose of education *ought* to be to
maintain or enhance our standard of living and preserve our place in the global
economy.   In the economic language that has been so unproblematically taken up
in educational discourse, amid discussions of inputs and out puts, increasing
efficiency of management systems, of increased rationalization between the private
sector business and education what is not being discussed?

The primacy of the economic imperative has marginalized the democratic
and social justice discourse in education. The notion that education should be
used to promote democratic citizenship, to improve the lot of various minorities, or
marginalized people has been moved to the periphery. We hear nothing about
education having a role in strengthening any sense of community or connectedness
among the people we live with, nor do we discuss our common humanity with

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other people in the world. In a country that will only experience ever greater diversity among its population there is little discussion about how to deal with irrational fears among some citizens that those who are different from themselves threaten their jobs or their Canadian way of life. At a time when many feel that the human race is facing a challenge to its very survival, there is little questioning of the underlying economic principles which lead to ever increasing pressure on our life support systems. Reminiscent of earlier periods of curriculum reform, when social efficiency dominated, at the present moment other concerns mentioned above have not disappeared but are momentarily located at the margins, outside of the public (media) gaze.

4. Business and government are capable of prescribing a new curriculum and new pedagogy that will ensure Canada's global competitiveness.

   The dominant discourse about education implies that there is a cause and effect relationship between education and economic prosperity.

> Business is in a position to publicize the connection between
> education and individual and national prosperity. At the same
> time needs to become more involved in education issues and
> part and communicate its expectations of the education
> syste. (International Comparisons in Education. p. 4)

This implied connection between education and prosperity is problematic in at least three ways. First the education system and the economic system are both complex and interdependent. In the face of the critique of positivism (which is touched on in this chapter and elaborated in chapter 5) it seems unlikely that the changing of one, two or several variables in the educational system would allow any one to predict their influence on the economic system.

   Second there is the question of whether or not business is primarily concerned about increasing prosperity through education? One of the stated methods for achieving this goal is school business partnerships. A brief example of one of these partnerships might illustrate the reason why we need to question the motives of business. In 1992 a teaching unit had been written by the Alberta Forestry Association, (an industry led group) and was being piloted with the approval of Alberta Education. The teaching unit contained the following passages: "Profit, after all, is the most important reason for our forests" and,

> Clear cutting is the most effective way of foresting...It is less
> expensive to harvest the trees, less expensive to reforest and other
> methods leave trees exposed to the wind and the cold.
> (Staples, 1992).

Once this story broke, an industry spokesperson was quoted as saying that those passages were a mistake. Jim Pearse, forestry associations vice president was quoted in the story as saying, "I am surprised that it is in there. That is tending to lean a little bit too far in one direction" (Staples, 1992).

   Here we see economic discourse operating at two levels. Firstly it is the discourse used to describe what education ought to be. Secondly, as we have seen in this last example, economics attempts to become the lens through which

students view educational content itself. This type of curriculum has little chance of producing a more competitive worker for the market place, but it has every chance of producing a less critically thinking citizen and a more compliant consumer.

Reflections on Development

Development takes on a new complexity and a new richness in the context of education. The surface of development becomes the locus of an interplay among different approaches to development, different historical lines of descent, competing goals, and various ideologies. If these various discourses are the surface what is below the surface? Underneath this surface is the daily experience of teachers living in classrooms. Some of this discourse has been informed by the daily practice of teachers and some of it seeks to inform this practice. For some teachers the surface upon which the discourses of development takes place is quite porous and there is an interaction between these discourses and their daily practice. Others may be like a fish in stormy waters, while the various discourses rage on the surface they remain unaffected and focus on the things in the depths that are perhaps invisible to those on the surface.

In the next chapter I will begin to explore part of the depths of development through the narratives of two teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR

TWO TEACHERS' STORY OF DEVELOPMENT

Objective meanings hide lived meanings. The latter become silent
and we become heedless of that silence. (Heidegger, Poetry,
Language and Thought, cited in Aoki, 1991)

Personal Reflections of Teacher Development

   To further explore the meaning of teacher development I need to return to
the individual teacher in the class room. How does the discourse about teacher
development compare to the actual experiences of teachers. At the outset of this
work I related my frustration with work conditions that made me feel very much
like a subsistence farmer struggling just to survive, never having the space to
reflect about practice and plan changes. This sense of frustration led me to return
to university for summer courses.   These courses provided me with an
opportunity to place much of my frustrations with teaching into the framework of
the split between theory and practice.   This became particularly apparent in the
area of educational research and how it was conducted.

   Many writers (Elliott, 1991; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990; Houser,
1990; Kelsay, 1991) have indicated that traditionally teachers have been minimally
informed and often reluctant participants in research. This includes not only
quantitative research but also qualitative research. Although some interpretive
studies involve some sort of collaboration between outside researchers and
teachers, the published work is almost exclusively by the outside researchers.
This distance between theory and practice, between the researchers and the
researched is one of the greatest barriers to teachers voi es being heard when
decisions about education are made.

   In education, theory has been the the purview of the academy and the
researcher. "Too often , teachers have found educational research to be removed
from their concerns - the product of experts who do not understand or appreciate
teachers, yet presume to tell them what to do" (Houser,1990, p. 56).   Elliott
(1991) claims that teachers actually fear theory, and he cites three reasons. First
theory for teachers is simply the product of power exercised through the mastery
of a specialized body of techniques. Second the practice of drawing

generalizations from research constitutes the denial of the individual practitioners everyday experience - it trivializes the context of the specific classroom. Third, researchers employ ideal models of practice which are difficult to obtain in the real world.

In my own practice I keenly felt this split between theory and practice. My experience is probably best summed up by Schon (1987)

> In the varied topography of professional practice, there is a high, hard ground overlooking a swamp. On the high ground, manageable problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research-based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy, confusing problems defy technical solution. The irony of this situation is that the problems of the high ground tend to be relatively unimportant to individuals or society at large, however great their technical interest may be, while in the swamp lie the problems of the greatest human concern. (p. 3)

One way for teachers to overcome the split between theory and practice and to deal with the problems that "lie in the swamp" is to become researchers of their own practice. For this reason I became interested in action research. One of the attractive characteristics of action research, is that it regards the teacher as a subject rather than an object, and makes the everyday concerns of teachers the subject of inquiry. Lawrence Stuns claims that research is one route to teacher emancipation (cited in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990). This liberation might be accomplished through collaborative research which is one way of placing the teacher at centre stage and allowing her/him to exert control over practice.

In an action research class, I was exposed to the idea of using the student teaching experience as a vehicle for my own professional development. I had always thought of student teaching in terms of the two models identified by Sparks (1991). The behaviourist model where students are filled with techniques validated by positivistic research and the traditional craft apprenticeship model where the cooperating teacher models excellent teaching and the student imitates. Both of these are transfer models that regard student teachers as empty vessels to be filled. These models also regard the cooperating teacher as being altruistic, giving something back to the profession as a part of a professional duty. There is no conception of the growth of cooperating teachers since these models subtly imply that the teacher has reached a plateau of expertness.

I had never been a cooperating teacher before because I did not like to cast myself in the role of an expert imparting wisdom to a neophyte. As I began to reconceptualize the role of the cooperating teacher in my mind I thought that perhaps here would be the space and time I desired to develop my skills as a reflective practitioner.

My experience as a cooperating teacher in the resulting action research project turned out to be very positive. Not only was I able to begin to develop some of the skills I needed to become a more reflective practitioner, my relationship with the student teacher and faculty consultant broke down the traditional isolation of the classroom and gave me a sense of what teaching could

be like working with a critical friend. For the first time in my teaching I began to focus on the question of "what is happening", instead of immediately going to the superficial consideration of what had caused this or that to happen; I tried to discover what had previously been hidden. I feel I have had only the briefest of exposures to reflective experience in the classroom.

The experience of this action research project led me to a subsequent project where I acted as a faculty consultant working with seven student teachers and their cooperating teachers in a single school. This experience drew me into a variety conversations with student teachers and cooperating teachers. Inevitably these conversations turned to the nature of teacher development. Veteran teachers shared stories of their own journeys in teaching and student teachers offered their own life stories that have brought them to this point. I felt these conversations were really about teacher development from the point of view of the practitioner. How very different these stories of teacher development were from the dominant discourses about teacher development were.

Finally I became involved in an action research group focusing on improving an undergraduate teacher preparation course. As we examined written comments about teacher education from undergraduate students and engaged in conversations with groups of undergraduate students the focus became: how do teachers develop? What important elements should be included in a teacher education program to assist in this developmental process?

The various ideas put forth by undergraduate students and my co-researchers led me to question the notion of teacher development. How could the narratives of teachers lead to a deeper understanding of what is meant by teacher development? How might these narratives make room for an alternate discourse that has been pushed to the margins by the skills and knowledge acquisition model so strongly supported by political elites? It is within the context of this research group that I approached my co-researchers and invited them to become involved in this study. This chapter will explore the narratives of two of these people.

Teacher Biography and Narrative Inquiry

This study is based on the stories of two teachers. It is an attempt to tell these stories of their development as teachers and then to develop themes in the stories. Goodson (1991) has pointed out that for a long time this type of information was considered to be too personal, too idiosyncratic, or too soft to be considered respectable social science research. He, therefore, offers arguments for employing this kind of research.

1) There is a widespread incidence of teachers talking about their personal life histories when explaining their policy and practice. This is widespread and according to Goodson has been confirmed by many researchers. Since this life history is an important factor in teacher thinking and teacher practice it should be an important concern of researchers.

2) Characteristics of a person's background, ethnicity, sex, social class, life experiences etc., often have an important impact on the way in which they approach teaching and and students.

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3) Teacher life style both in and outside school, their identity, affect how they approach their job. An interesting question raised by Goodson in this section is: What would a curriculum development project look like if it set out to change teachers rather than curriculum?

4) The work in the area of life cycle provides valuable insights into the way in which individuals approach teaching. The perspectives a person has at different times in the life cycle has a profound impact on the way in which he/she teaches.

5) Career stages and career decisions, how teachers construct and view their careers has become an important source of information in teacher development.

6) Critical incidents in teachers lives and specifically in their teaching have an important impact on perception and practice. Issues such as teacher drop out, teacher stress and burnout could all be illuminated by this type of research.

7) Focusing on the life histories of teachers w· uld force researchers to also attend to the life histories of curriculums, subje/ .. schools, etc. and would perhaps help to refocus research in a new and fruitful direction.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) describe a good narrative as an invitation view a phenomena through another researchers eyes and to see if that research strikes a responsive chord within you. Peshkin describes this process as follows:

> When I disclose what I have seen, my results invite other
> researchers to look where I did and see what I saw. My ideas are
> candidates for others to entertain, not necessarily as truth, let alone
> Truth, but as positions about the nature of the phenomena that
> may fit their sensibility and shape their thinking about their own
> inquiries. (cited in Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 8)

The invitation implies a recognition of our own partialness and the rejection of uncovering an absolute truth. This implies a certain humility. Peshkin however relies heavily on the sense of sight, what Aoki (1991) refers to as the I/eye. This sense of visual observation or re - search, implies a certain disembodied objectivity. I would rather redirect Peshkin to the modality of sound and say, when I disclose what I have heard, my results invite other researchers to listen where I listened. Aoki points out that teaching, regarded "as a vocation (from L. vocare/ to call) is more truthfully a calling. (p. 18)" A calling is something that is listened to. A narrative is a story that is listened to. It is a story that has been constructed by another and must be listened to carefully if it is to increase understanding. In the use of sight you try to 'show' or reflect what has been said. By focusing on the modality of sound the object of the research is to try and understand the story.

In the current study the use of life history is being employed to help illuminate the notion of teacher development. I was interested not only in how teachers defined development but also what they believed to be the sources of their development in their personal and professional lives. In a sense they are being asked to construct their identities as teachers, which may or may not be the same as

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their personal identities.

Nietzsche (1956) in the preface to, The Genealogy of Morals, wrote, "We knowers are unknown to ourselves, and for good reason: how can we ever hope to find what we have never looked for." It is in the looking and describing that we come to know ourselves and our own development. Kerby (1991) argues that identity formation is a self-conscious act that is influenced by the scope of our memory and our current interests. There is no identity that exists outside of our construction of it. Only through narrative, according to Kerby, are we able to construct our identity. I would argue that the same is true of our own development as people and as teachers.

Much of what is contained in a narrative relies on memory. Memory is an interpretative act that involves the re-collection of specific past events. Kerby (1991) states:

> Memory images function more as tokens or traces for a certain intended sense than as the sole bearers of sense themselves. The material of recollection is analogous to archaeological finds that still require interpretation for their precise temporal location. (p. 23)

According to Kerby memory is not equivalent to a transparent duplication of life experiences but is a subject to perception and subjectivity. He distinguishes between "representation" of the past and "representatives" of the past. Kerby notes that recollections of the past are often sketchy if taken as representations but are more than adequate if they are taken as representative.

Kerby also talks about "the past for me now", which refers to the effect our present context has on our perception of the past. Our recollection involves a great deal of interpretation. Kerby argues that recollection will rarely unfold the same way twice. Kerby uses the notion of "emplotment" to describe how we take our re - collections and turn them into a story:

> What this emplotment does is turn occurrences, discrete events or images, into moments in a narrative composition, and it is, I contend, this narrative structuration that most effectively generates our understanding of of the past. (p.28)

In the construction of identity through narrative it is also important to attend to what is not being said. What is being left out of the narrative and why.

What follows is my telling of the narratives of two teachers who at the time of this narrative construction were my co-researchers in an action research group. In light of Kerby's notion of the past for me now, it is important to attend to the context within which these narratives were constructed. It is from these narratives that I will try to fill the word 'development' with lived meanings.

Description of the Study

This is a qualitative study and as such is interested in understanding, rather than explanation. It is also a hermeneutic study in which the varied texts to be interpreted will be the conversations with teachers. It is through teachers'

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narratives about their own lived experience of development that I hope to come to a better understanding of development.

I use the term 'lived experience' in the way that Wilhelm Dilthey described it, as that which fits immediately into the patterns of significance which we already entertain about our own lives or about that extension of them which is society (Howard, 1982). To adapt this to the present study my object is to find out the patterns of significance that these teachers entertain about development in their own lives. I will attempt to construct a whole - part - whole hermeneutic circle. Starting with the conceptualization of development (chapter 3) I move to the lived experience of development for teachers and then try to return to a new understanding of the conceptualization of development (chapter 4, 6). The intention is to place the narrative of development along side the discourses of development in chapter 3.

There are two views of language that I have dr:wn on in this study. One is the critical theory view that language is reproductive of a deeper structure, and therefore, in need of constant critique to uncover the distortions that reside within it (Howard, 1982). This view of language was employed in the examination of literature related to international development and the contemporary context of teacher development; in particular the privileging of economic discourse as the only legitimate discourse in both international development and in education.

The second view of language comes from Gadamer's notion that language is productive, it is like light, without substance but used to reflect meaning from objects that already exist. Gadamer makes the point that entering into language is like entering into a game. The structures of the game exists before we enter into it, there are rules. However this does not mean that we do not exercise our own intentionality in the playing of the game. The game cannot exist in the absence of either the rules or the players.

I see the word development as both re - productive and productive. As we have seen, the word development has its own hegemony and can trap us into re - producing relations of oppression and exploitation. On the other hand if we fill the word with meaning from the lived experience of teachers it has the potential to be very liberating in a reconceptualized form.

In this chapter I work with teachers stories on two levels. 1) On one level I will simply try to re - present the stories as accurately as possible. I will use member checks to ensure accuracy and also to engage in a dialogue with the people interviewed about the text. 2) On another level I will try to develop themes. Aoki (1991) cites Milan Kundera who speaks about his novel, The Unbearable Lightness of Being, as follows:

> I've always constructed a novel [narrative] on two levels: on the
> first, I compose the novel's [narrative's] story: over that, I
> develop the themes...Whenever a novel [narrative] abandons its
> themes and settles for just telling the story, it goes flat. (p. 9)

Aoki goes on to explain that the, "presence of lived meanings in a story provides us a threshold that promises possibilities for a narrative researcher....[the presence of lived meanings] provides a moment for the researcher to understand the

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question to which the story is already an answer to" (p. 9 - 10).

Hermeneutic understanding will be used in this study because hermeneutic understandings focuses on the interpretive understanding of the existential meaning in the human world.

The following narratives, as they are told here, began as conversations with my co-researchers in an action research group. As the idea for the study took shape, I had a tape recorded conversation with two teachers, Kumar and Joan. In each of these conversations, these teachers were asked to construct the story of their own teacher development. These conversations were transcribed. As I transcribed these stories I tried to develop different themes that grew out of the story.

I provide both teachers with a copy of the transcript in its entirety, and a copy of my interpretation which included themes and selected quotes. I then met with both Kumar and Joan in turn and discussed the themes and the passages I had chosen to quote. We discussed whether or not the themes and quotes as I had written them rang true to their understanding of their own development.

A year after our original taped conversation I was able to meet again with Joan and discuss her narrative and that conversation is reported in chapter 6. Unfortunately at this time Kumar was out of the country conducting his own research.

Originally I had wanted to present the words of these teachers exactly as the· ·re spoken, including every "umm" and "ah". The rationale for this ap roa is to p.ovide the reader with transparent access to the original stories of ea · ·acher. I believe, however, that this is a myth. The quotations as they are writt. .i here have been edited in a way that honours and respects these teachers and their story.

Kumar's Story

Kumar is a Nepalese graduate student studying in Canada. He comes from a family where two of his brothers were teachers and he himself acted as a tutor for friends and relatives throughout high school and even in his younger grades. His father had practiced a traditional type of medicine called Aryoveda but because of Western influences in the country had encouraged his sons to go to universities and study Western science. Kumar feels a sense of tension between his traditional culture and western influence. He talks about living on the border, unable to be totally accepted or to totally accept either Western life or a traditional Nepalese life. His time in Canada has made him more aware of this tension and from this vantage point he has been able to explore it in more depth.

Conversation with Kumar, June16, 1992

Theme I: How Kumar Became a Teacher and College Instructor

Kumar talks abou why he became a teacher:

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I liked teaching from the very beginning. Both my brothers are teachers and in Nepal if people know you are educated and a teacher they just come by your house for assistance. I was teaching in one way or another ever since I was a high school student....my two elder brothers are teachers and I'd seen them teaching in my home and I taught at their school sometimes. Through the circle of friends of my brothers I was in a way drawn into the teachers' community.

After Kumar finished his undergraduate degree he became a teacher for a short while. His brothers however convinced him to go on to do graduate studies in Nepal so that he would have more options in the future:

The most important reason why I joined [the] masters [program] was because of the support from my brothers and because of their persuasion. Because if you begin teaching at the BSc level then you'll be a teacher for the rest of your life. There is no other choice you can make. There is no better alternative because there aren't many jobs.

Kumar points out that because of the economic realities of Nepal, he would have much rather have been an engineer than a teacher:

If you really want to get a chance to study engineering, then you have to get a scholarship, of which there are very few. There are only three or four scholarships each year for all of Nepal and you have to compete for them. And of course I didn't make it. If I had been able to compete for a spot I would have ended up becoming an engineer. So that is another aspect of how I landed in teaching....The economy of a teacher is very poor in Nepal. I would say that it would be lower than most other vocations in Nepal. Even working in small industries would be more productive than becoming a teacher from an economic point of view. But still teaching is better than small industry from a prestige point of view. These are the subtle factors which pushed me into becoming a teacher.

Theme II: Tensions Between Western Modernization and Tradition

Kumar explains how the view of education in Nepal is shaped by western influences. In Kumar's family this is the first generation that will not have a family member become an Aryoveda doctor. Aryoveda medicine is a traditional holistic type of medicine that relies on a variety of plants for medicine and examines lifestyle and diet to treat patients. Kumar explains why his father wanted him to break with the family tradition:

Q. I was going to ask you , so this generation is going to be the first generation where no sons became aryoveda doctors?

A. Yes. Because my father was an aryoveda doctor, my grandfather was aryoveda doctor, and my grand grand father was aryoveda doctor. They're all in aryoveda.

Q. What's the reason for that change. What would you say?

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A. Its a difficult question. I guess it must be because of all of the modern development that came into Nepal, the new medical system. With that new medical system came the new doctors. They have more social prestige in the form of recognition by government agencies. New hospitals were being built. so in the new hospitals doctors [trained in western medicine] can apply not the aryoveda doctors. Aryoveda hospitals were not developing so the western school was becoming very strong and with that came the social recognition.

Kumar believes that his father's exposure to Western influences has caused him to encourage his sons to take up Western science at a time when other parents are actively seeking to prevent this from happening. Kumar's own language reflects a view that sees Western modernization has being ahead of traditional culture:

I can see a lot of other families where I have friends, the parents instead of letting their children continue in school, just hold them in their own respective family jobs. Some are shop owners, some are operating small scale industries. Some people who are exposed to a Western sort of education or some people who go to India and see the development there, that type of family is more ahead in making their children go into a different line. I would say my parents may be in that category. Because my father was in India for his study and he knew what was developing in India.

Some parents in Nepal see education as a new means of improving their children's social standing in a very conservative and traditional society:

Because our society is very conservative and most political power is held by few families, education is seen as a new avenue where you can get out of that limitation and claim a higher position if the chance comes.

It is the incentive of improved social standing, coupled with economic pressure that, Kumar points out, compel him and others to view education instrumentally, as a means of improving their economic conditions. Kumar indicates that while in Nepal it is difficult to see the hegemony of development, it appears that people are merely trying to improve their economic conditions.

The whole education system is a Western import. But I did not think critically about this sort of thing in Nepal. When living in that sort of situation you are always thinking about some kind of development. You want to be a professor in a university or you want to get some chance to go abroad and study, which I did, that's why I'm here. Many people would do the same. Anybody who could get a chance to go abroad to study, they would do anything to get that chance. And maybe it has something to do with economy as well, because we cannot afford to go abroad on our own for studies. It's really costly.

Kumar sees the foreign educational system as subverting the true nature of

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Nepalese society and of not meeting the real needs of the people. The educational system holds out the image that people should try to imitate the West. The social structure of the country helps perpetuate this system.

> Because I am studying in a Western country, people in Nepal expect that I will be living a different kind of life, which is much better than it might have been if I didn't have this chance [to study outside Nepal]. So there is a kind of acceptance of the Canadian lifestyle. As I said the whole educational system has been oriented in this direction. Examination competition, how to get a top mark, how to compete get ahead and leave the society behind and escape from these economic conditions and live a different kind of life. From my present understanding I would say it's a kind of game that's going on over there. And it's getting us nowhere....how many students can get that sort of benefit, how many people can come to Canada? How many people have a chance to go abroad and study, getting that kind of economic development?

Although Kumar sees attempts at following a Western model of education and development as not being useful, he finds himself in a 'catch 22 situation' If he tries to point out the inappropriateness of this process for Nepal he feels that he will lack any credibility. He feels many will believe he is criticizing a system that he himself has already benefited from.

> But the problem is that [the Western model of development] has become a kind of addiction, you cannot just take it away. There are many people who know that something is going wrong, but still you cannot get it undone..... If I put these ideas to people who are continuing the same process I have followed, I might have talks, sort of superficial talks. It will be the kind of talk that will be ridiculed, in the sense that they will say, "well you have already had your chance [to study abroad], you may say so, but we still need to see what's there." It's a kind of natural reaction in those situations. So how are you going to get away from this type of perpetuation of the problem.

Theme III: Kumar's Border Dialogue

Kumar talks about how education creates a sense of alienation within his society. Although the western educational system was brought into the country on the pretext of facilitating economic development, it is a foreign institution to those that it purports to assist.

> I reflect back on my own community, my own society, I would say this school education has created some kind of alienation. The community that we have there, they are rather isolated from the new generation who went to school. Because of their values, because of their way of life, it's quite different. Many of these people wouldn't know about the different kind of jobs that are available now. it's quite different quite new. They are not used to that sort of thing. The school system has been created because of modern development, it came through a different channel, [from outside of our traditional society] through economic development, through other development projects. There are many jobs

or positions that were created but they stand quite apart from our society, quite isolated, untouched by the actual society, actual community. Although they are made for the development of the community and society there is a kind of gap...[and the traditional] society is getting more and more isolated.

Kumar finds that the education also creates conflict and tension within himself. He talks of his own situation. Kumar belongs to a "Bihar" which is a traditional religious community. Kumar and other young people live in the gap that exists between the Bihar or traditional society and the Western educated society:

> We have a type of community, a sort of society in Katmandu called a Bihara and different people are members of that Bihara. That membership is continued generation to generation, an inherited membership. And we - the people who are attached to that Bihar have to follow certain regulations and there are lots of regulations to follow. Now for those people who have gone to school, like myself, it's very difficult to follow those regulations. So what I need to do is either I'll have to escape the school and comply with the regulation of the Bihara or I'll have to leave the Bihara and be more devoted towards the new developments and that's what I did. I'm quite alienated from that society. I can see that same problem now with many other members of the younger generations in my community. Whoever went to school they came out from that [traditional] society.

Kumar believes that the polarization between the two forces of modernization and tradition hurts both sides. He believes that the people are part of an interdependent web and that to separate them into two camps is harmful to both sides. The traditional society is losing the brightest and most ambitious young people and the young people who leave feel a sense of anomie, they are missing spiritual and social connectedness.

> The problem is for both sides. It is not only that the younger generation that have modern education are getting away from the traditional society, but the society itself is losing. So what is happening now is ...the traditional society, is getting a different kind of population. They are losing the many options, because they are losing the bright and aspiring younger generation. In a way the society, only those people who are really fundamental, who really want to stick to the old regulations they are staying there. And the younger generation who were not successful with the school education, or who somehow didn't want to go to school , they are the only ones to remain with that traditional group. So for them, for the society it is a kind of loss. And for those who deviated from that line, we also have a loss, because we are missing the traditional society. We have a limited success in the form of economic development, in the form of superficial positions. But when I think about living life in its richness, that I've seen in my society, I'm missing that.

Kumar articulates the tremendous importance being part of the traditional society has for him. At the same time he feels the pressure to choose between traditional and modern society and would not be happy living totally in either world.

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When you are in [the traditional] society you never feel alone. When you are in this society you always have something to do that makes you happy. Not only yourself but also the other community people. You have a feeling that you have done something. Although they are more ritualistic that ritual gives a feeling of richness in your life. I feel quite happy when I recall some of the rituals that I have gone through. We have a temple there and my family members are the priests of that temple. So we have to follow certain rituals and other people come there to worship. Through different stages of life, say when I'm quite young I have some ceremony to go through, and when I grow up, 14 or 15 years, there is another kind of ceremony to go through. so there is a kind of recognition for my being in the society. When you are away form this society you really have a feeling that you are missing something. That nobody cares for you any more now..... I can still go back to the society, but then I'll be missing the other part of life. It doesn't mean that the door is slammed. But, you know, if I go to that side then obviously I'll be missing this other part of my life....It's really living on the border, you know, back and forth. Sometimes I wished I was back in [the traditional] society and sometimes I wished I was out of the society .... The [traditional] society is one kind of centre [and] the whole modern development being... [another]... nucleus of that. And you just go back and forth.

Perhaps the most striking example of the tension between traditional and modern influences that is at work within Kumar's life is when he reflects on the entire cycle of his life, in particular his death. Accepting modern development would mean to remove himself from traditional society, but Kumar points out that there are many important spiritual and cultural needs that modern development cannot satisfy. Kumar feels that he can only consider his personal development in the context of his belonging to or being connected to a larger social group.

What do you do when you die? In this part of the world [Canada] you have a different system for taking care of the funeral process. But that is a big question in Nepal, in a society like ours, because all of our life processes they are ceremonialized, they are taken care of by the society. So when I die, there will be a ceremony, a funeral process and all the other rituals that go along with that. If I don't have that society it will be a different kind of problem. Who is going to take care of that? It's a crucial problem. It's nothing now because I'm living, but if I think about that it's a real problem. You don't want to be unattended and in Nepal we don't have the burial system. Although modern development has come from the west modern culture hasn't changed the funeral process We still have our own sort of rituals about life that's going on there. And our system cremates the body.....the cremation will be followed by several ceremonies, and the family and the community and the society they will take pride in continuing that ceremony. These are trivial things when you are living you don't think much about that. But when you think about your life as living in a society in a more humane way, not only as a person working for money, working for enjoyment, when you are thinking of life from another perspective, from a cultural perspective,

from a living perspective, a religious perspective, then it's a problem.
So these are the conflicts, these are the dilemmas and the problem.
Modern development has brought lots of confusion and problems.
Because if you look from modern perspective then your way of thinking
is quite different, you are more rational.

Kumar points out how Western rationalism does not take into account the cultural
context within which it is operating. In a sense this foreign view of the world
imposed from outside does not acknowledge the authentic nature of Nepalese
society which places tremendous importance on social relations. He uses the
example of the caste system and marriage to explain:

> If you look at marriage, the modern perspective would be for a young
> man and young woman to get married. It's ok to marry a young man
> and young woman, what ever their background, whatever their family
> background, whatever their social position, so on and so forth. But
> when you are living in a [traditional] society where the communities,
> where the families are in a way putting up the boundaries of social
> structures, the family structure, the caste system, and so on and so
> forth, it's quite difficult. Say you are a Brahmin and you marry
> somebody from the untouchable caste the lower caste, then you could be
> neither in the Brahmin or in the untouchable caste. Now where do you
> live? Either you will have to create your own community or else you
> will be alone. You will not be accepted by either place. So it's a kind of
> real dilemma. But this modern rationalism it doesn't consider that sort
> of thing as a problem. So what's wrong there if you look from a
> modern rational, there's nothing wrong. But when you see from the
> perspective of how a traditional society is running it's a big
> problem....eventually you will have to seek some other social answers,
> some group where you'll be accepted where you'll be part.

Kumar does however see modern education as a useful way of defusing the power
of a dominant group in Nepal. From that perspective he believes it is useful, even
though it creates conflicts within his own community:

> The whole problem becomes more complex because of the history of the
> social structure. There are so many communities, community conflicts,
> and the power struggle that go on between different communities trying
> to dominate the other, it causes a lot of problems. There are Hindu
> fundamentalists who want to make school education more in line with
> Hindu philosophy and Hindu religion. They have their own society.
> The Hindus have a different social group, social structure. But there
> social structures imposed on education would be unacceptable for
> others. Like myself. I would never give in to that sort of pressure,
> because if I do give in like that, if I say, "Well what these people are
> doing is good," then I am submitting to them. Because what they are
> trying to do is to establish Hindu fundamentalism in education. Now,
> how do I react to that? That's a big issue. Now if I bring my Buddhist
> social structure against that, there will be a different kind of conflict. It
> will be like a head on collision between two communities. So that is not
> possible because of the power structure, the arms system, the monarchy
> system, so on and so forth. What will the people do then. They will

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use modern education, the rational of modern education, as a good avenue or a good thing to bring into conflict with this Hindu fundamentalism, because it is taken all over the world, it is more powerful, it can connect you to the other parts of the world through education. So I will support modern education from that perspective. But when I support it I am victimizing my society too.

This last point speaks to the hegemony of development . Clearly, even powerful regional groups are no match for the discourse of Western rationalism.

Theme IV: Kumar's View of his Own Development

When Kumar talks about his own development he acknowledges that coming to Canada has been an important aspect of his own development because it has afforded him a vantage point from which he can become aware of the source of the tension he was living with in Nepal.

When I was in Nepal I still felt the tension, I still felt the conflict, but I would have never been able to see from both systems and my own position. I can see that image. Now I'm out of both things for a while, so what I can do is I can recall those things as a movie[8] , you know, going on , myself in those positions living in a real conflict.

Although reflection and introspection have been important aspects of Kumar's development he feels that his relations with others and the context in which he lives are the most important factors. Speaking of his family situation he says:

Introspection has been quite important in my development, that's true, but introspection is a lonely job. So it may give you some kind of peace in yourself, but when you have to work in your society it's quite different and quite complicated. Say for example the understanding and the ideas I may have when I talk with my family, other family members, my brothers so on and so forth, there may be conflicts and to live with the family, I'll have to buy lots of their ideas, I'll have to give in to their way of thinking, suppressing my own idea, suppressing the way I think is better, for my own personal benefit, for my family, for my society, because they are living in their own way, they have their own thinking, they might have their own personal reflections, and if we clash them there will be only one way, separation. Separation won't help because you'll still have to live with the situation.

Talking about a school context, Kumar again emphasizes the systemic nature of the school system and of how we can only view teachers as operating within the context of this system:

You may have a better idea about how schools should run. Even other teachers may think, well you have good idea. Would it be possible to really implement that idea in the school, in a true sense? That's the big question because the school still has to live in that system, unless the scho l wants to come out of that system and be alone, you'll have to

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[8] Kumar's notion of the movie seems very close to Kerby's notion of emplotment.

give in to the rules and regulations set by the whole school system. So the only way is to negotiate and make some small changes. You ... cannot bring those ideas, you may have very critical ideas, the short coming of the modern school system, the teacher may know the short comings, but still they will have to prepare the student for the exam. So that is the big dilemma in our part of the world. It's very complex and it's possible that I may just get submerged in that complexity and get lost.

This creates a problem for Kumar that he does not have an easy answer for. How can he live with these conflicts between what exists and what he believes ought to exist. When I asked him if he saw a way through or around these conflicts he turned to Buddhist philosophy to give me his answer:

It seems that there is no way out, to get away from problems, the problems will always be there. It doesn't matter if you tie together those two things [traditional and western society] this will not solve the problem. If you don't do anything, if you don't have a life project, then how are you going to live. That may be another question. That may be my effort, but still I don't see that as a solution. So I was in a way trying to live with the conflicts...The only way to live with the conflict is to be able to take whatever is there.

Kumar is articulating a complex idea of accepting a life as it is, without being fatalistic and continuing to try and make meaningful changes and improvements in the world around him.

Although Kumar acknowledges the importance of his context in shaping him he also emphasizes being the importance of his own agency. He believes it is important not to let the context determine his life but to be conscious of the context he lives in and self conscious about the choices he makes. He cautions against being caught in a web, like the web of Western development, where it becomes increasingly difficult to disengage and take a new path.

I think the best way I will satisfy myself or I will feel that I have done something for my community, for my society, will be to get some kind of understanding that their way of living is one option and modern development is another option, and living in between is another option. So how one lives, one really has to critically think about it and decide what they want to do for a while, although they can change but still they should change as their consciousness dictates and not be driven by some of the webs they live in. These webs can really make people addicted, like the development projects. In Nepal we have....this World Bank loan for some kind of project and it has become some kind of addiction. They cannot live without that. It has become the addiction of the society because....modern society cannot live without that kind of aid. It's a real problem.

Reflections on Kumar's Story

What stands out in Kumar's story is the tension that exists between the traditional society and the modern society represented by western development. Kumar's experience of coming to Canada to study has allowed him to see this tension more clearly. Kumar talked about the futility of overcoming this tension or of solving these problems. These are not problems in the technical sense. In many ways they are like the problems that teachers face. As van Manen (1991) explains:

> When I consult a doctor with a physical ailment, I have a problem that the doctor can hopefully solve and rectify. But problems of teaching are seldom 'problems' in this sense. Rather, teachers deal with situations, predicaments, possibilities and difficulties. Situations and predicaments must be handled the best we can, and possibilities and difficulties must be realized and worked through. (p. 515)

Kumar speaks to the working through of these difficulties and exploring possibilities. Although Kumar has acknowledged the importance of context in shaping who he is and the life he leads he is far from fatalistic. He speaks of the importance of having a critical consciousness that examines the influence this context has on him and of being reflective about the life choices that he makes.

Kumar's experience of leaving Nepal has sharpened his focus on the tension that he lives in within that society. It reminds me of the old axiom, 'We don't speak language, language speaks us.' In this sense language is operating behind our backs in shaping how we think. In many respects culture may be doing the same thing. Perhaps we need to leave our society or our culture in order that we can look back and see to what extent it shapes us. Kumar's insight raises a question about how human agency interacts with the social structures within which we operate and to what extent human agency is constructed by the dominant social structures of a society. To what extent are we unaware of the tensions that we live in. Unaware of our own perspective as just one perspective, unable to place it into the context of the multiplicity of voices.

In some respects Kumar's personal tensions are a mirror reflection of the tensions in the larger society. Kumar sees himself as living in the gap between the modern and traditional societies. The tension between the two different types of society act as a parallel analogy for the tension that teachers live between objective meanings and lived meanings. In Nepal the objective meanings come from modern development, with the authority of science to support them. These objective meanings also carry with them the hegemony of an imported and foreign vision of how things ought to be. The lived meanings are represented by the people living in the traditional society.

In schools these objective meanings often come in the form of the curriculum as plan, the external documents prescribing what should go on in classrooms. The lived meanings come from the context of the school itself and grow out of the pedagogical relationships that exist in the school. Kumar dwells in the border between two worlds. In many ways teachers dwell in the border between the two worlds, the lived world of their classrooms and the theoretical/planned world of educational research, curriculum and government policy.

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Kumar's story speaks to the ambiguity of living in the midst of "development" and "tradition." Kumar's narrative explains how western notions of development place themselves in opposition to tradition while Kumar's personal notions of development are intimately related to these same traditions. This exposes the hegemony of international development as it pushes traditional cultural knowledge to the margins. Kumar's family history in traditional medicine has be suppressed by modern development.

How does Kumar's story speak to teacher development? What I hear in Kumar's story is an eloquent explanation of coming to terms with the tension of living in the middle of things. Whether the tension is between traditional society and Western society, between theory and practice, or between the curriculum as lived and the curriculum as planned, Kumar offers us the insight of living productively within this tension, a tension that will always exist. Kumar is very careful not to equate this acceptance of the tensionality of teaching with fatalism, but rather it is a part of his personal context he must be mindful of in trying to construct his life's project.
Kumar's insights draw into question attempts to approach the tension between theory and practice as a technical problem to be overcome.

Joan's Story

Joan's teaching career has spanned more than 20 years. During that time she has taken time away from teaching to be a mother to four children. Joan has held a permanent teaching position at three different schools. Her first teaching position was in a high school for one year. She then left teaching to have her first child. She returned to teaching in a variety of settings, filling in for longer term temporary leaves. Joan's second permanent teaching position was at a junior high school and lasted three years. Joan then left teaching for a period of time have three additional children. When Joan returned to teaching it was again in a junior high school and she stayed at this school for 10 years. At the time of this conversation, Joan was on a half year sabbatical from teaching to attend university. At the end of this sabbatical Joan would be returning to a new teaching position at a high school. I met Joan while we were working together as part of an action research project looking at improving undergraduate education course. It is from within this context that Joan has shared her narrative of her own development.

Conversation with Joan, June 22, 1992

Theme I: Personal Context of Becoming a Teacher

Joan explains how her family background and a particular teacher, started her on a path that eventually led her to become a teacher.

> Being the youngest of thirteen kids, I had lots of older brothers and sisters that had younger children and I was often in a position where I was in charge of the little ones. And when I was in junior high school we had a camp that was out by Maple Grove, I lived by Maple Grove, and every summer they needed camp counsellors. It was for the a religious education camp for the kids that went to public schools in the

countryside. They would come and spend a week or two in some kind of religious instruction at the campsite and I was one of the people who were chosen for the program to become an instructor. It was taught by a nun who was absolutely and incredibly wonderful. She taught us the principles of teaching when we were 12 and 13 years old. Then she sent us out to be instructors at camp.

Later when Joan entered high school she sought out further training that would later provide her with important skills when she became a teacher.

And then what I did was when I got into high school I enrolled into the recreational leadership program for Alberta, and it was the old Alberta recreational leadership program,....it was a two summer institute all summer long, where they tried out the skills of actually performing different sports type of activities, and also the skills of organization and leadership that would be required when we went back into our community and where we would provide coaching or leadership for different youth groups and so I did that all through my high school years. This was primarily for teachers , of course, many teachers took this course because they had to go back into the little country schools and they had to perform, particularly the men, had to do all of the phys ed. and things like that. That program was excellent.

At this point Joan had not made a conscious decision to become a teacher rather she explains that it was the context in which she was living, being part of a large family where she followed in the footsteps of her older brothers and sisters. Joan makes reference to being selected for her earlier role as camp counsellor, later she reflects on how important this was to her development. I asked Joan if she had made a conscious choice to enter these two training programs and this was her response:

No the first one [to become camp counsellor] was more or less ... you look around and you assign it to kids you think would be able to work with other kids. And in those days particularly, the nuns knew our families and you know, sort of our personal histories, they knew just about everything anyway, and so we were chosen from among the group of kids who would probably, likely be good at this. And then when I went into recreational leadership school, all of my other sisters and brothers had done this as well. So this is something that I did and just assumed that I would do it because we all did it. So I did that. And then when I went away to university I had no idea of taking teaching, I didn't even plan on taking education, I had no specific career goals when I went to a liberal arts university in the U.S.

Joan also mentions that her high school Social Studies teacher influenced her later decision to become a Social Studies teacher

She often made comments because she taught me more than social studies, she often made the comment that, "You do so well in social studies and you don't do so well in this other subject, it's obvious where your interests lie." And so she was fairly instrumental in making me aware that I did have interest and skills and knowledge in that area and I

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enjoyed delving into History and Social Studies. I enjoyed the subject and I was good at it.

Theme II: Relationships within a specific context are important.

Joan began her teaching career in a high school. She taught for one year. The importance of the relationship with other teachers is highlighted here by her lack of support from other staff.   It is a student who becomes Joan's teacher.

My first teaching experience was with five boys who had to be taken out of a grade 10 class and I was given responsibility for seeing that these five boys got through the year. Most of them were pretty high profile kids as far as community members, or in the school as far as athletics, but they were the kind of kids who you would probably think should be one step from a reform school. And very fortunately, one of the boys in the group was a good friend of my brother-in- law and he cracked the whip, he was the whip and so he took care of me. He got me into the school, he kept all of the boys under control during the course and he saw that I survived my first year. So it was one of the students who took care of me that first year. Of all of the people who made a real difference in my survival that first year it was him. I didn't find that the staff was very supportive of first year teachers. I found that in many cases they were very suspicious of the things that were being done. There was a real lack of confidence in first year teachers, and a lack of support and a lack of, "Look, I see you're having trouble with this, do you want to talk about it." or "This is what I do in this situation."

This last comment raises questions about how other teachers and the structure, climate and of a school, affects the socialization of new teachers. Joan contrasts this experience with the situation at another school. Joan left teaching after her first year to become a mother for the first time. In between her first and second permanent positions Joan took on several long term substitute teaching positions and was exposed to a variety of of settings. She recollects how a particular placement in an all boys private residential school helped her develop an important skill.

I was the only woman and I was the only English speaking, non French speaking person in the school and there wasn't even a woman secretary, so it was very interesting. Working with all men....What I discovered in that school was that there had to be something beside size. There had to be ... a moral authority. There had to be a personal authority that I had to learn to develop. That was extremely important because ...well first of all I'm small and secondly I was a woman and I watched how men could control physically and they could maintain their control through their physical presence. I had to learn how to maintain some control in the classroom which was very difficult in an all boys school. So I had to learn to do that . And I think that was very important. I think that was a well learned lesson for me. I spent a long time there and the men in the school were very good to me. They were so kind and they were so understanding and they were so considerate and they were so helpful. And there was this small tiny little community that worked

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together and lived together.

After working as a substitute teacher for a while she returned to teaching in a junior high school. As a young teacher at this point she talked about how time away from teaching allowed her to sort things out and how relationships with other teachers are very important, establishing a sense of community:

> So I went back teaching again. This time in a junior high. And that was where I really began to learn what it was to be a teacher. I had had a year off and I'd had time to put a lot of my experiences into some kind of perspective. I had sorted out the kind of things I thought teaching was and what it turned out to sort of be. And I had managed to begin to sort out some of the expectations that I had and the kinds of things that I wanted to be as a teacher. And it was a very good experience. And the people with whom I taught at that time, during that period, many of them I'm still very close to today. In fact some of them I still teach with today. And we've moved around the system together. It's always a sense of community when we get together. We've shared something very important together. We were all very young and we started teaching in the same school. And this is the sense of something very special that we have. And I think that you find out if you go into a new school together, as a new group of teachers, you really find that that is true.

Joan sees relationships with students as another important factor in how context influences her development. She speaks of coming to an understanding of her interdependent relationship ᵗh students - each depends on the other to improve.

> [What] I also learned there was how powerful it was to work with a group of kids who came from so many different backgrounds and things like that, but who could come together and you could see them over a whole three years you could see their whole development and you could see their growth and you also new that your growth was very much tied to them. And you could see how the relationships were so important in a school. The relationships among the staff were vital.

Joan speaks about the merging of the personal and professional in her narrative about development and as her narrative unfolds it is difficult to distinguish between the two.

> Well I have never been able to separate development as a teacher from development of myself. As I said, with my first teaching experience ... there was a whole lack of confidence on my part that this is something that I could do. I was more or less carrying out what I thought other people expected me to do. And I tried on a whole bunch of different personalities, or styles or whatever. But what happened to me during that time was, when I had off, was I grew up. I had a year or so at home, I had a baby, things had changed in my life and I felt that when I went back to teaching I had a great deal more credibility. I wasn't 21 years old any more, I was 25 or so and I had some experience behind me, and so when I walked in to my second position, I was viewed as someone who had experience. You know, I felt more confident.

In the literature professional development of teachers we are often given an image of teaching as being separate from the teacher. In other words there is supposedly a set of teaching skills, identified by empirical research, that teachers can develop to become successful. In Joan's narrative she repeatedly reinforces the notion that you cannot separate teaching from the teacher. Who you are becomes how you teach.

> I stayed at [my second permanent job] for about three years and then I left to have a baby and then another one and another one and then I went to [my third school].   At [this school] we came in with a group of teachers who were all young and a bunch of us started together, and there were about eight of us that did start together there. Now some of us like me had had a lot of experience before we got there. But we sort of came as a cohort, and we went through together.   One of the things that this group did is that they were extremely good at what they did. The French and Music teacher, 'was' French and Music. When you think of the liberal education idea of you know the teacher is their subject. The teacher you know has a manner of teaching that is their subject.   This is what you found in our school. The science teacher was science. You know?...He embodies his subject.   I think of [a professor] that way, he embodies his subject. he is that thing that he teaches and I found that to be very important in my understanding of integrity as a person and a teacher. I think that is probably the one thing I learned about being an integral person, is to put everything together as a whole one approach to life, you know a holistic approach.

Joan describes the ten years she spent at her third permanent teaching job as a place where a metamorphosis took place. In this passage she points to the many factors that she sees affecting her personal and professional development and you can get a sense of what she means by a *holistic* view of development.

> A long, long period of learning about what it meant to be a teacher.   I really say that those years that I spent at [this last school] were really the years that solidified me as a teacher and a person. And a lot of it was that I had a lot of the skills going into the job. And I had a lot of the personality traits and the desire to do well, and I like kids. I had worked with them for a long time.   But this period was a long period where I could see a real metamorphosis of who I was as a person. There were many changes that occurred to me when I was there, you know personally and my family and I mean when I went to work there my kids were really little, they were only like two years old, my littlest one, and he's now fourteen.

Joan explains the importance of the context inhibiting or enhancing her relationships with other teachers. She talks about the situation in her third permanent teaching position at the junior high school and how it changed over the years. Joan describes battling isolation as a teacher and the role of being a teacher educator

> When we first went there it was an 'open area' school, So as the years

went by we had walls built for us. But those of us who started in that tradition never got accustomed to ever closing our doors. It bothered me so much to go in and close a door because I felt so isolated. And I used to just die in there because I always wanted contact with other people. So when student teachers came I would welcome them so much because it was someone else to have contact with.

Joan describes trying to find some external model of teaching that she can follow that will give her success. She again emphasizes the importance of attending to the particular context as the cite where development takes place.

I think that what had happened for so long, as I said in my first couple of positions, I kept looking for 'the' answer. I kept looking for 'the' seminar or 'the' session at the teachers convention that would show me how to be a better teacher. And what I learned in this last [third permanent teaching] position that I had, was that look around you and use what you have there, because that's what you're stuck with, you're not going to get something poured in from outside. You've got what's there make use of it.

Joan expresses her belief about the importance of time away from teaching to rejuvenate herself, to build up her inner energy.

[Time for reflection] is very important. In fact I'd like to go on a four and five[9] when I go back so I know that in four years, I will have another year off. It doesn't matter what I do with it, it will probably be in some learning capacity, but I would like to have time off to get filled up. Too often like you say, you end up scrambling and I know when I've reached the end of my scrambling point. Because I can't deal rationally with the illogical things that happen. And they're going to. I have to maintain some sense of common sense about what happens here. There are times when I can't. And I know that I've reached the end of my rope when that happens. And I know that I have to take time off, because I'm not doing anything that's good for the kids and I'm not contributing any thing.

Theme III: Relationships With Particular Individuals

Joan talks about development coming from within but requiring the help of others to bring it out. Being conscious of how others have done that for her and how she would like to do that for her own students.

What you really remember, that's what forms you. People recognize in you perhaps something that you didn't recognize in yourself. Or they bring to your attention something that maybe you weren't too sure about. Like [my high school Social Studies teacher] bringing to my attention the fact that I really zeroed in on these things and I did well at them. Or the nuns who would pull you out of a group of a hundred kids and say, "I think you can do this [be a counsellor at a summer camp],

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9 This refers to a school district program of spreading four years salary over five years and allowing teachers to take the fifth year off.

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damn it, get out there and do it." And I did, you know. It's that - I don't know if it's like shooting craps or whether or not you know even after all these years of working with kids, you don't really know what it is. If it is a matter of just shooting craps then it means that what you have to do is go to each kid and find a way of saying, "you know you've done this well. There's something here that tells me you have some skills in this area."

Joan talks about observing another teacher and how this has had an important influence on her development. This man is in his fifties, near the end of his career, and exhibits a talent for developing a productive pedagogical relationship with some of the most difficult students in the school.

> He's very very close, he could retire, and I've actually seen him go down and say I want this kid, I want this kid, I want this kid and these were all the old kids that should have been in the reform school that I taught. He took those kids and he would keep them on the straight and narrow and they would produce and he had a way of working with these kids that was absolutely amazing. And I learned more from watching his daily kind of just, "this is what we're doing today," you know kind of approach to life and , "yes you are going to do it because I said so and we'll dance if you don't like that but you're going to do it." And the kids would do it and I learned so much by the daily exchange and interaction with this person and the kids.

Joan's open admiration for a teacher who pays particular attention to the students who usually exist on the margins of the school community speaks to her own sense of mission in trying to establish productive relationships with these students.

It is not only observing another teacher that is important; Joan also talks about the importance of working closely with a colleague: Joan portrays herself and her colleague acting as concerned, caring, but firm parents. She credits much of her success with students to the strong collegial relationship with another teacher.

> The key was my room mate, we lived with our doors opened between our two rooms. I was the Social [teacher] and he was the English [teacher]. And we would often sort of work together on giving kids common assignments and stuff like that. And he'd wander into the classroom or I'd wander into his classroom and we both had the same ... he and I were very strongly bonded, although our teaching ... very different, he and I were very close. And the kids knew that ... r kids had to perform for both of us, I mean they had to ... it. And so that made a difference, and they knew that, and ... new that it was like dealing with two parents that you couldn't con. I couldn't go and ask mom if dad doesn't let me do it. And we treated our kids as if they were our kids, and we dealt with each other's kids in the same way. It was that bonding between that other fellow and I that led to a great deal of success that we had with these kids that really struggled. We were given the kids that really needed the, "this is what we're going to do," kind of approach to life, "and you're going to do it because you can. And we won't put up with anything less than your

best."

Joan describes how her relationship with a professor has acted as a catalyst to draw her into a network of teachers and involve her in activities outside of her immediate work situation.

> I've worked with him [the professor]. And one of the successful things that he does is that he draws people into this network. And it's a real joke with me right, and I've kidded you about it, in that once you're within his network he will keep approaching you, he'll let you kind of off for a while, now he won't have anything to do with me for a year or so, but he'll show up and he'll say, "You know I have this thing..." he'll keep coming back with something until he finds something that you want to do, that will capture your interest or whatever. And then he will let you run with it. And it's an incredible ability - and sometimes I just wonder if it's just that these are all the things that he has and he just keeps dealing them out like a deck of cards or does he really know you well enough to know that it's time to bring you back in. Or it's time to offer you this rather than this. I really don't know.

Theme IV: Organizational position of teachers within the school

The role teachers take or are allowed to take within a school can have an importan: effect on teacher development. Some environments will draw out a teachers potential and other will inhibit a teachers potential. Teachers taking leadership roles within the school becomes an important source of development and personal satisfaction. Joan explains that a teacher needs to find a place within the structure of the school that will nurture and allow her full potential to come out:

> I think in going into a new school, the one thing that's very difficult, whether your new to the system or new to teaching or new to the particular school, is being able to find that place. To be able to find where it is that you're going to fit in with the skills that you're bringing. Whether or not you're going to tap into the skills and the abilities that the other teachers have. And somehow foster them as well.

Within the school community, Joan believes that it is important for her as a teacher to take a leadership role. She describes her initiative in this area and how it is tied to her own sense of creating a satisfying professional environment.

> I guess the idea of leadership, how do you become as a teacher, how do you become a leader in the school, you just do it. You see something that needs to be done and you just decide and you damn well do it. And the kids learn that and the kids will say things like, "Ms. are you sure that you will be allowed to do this?" And I've heard the other kids answer before I've even opened my mouth, "If she wants it done, it'll be done." And so that's important because as a teacher it's so much of your life, the actual teaching and instruction time inside the classroom.

> we had a couple of us that would draw in a couple of other teachers that were not necessarily all grade nine teachers, but together we sort of

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formed that group that was very instrumental in what happened in that school. And the ability to create within the school a climate of we can do this. We can make these decisions and we have some kind of moral authority to say, that's not right. You shouldn't be doing that.

An important part of the context of the school for a teacher is the relationship with administration Joan talks about the role of administration of supporting teacher initiatives...

And I learned there that you can't wait for the administration to do it. Because it won't get done, so you just do it. And that was one of the things that my principal was very good about was that he let us do it. If we went to him with an idea he never once in 12 years said, "No Joan you can't do that." He supported initiatives, so being given that kind of freedom we tried things, all kinds of things.

Reflections on Joan's Story

Joan's story of development reminds me of a method of acting where the actor consciously lets the character arise out of the context of the story. It seems that Joan's development, in a very real sense has arisen out of the con-*text* of her life. Joan's story speaks to knowing how to find your way around the con-*textual* situation.   Joan's description of how her development as a teacher occurs, is much like Caputo's (1988) description of deconstruction. Caputo writes:

I myself think it better to rewrite deconstruction as a philosophy of experience where experience is willing to confess to its limits, to its inextricable complicity with the textual system which both enables that experience to happen and disables it from trying to detach itself from that system, as if it were some atomic bit of data (p. 66)

In speaking about the difficulty of moving to a new school Joan indicates her understanding of the systemic nature of a school community and sees herself as both fitting in to that system and also adding to it and improving it:

To be able to find where it is that you're going to fit in with the skills that you're bringing. Whether or not you're going to tap into the skills and the abilities that the other teachers have. And somehow foster them as well.

Here Joan seems to be very mindful of her connectedness with others.   Another aspect of this connectedness is her interdependence with students:

you could see them over a whole three years you could see their whole development and you could see their growth and you also new that your growth was very much tied to them.

Clearly relationships with others, teachers, students, family, etc. are what stand out in Joan's story. Joan's development as a teacher is like the vortex that exists behind a large rock in a fast moving stream, as long as the stream continues to flow the vortex is easy to see and describe, but once the stream runs dry the

vortex ceases to exist. It is difficult to imagine Joan's development outside of her relations with others. Joan defines her development in terms of her relations with fellow teachers, students and principals.

Joan also describes a rich and textured interplay of personal and professional meanings. Her notion of an integral, holistic person, seems to fly in the face of technical notions that see teaching as a series of discrete skills that can be infused into teachers. Joan's story is antithetical to separating teaching from the teacher.

There are several different contexts within which Joan has taught. Each one has had a unique affect on her development. It is also apparent that Joan brought a very different personal perspective to each school. It seems that it is through the interplay of her personal context and the context within the school that her development occurs.

Often in the literature, teacher development is conceptualized as something that is put into teachers. There is talk of an infusion type of workshop, or a deficit model that tries to make up shortfalls within teachers, or clinical supervision which implies scientific diagnosis and remediation. In each case the goal of teacher development is trying to compensate for a lack within teachers. Joan speaks of the futility of looking outside of this context for the answer:

> I learned in this last [third permanent teaching] position that I had, was that look around you and use what you have there, because that's what you're stuck with, you're not going to get something poured in from outside. You've got what's there make use of it.

In Joan's narrative she refers to developing what is already there, to bringing out the potential that she possesses, to finding her voice as a teacher. Joan is also attentive to her role in the development of her students. She speaks of her mission to try and enhance the skills, talents and interests that students already possess. To see something in them that they might not even see in themselves:

> What you have to do is go to each kid and find a way of saying, "you know you've done this well. There's something here that tells me you have some skills in this area."

Questioning Linear Notions of Teacher Development

Both of these stories of development draw into question a linear notion of development. They speak to the temporary and unfolding nature of development. It is hard to imagine development as a noun for both Kumar and Joan it makes more sense to use the verb *developing*. In both stories the meaning of development is a process that is very close to the original meaning of the word development - to unwrap or unfold; these narratives speak to an unfolding. Rather than seeing development as working in a particular direction through stages, towards an ultimate destination, (where, at least temporarily you can define your *level* of development) it seems to be much more of a fluid concept, the cite of various crosscurrents, and it is always different depending on the moment that it is being constructed.

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Development and Identity

Both stories of developing are intimately related with identity. Kumar's identity seems to be located within the tension that he feels between the modern world (represented by western development) and the traditional society (represented by the *Bihara*). Kumar has consciously decided to construct his identity and therefore his development along the borders between the modernist and traditional forms. Joan has chosen to construct her identity and her development from the important relationships she has with others situated in a context of which she is very mindful. This close relationship between identity and development highlights the importance of narrative. Kerby (1991) argues that our notion of self, our identity is constructed, and that it is only through narrative and the process of emplotment[10] that we are able to construct this identity. I would extend this argument and say that teacher development is intimately related to our identity and is also constructed and that it is only through narrative that we are able to construct our development. This highlights narrative as a reflective process that is very much intertwined with development.

As I leave these narratives I am left with the question of the place of teacher narratives in the discourse of teacher development. Is there space for these narratives within the dominant discourse of teacher development among policy makers and government officials? Are narratives of teachers destined to being an alternative discourse that is doomed to the margins? If teachers' narratives have something of value to offer, and I think they do, the project then becomes to discover how to make space for this in educational research.

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[10] Kerby writes, "Emplotment, in histories and fictions, takes a prefigured world of events and actions and draws out or proposes a configuration that serves to organize worldly events into meaningful sequences and purposes. This textual structure is in turn the mediating cause of the reader refiguring his or her own world in light of the possibilities offered by experiencing the world of the text. ....Narration draws a figure out of the materials of everyday life but only, finally in order that the story it unfolds returns back to and reconfigures that life (p. 43-44)"

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A POST CRITICAL METHODOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

To some this chapter will seem to be out of place. It is a type of methodological chapter which would typically precede a chapter which presents empirical data. In particular means-ends research, usually starts with the careful planning of the question, then a consideration of research methodology, followed by data gathering, and analysis. This is not the path my research has taken. Rather the narratives began before the question in the form of conversations. It is out of narratives or quasi-narratives (Kerby, 1991), particularly Kumar's that my question was uncovered and I then began collecting data before I gave any thought to research methodology. Even now as I am writing this my thinking about the way research is conducted, and the way I conducted my own research continues to change. Chapter 4 and 5 of this study can be seen as proceeding simultaneously.

The last chapter ended with the question: What is the place of teacher narratives in education research? In the wider context of research what justification can there be for taking something as idiosyncratic and subjective as two teachers narratives of their own development and making it the subject of research. I hope to take up this question and to situate teacher narratives in the wider philosophical discussions about research in general.

I begin by staking out the ground that I stand on as a teacher and researcher and as a constantly *developing* subjectivity. The autobiographical background is used as a backdrop from which to enter into the philosophical literature. This philosophical literature provides a critique of the certainty of science and examines the influence that the postmodern turn has had on research.

The Shifting Ground That I Stand On

The ground I self-consciously occupy as a teacher and a researcher would traditionally place me squarely in the critical tradition, which is associated philosophically with the Frankfurt school and best exemplified today by the writings of Jurgen Habermas. The critical tradition is translated into education as a pedagogy of liberation and an educational theory of opposition or resistance that attempts to interrupt the dominant discourse of education and examine previously taken for granted assumptions upon which it is based. I have felt an attraction

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to those curriculum writers who are often referred to as neo-marxists. In particular Paulo Freire and his book Pedagogy of the Oppressed, struck a very responsive chord in me.

Freire describes the basic project of all people as one of humanizing. He characterized oppression as having a dehumanizing force on both the oppressor and the oppressed and therefore a humanizing project must necessarily set about to eliminate oppression. Schools are seen as reinforcing oppression through the use of a *banking concept* of education where:

> Knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others (Freire, 1970, p. 58).

Here the teacher as a bank clerk dispenses knowledge to the student. Students are seen as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge. Freire identifies this banking system of education as a tool of oppression. Students are never asked to critically consider their reality rather:

> The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness..... the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated (p. 60).

Not only did I see the banking concept at work in my own teaching (something I still struggle with) I also saw myself being the subject of the banking concept of education in many teacher development activities. Often I felt as though I were viewed (and viewed myself) as an empty vessel to be filled up with the most *effective* teaching techniques. In this linear progression from scientific research, to teacher workshops, to classroom practice I experienced much frustration.

This positioning has led to frustration on two levels. Firstly, working with white, urban, and relatively affluent Canadian adolescents, there is a great deal of frustration associated with trying to implement Freire's ideas about education which were originally formed as part of an adult literacy program in rural Brazil. Secondly, having an affinity for a democratic process, there is a great deal of frustration working within an educational system that is very hierarchical and often regards the teachers as the postman delivering other people's mail (Pinar, 1990).

In addition to these concerns I became (and still am) increasingly concerned with the tendency to portray the primary function of education to meet the needs of the job market. As I have argued previously, there seems to be a growing acceptance of the view that the prime function of education is to improve the economy, to produce a generation of workers that will help us to compete with Japan. The governments in many countries in western Europe, North America, Australia and new Zealand have identified education as important vehicle to improving competitiveness. In the face of this success by neoconservative forces in North America, one would think that there would be a unified rallying of the theorists on the left to support the view that the schools prime function is to produce critical citizens who will not only fit into society, but also help to shape it.

Returning to university I took the opportunity to read some of the work of neo-marxists to try and deal with these concerns and frustrations. I discovered a debate or family feud, so to speak, among critical theorists in education. The reason I describe this as a family feud, is partly tongue and cheek, but also partly because I have a sense that those involved in critical pedagogy in schools or in universities see themselves as being quite outside the mainstream, engaged in a kind of David and Goliath struggle against the vested interests that seem to dominate public policy making. It is within this context that criticisms of critical pedagogy, brought out from behind closed doors and aired in public by critical theorists themselves, were received in some quarters as a betrayal of *the cause* by people who should know better. An exemplar of this debate would be Henry Giroux's[11], response to an article by Elizabeth Ellsworth. In 1989 Ellsworth wrote an article entitled: "Why Doesn't this Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy." She described an experience of trying to combat racism and sexism at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), in a graduate course in media studies. Ellsworth focuses on the issue of difference and how every voice in the class (especially the teacher's) must acknowledge its own partialness. In referring to the writings about critical pedagogy Ellsworth states:

> key assumptions, goals, and pedagogical practices fundamental to
> the literature on critical pedagogy - namely, *empowerment,*
> *student voice, dialogue,* and even the term *critical* - are repressive
> myths that perpetuate relations of domination [italics in the
> original] (p. 298).

And later in the same article:

> Although the literature recognizes that teachers have much to learn
> from their students' experiences, it does not address the ways in
> which there are things that I as a professor could never know
> about the experiences, oppressions, and understandings of other
> participants in the class. This situation makes it impossible for
> any single voice in the classroom - including that of the professor
> - to assume the position of centre or origin of knowledge or
> authority, of having privileged access to authentic experience or
> appropriate language. A recognition, contrary to all Western
> ways of knowing and speaking, that all knowings are partial, that
> there are fundamental things each of us cannot know - a situation
> alleviated only in part by the pooling of partial, socially
> constructed knowledges in classrooms - demands a fundamental
> retheorizing of "education" and "pedagogy." (p. 310)

Through this experience Ellsworth realized that even though people in the class were bound together by a common concern for racism on campus, that they came to the class with such varied backgrounds that it was difficult for them to be authentically heard. People of colour felt the pressure of being experts about racism. Not all members of the class felt comfortable with the social action proposed by the class. People subject to different types of oppression felt that their experience might not be valued, white males felt it was difficult to work

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[11] Giroux is a well known curriculum writer, writing from a critical perspective.

through a theory which made them, by virtue of who they were, part of the oppressive group.

Here Ellsworth challenges a central notion of critical theory, that dialogue can lead to consensus. She strikes at a tendency in critical theory to regard the oppressed as monolith and to speak *for* the oppressed while presenting itself as working *with* them. Giroux (1992) in responding to Ellsworth stated:

> Ellsworth's attempt to delegitimate the work of other critical
> educators by claiming, rather self-righteously, the primacy and
> singularity of her own political project appears to ignore both the
> multiplicity of contexts and projects that characterize critical
> educational work and the tension that haunts all forms of teacher
> authority, a tension marked by the potential contradiction of being
> theoretically correct and pedagogically wrong.....she succumbs to
> the familiar academic strategy of dismissing others through the
> use of straw man tactics and excessive simplifications that
> undermine the strengths of her own work and the very nature of
> social criticism itself. This is "theorizing" as a form of bad faith,
> a discourse that has become an all too familiar characteristic of
> many left academics. (P. 133)

I read the Ellsworth article as a thoughtful questioning of critical theory and and a call to find ways of working together across differences rather than ignoring these differences. The charge in Giroux's response, that this is, "theorizing in bad faith," seems rather harsh and, I think, misses the point. Ellsworth alerts us to the tendency of those who write about critical pedagogy to appear to base their writing on actual practices but, "rarely locate theoretical constructs within them." (p. 300) This is a charge to which Giroux is particularly susceptible. This one way transmission of theory into practice (where theory avoids practice), fails to approach praxis (an ideal of critical pedagogy) where theory and practice become posited in the daily life of the classroom. The very jargonized language of the professional journals weighted heavily in the abstract helps build a wall between much of what is called critical theory and actual practice.

I found this questioning of critical pedagogy by one of its own refreshing and distressing. It was refreshing because critical theorists in education had been critical about many things in the past twenty years, but not about their own theory. I found it distressing because by acknowledging partialness and negating universal truth claims and utopian projects the question then becomes, how do we avoid an atomizing paralysis and proceed. In a justification for continuing with the enlightenment project Giroux writes:

> The theoretical sweep may be broad, the sentiment utopian, but
> better this than wallowing in guilt or refusing to fight for the
> possibility of a better world...modernity provides a faith in
> human agency while recognizing that the past is often built on the
> suffering of others. In the best of the Enlightenment tradition,
> reason at least offers the assumption and hope that men and
> women can change the world in which they live. (p.133)

What did all of this mean to me as a teacher and my concerns about teacher development? If I accepted some of the criticisms of critical theory did it necessarily mean that I would wallow in guilt and refuse to fight for the possibility of a better world? Since much of my questioning of teacher development had come from the perspective of critical theory I felt that there was something of value in examining the discourse surrounding critical theory in general, and in particular the debate between critical theorists and a group of writers who refer to themselves or have been referred to as postmodernist.

This family feud in education, among critical theorists or between critical theorists and postmodernists seemed to be an echo of the philosophical debate on the continent between the proponents of critical theory, led by Jurgen Habermas and the group of postmodernist[12] writers, represented by Jean Francois Lyotard and Michel Foucault. A brief consideration of the term *postmodernism* and an outline of the debate between Habermas and Lyotard, as representative of the continental debate, will help to clarify some of the major differences between the critical theorists and postmodernists.

What is at stake in this discussion is whether or not the reconceptualizing critical theory in the light of postmodernist perspectives will allow a new reinvigorated position from which to confront the juggernaut of instrumental rationalism or whether it will lead theorists on the left to be mired in various theoretical and ideological differences that leads to paralysis. As McLaren (1991) warns, in speaking of the politics of the current historical moment, we face an:

> Ideological vacuum ripe for the ascendancy of a neoconservative regime of truth. It is a regime which evinces a persistent tendency to instrumentalize knowledge, strip it of any serious socially emancipatory claims, and evaluate it in terms of its immediate payoff in the capitalist marketplace and its efficacy in transmitting a privileged "white man's" reading of Western culture (p.14).

While I am mindful of McLaren's concern I am also cautious. McLaren's view runs the risk of falling into the trap of a dualistic approach to the world that leads to the battle of competing orthodoxies on both the left and the right. Is there a well organized, ideologically grounded view on the political right; a neoconservative position that needs to be responded to by a unified left? Is it useful to talk about the political 'right' and 'left' in the (as yet undefined) postmodern world? If the answer to these two questions is yes (and I am not sure that it is), the important tactical question is: how do we gather the multiplicity of voices, ecologists & environmentalists, feminists, aboriginals, ethnic and racial minorities etc. (each of which are complex and far from monolithic) to make a unified response? How do we resist an idea of unity that does not imply uniformity?

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12 Postmodernism here is associated with an epistemic and cultural break with modernism and a rejection of any foundational or transcendental ground from which to construct universal truth. This is a complex term which sometimes subsumes poststructuralism and deconstruction. Poststructuralism being an intellectual movement growing out of structuralism and then opposing it. Deconstruction being a rigorous method of analysis. These terms are often disputed by the people they are applied to.

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These questions strike at the very heart of my own sense of mission as a social studies teacher and therefore are crucial to my questioning of teacher development. In a world where the global community needs to respond in a unified (not uniform) way to a host of global problems how do we proceed in light of Ellsworth's concerns of speaking for others? This then is my entry point into the philosophical literature.

Philosophical W(o/a)nderings

It is sometimes difficult to keep notions of the postmodern world separate from *postmodernism*. The philosophical propositions of *postmodernism* however are the subject of much disagreement and there is no clearly defined or unified school of thought that we can point to, to define postmodernism. The word has been stretched over so many disciplines and so many debates that it is in danger of loosing all meaning. Some of the areas Dick Hebdidge (1989) noticed as being described as postmodern are: trends in architecture, layout in a fashion magazine, the implosion of meaning, an anti-teleological tendency, baby boomers confronting middle age, decentering of the subject, incredulity to metanarratives, a new phase in commodity fetishism, the collapse of cultural hier chies, a proliferation of surfaces, the development of Baudrillardian floaung unattached signifiers, the decline of the university, an end to patriarchy and eurocentrism. When these various areas of art, fiction, film, drama, architecture, criticism, sociology etc. can be described as postmodern "then it's clear we are in the presence of a buzzword" (Hebdidge, 1989, p. 182). Hebdidge goes on:

> This is not to claim that because it is being used to designate so much, the term is meaningless ..... [rather] the degree of semantic complexity and overload surrounding the term postmodernism at the moment signals that there is something sufficiently important at stake here to be worth struggling and arguing over (p. 182).

Jean Francois Lyotard, is a prominent member of a group of post structuralist, neo-Nietzschean thinkers who have been described as postmodernists. Lyotard describes postmodern as being, "the state of our culture following the transformations which, since the end of the nineteenth century, have altered the game rules for science, literature and the arts" (quoted in Kellner, 1988, p. 249). Of the three areas mentioned by Lyotard, science (and in particular the scientific method) more, than art and literature, is responsible for much of the certainty of the modern age that is now being challenged by postmodernism. Since postmodernism often identifies the current age as a period when the old guides and authorities are crumbling it is useful to briefly examine the recent history of the debate in the philosophy of science. This will be particularly useful in examining teacher development since many of the dominant forms of teacher development rely on a positivist science for valorization.

A Challenge to the Certainty of Science

The modern era in science is generally believed to have begun in the sixteenth and seventeenth century when people began to challenge the Christian notion that

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the mechanics of the physical world were beyond our comprehension. (Smith, 1982, p. 6) These challenges ultimately led to Isaac Newton's characterization of the universe as a giant watch that operated according to universal laws that "man" could come to know through science. These laws, once discovered, could be used to predict and control nature and ultimately to improve the life of man, and there is ample evidence of science's ability to do just that. The success of the scientific method in the natural sciences prompted many to apply it to the human sciences. This attempt in the early part of the twentieth century sparked a serious philosophical debate first between the natural sciences and the social sciences and later within the natural sciences themselves.

Underlying this debate are two distinct epistemological/ontological positions. On the one hand, growing out of the French and English rationalist tradition, "empiricists have argued that social reality exists independent of our interest in it, facts are separate from values." (Smith and Blase, 1991, p. 6). On the other side are the post-analytic philosophers growing out of the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein, and the Linguistic philosophers, primarily hermeneuticists and phenomenologists such as Wilhelm Dilthey, Hans Georg Gadamer, and Paul Ricoeur, who believe that reality is socially constructed and that facts are not separate from values. In this case "the goal of social inquiry is to reconstruct the meaning or significance of social arrangements and practices" (Little, 1991, p. 68).

Although in North America this debate may be regarded as one between the natural sciences and the humanities, it is quite clear that it has exerted considerable influence over the social sciences. [13] The central issue in this debate is,

> To what degree do the purposes and intentions of the individual affect the experiences he has and consequently the shape of the reality he apprehends, and consequently the knowledge he claims to acquire ? (Howard, 1982, p. ix.)

This debate is characterized as being between a theory of *explanation*, and a theory of *understanding*. It is useful for us to place this debate in an historical context[14] . In recent history explanation theory is associated with the *positivist* school. The origins of positivism in the social sciences can be traced to Vienna. In 1929, a group of academics centered around Moritz Schlick, published a manifesto, "A Scientific Conception of the World: the Vienna Circle." This group advocated establishing the methodology of physics as the normative standard for methodology in the natural and social sciences. It was believed that this methodology would lead to the discovery of law like generalizations or covering laws that would allow scientist to predict and therefore control behaviour.

In education this type of process-product, or means-ends research has, until recently predominated. What was of particular interest to educational

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[13] In the continental philosophy there is only a distinction between the natural sciences *Naturwissenschaften* and the human sciences *Geisteswissenschaften*, and the debate is whether or not the two are conceptually different requiring their different methods (Bernstein, 1983, p. 30)

[14] We should heed the cautionary note sounded by Howard (1982) that if critics of positivism wish to engage in a proper debate they should deal with the current state of *logical empiricism*, and leave earlier positivist claims behind.

researchers, was the establishment of cause and effect relationships between variables within a classroom:

> Underlying this research is a view of teaching as a primarily linear activity wherein teacher behaviours are considered "causes," and student learning is regarded as "effects." (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990, p. 2)

It is important to understand that criticisms of positivism took place much earlier on the continent then they did in North America. As early as 1944 Karl Popper rejected the positivist notion of universal covering laws and developed the idea of the piecemeal social engineer who:

> knows that we can learn only from our mistakes...he will make his way, step by step, carefully comparing the results expected with the look-out for the unwanted consequences of any reform; and he will avoid undertaking reforms of a complexity and scope which make it impossible for him to disentangle cause and effects, and to know what he is really doing. (cited in Gage, 1989, p. 7)

Here we see not a rejection of the scientific method, but a rejection that this method can be used to build "a network of laws that would hold forever everywhere" (Gage, 1989, p. 6). Even Popper's neo-positivism is open to strong criticism. William Dray criticizes the notion of the piecemeal engineer, because, for a behavioural law "to be valid it must be either so general as to apply to any action whatsoever, in which case it is too trivial to provide sufficient explanation, or so specific that only the action in question counts as an instance of it" (cited in Ingram, 1987, p. 4).

A challenge to the positivist position was also mounted by such writers as Paul Feyerabend (Against Method, 1975) and Hans Georg Gadamer (Truth and Method, 1960[15]). These writers challenged the notion that any method offered a transcendental ground which provided access to the Truth. In fact Gadamer emphasized the and in Truth and Method, precisely in order to counteract any attempt to "collapse the conditions of truth into those of the right application of a technique" (Howard, 1982, p. 122).

As these writers were attacking some of the positivist notions in the social sciences, other writers were attacking positivism in the natural sciences. Howard (1982) describes how Georg Henrick von Wright[16], in his book Causality and Determinism (1974) developed the argument that science could only develop explanations for bits and pieces of the universe, but not for the entire universe. Von Wright believed that any experiment constituted a closed system, and since closed systems do not occur naturally in the world it required action on the part of the experimenter to interfere with nature and close the system. Thus the

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[15] Truth and Method, was published in German in 1960, but wasn't translated into English until 1975.

[16] Von Wright is representative of analytic philosophers who draws heavily on the work of Ludwig Wittgenstein.

experimenter must necessarily stay outside the closed system in order to conduct the experiment and this precludes the possibility of an experiment that would be able to test a universal hypothesis. Von Wrights also identified the experimenter as a system unto herself that needed to be considered.

The positivist notion that variable a causes b was also challenged by von Wright. He argued that rather than single variables, there were systems that were set in motion by one or more variables. He developed the notion of necessary and sufficient conditions to replace the earlier notion that a caused b. For example in order for combustion to occur, oxygen is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Oxygen must be be present in order for combustion to occur, but just because it is does not mean that combustion will occur. In the case of an allergy, animal fur may be a sufficient condition to cause a rash but it may not be a necessary condition. The person may also get the same allergic reaction from eating chocolate. In this case both chocolate and animal fur would be sufficient conditions but neither one would be a necessary condition.

The important conclusion at the end of this proposition is that the positivist notion of universal laws is inherently wrong - we can only discover causal determinism for small fragments of the world (closed systems) and not for the world in totality. That is because the experimenter must be outside a system in order to close it and no person is able to step out of the universal system. There is also the system of the researcher herself, who must engage in intentional action to interfere with nature. Therefore the intentionality of the experimenter must be considered.

It is interesting to note that the debate that was originally between the natural sciences and the social sciences has now become a debate within the natural sciences themselves. To illustrate this we can look at two summaries of the debate which seem to resonate with von Wright's position. Bernstein (1983, p.32-33) summarizes the work of Mary Hesse, and the distinctions that she makes between the natural sciences and the social sciences, and she later applies these distinctions to the debate within the natural sciences. House (1991, p. 3) makes very similar distinctions within the natural sciences. The first group of characteristics he labels positivist science and the second group he labels *scientific realism*. The major tenants scientific realism are:

1. Facts and data are not detachable from theory, rather knowledge is a social and historical product and as such has to be reconstructed in the light of interpretation. (Bernstein,1983: House, 1991)

2. "The real world is complex and stratified so that one is always discovering more complex layers of reality to explain other levels"(House, 1991, p. 3).

3. The Humean billiard ball notion of *a* causes *b* is replaced by the idea that events are always outcomes of complex causal configurations:

Because events are the result of a multiplicity of causes, explanations usually identify a number of interacting causes that joined together to produce the event, for example, historical explanations (House, 1991, p.6).

4. The natural science law like relations asserted of experience are internal,

because what count as facts are constituted by what the theory says about their inter-relations with one another (Hesse, Quoted in Bernstein, 1983, p. 32)

"Scientific explanation is not subsumption under covering laws but explanation of how structures of different kinds produce events" (House 1991, p. 3)

Education, like most social sciences, suffered from a serious case of 'Physics envy'. Researchers tried to imitate their counterparts in the natural sciences, in order to try and achieve similar status. Educational researchers adopted many of the practices of physics, the null hypothesis, statistics, research designs, verification, prediction etc. When at the turn of the century Newtonian physics was turned on its head by the work of quantum theorist Max Planck and later Albert Einstein, few members in the educational research community took any notice, but continued with inquiry methods based on an obsolete understanding of physics. This was not the case in other social sciences. As early as 1927, in his presidential address to the American Political Science Association, , William Bennett Munro stated:

> The general acceptance of the quantum theory has wrought a revolution in all the exact sciences. Even the chief cornerstone of the old physics, the law of gravitation, has been jolted out of place...A revolution so amazing in our ideas concerning the physical world must inevitably carry its echoes into other fields of human knowledge....The sudden acquisition of much physical knowledge which has marked the first quarter of the twentieth century...would seem to suggest the timeliness of examining once again the old foundations of political sciences upon which we have built our theories concerning the citizen's relation to his government.[17]

The project of prediction and control, deeply embedded in Western science, is however, in disrepute in the foundational science of physics. As Cziko (1989) points out:

> What is surprising, however, is that whereas the physical sciences have now clearly discarded this view of the physical universe as a giant, predetermined clock, this perspective still dominates mainstream "scientific" educational research. In the y of physics, the Newtonian view has given away this ainty to a much more complex and puzzling view of nature. row Popper's (1979) analogy, the Newtonian view that all ugly unpredictable phenomena (such as the formation and nents of clouds) are actually in essence as predictable as has been replaced by the opposite view that all physical ena (including all phenomena seemingly as predictable as are in essence as predictable as clouds. (P. 23)

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[17] Originally published in the *American Political Science Review*, Volume XXII Feb, 1928, pp. 1 - 10. Reprinted in Becker, T. Ed. (1991). Quantum Politics: Applying Quantum Theory to Political Phenomena.

Those types of educational research that have tried to focus more on understanding and interpretation, such as the various kinds of hermeneutics, phenomenology, poststructural theory, have often placed themselves in opposition to the Newtonian scientific view. What insights can the social sciences gain from a closer examination of quantum theory to alter this type of schism?

Quantum theory holds that "the world is a mass of uncertainties piling up into likelihoods" (Schuck & Haggerson, 1991, p.59). The problem is the way in wnich positivist research attempts to simplify and isolate variables from complex interdependent systems. Quantum theory for almost a century has indicated that we can only understand the behaviour of atoms in relation to other atoms. Planck's discovery that the electron sometimes behaves as a particle and sometimes as a wave, Einstein's application of Planck's theory in the study of light, and Stephen Hawking's work on the origins of the universe, all indicate that we can only understand things in relation to other things. David Bohm and Fritjof Capra have put forth the view of the world is an undivided wholeness. The universe itself, is believed to be made up of a multitude of interdependent systems subsumed under one giant interdependent system.

Gus di Zerga (1991) has put forth the argument that our common-sense belief that the world is made up of things that enter into relations with one another is wrong. Rather the world is made up of relationships that we try to isolate into things. Within quantum theory there is a serious challenge to models of reality that depend on locality. Di Zerga cites the work of physicist, John Stewart Bell, who devised a proof that shows that the reality we see is supported by an invisible reality which is unmediated, unmitigated, and faster than light. (Herbert, Cited in di Zerga, 1991).

Quantum theory has opened the door on several new ways of viewing reality. Although it would seem premature and ill advised to lean too heavily on any one of these views, what is clear is the the Newtonian view of the world is woefully inadequate. Our technology has afforded us new perspectives from which to view reality. Like the flea who has jumped off the elephant and looks back and sees that he had been living on a living being; the powerful image of the Earth, photographed from outer space, has lent credence to the view that we live on a world which is an indivisible whole. The *one world* ethic that has long been a rallying cry for various groups expressing solidarity with the people of the Southern hemisphere may be proven to be much more than an idealistic aphorism. In fact quantum theory challenges at the deepest level our own identities, which are wrapped up in the western egoistic model of what it means to be a person.

Quantum theory provide us with a much different view of science then the narrow positivist stance, and it calls into question previous *rules* and universalistic *truth* claims made in the past. Postpositivist science seems to prefer the *thick* explanation of the context and acknowledges the complexities of each situation. In particular it rejects simplistic causal relations between single variables in favour of causal structures. Most important, if these questions can be raised in the natural sciences they become amplified in the social sciences. This retreat from totalizing universality in science creates the condition of postmodernism that Harding describes:

As we study our world today, there is an uneasy feeling that we

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have come to the end of science, that science as a unified objective endeavour is over...This leads to grave epistemological concerns. If science does not speak about extrahistorical, universal laws, but is instead social, temporal and local, then there is no way of speaking of something real beyond science that science merely reflects (cited in Lather, 1991c, p. 4).

No longer can science be re⸱ 'ed as providing an unproblematic, transparent access to reality. In the ⸱ ⸱ of the loss of certainty, and the challenge to the view that sci⸱⸱nce constitutes a transcendental ground from which we can access *Truth*, v⸱ʼnat can be used as the standard by which we are able to make judgments. Does this mean that we will necessarily accept postmodernism's notion, advocated by Chambers, that there is no transcendental point from which to make judgments:

> For if we live in a world, that is, a world of our making, in which
> there is no ultimate foundation to nature or being, then there can
> be no 'original', no zero point, or day of creation, from which
> everything commences (1990 p. 62).

The question of whether there is some zero point some anchor from which we can begin to make judgments about the world is precisely the question that has been debated by Lyotard and Habermas.

Beyond Relativism and Objectivism

Lyotard argues that the belief that there is no transcendental ground from which to make judgments leads to the death of the metanarrative. A metanarrative for Lyotard is any discourse of legitimation; for example "historical accounts of the past and correlative anticipations of the future of a people, nation, or other community which perform functions of social integration and political legitimation" (Dews, 1986, p. 6). Habermas working out of the *Frankfurt School's* tradition of critical theory believes that what is at stake in Lyotard's claim of the death of the metanarrative is the end of the enlightenment project

For Habermas, the problem posed by "incredulity towards metanarratives" is that unmasking only makes sense if we preserve at least one standard for the explanation of the corruption of all reasonable standards (Rorty, 1985, p. 162).

What is the one standard that Habermas would preserve to allow us to continue the *unmasking* of corruption? Initially Habermas believed that the doctor - patient relationship in psychoanalysis, at least the dialogical form of psychoanalysis where the subject is both the object of study and the one doing the studying, provided a model for the unmasking of distortions. This critical reflection becomes the means by which distortions that corrupt the text can be uncovered and also the meaning of these distortions, and their source will become known.

Habermas later adopts a linguistic model of the sender and receiver. This fits better with Habermas's view that man's nature is defined socially before he is defined individually. This is also more in line with the emphasis Habermas places on dialogue. This emphasis on dialogue is illustrated by, "the view... that we

should think of objectivity as the quality of a set of opinions that can be successfully argued rather than as a quality of the perception of things" (Howard, 1982, p. 115).

Habermas believed that the subjectless, instrumental interests of the natural sciences do not apply to the intersubjectivity of the social sciences. Rather in the emancipatory project:

> Habermas's task, ... is ropose a set of ideal speech conditions where discourse may be seen to reveal both the possibility of and the criteria for unmasking discourse's own corruptions.
> (Howard, 1982, p. 117)

Finally, Habermas offers up the notion of communicative action. He distinguishes this from Strategic action, which refers to "agreement reached through the coercion of minor psychological distortions, fear, rewards and punishments, or factors other than assent to reasons or grounds" (Young, 1988, p. 49). Communicative action on the other hand is premised on undistorted communication, the only acceptable form of persuasion is persuasion by force of argument. This becomes the privileged vantage point from which Habermas proposes that we evaluate systems. Habermas accuses Lyotard of abandoning the idea of the "better argument for the argument that convinces a given audience at a given time (Rorty, 1985, p. 162).

Lyotard sees Habermas as valorizing metanarratives over first order narratives. This is seen as characteristic of the modernist quest for certainty. Lyotard is critical of Habermas's belief, "that humanity as a collective (universal) subject seeks its common emancipation through the regularization of the moves permitted in all language games, and that legitimacy of any statement resides in its contribution to that emancipation" (Rorty, 1985, p. 162).

Lyotard claims that the consensus that Habermas seeks (through communicative action) is only a particular state of discussion [in the sciences] not its end, its end, according to Lyotard is paralogy. Rorty (1985) states that to, "say that science aims at piling paralogy[18] upon paralogy is like saying that politics aims at piling revolution on revolution" (1985, p. 163). This seems to be a cry for certainty from Rorty, and implies that paralogy will lead to anarchy. On the other hand Fritzman describes Lyotardian paralogy as "That which refines our sensitivity to differences and reinforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable via the constant search for new ideas and concepts that introduces dissensus into consensus" (cited in Lather, 1991c, p. 7).

Typically we can at this point identify a dialectic: If we side with Lyotard in this debate the question becomes, will we succumb to a facile relativism or nihilism, can we accept our own and other's partialness without sinking into a sense of separateness and paralysis that prevents any attempt at collective struggle for a better world? If we agree with Habermas the question then becomes, can we engage in an emancipatory social theory that is itself not oppressive and does not silence or speak for the disenfranchised voices of the oppressed by the imposition

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[18] Paralogy refers to an argument that may appear correct to someone but in fact is not. These would include arguments that are false either because of mistakes in logic, ambiguities in meaning and logic or a psychological tendency to be convinced by reasons that are not good reasons. In this sense it refers more to ambiguities and paradox.

of theory? Does giving up foundationalism necessarily mean giving up the emancipatory project? Perhaps we can escape this dialectic and move beyond objectivism and relativism. We do not have to make an *either or* choice, there is room for some kind of middle ground.

One argument for this middle ground is put forward by Bernstein (1983) when he refers to the Cartesian anxiety as - "the quest for some fixed point, some stable rock upon which we can secure our lives against the vicissitudes that constantly threaten us" (p.18). Bernstein's position is that both the relativist and objectivist position is based on an acceptance of the Cartesian persuasion and that by rejecting or as he says, "exorcising the Cartesian anxiety" the dichotomy will lose its plausibility. He goes on to say that there has been a shift in the post empiricist thinking, away from atomization (the isolated incident that stands alone) to the recognition of the historical context in which the scientific thought takes place - he describes this from moving from the term to the sentence.

This middle ground is also given the name *critical postmodernism* by Hebdidge (1989) as he describes Hal Foster's Preface to *The Anti-Aesthetic* :

> [Foster] distinguishes between neoconservative, anti-modernist
> and critical postmodernism, and points out that whereas some
> critics and practitioners seek to extend and revitalize the modernist
> project(s), others condemn modernist objectives and set out to
> remedy the imputed effects of modernism on family life, moral
> values etc.; while still others , working in a spirit of ludic and/or
> critical pluralism, endeavour to open up new discursive space and
> subject positions outside the confines of established practices.."
> (p. 185)

It is this third position of *Critical Postmodernism* which Foster favours. As Hebdidge says, "there are many good things to be grown in the autumn of the patriarch" (p. 225). Hebdidge expands on this notion of critical postmodernism, without giving it that name:

> If postmodernism means putting the Word in its place in this way,
> if it means opening up to critical discourse of lines of enquiry
> which were formerly prohibited, of evidence which was
> previously inadmissible so that new and different questions can
> be asked and new and other voices can begin asking them; if it
> means opening up of institutional and discursive spaces within
> which more fluid and plural social and sexual identities may
> develop; if it means the erosion of triangular formations of power
> and knowledge with the expert at the apex and the "masses" at the
> base, if in a word, it enhances our collective (and democratic)
> sense of possibility, then I for one am a postmodernist" (p. 226).

Another view of this middle ground between critical theory and a nihilistic view of postmodernism is the feminist theory described by Grosz (cited in Lather, 1991b)

> Feminist theory is neither subjective nor objective, neither
> relativist nor absolutist: it occupies the middle ground excluded by

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oppositional categories....Absolutism and relativism both ignore
the concrete functioning of power relations and the necessity of
occupying a position... (p.115)

Lather (1991b) argues that relativism and absolutism are both sides of the same
coin. It does not make sense to argue against relativism unless there is some
transcendental foundation, some vantage point that provides access to the universal
Truth; in this sense relativism would mean ignoring this privileged vantage point.
With the debunking of foundationalism, we should also see the debunking of the
binary world view of relativism and absolutism. Lather sees fears of relativism as
a reflection of Eurocentric, male arrogance reflected in the belief that if we can't
know every thing, we can know nothing. Making the charge of relativism is also
seen as way of protecting the legitimacy of a socially constructed knowledge that
privileges the voices of white, eurocentric, males.

The Junction of Critical Theory and Postmodernism

Lather places herself at the junction between the emancipatory project of
critical theory and postmodernism. Writing out of what she calls the "feminist,
poststructural frame," she tries to answer the question where do we go from
here? With the "here" referring to the anti foundational, post positivist moment.
Lather (1991b) offers us this quote from Marcuse and Fischer, "In periods when
fields are without secure foundations, practice becomes the engine of innovation."
Focusing on practice and context moves us, beyond objectivism and relativism to
knowledges that are partial, context specific, and plural.

One way to move towards a post critical research is to draw on Gadamer's
notion of horizons. According to Gadamer each of us has a horizon that is a
product of a particular place and time and culture. Our historical consciousness
operates beyond our wanting and doing, it is our being within a particular horizon,
a horizon that we have no control over that determines our perspective. We can
only judge our own horizon through encounters with other horizon's or more
properly with the horizon of the "other." Dicenso (1990) explains:

> The hermeneutical encounter with tradition, which transforms
> both the past and present, is articulated as a 'fusion of horizons'
> (horizontverschmelzunt). Gadamer defines his use of the term
> horizon as "the range of vision that includes everything that can
> be seen from a particular vantage point...The text itself constitutes
> an "other" that can never be known in totality and therefore this
> prevents the closing of horizons. (p.100)

The notion of listening to the *other*, to aid rather than oppress the development of
the self is taken up by Giroux (1991):

> To engage in issues of the construction of the self is to address
> questions of history, culture, community, language, gender, race
> and class. It is to raise questions regarding what pedagogical
> practices need to be employed that allow students to speak in
> dialogical contexts that affirm, interrogate, and extend their
> understandings of themselves and the global contexts in which

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they live. (p.54)

It is this openness to the other, the belief that the other may offer a valid stand point which will help us interrogate our own horizon, which provides us with a starting point that is neither objective nor relative. The notion of fusing horizons compels us to acknowledge our own partialness and to seek out the other. It is from this position that we move from the metanarrative to the narrative as one way of fulfilling a post - critical project.

These two characteristic of inquiry 1) the shift from metanarratives to first order narratives, and 2) contextualization with the focus on practice as the site of innovation, that spur me on to my narrative inquiry. As we turn to daily practice as the place to *ground* our enquiries we can heed Ellsworth's (1989) caution not to speak for others in a way that silences them or distorts their own voice. Rather we can adopt a different position, as in the forward to Lather's (1991b) book Getting Smart, Michael Apple states:

> We must shift the role of critical intellectuals *from* being universalizing spokespersons to acting as cultural workers whose task it is to take away barriers that prevent people from speaking for themselves. (p.ix)

These voices from the academy provide a theoretical and philosophical home for teacher narratives that can help guide my inquiry. Using first order narratives that produce second order themes for our consideration has it's own special questions or concerns that do not so much have to be answered as they have to be borne in mind. Lather (1991a) identifies three problems or questions that must be considered in research:

1. *Problems of description and interpretation* - We do not so much describe as inscribe, researchers are filters through which experience is shaped and given meaning. The writer is always in the text - one among many creating meaning. How does the writer acknowledge his own perspective and vested interest without placing himself back at the centre of things; how does the author speak from a decentred position of acknowledged, vested interest.

2. *The staging of knowledge* - is using language to give the appearance of objectivity a lie? Should we consider data more as a way of telling a many faceted story. The data is used to make the story more vivid as opposed to trying to support or prove:

> Turning the text into a display and interaction among perspectives and presenting material rich enough to bear re-analysis in different ways brings the reader into the analysis and displaces the researcher as the *authority*. (Lather, 1991a, p. 157)

3. *The social relations of the research act*: who speaks for whom becomes a central question. Lather claims we must counteract what Foucault calls the great interpreter.

Lather has pointed up some interesting ways of dispersing the power of the author via polyvocality, attending to the politics of the gaze, of who is speaking

for whom, foregrounding the ways we inevitably write ourselves into our texts, inviting other voices into the interpretation and presentation and coauthoring between the gazer and the gazed upon.

There are many subtle layers of power that the researcher has in collecting and interpreting, and presenting data. It becomes important to to pay full attention to the research process itself. In particular the relationship between the researcher and the researched must be brought into sharper focus around the notion of collaboration.

Issues of Collaboration

In education a variety of writers have argued for the inclusion of teachers voices in educational decision making as a simple acknowledgement of the realities of the classroom. Aoki (1990), has argued for a recognition of the distinction that exists between the 'curriculum as plan' (government documents) and the 'curriculum as lived' in the classroom, and has called for a reciprocal invitation between the two. The curriculum according Aoki must contain an invitation to students and teachers and "the curriculum-as-plan must wait outside the classroom door for an invitation from teachers and students" (p.40). If this is to become a reality the ability of teachers to exercise their professional judgment must be developed and encouraged. Clearly this vision rejects the notion of teachers (and students) as passive receivers of curriculum. Carson (1990) has stressed the importance of including the voices of teachers in determining educational change which seems driven by talk of inputs and outputs with "precious little attention ...given to what goes on in between" (p.21). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1990) and Elliott (1991), have stressed the importance of teachers becoming involved in research as a route to the emancipation of teachers and a way to close the gap between theory and practice. Finally Elbaz (1990) and Connelly and Clandinin (1990), have stressed the importance of teachers knowledge by advocating the use of teacher narrative as a means of professional development.

These authors all emphasize that change, improvement and development are all things that must begin with the teacher and attend to the context within which teaching takes place. This is not to argue that we must become parochial in education, quite the opposite. It does however emphasize the dialogic nature of teacher development and the need for teachers to develop as educational leaders in contact with other educational leaders.

One of the ways to deal with the questions raised by Lather, is to consider the role of the teacher in educational research from being an object of inquiry to being an active subject. It was in the context of an action research group that I began a narrative inquiry into teacher development with my co-researchers. In both action research and narrative inquiry the context is a starting point for research and the teacher can be both the subject and object of the research. In both collaboration is an important element. The discussion about collaboration that follows draws mostly on action research literature but I feel much of it is applicable to this narrative inquiry.

For teachers to become involved in research, many hurdles have to be overcome. Some of the major hurdles are simply logistical ones. Teachers do not have any of the supports that traditional researchers have, such as time, facilities,

preparation or reward structure (McDaniel, cited in Kelsay, 1991, p. 14). This usually means that for the teacher to become a researcher, it is usually a collaboration between an outside researcher (with all of the traditional supports) and a classroom teacher. Here Habermas's notion of undistorted communication is put to the test, and participants need to work through a variety of problems related to collaboration. Rahnema (1990) raises this question in his discussion of the use of participatory action research in international development:

> Can [participatory action research]...prevent, altogether, the various manipulations intrinsic to intervention?.... Is it not more probable 'hat the ongoing processes of cooption will ultimately, often indirectly, help refine and reinforce the major design of conventional developers? (Rahnema, 1990. pp. 209)

There is often a fine line between authentic participation and cooption, and this becomes even more important when one considers the hierarchical nature of changes in education in the past 20 years. Traditional research could be regarded as constituting an oppressive system where the agenda for the research is set by expert researchers without consideration for the concern of practitioners. Does introducing the notion of collaboration change that relationship? Ayers (1988)warns:

> The problem, of course, is the ease with which an oppressive system can tolerate and absorb challenge and alternative without altering fundamental exploitive and oppressive relations. (p. 3)

The notion of participation must become a subject of discussion for those involved in research and everyone must acknowledge the fine line between participation and cooption. The participants themselves must reach some clear consensus on what participation means. If you want to establish an egalitarian relationship you must deal with the problem van Manen identifies:

> In spite of the attempts to break down distinctions between those who have special knowledge and those who do not, teachers tend to see the university based researchers as someone with a certain resourcefulness that they themselves do not have (1990, p. 3).

This presents a dilemma. On the one hand you want research directed and decisions made by all of the participants on the other hand you want to make use of the expertise of the outside participants. Tripp (1990)asks, how do you ensure that help does not become direction?

> One has to negotiate the kind of balance that it is appropriate to achieve between directly helping the participants (and so perhaps lessening their autonomy and independence) and withholding assistance (and so perhaps allowing them to make known mistakes and reinvent the wheel). (p. 164)

Cooption by those in power and manipulation by experts are two ways of preventing authentic participation by teachers in research. John Elliott (1990) raises another interesting question about the teachers relationship with academia in general:

Are the academics transforming the methodology of teacher-based educational inquiry into a form which enables them to manipulate and control teachers' thinking in order to reproduce the central assumptions which have underpinned a contemplative academic culture detached from the practices of everyday life? (p. 8)

This litany of cautions about manipulation and cooption are not meant as criticisms of collaborative research, rather they should serve to engender a healthy skepticism, remembering always that calling a relationship collaborative does not mean that it is so.

Lather (1986) argues for a emancipatory research that does not impose theory on people but rather leads to critical self reflection. She identifies several important conditions that enable this to occur. The sharing of power between the researcher and the researched, where the line between the two is at the very least blurred and should perhaps disappear, in that both interact to facilitate change in the other. Another important condition is establishing reciprocity, which means that meaning and power are negotiated.

A good example of different levels of reciprocity is a series of three studies each one about the same teacher, Susan Hall. In the first study, Grant (1991) entered Hall's classroom as a non-participant observer. At the end of the study Hall expressed her concerns about this approach, and her feelings of resentment in not knowing what impressions the researcher was recording, and the fact that she got very little feedback. In fact because of her negative experience in this first research project Hall was determined to refuse to participate in future research projects. When Hall was approached a second time by a different researcher, she changed her mind when she found that this researcher (Sigrun Gudmunsdottir) wanted to take a participant observer approach. Hall describes this experience:

> With Sigrun [Gudmunsdottir], the process was different. She
> was around for so long and had so much interaction with me, that
> I felt as though she were a friend taking my class. (Hall & Grant,
> 1991)

After working through her anger about the first project, and because of her positive experience in the second project, Hall has agreed to work with Grant (the first researcher) a second time, on a third project. This time rather then taking the independent approach of the earlier study, the two are collaborating in an *interdependent* approach. Susan Hall no longer participates in the research simply as a favour to the researcher, but views the collaborative relationship as valuable to her, facilitating her own reflection and improvement through constant dialogue. According to Hall it is reciprocity that makes the research valuable to her.

Teacher Development as a Matter of Form and Substance

I would like to close this chapter by addressing the issue raised by Hall and that is the value of research to the practitioner. In some instances teachers choose to become involved in research because of the benefits to their own development. Many researchers identify the growth in self awareness of participants as one of the important benefits of this type of research(Elliott, 1990; Oja & Smulyan,

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1989). Self awareness, I believe, is one important strand of teacher development.

Kerby (1991) argues that our identity does not exist outside of our constructing it and it is only through narrative that we are able to construct our identity. It was my hope that this study would help all participants, myself included, in the ongoing construction of our narrative. It was my hope that teacher development would not only be the subject of this inquiry but also, for the participants, its result.

Being mindful of the power position of a researcher and about issues of collaboration, I felt a strong attraction to most of the suggestions for dispersing the power of the researcher. i.e.involving the gazed upon in activities like, reading and writing, responding to others interpretation, co-authoring.   Although these ideas sound good, how is it possible to engage the gazed upon in the activities required to do the research in this manner, when the gazed upon happen to be teachers engaged in a very busy practice?

The practical realities of doing research need to be addressed. However much one might like to involve people in the research there comes a point at which quest for collaboration becomes an imposition. In this study the participants were interested in the research and gracious enough to share their stories. In the final analysis though, this study was based on my question, it was not their question. Therefore it is questionable to what extent and in what sense this could be called collaborative research.

CHAPTER SIX

RECONCEPTUALIZING DEVELOPMENT

Lather (1991b) talks about self-reflexivity in research, which she explains as using a narrative versus an argumentative rationality. The latter creates winners and losers while the former works to illustrate rather than claim. Rather than use data to support an argument they are used demonstrably, performatively. In this study there has already been, not a little argumentative rationality. In this section I hope to be *self-reflexive* in the sense that Lather uses the term. I value this perspective as one that will do more to open up *divers conversations* (Hart, 1991), about development and be more in keeping with recognizing my own partiality.

My original question was, What are the meanings of development for teachers? I first came to this question approximately four years ago. As I try to draw together the various strands of this study I need to remind myself that the purpose of this study is to open up the word development to try to understand not to explain. I am tempted to feel frustrated that this effort has not provided some sort of final or definitive answer; even though intellectually I knew when I started this work that finality was not the aim of the study. Still my inner impulse draws me towards an attempt to simplify my world I return to the words that I began this study with in the hope that they will help to guide me away from the impulse to a final answer:

> From a hermeneutic perspective there can be no such thing as a final "truth" of the human subject and the human condition, for we investigators are not the disengaged spectators that such a scientific inquiry would require. We are ourselves the subject of the inquiry, and the asking of the question is a considerable part of what it means to be such a subject. (Kerby, 1991, p.14)

So, I am left with my question, What are the meanings of development? Following Kerby, I can honestly say that there is no final truth, but I can talk about development "for me now" and I would like to revisit some of my concerns about development and sketch out some facets of a reconceptualized notion of development.

One of my concerns about teacher development grew out of what I saw as an objectification of teachers as they became view as tools of the state to carry out ideological goals. In both teacher development and international development there is the notion that development is something that can be aimed at people and the people themselves are often seen as obstacles to development. According to this view the purpose of development is to move people or societies to some externally predetermined state. I see this linear view of development growing out of two sources, 1) positivistic notions of research that attempt, in the final analysis, to predict and control what they research and 2) the dominance of economic discourse in education and international development. Development in this sense becomes instrumental in achieving the developed state.

In chapter 2 I try to show that the developed state being sought, meaning a Western industrialized lifestyle, is itself unobtainable and that the attempt to obtain it is destructive. Not only is it destructive environmentally but it is often destructive culturally by denigrating indigenous practices in favour of Western methods and goals. It is the questioning of development at a conceptual level in international development that led me to question development in education.

Using international development as an analogy to teacher development is problematic. First of all it is ridiculous to equate teachers to the poor of other countries. Teachers in Canada generally lead privileged lives compared to many others within rich countries and astronomically privileged lives when compared to the vast majority of people living on the planet. In terms of power and influence within the society, the comparison of teachers to the poor and dispossessed of the southern hemisphere, who are the supposed recipients of development, does not stand up well. It is, however, the way in which development is conceived and implemented that provides us with a valuable connection between international development and teacher development.

In both teacher development and international development the "developed state" has been conceived and articulated by outside experts, and the targets of development, the people being developed, have been subjected to an instrumental rationalism where the main purpose is to efficiently achieve the developed state. It is at this conceptual level that the questioning of development takes place. Several of the questions about development emerge from the discourse of international development are applicable to teacher development. How is the notion of the "developed state" conceived and for whom is it conceived? What are the power relations involved and the underlying ideologies in a particular view of the developed state? Most importantly, the view that development as the process of trying to achieve some "predetermined state" is questioned.

Moving into the educational literature the notion of development becomes further complicated as teacher development becomes the site of an interplay among competing goals, different historical movements, and current ideological struggles. Although this discourse reveals the complexity of teacher development there is a missing component, the voices of teachers describing their own development. I asked the question what is the place of teachers voices in research?

In chapter 5 I tried to make the case for the place of teachers' voices in

research. As forms of *explanation* theory move over to make room for *understanding* theory in the social sciences, both the form and content of research changes. The loss of certainty that was represented by positivistic research, creates a serious complication for linear theories of development. In particular, projects whose function is to predict and control teacher development based on so called objective and ideologically neutral research is especially problematic. Exemplars of this type of criticism of development theory would be Carol Gilligan's (1982) work in the area of moral development and her assertion that Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development are gender biased in favour of men. An extension of this work in education is Robertson's (1992) critique of Bruce Joyce and Beverly Showers book, Student Achievement Through Staff Development. In this critique, Robertson points out that, far from being neutral and objective, Joyce and Showers present a hierarchy of personality traits which place male characteristics at the very top of the hierarchy.

The belief that method provided a transcendental ground from which to uncover the truth has now been challenged by a notion that research is ideologically situated in various contexts of power and authority, and that the research tends to reproduce these relationships. What this means for teacher development is perhaps a new appreciation for the rich complexity of the ways in which teachers develop. Positivism has been displaced along with attempts to establish universal truth claims in the social sciences. This has opened up the research to voices previously existing on the margins, including teacher narratives.

Narrative research brings with it, its own particular methodological questions. One important area reviewed at the end of chapter 5 centered around questions of collaboration and the exercise of power between the gazer and the gazed upon. In particular the idea of appropriation and distortion of another person's story to meet the ends of the researcher is raised. These are important questions, and one's I tried to be conscious of during my research. I referred to Lather's (1986) suggestion that power be dispersed by inviting other voices into the text and coauthoring. Although these suggestions strike a responsive chord in me they are subject to some of the practical realities of doing research. How is it possible to engage the gazed upon in the activities required to do the research in this manner (reading and writing, responding to others interpretation) when both the gazer and the gazed upon happen to be teachers engaged in a very busy practice? At some point I had to acknowledge that the questions about development were *my* questions and that although Kumar and Joan had been gracious enough to assist me with my research and they were welcome to be involved at some point requests for involvement become an imposition.

Revisiting the Joan's Narrative

A year after our original meeting, Joan and I met to revisit this *text* of our conversation.[19] I was also interested in how Joan's impressions about teacher development might have changed over the past year. During the year Joan had been very busy teaching, feeling quite consumed by the job. She had returned to the classroom after a half year sabbatical. At this time Joan faced the challenge of moving to a new school for the first time in over 10 years and of moving from a

[19] Kumar was out of the country at this time, and although he had read the work the previeous summer, we did not have time to meet.

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junior high school to a high school. I had asked Joan to read over the quotes I had chosen to use and we met to discuss the way I had presented them.

In preparing this part of the study (chapter 4) I had reached a point of near paralysis. I was not quite comfortable interpreting someone else's story. I was worried that I had somehow misunderstood Joan's words and would offend her, or that I had used my position of researcher and *interpreter* to appropriate and to distort *her* story. What follows is my description of our conversation. This rendering was also subject to Joan's editing.

As Joan and I went over the text of our previous conversation she talked about the temporary nature of her thoughts about her own development and how they change over time. As I listened to her talk and thought about it later, I felt that the changes were mostly in the focus and emphasis that she gave to different aspects of her development but not in fundamental beliefs about development. Relationships with others and the context within which she worked were still the primary sources of Joan's development.

One of the first things she mentioned in looking back over the past year was the conflict she felt between Joan the person and Joan the teacher in the sense of the various *external* expectations placed on Joan the teacher. Joan talked about the source of these external expectations: the written curriculum prescribed by the department of education, public opinion and the comments of politicians about education (at the time of this conversation then Prime Minister Campbell had just made a public pronouncement about how schools are failing children), expectations of parents, and expectations of the students themselves. Joan reflected upon the fact that one of the most powerful conflicts between how she wanted to be as a teacher and how others expected her to be arose with her own students. She talked about a particular grade 10 class that refused to allow her to do anything that deviated from a traditional teacher centered, subject fragmented approach.

> The kids box you in as a teacher and won't let you try anything.
> For instance I tried to bring in a story that related to the Social
> Studies topic we were studying but I was met with so much
> resistance! The kids would say, 'This isn't Social Studies'.
> Where do they learn this? Even a collage or some kind of visual
> display, to them it just wasn't Social Studies. There was such
> hostility towards anything that was different. (conversation,
> August 12, 1993)

Although the focus is a little different this comment reinforces Joan's observation, in our earlier conversation, about the important role students played in her development as a teacher and the interdependent nature of this relationship. In many ways teacher development is tied to student development and vice versa.

Joan talked about the fact that as a teacher, one's personal voice is only one of many competing voices trying to determine how you will be as a teacher. In this sense Joan talks about trying to decentre herself in her role as a teacher, to stand outside of her teacherly facade, so to speak, and be attentive to these other voices. This creates a sense of conflict within Joan, because how she teaches is very much related to who she is. When I told Joan that I was having a difficult

time separating ideas about development from identity formation, she responded, "I can't separate them they are the same."

A second important aspect of development for Joan was what she called, "a meshing of strengths". Joan talked about finding a new project that was unencumbered by previous structures and seeking out other teachers who could strengthen each other in the creative endeavour of this new project. Joan's notion of the meshing of strengths seems to resonate with Hart's (1991) notion of the collaborative/corroborant. Collaborate means simply to labour together. Hart adds the additional term corroborant, which means to strengthen and invigorate.

Joan talks about teachers "feeding off each other," creating a synergy where the energy of the group is much greater than the sum of the parts and this helps to transform the reality of the school. She also talks about how important it is for teachers to be conscious or perhaps self - conscious of the politics of the particular institution and to marshal their forces in order to get anything done to make a significant change. Joan's reflections on her own experiences, her relating development to identity and self understanding, her notion of meshing of strengths, and being conscious of the political context in which she is trying to create change seem to resonate well with the writings of Patti Lather.

Lather, (1986) talks about a similar idea in her notion *catalytic validity* for emancipatory research. This is defined as,

> The degree to which the research process reorients, focuses, and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it....The argument for catalytic validity is premised not only within a recognition of the reality-altering impact of the research process, but also in the desire to consciously channel this impact so that respondents gain self-understanding and... self-determination . (p. 272)

While Joan doesn't refer to what she does in school as research, she is certainly trying to effect change, to transform the reality of the school. It is through new and creative activities that Joan feels that she renews and reinvigorates herself. This was brought into sharp focus for Jean this past year as she entered a new school and had to explore a different context. I have the sense almost (although these were not Joan's words) that Joan re - invents herself within the new context. After working for such a long time in her previous school Joan talks about the feeling, the *texture* of this new *context*. She says, "The only way I can describe it is slippery" (conversation, August 12, 1993).

Joan's conception of context seems to be echoed in van Manen's (1991) notion of tactfulness. Van Manen writes:

> The German *Taktgefühl* expresses a more subtle sentient quality than the English 'tactfulness'. The term Gefühl means feeling, sensitivity, sentiment: the sentient quality of having a 'feel' for something. Thus to be tactful with another person one must be able to 'hear', 'feel', 'respect' the essence or uniqueness of this person (p. 526).

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Joan's tactfulness in this sense is illustrated by her mindfulness of and openness to the texture of the context. Joan also displays tactfulness by the way in which she goes about creating change in the school. Her notion of the *meshing of strengths* has a certain tactile sense to it. Joan's tactfulness is also illustrated by her desire to be sensitive to the special talent or skill that each student possesses.

Joan talks about observing the new context of feeling bombarded by the pace of what is going on because she does not see the build up to various activities, and has not yet become familiar with the multitude of relationships from which various activities or events spring. In this sense Joan talks about going from being at the centre of much of the activity in her previous school to being on the periphery. It seems as though she is talking about an almost organic process of integrating herself into a new system, to use her own word, *meshing* with a new system. This term meshing implies a process where neither the system nor Joan as a teacher are unaffected by the integration.

Finally Joan notices an oversight in our previous conversation. We never talked about how coming back to university to take courses affected her development. Perhaps this was because we were both immersed in being students at the time of our last conversation that we were unable to be self conscious about its affect on our development. In reflecting on her `.me in the university setting, Joan talks about the importance of finding some kind of creative outlet for her development and how she sought out courses that would allow for this creative outlet. She also talked about the value of being exposed to other creative people, of feeling almoṣt like a voyeur watching them work. She felt that the experience of watching people working at the frontiers of their field and of trying to push out the boundaries helped to inspire her. Again even in context of returning to university Joan chooses to emphasize relationships with others as the important factor in her own development.

Themes of Development

In social theory, hermeneutics has played the important role of showing that the meaning of anything is arrived at referentially and relationally rather than absolutely (Smith, 1991). Both Kumar and Joan describe ideas about development that are relational and referential. In both stories the meaning of development is a process that is very close to the original meaning of the word development - to unwrap or unfold; their narratives speak to an unfolding. Rather than seeing development as a locatable stage in an incremental process; it seems to be much more of a fluid concept, the cite of various crosscurrents, and it is always different depending on the moment that it is being constructed.

Development in Context

The importance of the context for both Kumar and Joan raises the question of human intentionality. It would be wrong to say that context completely determines development the way the river would determine the course of a rudderless boat. That would be to adopt one extreme. Rather, what emerges from these narratives is a questioning of another extreme, the notion that context can somehow be bracketed out of considerations of development; the belief that context is something to be overcome, or to be flattened out. Often teacher development programs follow a one way transmission of theory into practice. The

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theory has arisen from a type of instrumental research that has intentionally tried to bracket out context in order to generalize and prescribe the results for teachers. This has often been translated into various bandwagons and panaceas in education.

Clearly the personal context of both Kumar and Joan played an important role in their choice to become teachers. In Kumar's case the the influence of his brothers that was crucial in his decision to pursue graduate work at the university. Joan's family background was also tremendously important in directing her into activities that would help prepare her to become a teacher.

In Joan's narrative, in particular, context is far from being an obstacle to be overcome, rather the teacher within a context is a rich resource to become aware of and worked *with* in creative ways. This is particularly evident in Joan's notion of the *meshing of strengths* between teachers. Kumar also rejects the notion that context is something to be overcome or escaped from. He accepts that the tension of his context will always be with him, it is part of his identity and therefore he cannot think about escaping it; rather Kumar reflects on how he will live within this tension.

Teacher development, like international development often views individuals as self contained and separate entities at which development can be targeted. The narratives in this study speak about individuals who are deeply embedded and defined from within a specific context. They are persons in community.

The Tensionality of the Divided Subject

Both Joan and Kumar speak of their own subjectivity, their personal identity as a contested space. Kumar talks about the tension he feels between his traditional society and western society, his personal identity becomes a contested space. Joan speaks of decentering herself of seeing the many voices that are competing on the site of her role as a teacher. She tries to step back from this teacherly facade and be attentive to these voices. Development, like personal identity, is not necessarily a coherent, or linear progression. Rather it is a dynamic and discursive conceptualization that has certain tendencies as opposed to concrete structures. Development, whether as a teacher or as a person also tends to occur from within a tension.

To further complicate the notion of a contested space we must recognize that the varying conceptualizations of what a good teacher is, the *arche*[20] of teaching, suffer from a crisis of *representation* on two levels. First re-presentation of the good teacher is problematic when questions arise about how well this representation corresponds with reality; in particular many of these conceptualizations suffer from the theory practice split. Second, representations of the good teacher must be made problematic and we must concern ourselves with the power and authority with which various representations are complicit (Shapiro, 1992).

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20 Arche refers to the Greek "beginning" or "origin". The word was extended to mean 'principle' or 'foundation', and thus refer to the basis of political authority, existence, or knowledge. I use the word in this sense to refer to attempts to establish universal foundations for teaching and there by create authority which justifies control.

Personal Beliefs

Rather than seeing development as an incremental process, moving in a particular direction it seems to be a discursive unfolding in a variety of contexts which allows the acquisition of certain fundamental beliefs about the world that act as signposts or touchstones to guide us. These are beliefs that are acquired along the way, they unfold for us in the context of our lived experience. We cannot lay out these thoughts and beliefs in a linear fashion and say to ourselves for example: 'I believe this' or 'I think that, so I must be at such and such a stage. If I work hard I will make it to the next level.' The process of coming to understand our fundamental beliefs about the world may orient[21] us in our lives, but these beliefs are not predictable. Rather as our lives go on we interrogate our beliefs with each new experience. It is in the continual acquisition and interrogation of these fundamental beliefs that *developing* occurs.

In Joan's story, an example of a fundamental belief is her notion of the holistic person and her belief that you cannot separate development as a teacher from development as a person. This influences Joan's thinking about development, she actively pursues opportunities within the context of teaching and reflects on activities in her personal life to construct meanings of her developing.

An example of this fundamental belief in Kumar's story is his belief that we can never escape problems or conflict and we must learn to live with them and the only way to survive is to have some sort of life project that we are working towards. Kumar situates his own development in the border between traditional society and the influence of western development. Rather than trying to escape the tension that exists between the two societies, Kumar is searching for a way to productively live within this tension.

A Question of Meaning

The beliefs that we hold do not just arise and come to us uninvited from the particular context in which we happen to be. Rather they appear to be the fruit of our quest, our search for meaning.

The problem of understanding development is a problem of *meaning*. Van Manen (1991) talks about the difference between problems a medical doctor faces and problems a teacher faces. When we go to the doctor with a health problem we expect the doctor to solve the problem, prescribe medication or therapy and extreme cases operate. Teachers seldom have problems in this sense. Teachers face situations, predicaments that must be handled as best we can. We face possibilities and difficulties which must be realized and worked through. Van Manen makes the point that predicaments and difficulties are really, problems of meaning, or rather, questions of meaning. Teaching becomes the process of exploring *questions* of meaning. "Few pedagogical problems can ever be eradicated on the spot or overnight. Rather we must learn to get on and get along

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[21]The origins of the word *orient* are very helpful to our understanding. Originally the word orient meant to navigate on the ocean in relation to the far eastern countries of China and Japan, other wise known as the Orient. To orient ourselves, in this sense, might be rephrased as giving ourselves direction by our relationship to difference.

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with these situations and with each other (van Manen, 1991. p. 515)." It is through the exploration of questions of meaning that we acquire our fundamental beliefs about the world and about our own identity.

For Kumar, finding the meaning of development came from his attempt to ameliorate the tension he feels between traditional society and western society. This process was aided by his leaving the context of Nepal, from the new vantage point of studying in Canada he seems now to have taken a position of trying to live productively with this tension rather than trying to overcome it. This is very much a sense of living with incomensurables and with paradoxes without trying to resolve or eliminate them.

For Joan, meanings of development seem to arise out of her pedagogical relations with others, students and teachers. Joan actively seeks out these relationships and new and creative projects within which the relationships can grow. Rather than overcoming her context, the context becomes something to be understood and worked with, a rich resource she draws upon. Joan's notion of meshing of strengths leaves the impression of someone who operates in a context that is understood rather than controlled. Joan feels she would be much weaker alone than with a collaborative/corroborant relationship. Joan's narrative really giv s meaning to the expression, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

Reconceptualization of Development

Jane Jacobs (1984), has alluded to the complexity of the notion of development and the unlikeliness of it following a linear and universal path, she calls development *an organic expression of what a society is.* If we were to apply this at the individual level one aspect of a reconceptualized notion of development is coming to an understanding of a person's authentic nature; becoming conscious of what is already there. As we have seen however from the narratives of both Joan and Kumar, this identity is not a static entity that can become known through diligent effort. Rather it is a dynamic and discursive, and temporal. Indeed Kerby (1991) would argue that identity is *constructed* through narrative. This different understanding of identity and development has grown out of a different kind of research. So one important aspect of development would be self understanding.

We can consider self understanding, in part, as an inward journey. However both Kumar and Joan talked about the futility of introspection or reflection without consideration of the relationships that were central to their identity. We come to understand ourselves largely through our relations with others. This has not been recognized by economic theorists who portray us as the pure individual who's identity is totally self contained and that all relations between individuals are purely external to this self contained identity. According to this view the individual is defined independently of all relationships. Contrary to this view, professor Herman Daly argues that:

A better model of a truer homo-economic is that people are persons in community. That is their very self identity is made up of the most important of these relationships. The relationships are internal to the very definition of the individual and not just external things to the individual. If

you take that point of view then community becomes important. Community is built into the definition of the individual, and to what the individual wants and how he acts. In current economics, community is nothing other than the sum total of individual relationships, and all of these relationships are external, so community is just an aggregate of individuals. But we say community is much more than an aggregate of individuals. Community enters into the very definition of what the individual is, how he sees himself...We say all these relationships constitute the individuals identity. (Interviewed on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio show Ideas, October 8, 1990)

Charles Taylor (1991), adds a similar point to this relational aspect of development when he talks about the ethic of authenticity. Taylor argues that those who portray modern individualism as isolating and atomizing selfishness have lost sight of the original moral character of individualism. Our notions of ourself and who we are, according to Taylor, can only come about through our dialogical relation with others:

Modes that opt for self-fulfilment without regard (a) to the demands of our ties with others or (b) to demands of any kind emanating from something more or other than human desires or aspirations are self-defeating, ... they destroy the conditions for realizing authenticity itself. (Taylor, 1991, p. 35)

Taylor is trying to correct what he calls the trivialized forms of individualism and offer an alternative to what he calls the facile relativism of some forms postmodern thought. The contradiction is between the supposedly rational, meaning endowing individual on the one hand (isolated individual) and the dissolution of the subject on the other (facile relativism). Habermas and others have argued that the way beyond the contradiction between these two positions lies in a communicative praxis (Bratlinger, 1990). This seems to fit with the notion put forth by by Williams (1962), that knowledge and reason are *socially* constructed. According to this argument it is within our social (linguistic) relations that knowledge and reason are constructed, through a type of "communicative praxis."

We cannot, of course, take up communicative praxis unproblematically. We must acknowledge the postmodern critique which problematizes *language* itself and the various positions and contexts from which participants engage in this social dialogue. What I would like to extract from this discourse in terms of another aspect of development is the relational aspect of development. To focus only on the inner journey of self-understanding without focusing on our relationships with others would be incomplete. In fact, Taylor would argue, that it is only through our relations with significant others that we come to understand ourselves.

Certainly the participants in this study acknowledge their connectedness with others and are unable to talk about their own development or self-understanding outside of their relationships with others in a particular context. For Joan it was her sense of interdependence with students and other teachers, her search for the meshing of strengths with other teachers and her mindfulness of the context within which she enters into these pedagogical relationships. For Kumar it is the tension he feels between his traditional community and the forces of modernization. His development takes place within the context of strong family

and community ties. He feels he must temper his own ideas to the context in which he lives.

A third aspect of development that I would like to sketch is that we are part of an interdependent global system. It would be unwise to ignore the larger global context when discussing how relationships ..re integral to understanding development. As Giroux has pointed out, the construction of the self, the unwrapping of the self if you will, is intimately related with our context and relations with those around us:

> To engage in issues of the construction of the self is to address questions of history, culture, community, language, gender, race and class. It is to raise questions regarding what pedagogical practices need to be employed that allow students to speak in dialogical contexts that affirm, interrogate, and extend their understandings of themselves and the global contexts in which they live (Giroux, 1991, p.54).

To develop this aspect I would lean on some of the theories of quantum physics. Quantum entities such as electrons, photons, quarks and so forth are often referred to as *quons*. Under certain circumstance quons exhibit the properties of waves , they spread over vast areas, are infinitely divisible, and merge completely with any other wave they encounter. Under other circumstances quons act as particles, very small ones. No one has yet measured their size. It seems that whether or not quons behave as a particle or a wave depends on whether they are being observed or not (Herbert, 1985, cited in di Zerga, 1991). In chapter 5 I referred to the work of John Stewart Bell, where he devised a proof (that has since been supported by experiments) that the local world that we perceive "is in actuality supported by an invisible reality that is unmediated and unmitigated, and faster than light (Herbert, cited in di Zerga, 1991). So even at the level of the universe everything is connected to everything else.

In the area of ecology, a similar theme of interdependence is also important. We now have very practical and widely known examples that demonstrate the interconnectedness of the planet on an ecological level. The discussions of global warming, depletion of the ozone layer, and consequences of deforestation have begun to change our way of looking at the world. In fact quantum theory and biology, challenge at the deepest level our own identities, which are wrapped up in the Western egoistic model of what it means to be a person.

If we apply these principles of quantum theory and ecology to the idea of development, we must take a systemic view of the world. We can only consider the development of the individual person, community or the country when we consider them as an interdependent system connected to larger interdependent systems. In education we could not consider the development of the isolated teacher without consider the development of other teachers and students, the community within which the school operates and so on. At the same time we must never equate interdependence with determinism or feel that changes that an individual person makes, are of little consequence. Rather the opposite is true, our behaviours, good or bad, have much more far reaching impact than we ever previously imagined.

Taken together these three aspects, the inward journey of introspections leading to a construction of identity through narrative, the relational aspect of our identity as defined through the most important relationships in our life, and the interdependent and systemic nature of the the world and the universe serve as a challenge to traditional notions of development in education.

Closing the Hermeneutic Circle

In any hermeneutic inquiry it is important that the researcher give an account of their own transformation as a result of the process of the inquiry. This section is a reflection on how the narratives and this inquiry have transformed my understanding of development. I would like to return to the beginning and reexamine my concerns about the discourse of educational reform and the busyness of daily practice.

My concern about development grew, in part, out of a sense of frustration with the growing instrumental rationalism in education. This view fuelled by the discourse of economic imperatives, and supported by scientifically grounded research, creates a tendency to regard students as future cogs in the economic machine or potential test scores. As a teacher how should I respond to this instrumental rationalism? My response is threefold.

First, it is important to place the discourse of economic imperatives in education into historical perspective. At the time when I first began to study teacher development, there was a lot of very strong rhetoric in the popular media about educational reform, much of it designed to provoke a response. Although the rhetoric is not as shrill there is still a tendency to instrumentalize education in terms of market place objectives. This tendency needs to be viewed not as part of a pendulum, but rather as one line of descent of discourses in education which seems, at the current historical moment, to be privileged over others. Other lines of descent are present but their voice is quieter for the moment. I have tried to argue this discourse is hegemonic and as with any form of hegemony it has sown the seeds of its own resistance. There are hopeful signs. The United nations has now expanded its assessment of countries from the simplistic per capita Gross National Product to the more complex Human Development Index, which factors in such things as freedom of speech, access to health care and education, and income disparity. The World Bank is currently experimenting with a new way of calculating national wealth. They expand traditional measures to factor in such things as the productive value of human organizations such as the family (Canadian Press, 1995). The narrow view of economics that reduced everything to inputs, outputs and production function is being challenged.

Second, it is important to question the some of the underlying principles of economic imperatives. This is important because of an attempt to rationalize the educational system with a particular view of global competitiveness. It also becomes important in the context of teaching Social Studies to attend to the way in which economics is taught.

Third, I turn to the narratives of Joan and Kumar and the way in which they constructed their fundamental beliefs about teaching in their narrative. Teacher development, for me now, needs to begin by reexamining and

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interrogating the fundamental beliefs I hold about my mission in teaching. Keeping in touch with these fundamental beliefs will help to guard against any tendency to instrumentalize and dehumanize education.

Another source of my concern for teacher development grew out of a sense of frustration at the busy pace of my life as a teacher and a feeling that I was on a type of treadmill. I felt that I had little time and few resources to attend to my development as a teacher. Looking back now I might rephrase that and say that I felt too immersed in the context of the school to pursue my own teacher development.. In this sense my earlier notion was to somehow escape this context of the school so that some development could take place. While I still feel this is necessary to a certain extent I would turn to the narratives of Joan and Kumar which highlight the importance and richness of the context as a source of development. Time spent outside of this context, will provide a new vantage point that may help to understand that context as Kumar's sojourn to Canada has given new insights into understanding Nepal. The error I think is to view the context as something to be bracketed out, to be overcome.

Where does all of this lead me? As I look back over my work at university and my work as a teacher I ask what does development mean for me now? How does this relate to my practice? Despite all I have written in my own practice I often find myself looking to new fads for a quick fix to long standing problems. These are in plentiful supply for teachers in the form of packages, workshops, new programmes, and conferences. These opportunities have their place, as long as they do not become the mirror that I hold up to my practice. I find that I still have to keep reminding myself not to look for simple cause and effect relationships but attend to the important work of trying to understand a very complex context.

Reflecting on Schon's (1987) metaphor of the swamp as practice and the plateau as theory, I am reminded that practice is messy business, and in many ways it is like a swamp, which is a very complex ecosystem. Often theory, as presented in various prescriptions to improve teaching seems like a smooth plateau. However I begin to question the dichotomy of theory and practice. In working to understand both the local and global context within which teaching takes place, daily practice does not become one location in a theory practice dichotomy, rather I see what goes on in schools as an interplay of a multitude of influences; various discourses, people and events. The project of teacher development is to understand and be alive to as many of these influences as possible including discourses from the academy.

As I reenter the classroom it is with a new respect for what takes place there and the people who live there. This is a place of complexity, influenced by the larger school, community, and the world. I feel I must adopt a genuine sense of humility, a humility that grows out of a sense of interdependence with others and an acceptance of my own weakness as an individual. I must view myself and others as persons in community. I will situate myself within a massive web of relationships both local and global and focus on how I am influenced and would like to influence this web. It is within this web that development unfolds.

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