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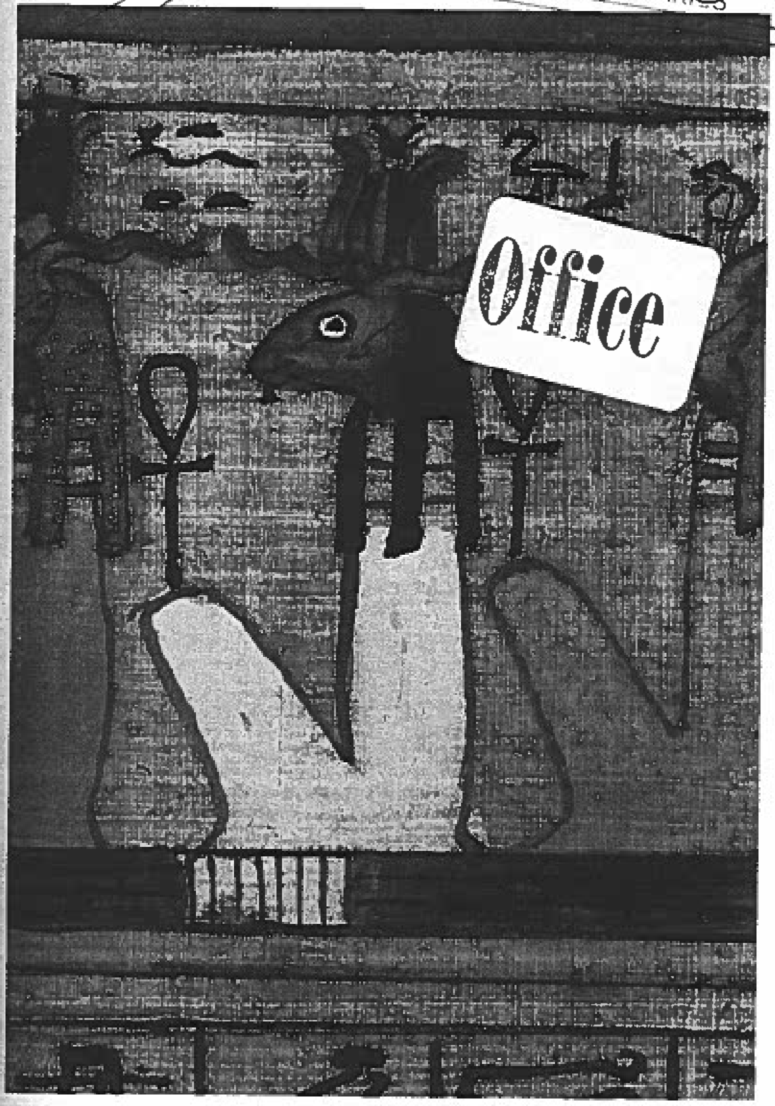

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Editor's Note

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The question of authority in teaching, especially with student teachers, is discussed within the framework of literary criticism in JoAnne Pagano's essay. Authority located outside of the teacher is just one of the many issues that Professor Pagano articulates.

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—W.M.R.—

Essays

THE NATURE AND SOURCES OF TEACHER AUTHORITY*

Jo Anne Pagano
Colgate University

In *The Concept of Mind* Gilbert Ryle introduced two distinctions which have since become commonplace in discussions of curriculum and teaching. These are the distinctions between *knowing how* and *knowing that* and *achievement* or occurrent words and *task* or dispositional words. In making the first distinction Ryle was concerned to abolish the "intellectualist" doctrine that knowing is the apprehension of truth. Instead, he argued that we quite sensibly use 'know' when we are referring to a person's learned capacity for and tendency to engage in certain kinds of performances, and that these performances are no different in kind from 'mental' performances. The second distinction makes the point that words having to do with cognition can be categorized as either achievement words or task words, but that again whether we are talking about achievements or tasks we are not picking out two different kinds of things. Achievement words, words such as "solve," "know," "find," "see," etc. are episodic and descriptive of temporally isolated occurrences; task words, words such as "puzzling," "learning," "searching," and "looking," are dispositional and imply that the actor has acquired certain tendencies which are aroused or activated in appropriate circumstances. Achievement words denote the successful outcomes of tasks.[1]

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Our borrowing of these distinctions in the field of education has been useful to a point. The means-end rationality which dominates both curriculum and teaching is well-served by these distinctions; however, the means-ends rationality itself is too limited to be the sole organizer of a discussion of teaching.

"Teaching" as an achievement word clearly has a rather restrictive reference. Simply as a matter of logic, teaching, regarded as an achievement, can be said to have occurred only in circumstances in which it is deemed successful. Clearly such restrictiveness violates ordinary understanding. In fact, we talk about teaching in all sorts of contexts when the sought-for learning does not occur. Ineffective teaching is still teaching. It would be nonsense for me to say of something I did in the classroom last week on observing the results of today's examination, "I thought I was teaching, but I was mistaken."

Ryle's distinction permits us to try to isolate the activities, the tasks, implied by the successful outcome of teaching. In Ryle's account as it is understood by educators, the dispositional definition of teaching becomes the "heedful" application of acquired skills in order to achieve some specified educational purpose. A teacher is one who employs skills appropriate to achieving a particular end, i.e. the student's learning X.

The word "task," and indeed, the means-end rationality in which the concept is embedded, is misleading in a way that has critical consequences for the practice of teaching. A task is typically imposed from without; it is not merely necessary but is also desirable that tasks be prosecuted in a routinized unself-conscious fashion. A task, moreover, often signifies an obligation which, if not unpleasant, provokes minimal personal engagement. If teaching is a task it is a very peculiar sort of task.

Teaching is not simply (or perhaps even simply not) a question of technique employed in the prosecution of some task. Teaching is dispositional, but that disposition is or should be something more than a goal-directed response tendency, something more than "knowing what to do in order to." Teaching should comprehend the teacher's warrant and

authority for teaching what he teaches. The Rylean formulation of teaching is, of course, compatible with a linear characterization of the act: A teaches X to B, where, before X, we insert either "that" or "how to." This linear perspective suggests that once X has been identified and the logical means for transferring X from A to B determined, there is nothing more to be said. This problem even from within that perspective, is, as Scheffler observes, that the achievement-task distinction enables us to exclude certain activities from the "task" definition of teaching, but it gives us no clue as to what specific acts to include.[2]

Many writers have argued that a linear model of teaching and learning is inadequate. In a recent article, Neil Hertz reformulates the linear model and claims that the apparent series is in fact a proportion. The teacher is to his discipline, to particular authors and texts, as the student is to the teacher.[3] What happens when we multiply out the proportion? We are left with the student's relation to the discipline. Does that mean that in the successful outcome of teaching the teacher has simply disappeared, been cancelled out? In a sense yes, but not exactly.

Wittgenstein argues that all knowledge is acquired through participation in language games, that learning involves the "mastery of technique." Mastering a technique, however, is something more than simply learning how to do something or learning to supply certain facts in appropriate circumstances. A person who is a full initiate into a language game, a master of some technique, knows-how-and-that. Knowing anything at all is knowing how to do something. What the full initiate knows how to do is to participate in experience in such a way as to create new facts. Initiation into a language game results in the formation of a structured set of expectations, a theoretical framework, which tells us which facts may be selected from experience and how these facts are to be shaped.[4]

The teacher's knowledge is a system of activity from which he derives certain propositions regarding the world. The system of activity from which the student will eventually be able to create information himself, thereby enabling him to dispense with the teacher.[5] The teacher does not simply transfer X from himself to his students, he draws his students into a web of belief out of which what is known is constructed. There are two language games into which the teacher initiates the student: the discipline and its texts, and classroom life. For the student to become a participant in these language games he must acquire certain facts regarding the nature of the discipline and the nature of classroom life that will enable him to make the appropriate moves in those language games. I shall refer to those language games as texts to make the point that the moves learned are interpretive strategies, that teaching is a system of activity involving the constitution of texts within particular interpretive frameworks. Through interaction with the teacher, the student comes to produce texts within the framework employed by his teacher. But the teacher does not again simply transfer an interpretive framework to his students; the structured set of expectations that informs his own work is so deeply ingrained in him that for the student he is and remains present in the text. As a teacher he has a "radical nearness"[6] to the text because those expectations are embedded in who he is. The process of initiation involves the student's coming to approximate the teacher's being in relation to the disciplinary and classroom texts.

We have said *what* the teacher teaches, but *why* does he teach? The answer is related to his standing with respect to his discipline. In an article examining Roland Barthes' teaching, Steven Unger calls the teacher "the professor of desires." What is it the teacher desires? The act of teaching is an act of love, a sexual act in that its end is generative. The teacher seeks through his love to unite two loved objects—the student and the word. From this union comes the world. The teacher seeks to create the world.[7] He does so by drawing his students into a system of interpretive activity that will enable them to cooperate with him in producing his texts. In that the teacher's act of love employs the arts of persuasion, the practice of teaching is the practice of rhetoric.

As Plato argues in the *Phaedrus*, when rhetoric is reduced to the disinterested application of technique, rhetoric is debased. In the first section of the dialogue, Phaedrus tells Socrates of the substance of a talk he has just heard given by the sophist Lysias. Lysias claimed that one should surrender oneself only to those who are not in love and never to those who are. There are several reasons given in support of this recommendation. All of these reasons relate to the central observation that the lover is ruled by passion to the extent that he himself often describes his condition as a sickness or a folly (i.e. he is not in control of himself), whereas the non-lover is always regulated by reason, in control of himself and so will in all things work to increase the profit of those who act on his judgment and advice.

Socrates replies in, for him, typical fashion by defining love. Love is a kind of desire. He then explores all of the unhealthy destructive desires—domination, contempt, condescension—to reach Lysias' conclusion that the non-lover, therefore, must possess all of the virtues opposite to these destructive desires.

We are not surprised, however, when Socrates immediately confesses a reservation. We know, as Phaedrus seems temporarily to have forgotten, that Socrates never settles so comfortably into any conclusion but that he is apt soon to discover himself mistaken. But, says Socrates, is love not a god, and how can that which is inspired by the divine be evil? Now Socrates suggests a distinction—that between the evil lover, a seducer merely, and the noble lover who is in all things to be preferred.

In Lysias' talk the lover had been represented as mad, as suffering a disturbance of the soul and the non-lover as sane, Socrates invokes in opposition the concept of divine madness and proclaims "the superiority of heaven-sent madness over mad-made sanity." There is a notable difference between madness arising from human ailments and "a divine disturbance of our conventions of conduct." While the two kinds of madness may often appear indistinguishable, the noble, or divinely inspired, lover joins passion for a loved one with seeking after wisdom. Whether a lover is an evil seducer or a noble lover depends on the nature of the god whose follower he is. The noble lover is a follower of the god Truth.

In the second part of the dialogue Socrates reveals that his discussion of the lovers is a metaphor for writing and speaking, for the practice of the art of persuasion. Phaedrus claims that the orator need not understand what is truly just; he need only know what is thought to be just by those in power for it is on this that persuasion depends. Socrates responds that unless the orator understands what is truly just, he is in danger of becoming an evil speaker, one who tries to persuade his listeners that what is evil is good and what is good evil.

The function of rhetoric, Socrates says, is to influence men's souls, and this can be done for good or evil. The false dialectician, the speaker who influences for evil, mistakes certain skills for the art of rhetoric. The art of rhetoric is compared with the art of medicine in that the application of medical skill requires understanding of the thing treated. If the speaker does not possess the same sort of understanding of his art as the doctor of his, he can only say, "I have the skill of speech, but one musn't believe all that one is told."

Ignorance of the difference between understanding and skill leads men to elevate the merely plausible over the true. Socrates shows the effect of this by pointing to the law courts. In the courts, he notes, even facts are thrown out when they do not comport with probability. This is the most grievous error into which the non-lover is likely to fall, confusing as he does his skill in using the techniques of persuasion with the goodness or truthfulness of that to which he is trying to persuade others.[8]

When we set out to teach others we set out to change them, to persuade them to a point of view. Perhaps it is not overstating to say, uncomfortable as it may make us to say it, that the function of teaching is to change the souls of men. That such is our aim must be admitted when we allow that our disciplines represent ways of seeing and recommend ways of being in the world, and that to initiate students into our disciplines is to bring them to different ways of seeing and being. We persuade them, when we are successful, to accept interpretations (ideally to construct interpretations of experience) which were not only previously unavailable to them but which may conflict with readings of experience previously settled on. Thus when we begin thinking of teaching as the practice of rhetoric we confront a moral problem.

It will not do simply to distinguish the skills and activities of teaching from those of other activities, useful though it may be to do so. We need still to distinguish good teaching from bad teaching. Bad teaching can and often does mean something other than failure of achievement or misapplication of skill. Another way in which we can be bad teachers is by teaching our students bad things. Humans learn, and by implication are taught, to be racists, fascists, and philistines. The judgment that some teaching is good teaching is more than an observation that certain skills were employed toward some end or that some end was achieved. When we consider the moral dimension of teaching, 'knowing what to do' is phenomenologically indistinguishable from 'knowing why.' The issue becomes one of moral justification.

The disposition to teach springs from a commitment to initiating others into interpretive frameworks believed to be worthwhile, good, even sometimes true. Scheffler and Peters have criticized the Rylean perspective precisely because it cannot accommodate the ethical aspect of teaching.[9] And yet if the teacher is to be a noble lover, to paraphrase Socrates, a "true teacher," one worthy of being heeded, his passions must be joined to the pursuit of wisdom. If passion is not joined to the pursuit of wisdom, if the teacher looks only to his skill and the results attained, he may say as does the false dialectician, "I know how to teach, but one may not believe everything one learns."

For us what does the pursuit of wisdom amount to? How do we ascertain the true nature of our texts. From where comes our authority to persuade, our warrant for believing that we are noble lovers and not evil seducers? We have not the authority of divine inspiration of the gods available to Socrates. Once we give up the objectivist metaphysics Ryle has persuaded us to relinquish, the pursuit of Truth becomes an idle pasttime.

The moral nature of our enterprise against the background of a world view that no longer admits of appeal to divinity as a source of certainty in secular matters, renders our authority as teachers, our right to influence, problematic. That teachers do perceive their authority as problematic has become abundantly clear to me not only from my own experience as a teacher but from that of my student teachers as well. The plea I hear most commonly is "What right do I have?"

> Making up a test— who am I to make up a test? Talking with John about it. About understanding yet not really fully understanding why a person gets a B, B+ or B-. Never understanding as a student why a B+ and not an A- is so much better. A B+ is not a B- — it's better— it's nicer and a B- is not a C. How much of it depends on your mood? Am I as objective as I can be? Is it possible to be as objective as I want to be? (student journal)

The student teachers I work with are seniors and fifth-year MAT students at a small northeastern liberal arts college. These are among the few students at the university in any one year who choose teaching as a profession; most follow in their parents' professional footsteps and choose more lucrative and prestigious careers. Those who choose teaching do so for reasons which they confess, apologetically, to be "idealistic."

One of the first things students are asked to do in their methods course is to imagine themselves teaching and to describe a particular situation. Their projections of these scenes disclose two things: a delight in and commitment to their subjects, and a complete lack of awareness that their own high school experience need not be representative or the rule. They imagine themselves as egalitarian and non-authoritarian, friends to their students, understanding and supportive. They imagine their students choosing to read and construct a renaissance masque rather than memorizing Shakespeare, enacting a revolution rather than taking notes from a text or a lecture, doing independent research on self-generated topics, translating literature into dance rather than writing about it. They imagine their students as themselves, already formed and with their tastes and dispositions.

The student teaching experience violates all expectation. The students at many of the schools in which they do their teaching are predominantly from low-income farming families. Many of those above age 16 remain in school only so that their families can continue to receive Aid for Dependent Children. Many begin a work day at 4 a.m. with farm chores and must return home immediately after school to work on the farm. Schooling is a priority neither for them nor their parents. They claim it is irrelevant to their present or future lives. They read poorly, sometimes not at all, are ignorant of many of the things which a middle class student takes for granted, and are interested primarily in dating, hunting, and sports. Most of their teachers have long ago relinquished any ambitions of teaching them anything but the "basics." The most ambitious hope teachers hold for the majority of their students is that teenage pregancy will not interfere with their achieving diplomas, and that the diploma will signify achievement of some minimal level of literacy and knowledge of the adult world.

The student teacher who begins a lesson with, for example, the goal of helping students to develop a connoisseur's delight in Tolkein's use of language (Tolkein was chosen because he is thought to be "relevant" to adolescents) is first astonished by his students' ignorance and imperviousness to the charms of literature, and then despairing as he confronts the apparent contradictions among his own commitments.

In his education courses the student teacher has dedicated himself to the conviction that education should be meaningful and useful to students, that course content should reflect the concerns of adolescent life, that education should be based on free choice, and that, therefore, student choice must be honored. But the literature teacher loves his literature and is convinced that living a meaningful human life requires more than "basic" literacy, and the social studies teacher has chosen his field from the conviction that students must learn to confront and think critically about the dilemmas of modern life. One of the things they quickly learn is that their students are critical: they are critical of ERA, anti-gun legislation, pro-choice, disarmament movements, etc. They cling to what their aspiring teachers see as misconceptions of the unenlightened bad old days. The student teacher must confront extreme issues of authority and responsibility if he seriously confronts his desire to change his students' attitudes to knowledge and to the world.

> What right do I have? Here I am sitting up here on the Hill just because my father has a lot of money. Sitting around talking about democracy and morality and art and stuff and then thinking I can go out and decide for other people and tell them what they should think. (student journal)

> What good is it? They're right. Why should they care about independent clauses or symbols of death in Poe? What kind of stupid question—what does death look like? Who Cares? Why should they even be here? Who do I think I am? (student journal)

These self-doubts are not simply provoked by exposure to what is for my students an extreme break from anything they have known before. Some of my student teachers are placed in situations more congruent with their expectations, and these express the same sorts of doubts regarding the legitimacy of their authority.

> I really believe (I think) that I want my students to write their own thoughts. But then how can I punish them with a low grade when they do. How do I know that I'm not just disagreeing? If I believe that everyone has something valuable to say and that there are no right and wrong answers in literature, what makes my thoughts and feelings any more 'right' than theirs? How can I criticize. I say I want them to discover their own feelings, and then I find myself not liking what they discover so I'm critical and I start suspecting them of not being honest. It's what I've always hated in lit. courses. How can everything be equally valid and some things be wrong? (student journal)

> The emphasis I want to place on individual interpretation—how can this possibly be considered 'education?' After all, most of my educational life has been spent rephrasing someone else's ideas, so where do I get off undoing all this? (s.j.)

This authority crisis is generated by a confrontation, for the first time in the concrete world, with the interpenetrating problems of interpretation and subjectivity. There exists a tension between ideas to which student teachers have been persuaded in their college classrooms and their teaching ambitions. Subjectivists and relativists all, they find that they do not really believe that all activities and all ways of life are equally worthwhile; they do not really believe that all work is equally good or that all student interpretations of texts are equally valid. And what they want is for their students to accept their views of what is worthwhile. They are at home, intellectually, with the notion that the structure and content of knowledge, whether scientific, social, or aesthetic, is socially and historically conditioned, rooted in an interested and subjectively apprehended worldview. Deprived of a world in which the "merely subjective" is clearly demarcated from the "objective," the entire world comes to be seen as "merely subjective." Since we have grown up believing authority to derive from "objectivity," in place of divinity, when the objective world is relinquished so also is authority in it and responsibility for it. We hear regularly from our students, "Well, but it's all just what someone thinks, after all." But the comfortable relativism they wear to their college classes shrinks uncomfortably in the climate of the secondary school.

Our problem of authority can best be confronted and resolved if we adopt the characterization of teaching which I have been urging throughout this paper. This characterization renders teaching a practice comparable in important respects to the practice of literary criticism. We might even say, as a matter of fact, that literary criticism is the paradigm of teaching.

Both teaching and critical work are fundamentally involved with the interpretation of texts and the communication of those interpretations through language. Both teacher and critic are engaged in producing communities of readers who share their interpretations, in trying to persuade others to accept their beliefs. Moreover, the problem of authority emerges in the same form in both practices. What legitimates one interpretation over another? Now, the problem for the literary critic is not so pervasive or urgent as it is for the teacher, since for the teacher, classroom life itself is interpreted and becomes a text within which other texts are produced.

In a book called *Is There a Text in this Class?* Stanley Fish tackles the problem of the authoritativeness of interpretations and the warrant for persuasion in a manor similar to the way I have been talking about teaching. Fish recounts several amusing anecdotes to make the point that interpretation is the deployment of a structure of expectations and constraints imposed not by an independent text but by the reader. Among these anecdotes is the following:

At the conclusion of the first class meeting of the semester, an undergraduate approaches the professor (not Fish) with the question, "Is there a text in this class?" The professor informs her that it is the *Norton Anthology*, to which she responds, "No, no. I mean in this class do we believe in poems and things, or is it just us?" To which Fish's colleague responds, "Oh I see. You're one of Fish's victims. Yes, there are poems; they have meanings, and, furthermore, I'm going to tell you just what those meanings are."

The point of the anecdote is not to point out the humorous consequences of a theoretical disagreement among the literature faculty at Johns Hopkins. The point is to show how much stage setting is required for even a seemingly obvious question to be understood correctly. Fish argues that that is because the student's question does not have a meaning in itself. In tracing the exchange between the student and her professor genetically Fish shows how the eventual understanding of the student's question required the professor to exchange one interpretive framework for another. The question is first interpreted within an institutional framework, but is finally seen to be a question situated within a particular literary disagreement. Which framework is deployed depends on which assumptions or constitutive propositions are activated. In the example given, the student's identity is shifted from "student-seeking-information" to "one-of-Fish's-victims" as the interpretive framework is shifted.

Fish's general position regarding critical work is that texts must be understood as experiences producing particular conventional effects rather than as "a repository of extractable meanings." Since the reader is a member of an interpretive community having shared interests and assumptions, it usually *appears* that unimpeachable evidence grounding interpretation is to be found in texts. But Fish argues that agreement among interpretations is not even really agreement about what is in the text; it is instead agreement on strategies for producing texts. Hence the possibility of literary disagreement as well as agreement. The proper focus of the critic is not on what is in the text, but on what the text does to the reader. What structure of expectation and constraint does it mobilize in the reader and what interests and assumptions does the reader in turn deploy in shaping the interpretation. For Fish criticism is the production of texts and "all [texts] are about the reader so that the experience of the reader rather than the text itself is the proper object of analysis."

Fish refers to his model of criticism as a persuasion model and opposes it to what he calls the demonstration model. The difference between these two models is the same as the difference between standard views of teaching and the one adopted in this paper. In the demonstration model:

> ...Critical activity (for us teaching is controlled by free-standing objects in relation to which its accounts are either adequate or inadequate; in the other model critical activity is constitutive of its object. In the one model the self must be purged of its prejudices and presuppositions so as to see clearly a text that is independent of them; in the other, prejudicial or perspectival perception is all there is, and the question is from which of a number of equally interested perspectives will the text be constituted.[10]

Critical paradigms, understood within a persuasion model, appear to be entities rather like Wittgenstein's language games. The paradigm is what makes possible the picking out of facts to support interpretations, but picking out facts is possible only because an interpretation has already been assumed. The interpretive framework tells us which facts to select and how to shape them.

Teaching models and paradigms are constitutive of classroom reality and of facts about students in the same way that critical paradigms or interpretive frameworks are constitutive of literary texts. The same relationship holds between the methodological canons of the disciplines taught and the content of those disciplines. The persuasive intent of our activity is that our students will come to cooperate with us in producing our texts. That is the object of our desire. But how are we to become noble lovers?

We seem still not to have dispatched the problem with which we are primarily concerned. It seems uncomfortable that we have no answer to the students' "What right do I have?"

One solution is simply to ignore, and by ignoring, deny the problem. Such denial is characteristic of most talk about teaching. The passion and engagement of the heart of teaching are treated, if at all, as incidental. The language of teaching is the language of the non-lover who may, through ignorance, become an evil seducer. The singular achievement of the contemporary social science perspective in which most thinking about teaching is grounded is its success in purging the

language of passion and authority from our thinking and acting. Authority is located outside the teacher in teacher's manuals written by experts and in "what the research demonstrates." "The research," and the various experts' readings are taken for granted in such a way as to confer on them a kind of anagogical authority. The experts' words become the things themselves. After all, as Geoffrey Hartman observes, technique is demystified magic.[11]

One may suspect at first that in giving up a demonstration model for a persuasion model we will have lost a great deal. By denying privilege to any point of view it seems that we deny the possibility of justifying any point of view. In fact, Fish notes, we have given up nothing at all.

> We have everything that we always had— texts, standards, norms, criteria of judgment, critical histories and so on. We can convince others that they are wrong, argue that one interpretation is better than another, cite evidence in support of interpretations we prefer; it is just that we do all those things within a set of institutional assumptions that can themselves become objects of dispute. Rather than a loss, however, this is a gain, because it provides us with a principled account of change and allows us to explain to ourselves and to others why, if a Shakespeare sonnet is only 14 lines long, we haven't been able to get it right after four hundred years.[12] (p. 367)

It allows us to explain why, when we have demonstrated so much to be the case about teaching learning, we have been unable to get it right. The point is that we are no worse off than we ever were. The position taken with respect to the nature of texts need have no practical consequences, if by "practical" we mean that we are now required to settle on any particular interpretive strategy. What we do have that we did not have before is the possibility of criticizing those strategies as part of our work.

Since the interpretation is situated within a set of institutional assumptions, within a language game, the critic's authority derives from his status as a full initiate into that language game. He represents for the community an "ideal reader." His readings are legitimate because they embody the institutional assumptions which permit the enterprise to proceed. The authoritativeness of the texts he produces, the "objectivity" of his readings, derives from his radical nearness to the text.

But we have a problem in justifying our teaching texts that we do not confront in doing literary criticism. For one thing the rhetorical force of our texts, while dynamically similar to that of literary texts, carries rather more serious ethical implications. In the first place, not all readers of the classroom text have the same latitude as does the critic-reader of a literary text; our students are not free to reject our texts without serious consequences to themselves. For another thing our rhetoric also persuades the student to adopt a particular sociomoral and political, as well as aesthetic, consciousness. This means that the critic-reader of the classroom is not only *free* to judge the prevailing institutional assumptions underlying interpretation, he must do so. But since judgments can only be made within some interpretive framework, we must employ a framework that makes visible the institutional assumptions directing all of our everyday interpretive strategies. We must develop a critical perspective that turns back on itself, making strange the conventional effects of our ways of reading and producing texts.

To know something is to engage in an activity. One of the activities in which we engage is judging. To judge is to participate in a language game. In order to be a participant in the practice of judging, one must know that some things are better than others— that is something that we cannot meaningfully doubt.

The solution to our problem that I am offering is a recommendation that we as teachers approach our disciplinary and teaching texts as critics of the conventional effects produced. In reading our classrooms and in persuading our students to our interpretations of texts we should pose two questions. What does this work do to the reader? Is this an effect that we should want to produce? I am suggesting ultimately an ethical interpretation because I see the activity of persuading others to one's own view of school knowledge as sufficient to change the world in which the other comes to know himself as a knower-actor as to change the other. We are engaged in constituting both the intellectual and the social worlds in which we and our students live. The first legitimation of our authority is that we approach our work with commitment and love, for the work and for the student. Our question now is how are we to know that that which we love is truly good?

The problem seems to be that acquaintance with the truly good is as impossible as acquaintance with the true interpretation. The way out of this dilemma traces Fish's escape route. Stephen Toulmin proposes what he calls a "good reasons" approach to ethical judgment. The function of ethical decisions, say Toulmin, is to bring us nearer to forming an ideal society. The ideal one is one in which harmony among all interests is attained. Practices worthy of adoption are those which would "genuinely lead to deeper and more consistent happiness" for everyone.[13] As teachers we can ask ourselves do the practices, language games, interpretive frameworks into which we initiate our students help us to approach this ideal?

I am currently working with my student teachers helping them to become critics. I ask them to look at their classrooms as texts, both those in which they are teachers and those in which they are students. For each "reading" they are required to answer several questions. These same questions are also applied to teaching materials and texts. They begin by asking "What does this work do to me? How does it affect me?" Then they are asked to imagine themselves as their individual students with those students' biographies and social histories and to ask the same questions. The examination proceeds by looking at the kinds of expectations formed by the reader, the ways in which these expectations may have been formed, and the ways in which they are met and violated. From there we ask who is the "ideal reader" of this text? What is the nature of the community within which his interpretation must be constituted, and what are the institutional assumptions within which the ideal reader's interpretation is shaped. Finally, the critic reader asks does this way of proceeding advance us toward a goal of harmonizing interests? Who is helped and who is hurt by our practices?

It may seem that we have not extricated ourselves from our earlier relativism. We are still practicing within a framework. But that we cannot imagine a rational argument against harmony in the world should leave us content with the framework we have. As Fish observes, although one may entertain relativism as an intellectual doctrine, finally it is impossible for anyone to *be* a relativist.

Footnotes

1. Gilbert Ryle, **The Concept of Mind** (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1949.)
2. Israel Schaffler, **The Language of Education** (Springfield, Ill: Thomas, 1960.)
3. Neil Hertz, "Two Extravagant Teachings," in **The Pedagogical Imperative**, ed. Barbara Johnson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 59-71.
4. Ludwig Wittgenstein, **On Certainty** (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). See Thomas Morawitz, **Wittgenstein and Knowledge** (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978) for a thorough treatment of *knowing-how-and-that* and for an interesting rendering of *language games* as *practices*.
5. **Ibid.**
6. Geoffrey H. Hartman, **Criticism in the Wilderness** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

7. Steven Unger, "The Professor Desire," in **The Pedagogical Imperative**, pp. 81-97.
8. Plato, **Phaedrus**, trans. R. Hackforth in **The Collected Dialogues of Plato**, eds. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton University Press, 1971).
9. Scheffler, **The Language of Education**; R. S. Peters, **Ethics and Education** (London: George Allen and Union, 1979).
10. Stanley Fish, **Is There a Text in This Class?** (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 365.
11. Hartman, **Criticism in the Wilderness**
12. Fish, p. 367.
13. Stephen Toulmin, **Reason in Ethics** (Cambridge: University Press, 1970.

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Education in Appalachia: Power, Powerlessness and the School Curriculum[1]*

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> If Appalachia's problems are to be solved it will be done because we understand our past and because we begin to find out who really controls this country. We need to know who really has economic and political power in Appalachia.
>
> Mike Clark, (1974, p. 6)
> Appalachian activist

> Where I really needed an education is when a highly skilled educated man is shootin' his mouth and knockin' me down with some goddamn big words that I don't understand and the skillful way he does it I know nothin' about.
>
> Joe Begley, Kentucky
> (Terkel, 1980, p. 205)

> Pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living.
>
> Mother Jones,
> Union Organizer

Often referred to as America's own Third World, the Appalachian region reflects capitalism at its worst. A region which is rich in natural resources yet populated by those living in some of the most dire poverty imaginable. Hungry children go to school with the sons and daughters of coal barons and cannot begin to imagine the opulence around them. While a large minority of the population is unemployed some residents reap an income boosted by labor-eliminating technology. But the contradictions expand beyond mere economics. Political and cultural life also seem irrevocably locked into the paradox of haves and have nots in a society which holds nominally to a credo of political and social equality.

Appalachia is one of the most culturally rich and diverse regions in the United States. Music, dance, and the visual arts have permeated the definition of what Appalachia is and was. Yet the culture at large seems most interested in portraying cultural stereotypes, which demean the region. Comic strips such as "l'il Abner" and "Snuffy Smith" portray Appalachian mountain residents as lazy, moonshine-drinking, ne'er do wells. Popular television shows "The Beverly Hillbillies" and "Hee Haw" portray a culture out of joint (read backwards) with the rest of society. Even the music of Appalachian is relegated to comic portrayal. Clearly, some cultures count for more than others.

Political power in Appalachia flows from political machines fueled with money and influence from King Coal. For most Appalachians democracy is nothing more than a cruel joke as the important social issues are removed from politics altogether. In this area government is something done *to* the people rather than *by* the people.

If anything is to be done about these conditions it must come from Appalachians themselves. This paper is concerned with how the public schools, as both the most pervasive and perhaps most revered social institution in the Appalachian region, have hampered such an effort and might indeed facilitate it in the future. To fully explore such a question requires that schools be examined within the paradox of their dual roles of serving both the state and students: On one hand expected to be the primary social institution concerned with the welfare of students while, as creatures of the state, also expected to respond to the demands of the existing social order. That these two aims are often mutually exclusive seems fairly self evident as has been explored in a variety of forums (see, for example, Apple, 1983, Giroux, 1983a, 1983b; Giroux and Purpel, 1983; Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Young and Whitty, 1977; Wood, 1984). What is important to recognize in this discussion is the intensity of this paradox in Appalachia.

Frequently, the state/child paradox can be overlooked by the schools. When the state is able to provide for both the physical and spiritual needs of the populace the paradox ceases to exist. When those deprived of these same needs are oppressed beyond dissent the paradox can be ignored. However, when the oppressed recognize their condition the school is forced to choose between serving the state or serving children. This is the question that faces educators in Appalachia: Do they work to perpetuate the forms of knowledge and behavior that will reproduce the structures of power and powerlessness in Appalachia or will they attempt to do whatever is possible to oppose the dominant structures of oppression in taking the side of children?

This paper is an attempt at answering the above question. To do so requires an analysis of the historical role of schooling in Appalachia: locating that role within current curricular theorizing in order to understand the deep structures and meanings of education in the region. Next, efforts at reforming the Appalachian school need to be examined and the rationality of that reform exposed. By examining current reform efforts, led by the Appalachian Educational Laboratory and the Appalachian Regional Commission, the continuing limitations of the curriculum will be explored. Finally, informed by the foregoing critique, an attempt to build a curriculum to facilitate democratic change in Appalachia will be proposed. This curricular framework will focus on the critical literacy skills, cultural capital and civic courage needed for a democratic renewal in Appalachia.

Schooling and the Perpetuation of Inequality

Scholarship of the past two decades has demonstrated that schooling can only be understood when its nature is linked to the deeper structures of the culture at large. That is, the context of schooling provides the tools with which to understand its content. Unfortunately, most of what has passed for scholarship on Appalachian education lacks exactly such a context.

Frequently the contextual theme of educational analysis in Appalachia is locked into a blind functionalism in which merely "more education" (read schools, teachers, books, computers) will lift the region out of poverty. Even the critics of schooling in Appalachia have not put schooling in the context of its deep socially sedimented meanings illuminating any possibility for change. Thus, these critiques have a tendency to fall into either a romantic emotionalism (Branscome, 1983; Clark, 1974) or a psychologically individualistic approach (Weller, 1965; Looff, 1971). While certainly the best of the critics in the romantic tradition (Branscome 1983, 1974) have seen schooling as a function of power relations, they have done little to understand that relationship with an eye toward altering it. The psychological approach has usually avoided even this analysis, often ignoring the power and poverty relationships which inform schooling.[2] Such commentary has forced many Appalachian activists and scholars to rethink traditional assumptions about schooling in the region and to that an historical debt is owed. However a more complete understanding of schooling in Appalachia would move beyond these perspectives and through drawing on the aforementioned scholarship see the schools as a mediator of regional cultural relationships.[3]

Primarily, four functions of cultural mediation illuminated by this work help us understand particular manifestations of schooling. First, it seems clear that traditionally the schools have operated to support and legitimate the dominant cultural, social and economic order. What makes this important are the aspects of the social order that seem most clearly reflected by schools. In a state which pays frequent lip service to political equality and, at a minimum, equality of social opportunity, the schools instead reinforce political, cultural, social, and economic inequality. Thus, one of the most crucial current social roles of public schooling seems to be the reproduction of an unequal social order. While there are important limitations to reproductive theories of education, they have at least made clear the ways in which schools play a social role acceptable to the dominant culture.

The second function of schooling appears to be the teaching of a limited, very limited, vision of democracy. Removing economics from politics, imposing only particular cultural configurations as being appropriate; limiting student and teacher participation in school decision making, glorifying a hierarchical, rule-governed administrative organization; and avoiding in the curriculum any mention of citizen action or resistance, schools seem to limit our vision of democracy to an occasional trip to the ballot box. Gone is the active participant; enter the passive consumer. How this role fits with our current conception of democracy, and how this conception of democracy is limited in ways opposed to democracy in its best sense will be discussed below. What is important to note here is that by adopting such a limited sense of democracy, schools often play a social role characterized again (as above) as supporting the existing social order— even when doing so is not in the best interest of students.

The third function of schooling is reflected in the positivistic, pseudoscientific nature of much of what passes for teaching and learning. Curriculum reflects only "truths" handed down from authorities in the field. Knowledge is reified and human agency is removed from considerations of how one "knows." A steady stream of objective facts are given students who are never encouraged to see knowledge as a contested terrain. Teaching as well ceases to be a creative activity, but is instead a cookbook process based upon 'scientific' methods. As Apple (1982a) has pointed out, the curriculum has become "teacher-proofed" and thus reflects a world where all the important issues are resolved (see also Sirotnik, 1983; Goodlad, 1983). Creative thought, critical inquiry, reflective thinking all seem unnecessary in a society where the problems are merely technical. The social role of the school seems best described as working to de-politicize questions of value, social policy, and cultural goals by substituting a faith in science and technology. These twin cures for all of our ills are not subject to citizen control, but are best placed in the hands of experts removed from the sphere. Again, schools function to support the dominant, unequal social order by limiting the democratic sphere to contain only choices between competing elites, not between competing social

Finally, schooling works to elevate particular cultural forms at the expense of others. Not only are choices made about modes of speech, thought, and behavior but history as well falls under the ruberic of neutral cultural norms. While the school claims to be merely presenting a previously agreed upon and generally resolved cultural heritage it is in fact doing cultural violence to the diverse traditions of political resistance, economic conflict, and social creativity, are seen as only deviant and best rejected. This process is easily seen in the work of social linguists who link language forms to social power (Bernstein, 1977; Dillard, 1972; Baratz, 1969; Shuy, 1968). More importantly, the notion of cultural capital, those meanings, symbols, and objects that legitimate particular forms of social action (or inaction), emerges from this work helping us understand the role schools play as a cultural moderator. Moderating the struggle between oppressed and dominant cultures, schools lead students to see the dominant culture as the norm and any of their own lived cultures that vary from that norm as deviant. Thus, they reject the very heritage they know and take a second class position in a culture imposed upon them.

Given these functions, it seems clear that for the moment schools have accepted as resolution of the state/child paradox the side of the state. Only by ignoring the unequal outcomes of schooling as demanded by the culture at large can educators continue to play the social role currently employed. This not to argue that educators have, in fact, literally abandoned their charges to serve the needs of the state. Rather, by serving the state they seem to believe that they are meeting the needs of students in the best possible manner. This becomes clearer when we look at the current democratic rationality that captures our vision of democracy and demands schooling for the status quo.

Contemporary democratic theory

Establishing what we mean when we talk about democracy is essential to locating a democratic role for schooling. What

does it mean to invoke democracy as an organizing principle for social life? What forms of power sharing are invoked by democratic norms? Leaving aside the question of institutional structures, can we establish the theoretical and normative parameters within which democratic power sharing is to occur?

Democracy is a term frequently invoked as both an organizing principle for our collective social lives and as rationale for public education. Yet often absent from discussions relying upon democracy is a definition of the concept itself. It is seemingly assumed that the way our social and political structures currently function suffices as an operational definition of democracy. What such assumptions miss is the fact that competing versions of democracy exist, each with its own normative framework within which to judge the democratic or anti-democratic nature of social institutions. The two major versions of democratic theory are the classical, or participatory, and contemporary, or protectionist. Before moving to a discussion of schooling for democracy the nature of democratic theory will be outlined and an attempt to claim one as a legitimate basis for civic education will be made.

Current, contemporary democratic theory has come forth in an attempt to eliminate the felt instability of classical democratic theory. According to Pateman (1970) recent democratic theory has at its heart two crucial concerns: first, that classical theory, which rested heavily upon public participation in the governing process, is obsolete due to the inability of the populace to participate politically, second, the fear of totalitarianism based upon the belief that mass participation in political affairs would predicate a collapse into instability. These arguments draw heavily from the experience of the Weimar Republic in which it is claimed that increased political participation by low socio-economic status groups supposedly not possessing a democratic attitude brought about a collapse into totalitarianism. How is this argument translated into democratic theory for the modern world?

Primarily, contemporary democratic theory has rested upon the tenets of empirical science. Schumpeter (1943) first argued that classical democratic theory rested upon empirically unrealistic grounds which ignored the undemocratic attitudes among the populace. Given such an attitudinal problem, fundamentally a desire to absolve oneself of decision-making responsibility in favor of the decisions of a 'leader', Schumpeter proposed that democracy could best function as a competition between decision makers for public support. Thus, classical theory was abandoned for a theory based upon popular selection of elite decision makers (who seem to mirror members of the economically elite classes) as opposed to direct decision making itself.

Continuing the transformation from participatory to protective democratic theory Berelson (1952), in agreement with Schumpeter, argued that not only were the masses willing to abdicate decision-making responsibilities, but were generally politically apathetic. Citizens took little or no interest in decisions which did not directly influence them. Thus, non-participation takes on a positive dimension as it prevents those with limited interest and expertise from creating undue stress on the system. Through limiting demands and thus conflict the stability of the democratic system is preserved. In fact, those very elements which have the least democratic attitudes, lower socio-economic status groups, participate less than anyone else as they have less at stake (generating more apathy) than other segments of the populace.

Dahl (1956) completed the transition of democratic theory from participatory to protectionist. His argument was that the most important or distinguishing element of a democratic system is the election process through which non-elites choose governing elites. These representatives of the public then set and act upon a political agenda through which all major public decisions are made. The role of the public is to verify that their political elites are protecting self-or group-interests. In this way democracy is best seen as a protectionist scheme, devoted to the selection of elites who protect the rather stable interests of the electorate. The role of the citizenry in this model is the making of leadership choices, not decision themselves, in order to protect their perceived interests (see also Sartori, 1962).

Not only are citizens removed from direct decision-making in protectionist theory, the very ranges of what are considered political issues is severely limited. Those issues which deal with the very structure of the capitalist order, private ownership of capital, distribution of income and wealth, plant relocation, etc., are deemed not to be part of political debate. Rather, the interests to be protected must operate within the existing economic structures. Again, the dual concerns of stability and efficiency predominate contemporary theory. The assumption is that excessive debate over the very nature of the economic system would not only threaten the system's stability, but would additionally hamper the efficient economic machine.

The argument can be made that contemporary democratic theory is an accurate description of the current American political context. Indeed, those who gain the least from the current economic and social order are the least likely to vote. The social system is thus guaranteed relative stability as issues of concern to non-voters, frequently economic, which might involve an alteration of existing economic structures, are not addressed. Additionally, the role of citizens in Western democracies is largely limited in attendance at the ballot box. Direct action on social issues such as picketing, protesting, and democratic take-overs is widely discouraged as counter-productive or only symbolic. Finally, while voters may pick political leaders they are mute when it comes to the selection of economic decision makers.

Most recently, such an analysis of democracy has been put forth by one of America's leading conservatives, George Will (1983). Will argues that non-voting is a virtue, indicating general satisfaction with the way things are and preventing the intrusion into the electoral process by those with a non-democratic attitude. Recent attempts to increase voter turnout are wrong headed and can only lead to the experience of the Weimar Republic. The best democracy seems to be the least democracy as Will states:

> In two presidential ballotings in Germany in 1932, 86.2 and 83.5 percent of the electorate voted. In 1933, 88.8 percent voted in the Assembly election swept by the Nazis. Were the 1932 turnouts a sign of the health of the Weimar Republic? The turnout reflected the unhealthy stakes of politics then: elections determined which mobs ruled the streets and who went to concentration camps.
>
> The fundamental human right is to good government. The fundamental problem of democracy is to get people to consent to that, not just to swell the flood of ballots. In democracy, legitimacy derives from consent, but nonvoting is often a form of passive consent. It often is an expression not of alienation but contentment...the stakes of our elections, as they affect the day-to-day life of the average American, are agreeably low. (p. 96)

Schools, operating as quasi-reproductive institutions, work to produce students "safe" for such a protective system. By generally endorsing the system and glorifying limited democracy, giving the impression that all "real" knowledge is objective and thus best used by impartial technocrats to solve public problems, and legitimatizing a culture that comfortably functions in such a limited democracy schools work to encourage passive citizenship.

The Appalachian context.

The Appalachian region provides the classic example of non-participatory democracy. It is a situation in which glaring inequities are met for the most part with quiescence rather than rebellion (Gaventa, 1980). Protectionist democratic theorists would explain this phenomena through assuming the lack of visible conflict reveals a general concensus that "things are alright the way they are." However, this hides more than it reveals. One is faced with explaining why individuals in this context do not act out in their own self interest or accept a social order which does violence to their lives. Classical democratic theories cannot explain this (Lukes, 1974; Bachrach, 1969; Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, 1970) as issues of the meaning of power and powerlessness escape them.

Our first step in understanding the historical role of schools in Appalachia is to understand how power functions in the region. John Gaventa's work on the nature of power and powerlessness in Appalachia (1980) illuminates precisely the relationships concerning us here.[4] He claims that understanding the relationships mentioned above requires an explanation that sees that

> ...in situations of inequality, the political response of the deprived group or class may be seen as a function of power relationships such that power serves for the development and maintenance of the quiescence of the non-elite. The emergence of rebellion, as a corollary, may be understood as the process by which the relationships of power are altered. (1980, p. 4.)

This demands that the context within which quiescence takes place be explored for the ways in which power operates as ideology.

Gaventa finds exactly such an understanding of power with Lukes' (1976) third-dimension conception of power relations. Lukes argues that one-dimensional power, utilized by contemporary democratic theorists such as Dahl, et.al., focusing as it does on overt political behavior (primarily voting) misses the genesus of such behavior in the deeper meanings individuals attach to such action. Further, even the two-dimensional theorists, such as Schattschneider (1960), Parenti (1970), and Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1970), who focus on how power operates to limit the scope of political processes, thus making decisions through non-decisions, do not reveal why those oppressed by such non-decisions do not rebel. It is only when power is seen in its third dimension, as ideology, that Lukes believes we can understand the maintenance of inequality.

As Gaventa points out, in Lukes' conception of power as ideology power is more than merely the achievement of desired ends. It is additionally the ability to shape both directly and indirectly the very wants of the dominated classes. That is, the ability of dominant class to perpetuate the myths, symbols, and cultural meanings which shape and determine what the dominated classes see as necessary and/or possible. This is done while limiting the range of acceptable social, cultural and/or economic alternatives which might generate resistance and rebellion.

This is precisely the way Gaventa witnessed power at work in Appalachia. The dominated population quiesces to their oppression as they believe there is literally no alternative. Combining the knowledge of the 'failure' of previous oppositional or defiant activity with the influence of socializing agencies such as the local political party, the church, the welfare office, the media, and the schools dominated Appalachians accept the hegemonic capitalist ideology of the region (and the nation). An ideology that celebrates private profit as it vilifies individual failure. That embraces a democratic credo while it closes off most areas of public concern from popular control. And that justifies disparities of wealth on the basis of internal differences such as virtue, honesty and thrift (Ryan, 1982). That such beliefs have no grounding in reality makes no difference. What does matter is that these beliefs, widely held and shared by the dominated Appalachian classes, both limits the possibilities of resistance while it legitimates existing social relations.

It is within this context that the works criticized earlier (Looff, 1971; Weller, 1965; Coles, 1971) begin to make sense—the behaviors they characterized as "fatalistic" or "backwards" seem a natural and logical response to these power relations. If indeed the current social arrangements are legitimate, and if they came about through some type of fair competition for limited resources, then one can only accept one' s lot in life and be resigned to carry it out. How has schooling in Appalachia been a part of this process?

It seems clear that schools in this region have not varied in function from those of schooling generally as pointed out

above. But the relationship of power and powerlessness in the extreme in this area demonstrates most clearly how schools can perpetuate an hegemonic ideology that runs against the best interests of students. The way in which Appalachian schools have embraced the needs of the state while often turning their backs on the needs of Appalachia' s children is perhaps their saddest legacy.

The most obvious way in which Appalachia schools play a reproductive function is in the cultural domain. The Appalachia region is as culturally diverse and rich a region as exists within the boundaries of the United States. Yet only certain elements of that culture penetrate the walls of the schools, while others are deliberately kept out. In particular, the culture of the mine owner, banker, and supermarket owner is embraced while that of the miner, farmer, or clerk is rejected. In fact, the very musical forms, folktales and historical narratives which often celebrate resistance in Appalachian (Carawan and Carawan, 1982; Batteau 1979-80) are expressly kept from students. Rather, schooling both historically and recently is devoted to eliminating such vestages as 'backward,' 'limiting' culture in favor of 'Americanizing' Appalachian youth. What this usually means is instilling in children the belief in the work ethic, faith in capitalism and/or acceptance of the status quo. The irony of this, as Miller puts it is that:

> In Appalachia we have the spectacle of folklorists, musicologist, antiquarians, and linguists delightedly collecting the dialect in song, story, and conversation while down at the schoolhouse or over in the country-side consolidated educational plant, of which everyone is so proud, teachers are solemnly funeralizing the very language the collectors so relish and pass around themselves or export. (1977, p. 16.)

Secondly, students in Appalachia are given little hope that they might alter the social relations which surround them. In fact, their region is often pictured as something to which social reform is done and accepted passively. Educational media, both print and film, recounts wave after wave of do-good reformers with sights set on saving the Appalachian poor (Munn, 1965; West, 1983; Egerton, 1975; Whisnant, 1980; Branscome, 1977). Also recorded is the continued failure of such reform, the return of the do-gooders to friendlier confines, and the passive hopelessness of the populace. Not only are they and their families caught in the dialectical nightmare of the American dream, there appears to be no way out—no dawn breaking.

The circle is complete for the oppressed of Appalachia when the schools pass on the protectionist version of democracy. Their role of choosing elites which represent their interests merely reflects the essence of their powerlessness. Given that no such elites offer themselves, the logical conclusion is that the concerns of the poor Appalachians are not concerns of the society at large. Demands they might make on the system are not, in fact, legitimate and thus should not be voiced.

In these ways, and more to be seen, schools play a central role in the reproduction of an ideology of domination. Stripping students of the cultural tools which would legitimate opposition and limiting both their vision of alternative futures and political action, the schools of Appalachia play a part in the reification of the social relations of power and powerlessness. What I want to argue is that schools, primarily educators within them, might indeed alter their roles as to work to help the oppressed amass the symbolic resources to mount the struggles for economic and social justice. In order to fully understand this role it is first necessary to look at recent attempts to bring about such a change. Informed by the failures of such work an alternative role for educators is presented in the final section of this paper.

The A.R.C. and A. E. L.: Maintaining a Tradition

The two agencies most recently involved in Appalachian school reform have been the Appalachian Regional Commission (A.R.C.) and the Appalachian Educational Laboratory (A.E.L.). For the past twenty years these agencies, first the A.R.C. and then the A.E.L., have been involved in trying to improve the education of Appalachia' s children. While not arguing a causal relationship, given the steady decline in the welfare of the people of the region and the concurrent lack of organized response to such conditions one can only assume that these efforts have failed. Failed, that is, if the role of schooling is to empower people to run their own lives. However, examining the public pronouncements, reports, and actual work of these agencies it seems clear that they define their roles well within the reproductive function of schooling outlined above. In what follows the indicators of such a function will be examined with the intent of informing alternative roles for schooling and educators in Appalachia.

It has been clear from the outset that the goal of both the A.R.C. and A.E.L. for schools was and is vocational training. They have rationalized their adherence to the needs of the state (manpower training) by claiming to serve children through job preparation. This focus can be seen in a series pronouncements eminating from both of these groups. With regards to the A.R.C., a Pre-A.R.C. staff memo focusing on the needs of the region cited as the major problem facing youth:

> Inadequate resourced to train and retrain both the youth of the Region and those whose jobs were displaced by changing technology. (P.A.R.C., 1963)

Additionally, from the Educational Advisory Committee of the A.R.C.:

> The A.R.C. has agreed that the priority points of intervention lie in:
>
> A. Child development and early childhood education (prenatal through grade 4 or age 10).
>
> B. The restructuring of all school curricula to greater occupational relevance to provide career orientation and work experience as early as possible...
>
> C. The provision of greater job-relevant opportunities for training from high school through adult programs.

> (Remaining points D., E., and F. have to do with administering education). (Education Advisory Committee, 1971).

These statements are illustrative of what David Whisnant (1980) points out to be the fundamental character of the A.R.C.

> The ARC's highway, industrial development, and vocational education programs (its earliest and largest) remain the most substantial evidence that instead of initiating and controlling enlightened and innovative development, the Commission acts primarily as a rationalizer and facilitator of conventional private development. (1980, p. 153)

In the face of the need for better jobs with security and good benefits the A.R.C. went about creating "better" workers. Acting upon the recommendations of its Education Advisory Committee that A.R.C.'s first and entire thrust was on vocational education. The various alterations in the curriculum recommended and funded were not only vocational, but vocational in precisely the sense discussed earlier—with a focus upon preparing docile workers for the needs of a capitalist economy. As Whisnant points out after examining a variety of A.R.C. educational programs, "...the Commission gravitated to approaches to education not in conflict with either the expressed wishes of industries or a narrowly technocratic approach to human problems" (1980, p. 164). Protectionist democracy, redux.

The A.E.L. seems to be clearly the intellectual god-child of the A.R.C. A simple survey of the organization' s 1983 annual report reveals the following institutional priorities:

- Computer programs for basic skills remediation
- A study of why adults go back to school
- Developing materials on school-family communication
- Career exploration materials for junior high school students

Note how these 'reforms' are situated completely within the bounds of the reproductive functions of schooling in a protectionist democracy. They consist of purely technocratic answers to cultural problems with the intent of legitimizing existing social and economic order.

Least we suppose that 1983 was an unusual year for the A.E.L., a search through A.E.L. publications would yield a similar programmatic focus. Not a word is mentioned about Appalachian culture or the region's power relations. Instead, we get pages of self-congratulatory articles on successful inservice sessions, the need for computers in every school, and the development of still more vocational education. In fact, were it not for the occasional use of the word Appalachia one would be hard-pressed to identify from where the materials are coming or to whom they are addressed.[5]

One must raise questions about such educational strategies in a region strapped by structural unemployment, political powerlessness, and cultural domination. Rather than attempt to develop an educational program primarily in the interests of children, the dominant order is accepted and handed on to students. The reproductive nature of such reform goes almost without statement. If the goal of schooling is to be nothing more than helping students compete for an inadequate supply of jobs, the A.R.C. and A.E.L. are doing the region a service. If not, they are wasting valuable dollars in a lost cause.

The reproductive nature of A.R.C. and A.E.L. work is further seen in the nature of a democracy they perpetuate. Purely by their nature, made up of outsiders with only a passing interest in the region, and their orientation to change, dictated and administered by "experts", they promote a passive form of democracy (Bray, 1975; Egerton, 1975). Little, if anything, is said about educational needs in the region by 'local folks' in publications or reports of these groups (excepting the local superintendent or other expert authorities). Reform is never seen as a process involving the local residents as active initiators.[6] Rather, they are passive, willing, consumers of the medicine for their ills administered by Washington or Charleston.

Earlier powerlessness in the region was described as reflecting Luke's third function of power. Such reform efforts are an excellent example of how such power works. Educational reform is dictated from 'above' without consultation of initiation by the 'needy'. The agenda is present, and when put into operation clearly intended for the good of all. When students fail in such reformed schools it can only be due to some innate attribute which has permanently relegated them to second-class status. Thus, in a blizzard of educational jargon the poor, the oppressed are denied even a voice, a voice they are convinced against their own good to abandon, in the education of their children.

Finally, the cultural imperialism of reproductive schooling is seen in much of the work of the A.E.L. and A.R.C. This is not so much an act of commission as one of omission. One can search far and wide for any mention of Appalachian cultural forms which might aid students in establishing their own sense of place with no success. The solutions to the problems in Appalachia, educational and otherwise, are purely technical. The appropriate application of technical knowledge (again by experts) will resolve unemployment, environmental degradation, and poverty. Nothing is said about historical work in the region to oppose the structures of domination (through abolitionists, unions, farmers movements, and poor people's crusades). The uses of history and culture to illuminate these struggles over economic, political and social power are never seen as part of the campaign to uplift the ignorant Appalachian. Perhaps some of this omission is due to the fact that much oppositional behavior in the region has focused on the very interest which support the A.R.C. (business, government, at times even corrupt unions) and occasionally the A.R.C. itself (Egerton, 1975; Land Study Task Force, 1981). But perhaps even more of it is due to seeing in schools only tools for perpetuating order, not fomenting disorder.

Alternatives in the Appalachian Contex

How might public schooling in Appalachia abandon the reproductive role which it has assumed? In this concluding section mechanisms of achieving an alternative role for schools in the region will be explored. To do this the paradigm of participatory democracy which informs the role I see for education in our democracy is set forth. The ramifications for this in terms of educators working with parents, the ways in which teachers see their students' behavior, and the curriculum at large will then be explored.

Participatory democratic theory. Above it is argued that current democratic theory and practice are locked within a protectionist rationality. That rationality favors limiting participation in governing process to the elite and narrowing the scope of those issues deemed worthy of the political process. The social toll of our protectionist theory is becoming all too clear. Millions of the culturally disenfranchised recognize that they are not wanted or needed by the political system and abandon it. Elections have become merely fund-raising contests and politics seem to be mainly an attempt to bring out the darker side (the racist, sexist, fearful, selfish side) of the electorate's protectionist nature.

An alternative understanding of democracy, which embraces power sharing, is the classical, participatory framework upon which the dream of American democracy rests. Pateman (1970) demonstrates such a framework's rationale from Rousseau's *The Social Contract:* (1) Participatory systems are self-sustaining because the very qualities required of citizens if such a system is to work are those that participation itself fosters; (2) participation increases one's "ownership" over decisions thus making public decisions more easily acceptable by individuals' and (3) participation has an integrative function— helping individuals establish the feeling that they belong. These premises were further developed by John Stewart Mill (1963, 1965) and G.D.H. Cole (1920). Mill argued that the primary consideration in judging a society or government to be good was the effect that system had upon individuals. Rather than concern himself with efficiency, as contemporary theorists do, Mill argued that participatory democracy fostered within individuals the psychological attributes needed in self-governance. In addition, Mill and Cole argued that these characteristics are best developed at the local level. Through such local participation citizens come to their own decisions on an immediate level and develop those skills and attitudes necessary for self-governance at the national level.

What particularly is meant in referring to attributes needed for self-governance? J. S. Mill argued that an active character would emerge from participation and Cole suggested that a non-servile character would be generated. What this means is that individuals should have the confidence that they indeed are fit to govern themselves. The term often utilized to describe such a state is known as a sense of political efficacy. That is, as Campbell, et al. (1954) have pointed out, the belief that individual political action does not have an impact on decision-making and thus it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. There is empirical evidence to suggest that participation does enhance feelings of political efficacy. Studies by Almond and Verba (1965), Carnoy and Shearer (1980), and those cited by Wirth (1983), point out that participatory models in local governments, workplaces, and associations do lead to higher levels of participation in self-governance increased a sense of control over the immediate political environment and a concurrent desire to participate in controlling the national political agenda.

Let us be clear about what is meant in these theories and studies when the term participation is utilized. Three conditions must be obtained: First, the participants must be in the position of decision-maker rather than decision influencer; second, all participants must be in possession of, or have access to, the requisite information on which decisions can be reached; and third, full participation requires equal power on the part of participants to determine the outcome of decisions. When individuals experience participation in this sense at a local level the research suggests that they will gain a greater sense of political efficacy in the national arena (see also Boyte, 1980).

This implies that contrary to claims made by contemporary protectionist theorists, democracy best functions as a lived process of participation. A process in which citizens do not merely choose between elites but actually transform themselves through debate and contestation over public issues. This was the original vision of democracy upon which the foundations of our political practice were laid (more on this below). Additionally, as has been pointed out in Wirth's (1980) review of workplace democracy it is a vision of democracy which continues to be relevant as it humanizes shared social spheres, empowers democratic citizens, and leads to more effective and efficient decision-making. Most certainly, ongoing debate into how such participation is to be facilitated in our evolving society is necessary (see Cohen and Rogers, 1983). The point here is that participatory theory holds us closer to a democratic society than does protectionist theory.

Educators need to realize that the social role they play depends upon the conception of democracy, participatory or protective, they choose; a choice between two polar opposites. On one hand rests a conception of democracy within which the participation of the minority elite is crucial and the non-participation of the pathetic ordinary man is necessary to maintain the system's stability. On the other hand democracy is conceived as encompassing the broadest participation of the people working to develop political efficacy and a sense of belonging in order to further extend and enhance more participation.

It is only when educators claim this participatory understanding of democracy as the rationale for their practice that they will be able to legitimately challenge the current reproduction nature of schooling. Adopting such an orientation would invoke a curriculum which enhances each individual's ability to critically examine his/her world, explore alternative forms of social organization, and perhaps work to change the current social order. A curriculum based on participatory democracy would indeed call forth what Dewey (1949) claimed was the primary educative function of the schools, "the freeing of intelligence" (p. 62). For it is only in the participatory, as opposed to protectionist, conception of democracy that the intelligence of all the members of the culture, both collectively and individually, is brought to bear on social problems.[7]

Teachers in general, and in Appalachia particularly, might be persuaded to adopt participatory democracy as a rationale for two reasons. First, their own working conditions, exemplified by teacherproofed curriculums, external demands for standardized competency tests, and the increasingly bureaucratized school organization, forces teachers to confront the stifling nature of the current social rationality. If they could see how a participatory alternative would alter those conditions, freeing teachers and students to take greater control of the classroom, teachers might see its utility for the culture at large. Second, it is only within the participatory society that the best hopes teachers have for their students can be realized. From my work with both pre-and in-service teachers my sense is that they indeed hope their students will become literate, compassionate, and self-directed human beings. However, when they put those ideals up against our current social order (and the social conditions in schools) too often such goals are sacrificed for job-training, regimentation, and rote memory. The vision of a participatory society, on the other hand, legitimizes many teachers' hopes for their students and this practice.

If, for these reasons, teachers adopted a participatory interpretation of democracy, what would this mean pedagogically? How could teachers change the practice so that students coming out of schools would both be prepared to live in and willing to work for a participatory society? While operating within the current protectionist reality how might teachers, students and parents work for an education with a participatory heart?

The public, parents, and schools.

Parents in Appalachia have long seen the schools as the salvation of their children. Even today, after some fifty years of compulsory schooling which has dismally failed the children of poor Appalachians, parents in the region maintain a faith in the transformative power of schools. Those doubting this faith need only witness the ongoing column of *Mountain Life and Work* (the main periodical covering citizen action in the region) or such dramatic gestures as the Lincoln County, West Virginia taxpayers suit for equal funding for education. This parental involvement can be repressive in and of itself, as in the rather inflammatory book-banning case in West Virginia (Watras, 1983). However, understood within the larger context of power and powerlessness in Appalachia this parental concern could be seized upon by those interested in an educational transformation.

Yet little is said in the plans of radical educators about parents. School boards are belittled as tools of local elites and educators often see parents as more of a hinderance to education than a proponent of the same. Faced with rejection of tax increases at the ballot box it is easier just to ignore parents than deal with the sources of their discontent. Unfortunately, the dissatisfaction many parents feel with education in the region is thus being co-opted by recent reports critical of schooling. With no alternative at hand, parents and the community at large readily grasp at the recommendations of the National Commission Educational Excellence (1983) for merely more of the same (Sirotnik, 1983).

Recent reports on the "failure" of schooling may, however, be advantageous for teachers working to change the social role of schooling in Appalachia. Building upon increased parental concern with the failure of public schooling to provide children with a better life, alternative curriculums and pedagogies might get a hearing.[8] Initially, this means working together with parents, both learning and teaching, to uncover the roots of power and powerlessness in the region. To discover jointly how merely more the same means preparing most children for dead-end jobs, unemployment, or (at best?) high-paying hazardous work. Such collaboration could bring together parents (with the hopes they have for their children) and teachers (with the artificial limits put on their craft) in a political alliance that could challenge current schooling practices with the pedagogic and curricular alternatives outlined below.

A pedagogy for democratic empowerment in Appalachia could begin with what parents have long understood with which radical educators seem loathe to discuss—the basic academic skills. If Appalachians are to create a potential counter-ideology which embraces widespread democratic participation they must be able to manipulate communicative and analytic symbols in ways that enable them to challenge the dominate elite.[9] It is not possible for students to comprehend a new world view, to critically analyze their place in society, to resist in a positive way the demands of a fundamentally unequal social system without having obtained the basic academic skills. This is not to argue for the totality of the basics, overwhelming every other facet of the curriculum, or for a rote memory approach that merely forces students to accept, predigested, the rudiments of workbooks, dittos, and drills. Rather, it suggests that basic literacy skills understood as the comprehension, not mere memorization, of the way in which language, numbers of logic function, be the basis for any social role of the schools.

Such an understanding would move beyond mere literacy to critical literacy if Appalachian schooling in the basics could be informed by the work of Paulo Freire (1970). Working with impoverished Brazilian peasants, Freire drew directly from their experience to teach academic skills. Rejecting a banking approach to education utilized by most programs for basic literacy, he felt that information could not be deposited in students' heads for withdrawal later but should be drawn out of their daily lives. Of course, the dominate reality of their lives was their economic, political, social and cultural oppression. It was by concretizing these experiences through the written word that peasants not only learned how to read but how to oppose the structures enslaving them. A critical consciousness of the world about them was gained while obtaining basic literacy skills.

Students in Appalachia can use the conditions of their daily existence in the search for critical literacy. Uncovering the ways in which select social and economic areas are removed from democratic decision-making students can name, thus potentially oppose, limits on democracy. Appalachia provides educators with a wealth of such constraints. While rich in natural resources, the Appalachian region continues to be one of the poorest in the country. One of the main tools used to exploit the region is known as a broad-form deed, clauses of which entitle those holding title to minerals to remove them in any way they see fit—including strip-mining. Further, many of these mineral rights deeds grossly undervalue the raw materials to be removed. Utilizing these deeds as a basic element of the curriculum one can teach reading (vocabulary), math, law, economics, etc. and at the same time open up the ways in which these documents deprived the people of the region of their rich birthright. Additionally, exploring how these documents are able to survive legal challenges and do not become a part of political discourse not only teaches "subject matter" but raises questions about the legitimacy of the entire political system. Thus, students become critically literate—not only able "to read" and "do math", but able to penetrate the very structures which oppress them. This is the first step towards a pedagogy for democratic participation.

It is exactly such a process that Myles Horton at the Highlander Center in Tennessee pioneered in the struggle for economic and political justice in Appalachia (Adams, 1972). For over four decades the regular people of Appalachia, drawn together in a quest for workplace, racial, or economic justice, have come to Highlander to discuss their problems and learn from one another. The method is deceptively simple: people who share common problems live, work and play together—in a democratic fashion with the objective of finding mutually acceptable methods of resolving their plight. In a seminar-type setting the problem faced is discussed with participants drawing upon their varied experiences to add detail, depth, and variety of understanding. At this point, "experts" may be called upon to help educate the participants as to the technical nature of the problem, perhaps a doctor describing the effects of "black lung" or an economist on land prices. However, the expert is not called upon to prescribe a solution, that is also drawn from the participants themselves. All are called upon to relate past experiences with strategies for change, project potential ways for dealing with the problem at hand, and to agree upon a collective strategy. The method has been amazingly successful—yielding both the leaders and makers of the union movement and the civil rights movement (Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. among others) in the south. Recently, Highlander coordinated and supported the Appalachian Land Study Task Force citizens concerned with land ownership patterns in Appalachia. This work was used to fight for the structuring of tax assessments in West Virginia which will increase aid to schools in poverty stricken areas. The task is to translate this to the public school context.

Next, if students are to develop the civic courage that makes it possible for them to act democratically it is necessary that they understand their histories. When students become aware of the worth of their own histories they can come to value their own perceptions and insights. They will not have to rely upon the history of the dominant culture to validate their experiences and truths. Rather, they can look to themselves as useful members of a cultural tradition that empowers them to speak with their own voices. This has been the experience of minorities in this country as they have worked to recover a sense of their own worth through an understanding of their value to the culture at large. Teachers need to incorporate such an historical perspective within the curriculum for all children so that this sense of self-worth will permeate their social actions.

Such work, which celebrates the contributions of working people, women, and minorities, to our general cultural pool would provide students with there own "cultural capital." A concept that illuminates the way in which one's stock of cultural understandings empowers them to act, cultural capital has traditionally been utilized to understand how students stockpile the symbols, meanings, understandings and language of the dominate culture. Here it is being argued that students could stockpile an alternative 'bundle' of cultural capital. These symbols, etc. would be taken from the 'people's histories' of groups and individuals who have striven and are striving to expand the meaning of democracy. Already existing curricular materials (Cluster, 1979; Cooney and Michalowski, 1977: Zinn, 1980) which focus on the struggles of American men and women to expand the terrain of freedom and to improve the qualities of their lives could be employed to demonstrate to students actions taken by those in situations analagous to theirs. Such material could operate to change the current way students are led to view social history as linear, conflict free, dominated by white males, and occuring almost without human agency (Fitzgerald, 1979). This alternative stock of cultural capital would indeed encourage and empower students to speak with their own voices as they link their own reality to the struggles for a possible alternative future by others.

Currently we are engaged in two projects to capture this sense of cultural capital among Appalachian students. The first involved a summer workshop in which students wrote and performed a musical tracing the evolution of their town. During the one month preparation period students visited and discussed various sites which were instrumental in the community history; the site of the local mine disaster, a strip mine, one room schoolhouse, etc. The resulting production focused on the desire and struggle of people in the area to gain control over their lives in the face of the elements and the mine owners.

The second project focuses on a consolidated elementary school in a small Appalachian town. A group of local citizens banded together to form a local historical group around the memory of the town's first library (the first library in the Northwest territories). One of the elements of this project was to involve the school children. To do this the students are spending time with long term residents of the town, learning its history. In all of these sessions the focus is on the possibilities of the town and the ability of the townspeople to survive both natural and man-made adversity.

Both instances provide examples of how schools might strive to instill a sense of collective history and self-understanding. Though limited, first steps, these programs provide something of a model. It seems to us that to actually work to develop this sense the curriculum must use tangible objects as well as symbolic materials, must draw from human as well as physical resources, and needs to focus on the difficulty of struggle as well as the potential for triumphal struggle. These items can work to empower our students to bring about social change (see also Miller, 1977 and Berry, 1968).

It is not enough to merely arm students with the intellectual tools and cultural understandings for them to transform rejection into resistance and action. Educators concerned with participatory democracy must go one step further and arm students with the understanding that there are other ways to organize social life. Allowing students to continue to think that current social arrangements are merely "natural", causes the critical movement of moving from critique to change to be lost. Further deceiving students into believing that they can alter existing social arrangements by merely voting in preferred ways misses the powerful forces lined up behind the status quo, ready to defend current arrangements in the face of any frontal attack. Providing alternatives and means of obtaining them is especially relevant in Appalachia where power is so deeply ideological and hidden. In presenting alternatives to students teachers should honestly face the fact that change only occurs with struggle and sacrifice, and hope that they can act accordingly.

Such alternatives and struggle should draw both from within and without the Appalachian context. Generally, the alternatives should help:

> ...students understand that socialism, communism, anarchism, and other noncapitalist forms of organizing human life are serious, and must be thought about; and that people have a right to choose the social systems they believe will meet their needs and the needs of their communities. Young people also ought to be given an opportunity to know that people fight for such abstractions as justice and for such concretions as the elimination of poverty and oppression. (Kohl, 1980, p. 64)

Within the Appalachian context this means that the struggle of whites and blacks for economic and social justice in the region become a part of the curriculum. From the ongoing work of the Highlander Center to the union struggles in the coal fields students should hear about, read about, and see attempts at acquiring political power for and by common folk. Such movements as the Tenant Farmers' Union, the founding of the United Mine Workers, Appalachian abolitionists, and the current poor people's movements in many communities should be studied as ways in which justice and equality are fought for. By presenting these victories, albeit limited, as part of the current fabric of Appalachian social relations students are given concrete models to follow and expand.

Finally, students need to study and come to hold those civic values that are conducive to a democracy including justice, freedom, equality, diversity, authority, privacy, participation, due process, personal obligation for the public good, and international human rights (Butts, 1982). But it is not enough to merely teach students to embrace such values. Rather, they should first be linked to democracy and then students should attempt to see how such values are treated in the culture. Through the examination of their own lives and that of others they should directly face the powerful forces lined up against justice, freedom, equality and the rest. In contrast to this students should be given examples of lives lived in pursuit of these goals by peoples of both sexes, all colors, and any creed. Examples of such forces and lives abound in Appalachia and should be utilized to demonstrate both the reality and possibility of life in the region. Thus, students will be given not only the tools for transformation, but the alternatives available, values to strive for, and the courage to under-take such a role— that of living and behaving democratically in an undemocratic society.

Conclusion.

Is it possible to put such a curriculum into place in the hills, mountains and valleys of Appalachia? As alluded to above we are currently engaged in just such a project. It has moved fitfully, hindered primarily by our own limitations as teachers and the slow process of coming to truly "know" an area as diverse as Appalachia. Yet we find ourselves encouraged and inspired by two factors.

First, it is clear that such a curriculum for democratic empowerment has worked in a variety of fashions throughout the region. The primary example is the Highlander Folk School and Myles Horton's previously mentioned work with people striving to take back control of their lives. There has also been the well-known work of Eliot Wiggington and the Foxfire Project in Rabin Gap, Georgia in which culture is both content and form. What remains for us to discover is if these experiences can be generalized and expanded to facilitate flowering of participatory democracy.

Second, we are constantly impressed by many of the teachers we work with. So often pictured by the educational reformer as brutish louts who are hellbent on hurting children, we find many teachers anxious to engage in work which will improve the quality of their students lives. They too are frustrated by the limitations placed upon their work by the demands of the state. And they are anxious to recover the "art" of teaching which works to uncover the self-transformative power in every child in order to equip him/her with the tools to construct their own reality. How we speak directly to these desires is often elusive. Yet we find by being directly involved, in the classroom, playground, or staff meeting we have begun to both understand the reality of these teachers and make ourselves understood. In this on-going way we continue to dialectically sort out the needs and demands of the Appalachian context.

The success of these pedagogical tools proposed for the region cannot be measured by test scores. Rather, it will be measured by the civic courage demonstrated by the students, teachers, and parents who are touched by such pedagogy. It is that courage that is so solely lacking in Appalachia today. A courage often displayed in the past and ready for a reawakening in the present.

End Notes

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This paper is inspired by the tireless work of my wife, Marcia Burchby, who works with and teaches Appalachian children and from whom I learn daily.

[2] Loofe (1971) does a much better job in locating the psychological problems he found in his work within the context of Appalachia (see also Coles, 1971). However, the focus is still on individual contexts and not on that of the culture as a whole. This is not to argue that attempts to alter or uplift individual contexts is unimportant, indeed it is crucial (see particularly Looff, 1971, pp. 93-106; 153-174). However to understand and alter an institution which plays the massive social role schools do requires a full understanding of the cultural context as a whole and the groups of individuals that are situated in that context. That is what this section of the paper attempts to uncover.

[3] The carefully and thought-provoking comments of an anonymous **JCT** reviewer caused me to drop a rather lengthy, awkward, and perhaps incorrect summary of the scholarship referred to. This included a discussion of revisionist educa-

tional history, reproductive theory, and the new sociology of education. Indeed, the paper is better off without this discussion and readers wanting to trouble themselves with this background should see Wood, 1984 or Giroux, 1983b.

[4] This section on power in Appalachia borrows extensively from Gaventa' s book (1980) and discussions with the author. Readers are urged to consult Gaventa' s piece in its entirety.

[5] Readers are directed to the A.E.L. publications **The Link** and **Research Within Reach** documents to check the validity of my claims.

[6] In this way the colonial motif is maintained. The outsiders train those members of the indigenous population who are willing to take the place of middle level managers of inequality and oppression (Fanon, 1963).

[7] The discussion of participatory democracy offered here is, at best, merely a sketch of a variety of works. Readers interested in further examining the concept should see the citations listed as well as Benello and Rovssopoulos (1971), Verba and Nie (1972), Golembiewski, Moore, and Rabin (1973), and Lukes (1977). Further, given the evolutionary nature of both our technological society and governing structures forms of participation are continually being developed and experimented with (see Wirth, 1983; Cohen and Rogers, 1983; Carnoy and Shearer, 1980).

[8] This failure of education in Appalachia has been extensively documented in a series of articles by Alan DeYoung and his colleagues (1983a, 1983b, 1981).

[9] This is similar to Gramsci's (1971) argument for the creation of organic intellectuals and education for the oppressed masses (see Entwistle, 1979).

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*This paper was originally presented at Bergamo in 1983.

Freedom from Control: Toward an Abolition of Teacher Materials and Minimum Competency Tests*

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Introductory Remarks

According to a recent article entitled "Deschooling by Default: The Changing Social Functions of Public Schooling," employers in the capitalistic system need a new type of worker. A worker is needed who is at once smart ("broad general competencies") and docile ("one who has internalized the model of hierarchal social relations as personal dispositions').[1] The way to obtain this type of worker is to make the conception of education equal to a basic skills type curriculum. This may lead to the job of training these particular skills not in a publicly-funded school situation, but in an industrial setting. Hence, there is a possibility of a deschooling situation.

The article mentions teachers being part of the movement. But the role of teachers in this narrow type of education must be emphasized. In order for this system to function— this type of minimum competency education or back-to-basics education— teachers have to be an integral part of its implementation. Teachers must be smart and docile workers, also. In this paper it will be explored how teachers can become this type of intelligent and obedient worker. It will be explored by analyzing how teacher texts and mandatory state exams exert a form of "technical control"[2] over teachers. The analysis will be limited to English teachers and their materials, but it may provide impetus for other subject area teachers as well.

This type of technically controlled pedagogue can never hope to initiate any form of emancipatory education. Whether this education brings the student or teacher to an awareness of class and conflict or a type of authentic individualism, it can never materialize as long as teachers are deskilled laborer using prepackaged kits for competency-based education.

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As an educator it is essential for me to do a study of this sort to free myself and possibly fellow colleagues from the imposed control of teacher manuals, trendy programs, and mandatory test criterion. Even though as educators we are held accountable for a designated performance, it is only because we accept this aspect of dominance that it exists. If we never critique these subjects, the blame rests on us. It is time to question the taken-for-granted in teacher materials.

Hopefully after an analysis of this type, teachers of English may move toward doing away with "teacher-proof" materials and invent their own. Some conclusions about predetermined and imposed materials will be given. These are not end all suggestions. There will, indeed, be other possibilities. I hope this type of research will bring them to light.

> The crucial problem, I believe, is the problem of challenging what is taken for granted and transmitted as taken-for-granted: ideas of hierarchy, of deserved deficits, of delayed gratifications, and of mechanical time schemes in tension with inner time.[3]

Theoretical Matters

To adequately understand how English and other educators have become consumers of packaged teacher materials, it is necessary to understand the concept of technical control developed by Richard Edwards in his book *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century.* It is also necessary to understand the control of work in the twentieth century as explained by Harry Braverman in *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century.* Both of these volumes deal with industrial development but the ideas expressed in both can to some degree be applied to pedagogy.

When we begin to talk about teacher texts and textbooks in general, it is essential that we are cognizant of the fact that textbooks as well as teacher materials are consumer items. Frances FitzGerald in *America Revised* gives an excellent account of how this is true. Textbook publishers are in capitalist business. They produce what sells and what makes a profit. Teachers are consumers. They have been immersed in a consumer consciousness developed by industrial capitalism. Even though the consumer culture has been questioned and in some cases rejected, it still is a major facet of American life. Consumerism is as Stuart Ewen describes it in *Captains of Consciousness:Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture.*

> ...a world view, a 'philosophy of life.' But it was not a world view which functioned purely in the economic real— selling of goods. While it served to stimulate consumption among those who had the wherewithal and desire to consume, it also tried to provide a conception of the good life for those who did not...Only in the instance of an individual ad was consumption a question of *what to buy.* In the broader context of a burgeoning commercial culture, the foremost imperative was *what to dream.*[4]

When this idea is applied to pedagogy, it changes from "what to dream" to what to teach. Not only do ads attempt to sell textbooks to English teachers, but they also try to emphasize what should be taught. This is done fairly subtly by saying in effect this is what you want your students to learn.

C. Wright Mills in an essay entitled "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists" brings out an interesting point concerning textbooks.

> By virtue of the mechanism of sales and distribution, textbooks tend to embody a content agreed upon by the academic group using them.[5]

This information raises some crucial questions. Why is certain content appearing in certain ways in English teacher texts? Why are certain content items designated to be taught in certain ways? These questions must be answered if as professionals we hope to understand our field in a broader social context. In essence, we should be asking ourselves why do we teach the material we teach and should we be teaching it?

To fully answer these questions the concepts of technical control and scientific management must be understood. Perhaps, the best way to understand this control is to look at what Harry Braverman says about scientific management.

Scientific management was brought into being in the late 1800s by Fredrick Winslow Taylor. As the movement in labor "progressed" from craft guilds with master craftsmen who had knowledge of the total production process to factories with a division of laborers who only knew a segment of the production process, a need for managers who could keep control grew. This led to tyrannical and often cruel managers.

> ...early management assumed a variety of harsh and despotic forms, since the creation of a 'free labor force' required coercive methods to habituate the workers to their tasks and keep them working throughout the day and the year...the modern industrial proletariat was introduced to its role not so much by attraction or monetary reward, but by compulsion, force and fear.[6]

The type of relation of production that comes out of this situation of an obvious coercive environment is antagonistic. It seemed that the capitalist managers had to begin to use more subtle means of control. This is the point where Taylor's theories of management enter the labor relations problem. Taylor tried to make it look like scientific principles were being applied to management while in actuality they were positing ideas for more effective covert and overt control.

> It does not attempt to discover and confront the cause of this condition, but accepts it as an inexorable given, a 'natural' condition. It investigates not labor in general, but the adaptation of labor to the needs of capital. It enters the workplace not as the representative of science, but as the representative of management masquerading in the trappings of science.[7]

Not only did Taylor want to simply maintain authoritative control over the worker, but he wanted to take any decision about the work process away from the worker.

> Management, he insisted, could be only a limited and frustrated undertaking so long as it left to the worker any decision about the work. His system was simply a means for management to achieve control of the actual mode of performance of every labor activity, from the simplest to the most complicated.[8]

So, Taylor wanted control over the work force by having a control over the "decisions that are made in the course of work."[9]

Braverman summarizes Taylor's ideas into three basic principles. Taylor's work is very complex and has many implications, but for the purposes of this paper these three principles are crucial.

1) The dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers.[10].
2) The separation of conception from execution.[11]
3) Use of the monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process.[12]

The first principle of the process of scientific management is that the knowledge of the labor process should be taken out of the minds of the laborer and kept in the hands and minds of management. So the process depends less on the workers than on management. As Taylor in *Principles of Scientific Management* stated:

> The managers assume...the burden of gathering together all of the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen and then of classifying, tabulating, and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws, and formulae...[13]

The second principle takes all the conception, planning, or brain work away from the laborer and places it in the hands of management. This is because, as Braverman so aptly says:

> For if the workers' execution is guided by their own conception, it is not possible as we have seen, to enforce upon them either the methodological efficiency or the working pace desired by capital.[14]

As the direct result of this, the laborer not only loses control of their instruments of production but also their own work and the manner of its performance.[15]

The final, and most insidious principle of management (control), is that every single step of the laborer's work is manipulated.

> The work of every workman is fully planned out by the management at least one day in advance, and each man receives in most cases complete written instructions, describing in detail the task which he is to accomplish, as well as the means to be used in doing the work...This task specifies not only what is to be done, but how it is to be done and the exact time allowed for doing it.[16]

The worker then becomes controlled. He is simply carrying out a type of prepackaged task. The managers become then the task masters.

These principles can be applied to a variety of levels of labor. It will be seen that a profession like teaching can be scientifically managed.

> He (Taylor) believed that the forms of control he advocated could be applied not only to simple labor, but to labor in its most complex forms, without exception...[17]

The book, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* by Richard Edwards, elaborates on the characteristics technical control. Edwards delineates three aspects of control.

1) The direction of work tasks.
2) The evaluation of work done.
3) The rewarding and disciplining of workers.[18]

These aspects, again, are applied to industry but can have a bearing on pedagogy.

The first aspect discussed by Edwards "the direction of work tasks" discussed the fact "that the worker loses control of the pace and sequence of the task as the job is mechanized."[19] This is the result, according to Edwards, of a "capitalist design not anything inherent in the machinery."[20] Edwards uses the Ford assembly line as an example of this process. The supervisors lost the providence of directing the work task.

> The line now determined the pace and the foreman had merely to get the workers to follow that pace.[21]

The line or mechanization solved the principle of direction of work tasks.

The evaluation of the work done by the laborers becomes a technical process also by means of "automatic testing of the product."[22]

> In more sophisticated applications, automatic testing provides continuous management information about productivity, labor costs, spoiled work, wastage, and so on. All this provides top management with much quicker feedback for the monitoring (and control) of the production process.
>
> In this dazzle of new technology the workers are almost lost from sight. With their activities and productivity constantly being directed and monitored by the computer hierarchy, workers find even less opportunity to exercise any control over their work lives. Their immediate oppressor becomes the programmed control device, the programming department, the printout— in short, the technology of production. In this environment, the human hierarchy and the capitalist organization of production that has produced the technology appear to recede. Control becomes truly structural, embedded in that hoary old mystification, technology.[23]

The rewarding and disciplining of workers is the third aspect of a system of control emphasized by Edwards. The most effective disciplinary weapon that can be used by management is the termination of employment. In order for this method of disciplining to work, there needs to be surplus labor force. The process of technical control made this availability of surplus workers an ongoing process.

> Technical control both continued the need for surplus labor as a ready disciplinarian and strengthened its derivative, the increasing interchangeability and homogenizing of the labor force.[24]

These aspects of technical control can be applied to other levels of employment and they will be shown to apply to teachers as well as blue collar auto workers. Management has now been able to ultimately control workers while escaping blame. The workers blame the machine for control. In teaching the teacher text becomes the line and means of control. Perhaps one important question is "Who is controlling the line (machine)?"

Applications: Teacher Texts and Minimum Competency Tests

Any analysis of teacher texts in English is limited in the sense that only a small number of texts can be analyzed from the innumerable stacks of material produced every year. But it might be advantageous for teachers to analyze their texts to see exactly what they are teaching and why. For the purpose of this analysis I have chosen two literature texts, a Scholastic Literature Unit Teacher's Notebook entitled *Tomorrow: Science Fiction and the Future* and Scott Foresman's *Guide to Accompany Album.* I have also chosen *Helping Student Writers, Grades Seven Through Twelve* produced by the New York State Education Department. It will be made clear that these teaching materials are indeed a method of technical control. They are equal to the type of instruction cards sometimes given to the worker by the manager. The reason for this type of control is to produce a smart— docile teacher (Wexler et. al.). It seeks to avoid a reflexive, demystifying, aware and awake pedagogy. It is hoped that by proving to a small degree how some of these texts are no better than production line controls educators will remove them from their shelves and create their own materials and methods of teaching.

It must be pointed out there is resistance on the part of some teachers to these types of materials. But it is not a unified or widespread rejection and confrontation with control. The texts sell. The subject of resistance to forms of control especially in the area of teacher texts and mandatory state exams would certainly be a productive avenue for research.

If we begin to analyze teacher texts as methods of scientific management and technical control, it does not take long before they are rejected.

Scholastic Literature Units 5100 (1972)

When an analysis of actual teacher texts are pursued, it is amazing how closely they follow the major principles of scientific management and technical control.

In the Scholastic Literature Units 5100 there is a preface for the teacher entitled "Theme Unit Teaching in English: Guide to Teaching a Scholastic Literature Theme Unit." It is a perfect example of the "disassociation of the labor process. The producers of the unit's hand out a formula for success.

> Scholastic Literature Theme Units make unit teaching manageable: Teachers face many difficult and time-consuming problems when they prepare their own theme units so as to integrate literature and language skills. But Scholastic Literature Units eliminate all the preparatory work by providing an effective working program in a convenient Teacher's Notebook; ditto-masters that contain quizzes, student work schedules, and suggestions for oral presentations; posters for motivation and discussion; an abundance of good books; and related student work material— all within a framework that brings the excitement of paperback books into the language arts classroom.
>
> The individual teacher selects from the materials provided in the Teacher's Notebook those lessons and activities that fit the individual needs and abilities of his students.[25]

In this case the text publishers have the monopoly of knowledge. The teacher thus becomes nothing more than a deskilled laborer or docile worker and picks from designated options. The teacher no longer makes the options but simply selects.

This monopoly of knowledge enables the textbook publishers to, as Braverman explains, control every step of the labor process. The text also contains one of the crucial aspects of technical control, the direction of work tasks.

The *Scholastic Literature Units 5100 Teacher's Notebook* contains a large number of lessons. Taking one lesson as representative of all of them, it is interesting to peruse its contents. The particular lesson is ironically titled "How Are Our Lives Controlled."

The lesson plan starts out by giving a systematic listing of what is to be done in the lesson.

A. Introduce Dramatic "Warm-Up" Activities
B. Discuss "The Class of '99"
C. Finish Reading Play Aloud and Discuss
D. Assign Homework: SL 4 [26]

This is reminiscent of a written out set of instructions for a blue collar auto worker. It not only tells the teacher what to teach, but also how to prepare for the lesson with its "Preclass Preparation" instructions. If this is not enough to convince the most skeptical reader of the possibility of control, the actual program lesson certainly will.

One of management's concerns is how long will each task take. These Scholastic Unit lessons are designed to last a certain amount of time. Most of them are to last one class period. So, the element of time management is taken care of.

The idea of controlling every aspect of the teaching (labor) process is very evident in these lessons. The lessons not only tell teachers what to do, but Orwellian as it may seem they actually tell teachers what to say and how to respond. This is done in a seemingly organized and innocuous way through a script.

> 2. SAY: Will you all show me now by facial expression what a happy person looks like. (Pause) Good. Now change your faces so that they become sad faces. (Pause) Good. Now show me by facial expression a look that says, "I am bored with what is going on in this classroom." (Pause) Very good. I see that some of you yawned and some of you closed your eyes as if you were going to sleep, and some of you looked around the room.[27]

After reading this, it seems ludicrous and even humorous. But the humor dies away when one considers how many teachers use these types of materials and the potential consequences. The remaining portion of the lesson is filled with further examples of this type.

It is apparent that if the English educators were to follow this type of plan they become nothing more than smart, docile workers scientifically managed and technically controlled.

But the control does not stop at this point. Not only are the teacher's everyday activities are controlled by these types of lessons, but even the tests on designated material are made up for the teacher. So, not only are we following instructions for how to teach and what to teach, but someone else is telling us what is important to remember from what we've been told to teach.

Something becomes fairly obvious to this analyst. The managers, whoever they may be, have successfully diverted blame for control away from themselves and onto the teacher texts. The teacher text, in essence, has become the production line and as educators we blame the wrong villain. Text publishers are simply members of the corporate–liberal ideology in America and wish to maintain the status quo by controlling what is taught and how it is taught while appearing to be on the side of concerned education. They are escaping blame for control.

Guide to Accompany Album

It might be helpful in an examination of the issue of deskilling and managing teachers through a technical means to critique a typical teacher's handbook from a widely used series entitled *The Signal Series*. This gives a more balanced view of teacher texts.

Many of the sections of this "guidebook" are typical of the vast number of teacher texts available in English education. An in-depth study of a large number of these teacher texts has never been attempted and would certainly be a productive avenue for research.

The *Album* guidebook begins by singing its own praises in a section called, "Program Highlights" subtitled, "Special Benefits for the Teacher." One of the "benefits" listed is certainly connected to a type of control.

> Practical teaching ideas and complete questions and answers to all text materials make the teacher's *Guidebook* a valuable teaching tool.[28]

The producers of the *Guidebook* have taken the basic conception aspect of teaching (what to teach) and turned it into a set of instructions to simply be carried out. This takes the most creative and potentially emancipatory cognitive processes away from the teacher and gives them to the textbook producers. The teacher becomes nothing more than a line worker carrying out a set of preplanned instructions. The *Guidebook* does not stop at this. It becomes even more devious. It becomes a "time study" process.

> A chart at the beginning of each unit includes suggested teaching times for all selections, review, mini quizzes, and skill sections included in the unit. The time estimates are based on the length and difficulty of selections as well as the activity and discussion suggestions included in the text and *Guidebook*. Teaching all *Album* lessons will require approximately 170 class periods. *Criterion Referenced Test E*, used to diagnose students; problem areas at the beginning of the school year, requires an additional 10 class periods.
>
> The chart also indicates what skills are applied in the teaching suggestions, text questions, and exercises for each selection.[29]

The teacher text, then, not only tells the English educator what to teach but also how and when to teach the designated materials. Where is the opportunity for an individual teacher's critical thinking and planning? In this particular teacher text the answer is an obvious, nowhere!

The *Guidebook* also has "check tests." The teacher does not even have to determine what is important for each story because the *Guidebook* does it for them.

> The Check Test, which is intended as a preliminary to class discussion, provides a quick checkup to determine whether students have read the assignment.[30]

The content stressed is not up to the teacher, but the producers of the teacher text. The Check Test below is typical.

> CHECK TEST (Part 1)
> Answer Yes or No.
> (Y) 1. Mann was driving through mountainous country.
> (N) 2. The truck was hauling a load of logs.
> (N) 3. Mann forced the truck off the road as he passed it.
> (N) 4. The truck drove on as Mann skidded into the cafe lot.
> (Y) 5. Mann felt that the other customers were watching him as he entered the cafe.[31]

Another important section of the *Guidebook* is the "Signal/Tactics Reading Objectives" section. In this portion of the text a list of 90 behavioral objectives can be found for the course of work. The educator has lost the ability to determine the objectives of his course. It is set up for him. The managers (textbook publishers) have successfully taken the conception process away from teachers and in a scientific management sense are able to control every step of the teaching process.

The chart on pages 78 and 79 is representative of the charts beginning every unit. These charts are again a type of instruction sheet. They tell the teachers what and when to teach the prepackaged material.

One final comment on this particular and representative teacher text is necessary. There may indeed be resistance to this type of material. But the tendency may very well be for teacher to take the effortless method of simply following instructions.

Selection and Text Pages	**Form**	**Reading Skills**	**Comment**	**Aprox. Class Period**
Travail for a Tory by Robert Edmond Alter 12-19	Story	Word Attack (Context, Dictionary)	In this true story of the Rev. War, an innocent man is condemned to an inhuman imprisonment, from which he must escape or die.	2
Beware: Do Not Read This Poem by Ishmael Reed 20-21	poem	Inferences, Central Focus, Figurative Language	The speaker in this selection compares the very poem we are reading to a sinister mirror.	1
Daily Life Underground by Mary Ann Webster Loughborough 23-27	diary excerpt	Word Attack (Context, Dictionary, Inferences	Mrs. Loughborough's personal account of the seige of Vicksburg is a story of the survival of human dignity amid the nearly overwhelming indignities of war.	1 1/2
Duel by Richard Matheson 28-41	story	Word Attack (Context, Sound, Dictionary), Central Focus	A business trip becomes a living nightmare for the main char. when a huge truck inexplicably and ruthlessly pursues him on a lonely highway.	3
The Hold-up by David Wagoner 42-43	poem	Inferences, Imagery	To the speaker bemused by the shadows of a lamplit street, even a hold-up becomes a source of wonderment	1

Selection and Text Pages	**Form**	**Reading Skills**	**Comment**	**Aprox. Class Period**
On the Sidewalk Bleeding by Evan Hunter 44-50	story	Word Attack (Context, Structure, Sound, Dictionary), Inferences, Imagery	As he lies dying of a stab wound, a teenaged street gang member discovers who he really is.	1 1/2
The Murder of George Washington by Richard M. Gordon 51-53	story	Word Attack (Dictionary), Inferences, Judgments	In this mystery story, the narrator comes upon a letter dated near the beginning of the American Revolution, in which a cook confesses to having murdered Gen. Washington.	1
Review 55				1
Mini Quizzes 1 and 2 56-57		Mini Quizzes 1 and 2 test knowledge of the content and vocabulary of "Danger."		1

Regents Competency Test in Writing: "Helping Student Writers, Grades Seven Through Twelve"

Possibly one of the most blatant attempts at controlling instructors as well as instruction in English education is the Regents Competency Test in Writing. This test is comprised of three writing tasks. These tasks include: a business letter, a report, and a persuasive composition. How these three particular tasks were arrived at is a bit of a mystery.

This test and its implementation are certainly a means of management and control of teachers as well as students. They are responsible for all the aspects of technical control explained by Edwards and for the principles of scientific management explained by Braverman.

In an interesting booklet entitled *Regents Examinations and Competency Tests: School Administrator's Manual 1981 Edition* produced by the New York State Education Department's Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Testing Programs there is a very revealing statement.

> Purpose of the examinations
> ...they provide schools with a basis for evaluating the quality of the instruction and learning that have taken place. They are used by school personnel to identify major learning goals, offering both teachers and pupils a guide to important understandings, skills, and concepts.[32]

The exams not only give specific tasks to teach, but also contain a major element of control. Edwards calls this, "the evaluation of work done."[33] In contemporary educational jargon it is called "accountability." A teacher's evaluation can now depend on how well he can carry out predetermend tasks given to him as written instructions. The teacher in this situation begins to sound like an unskilled laborer.

> The narrowing of the content of traditional subjects has been reinforced by the political demand for accountability. Teaching by objectives has been one response to the demand for accountability. Competency-based education (CBE) employs these objectives not only in response to political demand but also in rationalizing the teaching process as the production of instrumental competencies.[34]

It can be demonstrated that not only do the tests exert this kind of predetermined teaching task but also a book entitled, *Helping Student Writers: Grades Seven Through Twelve* exerts control or management.

The book begins with "Guidelines for Organizing Writing Programs." In this section there is an emphasis on basic skills and conformity.

> Improving one's writing ability involves developing increasing skill and sensitivity in selecting from and combining these variables to shape particular pieces of writing. It also involves learning to conform to the conventions of the printed language appropriate to the age of the writer and to the form, purpose, and tone of the pieces of writing.[35]

Following this statement of intent which obviously takes the conception process away from the teacher, there is a list of "Standards for Basic Skills Writing Programs." This gives 19 standards for the teacher to follow. Again, conception is removed from execution.

Perhaps, the most disconcerting section of this manual of instruction is the section entitled, "Activities and Strategies." This section of the book is similar to the teacher texts analyzed earlier in this paper. The methods of scientific management and technical control are applied to the teaching process. In this text, again, the conception process is taken away from the individual teacher (worker) and he is reduced to carrying out prepackaged instructions.

The section begins by saying that these suggested activities were:

> ...suggested by participants in various workshops led by members of the Bureau of English Education. Others have been adopted from other sources and many have been devised by members of the Bureau.[36]

This is an attempt to give these deskilling type of instructions some form of legitimacy but for this writer it falls far short.

One sample of this type of instruction sheet demonstrates how demeaning these types of books can be.

> Have students analyze instructions by underlining key words and discussing their application to the task. This analysis should be applied to other assignments as well as writing assignments so that the student gets in the habit of analyzing instructions.
>
> If the student did not follow directions for a task, ask him or her to write the instructions for the task he or she did do. Have the student compare these with the original directions.[37]

These types of instructions go on for twenty pages or more. The smart docile teacher only needs to read the instructions and they will tell him how to teach and what to teach.

It seems that one crucial idea behind the Regents Competency Test in Writing is to bring some control over teachers and what they teach.

> When the English teacher's job becomes instruction in effective letter writing (to the exclusion of expressive composition and literature), then the English class no longer offers an occasion for unwanted attitudes and disposition.[38]

Conclusions

After an analysis of these teacher texts and materials it seems, though there is resistance on the part of some teachers to this type of instruction, the dominant ideology is continuing to make it more difficult to resist. In this particular period of conservative restoration resistance becomes hidden and must be covert. As Edwards discusses, there are sufficient numbers of surplus teachers on the market and a teacher who questions the taken-for-granted is easily replaced. The competency test movement is an excellent example of how conception is taken away from teachers and they are literally forced to teach what they are told. Teachers are also held accountable for teaching what they are told.

This tendency to control teachers through management techniques and to make them intelligent obedient workers helps to insure that no type of alternative teaching gets accomplished. No teaching that runs counter to the dominant ideology of corporate capitalism can gain a foothold. Pedagogy that is emancipatory, that frees the individual, that makes that individual aware is difficult to achieve when the teacher is locked into an instruction sheet type education. Obviously, there are many alternatives to this type of education. It would be as ludicrous to prescribe steps in this alternative education as it is to follow the steps in the instruction manuals produced by the textbook companies.

This alternative education should be conceived in the mind of the individual teacher, so that conception is directly tied into the teaching process. Again, whether the pedagogy is politically liberating and/or leads to an awareness of self or group, it should not be forced upon the teacher but evolve from the teaching.

Perhaps Jerry Grotowski in *Towards a Poor Theatre* summarizes the opposite of the smart docile pedagogue. Grotowski in talking about actors in this passage, but I have substituted the word "teacher".

> The main point then is that a teacher should not try to acquire any kind of recipe or build up a 'box of tricks.' This is no place for collecting all sorts of means of expression. The force of gravity in our work pushes the teacher towards an interior ripening which expresses itself through a willingness to break through barriers, to search for a 'summit', for totality.[39]

Footnotes

[1] Philip Wexler, Tony Whitson, and Emily J. Moskowitz, "Deschooling by Default: The Changing Social Functions of Public Schooling," **Interchange**, 12, Nos. 2-3 (1981), pp. 137-138.

[2] Richard Edwards, **Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century** (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), p. 111.

[3] Maxine Green, **Landscapes of Learning** (New York: Teacher's College Press Columbia University, 1978), p. 70.

[4] Stuart Ewen, **Captain of Consciousness Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture** (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), pp. 108-109.

[5] Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., **Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 525.

[6] Harry Braverman, **Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century** (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 66.

[7] Braverman, p. 86.

[8] Braverman, p. 90.

[9] Braverman, p. 107.

[10] Braverman, p. 113.

[11] Braverman, p. 114.

[12] Braverman, p. 119.

[13] Braverman, p. 112.

[14] Braverman, p. 113.

[15] Braverman, p. 119.

[16] Braverman, p. 118.

[17] Braverman, p. 109.

[18] Edwards, p. 112.

[19] Edwards, p. 116.

[20] Edwards, p. 117.

[21] Edwards, p. 117.

[22] Edwards, p. 123.

[23] Edwards, p. 127.

[24] Edwards, p. 127.

[25] Stephen Dunning, ed., **Teacher's Notebook and Lesson Plans for Tomorrow: Science Fiction and the Future** (New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1973), p. III.

[26] Dunning, p. 51.

[27] Dunning, p. 53.

[28] Oliver Stafford Niles, Philip Lum and James Phillips, **Guidebook to Accompany Album** (Oakland: Scott Foresman and Company, 1977), p. 3.

[29] Niles, et. al., p. 10.

[30] Niles, et. al., p. 10.

[31] Niles, et. al., p. 34.

[32] The University of the State of New York, the State Education Department, **Regents Examinations and Competency Tests: School Administrator's Manual 1981.**, (New York: SED, 1981), p. 1.

[33] Edwards, p. 112.

[34] Wexler, et. al., p. 144.

[35] The New York State Education Department, **Helping Student Writers Grades Seven Through Twelve**, New York: SED, 1980, p. 6.

[36] SED., 1980, p. 45.

[37] SED., 1980, p. 45.

[38] Wexler, et. al., p. 144.

[39] Jerry Grotowski, **Towards a Poor Theatre** (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), p. 262.

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Autobiographic Praxis: Studying The Formation of Teachers' Knowledge

(Notes 1, 2)

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Preface

The knowledge that teachers have about educational practice, and the enormous potential power of that knowledge to inform practice, is undervalued both by themselves and by the rest of the educational profession. As a result there are too few occasions for teachers to share with each other and make public their deeper understanding of their work. Teachers rarely make these occasions for themselves because they do not consider that what they know has value in this way. Nor does the rest of the educational community encourage them to do so.

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...Many teachers pay no attention to research even in those areas in which that attention would be rewarded. This is largely in response to the fact that research is not written for

> their consideration. Researchers ignore teachers; teachers ignore researchers right back.
>
> As a result educational research currently contributes little to improving teacher's practice (Evans et al. 1981, pp. 8-9).

The above rationale was not specifically elaborated for autobiographical inquiry into teachers' thought and actions, but for teacher-initiated research in general. We would argue, however, that the type of autobiographical inquiry that we explore in this paper represents one of a number of potentially powerful approaches to teacher-initiated research. It is not surprising, then, that the above quote captures, eloquently, the same starting point from which our project in autobiographical inquiry, a case study of which is reported in this paper, was commenced.

Introduction

There continue to be compelling reasons why curriculum and pedagogy used in classrooms need to be changed. This is particularly true if education is to play a necessary and vital role in assisting our young people and society in overcoming the serious problems that plague today's world. Unfortunately, during the last thirty or more years most attempts at educational reform which involve significant changes at the classroom level have had limited impact on education practice (Fullan, 1982).

Purpose

This continued failure calls for the creation of fresh approaches to research into understanding the phenomena of the classroom, better ways of generating professional knowledge useful to the practice and improvement of teaching, and successful approaches to reform and change. In this paper we describe an approach which may achieve these goals through a collaborative approach to autobiographical inquiry into teachers' knowledge and its formation. We conceptualize teachers' knowledge in terms of the biographical character of the interaction of person and context over time. We use one paradigmatic case study and data from two others to illustrate our method, the nature of teachers' knowledge, and how it might develop.

Assumptions

The assumptions on which our approach is based are:

1. The teacher is the major actor and arbitrator within the many influences that impinge on classroom curriculum, pedagogy, and change.
2. The teacher possesses knowledge built up through experience of personal interactions in real situations of a personal, practical, and professional nature.
3. This knowledge is neither purely theoretical nor not purely practical in nature but a synergy of both.
4. Within the context of teacher knowledge, then, the relationship between theory and practice is horizontal, dialectical and interactive, whereby each is of equal value, each informs the other, each being a different facet of the same phenomena.
5. In order to understand how reformers, administrators, and researchers might work with teachers in facilitating classroom change and educational reform it is important to understand how teachers experience their working realities, how they act within their classrooms and how they got to be that way through personal/professional developments and changes.
6. Inquiring into the nature of these phenomena requires a collaborative and dialogical approach among teachers and researchers within which the expression of the teacher's perspective and voice is facilitated. The approach which best facilitates this type of inquiry is biographical in character (Butt and Raymond, 1987).

The purpose of the research project from which this case study is drawn is to reveal the substance, nature, and characteristics of teachers' knowledge and, as important, to reveal the process, sources, influences by which this knowledge came to be the way it is. Understanding the way teachers think, act, feel, and intend, how their practical knowledge develops over time and how it interacts with classroom phenomena will enable, it is hoped, teachers and researchers to collaboratively evolve more fruitful and mutually agreeable approaches to classroom change and educational improvement.

Epistemological Rationale

In laying out the theoretical perspectives we have evolved to frame our work, we think it is important to note that these perspectives are significantly influenced by the individual life histories of the authors. Whereas we do not have the space to enlarge on that point here, it is addressed indirectly within the nature of our writing which is referred to throughout this section. Elsewhere, we have briefly sketched how our life histories relate to the theoretical perspective herein (Butt, Raymond, McCue, and Yamagishi, 1986, pp. 1-5).

Elsewhere we have identified three major interrelated crises that have plagued education. They are: a crisis of scholarly inquiry, a crisis of professional knowledge, and a crisis of reform (Butt and Raymond, 1987). We see the crises in scholarly inquiry, caused basically by an over-reliance on logical positivism, as currently being overcome by a return to the neglected ground of educational reality through the complementary use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches that focus on the phenomena of education in a direct and holistic way. In this way, the dynamic complex interrelatedness of classroom activities and human interactions and the situation-specific nature of teaching are better respected. As well, we think these approaches permit both the uniquenesses within and commonalities across classrooms to be reflected.

The crisis in professional knowledge, related to the foregoing problems of scholarship, finds its root cause within a preoccupation with the discovery or invention of sure-fired models which would guarantee generalizable problem solutions (Schon, 1983). This preoccupation with prescription has led to the formation of bodies of professional knowledge which have been largely ignored by professionals-in-action since they have found that little of this prescriptive technology is appropriate to specific situations whose nature is uniquely personal, instinctive, intuitive, reflective, and practical (Eisner, 1979, 1983; Schwab, 1969, 1971). The solution of practical problems drives more from reflection-on-action, reflection-in-action, professional intuition, craft and art, and the special knowledge held by the teacher. The nature, then, of professional action, especially teaching, requires us to focus primarily and initially on the qualitative rather than quantitative nature of practice, in order to derive professional knowledge useful to both scholars and practitioners.

Given this background, it is not surprising that we have experienced a crisis of reform. Firstly, most attempts at educational reform in the last several decades have relied on prescriptive science and technology. Secondly, the hidden relationship between theory and practice in prescriptive science, that theory is superior to practice and must be directly applied to the practical in order to improve practice, became embodied in the human interactions between reformers and teachers. The relationship of outsiders (reformers) to insiders (teachers) was a vertical and unequal one (Butt and Olson, 1983; Butt, 1985a). Teachers were not able to participate in determining the changes that were thrust upon them. Reformers did not work with teachers in understanding classroom reality. In general they were ignorant of the culture of the school and classroom (Sarason, 1971). It is within this broad context of crises in scholarly inquiry, professional knowledge, and educational reform that we locate three interrelated concerns that fuelled our interest in the study of teachers' personal practical knowledge.

First, and foremost, critical assessments of the reasons for the limited impact of curriculum innovations on classroom practice have pointed to the reformer's neglect of the central role of teachers' intentions and pedagogical expertise in effecting significant classroom change (Aoki, 1983; Butt and Olson, 1983; Elbaz, 1983a; 1983b; Werner, 1982). The development of more adequate views of curriculum development and implementation thus calls for a shift of focus and of approach in the study of classroom change; instead of adopting an outsider's perspective whereby researcher, reformer or innovator generated criteria are used to make judgements about change, we need to ask the teachers themselves what classroom change means for them, from their own perspective and criteria. In so doing, we need to develop research approaches that allow the teacher's knowledge of classroom realities to emerge.

Studies of implementation that attempt to take the teacher's point of view more seriously suggest that implementation be envisaged as staff development (Fullan, 1982, 1985; Guskey, 1985) and that traditional professional development models should undergo important revisions. This second area of concern has indeed for sometime been the object of vituperative comments from both practitioners and researchers. Teacher professional development efforts, the key to school improvement, have been "so frustratingly wasteful as the thousands of workshops and conferences...led to no significant change in practice when the teachers returned to their classrooms." (Fullan, 1982, p. 263). In-service education has disregarded the teacher as an active learner and has based its' interventions on less than adequate, if any, conceptions of how learning occurs throughout her/his career:

> ...teachers expressed the feeling that there is no continuity in teacher development, they usually added that there was simply a smorgasboard of workshops. Workshops were often characterized as "101 tricks for Monday morning" and while there may be some value to learning some tricks early in your teaching career, you rapidly outgrow that stage (Flanders, 1983, p. 148).

More recent points of view on classroom change thus think of implementation as a learning process in which teachers are seen as adult learners (Fullan, 1982, 1985; Ingvarson and Greenway, 1982). For instance, Fullan (1985) and Guskey (1985) suggest that teachers do not learn when staff development efforts focus first on initiating changes in beliefs, attitudes and perceptions. Cognitive and attitudinal changes would occur only after modifications in classroom practices have led to significant and desirable changes in classroom related events (e.g. student learning outcomes, involvement in activities, attitudes towards school). However valuable, these suggestions are still tainted with a preoccupation for the "effectiveness" of implementation efforts; the changes in teacher beliefs, attitudes, practices and behaviors are those deemed desirable by program developers. Seeing the teacher as an adult learner entails acknowledging that she holds an articulate and elaborated practical knowledge of classroom practice that, if examined on its' own grounds, might not be organized in terms of "beliefs," "attitudes," "instructional practices" (Elbaz, 1983a; Raymond and Hensler-Mehu, 1984a, 1984b). Seeing the teacher as an adult learner implies that teachers will seek a kind of knowledge that can, in some way, be incorporated in the structure of knowledge they have developed; it also means that they will learn in several ways, from several sources and in various manners at different moments in their careers. Evidence from studies of teachers' professional life cycles document important changes in teachers' concerns (Adams, 1982; Ball and Goodson, 1985; Fuller and Bown, 1975; Newman et al. 1980a, 1980b) and relationships with colleagues (Gherke, 1981; Huberman and Shapira, 1983; Newman et al. 1980a 1980b) that suggest differentiated learning interests and processes throughout their careers. Huberman's (1984) interviews with 150 teachers indeed indicate that most teachers see themselves as achieving mastery of different pedagogical competencies at various moments in their careers, while, even late in mid-career, still lacking proficiency in certain areas (teaching children with learning problems, individualization of instruction, working with heterogeneous groups of students). Huberman also observes that at various moments of their professional lives, teachers will seek for different sources of knowledge, with a preference for informal discussions with selected and available colleagues.

Although these data present some important limitations, such as the use of researcher generated categories in order to create general patterns and minimize individual configurations, they are useful to broaden the scope of questions asked about teachers by innovation-minded curricularists. A thorough acknowledgement of the teacher as learner and of classroom change as a learning process calls, then, for an understanding of the phenomenology of the teacher's professional development, of the genesis of her personal practical knowledge.

Our third concern is political in nature as well as in its' implications. All their lives teachers have to confront the negative stereotypes—"teacher as robot, devil, angel, nervous Nellie" (Newman et al. 1980b)—foisted upon them by the American culture. Descriptions of teaching as a "flat occupation with no career structure, low pay, salary increments unrelated to merit have been paralleled with portrayals of teaching as "one great plateau" where "it appears that the annual cycle of the school year lulls teachers into a repetitious professional cycle of their own" (Newman et al. 1980a).

Within the educational community, the image of teachers as semi-professionals who lack control and autonomy over their own work and as persons who do not contribute to the creation of knowledge, has permeated and congealed the whole educational enterprise. Researchers have torn the teacher out of the context of the classroom, plagued her with various insidious effects (Hawthorne, novelty, Rosenthal, halo), parcelled out into discrete skills the unity of intentional and action present in teaching practices. Researchers who view knowledge solely as empirical or analytic (Elbaz, 1983) preclude the acknowledgement of, and responsive inquiry into, the nature of *the teacher's personal* professional knowledge.

Pre-service teacher education has served to prepare the ground for such a view to take hold in the teachers themselves. Plagued by the "lack of an agreed upon knowledge base that

creates a vacuum into which marches technological neutrality" (Lather, 1984, p.2), the pre-service curriculum, often attacked as intellectually empty and pedagogically unsound, extols the "correct method" over freedom of though, the authority of "science" over critical examination of established models of inquiry and "reduces the intrinsic ambiguity of teaching through a technological mindset that deintellectualizes teachers and depoliticizes the inherently ideological activity of teaching (p. 6)." Shaped by their training to look outside of themselves for truths about their own reality and further "deskilled" by the bureaucratization of teaching that isolates them into the classroom, experienced teachers find themselves at mid-career in a state of burn-out that:

> ...does not come from overtaxing one's intellectual and mental capacities...but from not being able to use those abilities to handle difficult emotional and managerial problems (Freedman, 1983, p. 27).

The view of teachers implicit in the social context of education thus contributes to their disempowerment by limiting their opportunities to develop and exhibit the knowledge and intelligence that are necessary in working effectively with groups of students.

More positive outlooks on the teacher in alternative models of curriculum development (Connelly, 1972), studies of curriculum practice (Reid and Walker, 1975 in Elbaz, 1983) and conceptions of teaching (Hunt and Gow, 1984; Bussis, Chittenden and Amarel, 1976) have recently contributed to the elaboration of studies depicting teachers as active holders of knowledge, as well as agents in the reality of the classroom. These studies provide a foundation for the emergent evolution of the *notion* of the knowledge that *teachers* hold and use. In our view, they might also do more than that: the conceptualization of teachers' knowledge *from the teacher's perspective*, while possibly contributing to the enhancement the teacher's "professional" status, or the fuller use of the human resources teachers bring to their work can also be seen as an eminently emancipatory and political endeavor. The study of experiential knowledge where an understanding of the search for individual meaning is critical, will expose the teacher's voice, in both its' alienated and unadulterated modes, to the researcher and the teacher herself.

The collaborative study of personal professional knowledge provides teachers with the power to transcend their present situation and take control of their own lives. It helps researchers to liberate themselves from stultifying conceptions of research and to become literate in classroom reality. This locates it within an emancipatory epistemological and practical approach to curriculum inquiry. From the personal vantage point of individual teachers the placing of teaching at the center of practice, reform, and research is an *existential* issue. From the perspective of teachers in general, representing the collective knowledge of teachers as a legitimate and worthwhile body of knowledge is a *political* issue. Making relationships between insiders and outsiders in a horizontal and *collaborative* learning enterprise is an issue of *power*. Moving from existing alienating practices to teacher and school-based approaches must be regarded as an issue of *teacher empowerment and emancipation*.

Teacher thinking, action, and knowledge are of vital importance in the endeavor to understand how classrooms are the way they are. How teachers' thoughts, actions, and knowledge have evolved and changed throughout their personal and professional lives will help us understand how classrooms have come to be the way they are and how they might become otherwise. In considering how to approach understanding these issues it was essential to ask what methodology could carry, in the most authentic way, the *teacher's voice* (Butt and Raymond, 1987). The notion of teachers' voice is important in that it carries the tone, the language, the quality, the feelings, that are conveyed by the way a teacher speaks or writes. In a political sense the notion of the teacher's voice addresses the right to speak and be represented. It can represent both the unique individual and collective voice; one that is characteristic of teachers as compared to other groups.

A Conceptualization of Substance and Method

The biographic character of teachers' knowledge

In order to understand the knowledge that teachers possess it is imperative that we know it in the way that *individual* teacher does. More importantly, as outsiders and researchers, we need to understand how teachers evolve, develop, and change their practical knowledge in the way that they perceive their experience of it. These arguments bring with them a regard for and interest in the teacher as a unique *person*, and the teacher as a *learner* who possesses a special type of knowledge. We see ones' architecture of self (Pinar, 1986)— the private person— as significantly influenced and shaped by experiences of context and situation. In turn, in cyclic fashion, how a person acts in a situation and context may shape and influence it. Given this background and our interest in the teacher as person and adult learner, we choose to conceptualize the cyclic relationship between person and context in terms of Dewey's theories, as interpreted and adapted from a conceptual theory of informal education (Butt, 1978) and a biographic conception of education (Berk, 1980). Dewey (1963, p. 55) saw *personal* experience as the prime source of education, and saw the values, interests, and abstractions of individuals *other than the learner* as a potential source of distortion if they obstructed individual learners in making their own sense of their world. Dewey's criteria for the worth of a particular experience for learning were interaction, continuity, and wholeness. The more deeply a learner interacts with objects and others in a situation, the better the experience and learning; also, the more continuous and whole a sequence of activities is, the better the experience (p. 40). If successive experiences are well integrated with one another, the learning and knowledge that results are equally well integrated. But from whose perspective do we judge the quality of interaction, wholeness, continuity and integration of experience? Obviously the interests of the learner are paramount here. Despite Dewey's interest in socialization for democracy he did say:

> There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder, than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process (p. 67).

Here we encounter, then, unique personal intentionality (Butt, 1978). The form of education that stays with us and informs our subsequent choices and actions is that which results from experiences which have a telling impact on our person. In a similar vein, Rogers (1969) argues that only experiences that involve the learners' genuine self result in any learning of lasting significance. Learning which is of importance can only be self-discovered and self-appropriated; it is most telling when experiences emphasize the self, personal relevance, interest, involvement, activity and feelings, as well as cognition (Rogers, 1969, pp. 151-157). As well, Dearden (1968, p. 38) extrapolates from Dewey to emphasize intentionality and the value of reflection in and on experience to state that "nothing is of value to us unless it can enter our experience in such a way which enables us to realize what is valuable in it." The knowledge that results from those personal experiences, and reflection in and on them, is what we see as *personal knowledge.* We apply these notions of significant learning through experience resulting in personal knowledge to the teacher as a person and the teacher as adult learner. We gain personal knowledge throughout our lives. Experiences prior to teaching shape what Pinar (1986) calls the architecture of self, which consists of the contribution of the many elements of the private existential person, such as beliefs, values, dispositions, feelings, guiding images, principles whether explicit, implicit, tacit or intuitive. Of specific interest to us, as well, is the personal, practical and professional knowledge that evolves through the teachers' interaction with, and experience of the classroom, school, and broader educational context. We think that the above experiential conceptualization of learning is an appropriate framework through which to view how teachers evolve their own special ways of thinking and acting in the classroom, how they continue to learn to be teachers and evolve their own particular knowledge.

We wish to emphasize the biographic nature of teachers' knowledge in one final way that is drawn out of the Deweyan sense of experiential learning and personal knowledge by Berk (1980). Berk (p. 88) quotes John Dewey's definition of education which "is the reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience." Berk (p. 89) contends that this definition of education and the nature of Dewey's other major concepts of experience, interaction, continuity and wholeness make his conception of education *biographic.*

Studying teachers' knowledge

Berk (1980) suggests that if we wish *to study* the nature of quality of the education of particular learners that we should properly use biographic means of inquiry. We have transposed Berk's suggestion as to how one can discern what is educative in students' lives and applied it to our interest in teachers' learning to become, and in being, teachers. How teachers, through experience, both in their private lives and in professional contexts, have educated themselves, and been educated, as teachers, can be answered through biographical inquiry. It permits us to make sense of individual experience, to discover the educational significance of a teachers' experiences; and to discover the quality of experience through its relation to previous and later experiences (p. 93).

A person interacting with situations in particular contexts gives rise to experience and the evolution of personal knowledge. In order to understand how a person thinks, acts, feels, and intends, and how a person knows what they know, it is necessary to understand the relationship and tensions among context and individual lives (Goodson, 1980, p. 2) not only as related to the present but the past, as well. To understand ones' present situation one needs to bring forward prior related experience (Pinar, 1978). In order to understand a teachers' knowledge with respect to classrooms we need to understand the contexts within which they currently work— that is their working realities, both in the collective sense and in the existential sense. Seeing the pressure of the formal situation and the force of the inner private definition of the situation (Goodson, 1980, p. 2) enables us to see relationships and tensions that contribute to thoughts, actions, and the shape and shaping of a teachers' knowledge. Of equal importance are *past experiences:*

> ...which will give us the details of that process whose character we would otherwise only be able to speculate about, and the process to which our data must ultimately be referred if they are to have theoretical and not just operational and predictive significance. It will describe those crucial interactive episodes in which new lines of individual and collective activity are forged, in which new aspects of the self are brought into being." (p. 6)

Emerging notions of teachers' knowledge

The nature of the personal knowledge that teachers possess and exhibit has been conceptualized in whole or in part in a growing number of ways. Besides, in Pinar's (1986) notion of architecture of self, which is the private and personal self that teachers bring with them into teacher, Pinar (1978) also used the idea of *currere,* the course of life's experiences, past, present, and future whereby the individual interacting with context continually lives out and evolves the architecture of self. He emphasizes particularly the existential and psychoanalytic elements of the self. We consider the architecture of self that a person brings from life prior to teaching as important in its formative influences on how teaching is experienced and reconstructed. As well, we consider the continuing evolution of the architecture of self outside and inside teaching, after engaging in a teaching career, as of parallel importance within the knowledge that a teacher develops. In contrast to notions related to the private personal knowledge that teachers possess, conceptualizations of a teachers' knowledge that obtain in the classroom include such notions as theories-in-use, curricula-in-use, as well as more specific notions such as professional craft knowledge (Brown and McIntyre, 1986), personal practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985a, 1985b), functional paradigms of teachers' (Crocker, 1983), practical knowledge (Elbaz, 1983), teachers implicit theories (Hunt, 1985, 1987), professional knowledge and reflection-in-action (Schon, 1983) and pedagogical content knowledge (Gudmundsdottir and Shulman, 1986).

Of the many conceptualizations of a teacher's knowledge that pertain to classroom practice, *personal practical knowledge* most closely approaches our conception, outlined in the last several pages, of the knowledge that teachers evolve and possess. As well, through our experience in working with teachers, it appears to be the most intuitively powerful notion, not only in the way that it attributes knowledge to the person of the teacher, but also in its emphasis on the context of practice and action as an influence and stage for thoughts, actions, feelings, and intentions of teachers. The notion of personal practical knowledge also embodies, through seeing its expression as minded action, an integration of theory and practice, a relationship important to overcoming the theory/practice dilemma, alluded to earlier, in professional knowledge and approaches to reform.

It is important to note at this point, however, that all the foregoing notions of teachers' knowledge, including personal practical knowledge, firstly, have not clearly identified the biographic nature of teachers' knowledge, secondly, have not identified an interest in the formation of teachers' knowledge, thirdly, have not utilized a fully biographic means of inquiry. While the notion of personal practical knowledge most closely approaches our conception of teachers' knowledge there are some significant differences. As we continue to evolve our autobiographical conceptualization of teachers' knowledge in this paper we will do so through a dialogue with Clandinin and Connelly's (Clandinin, 1985a, 1986b; Clandinin and Connelly, 1985, 1985/86, Forthcoming; Connelly and Clandinin, 1984, 1985, 1987) evolution of the notion of personal practical knowledge. We think that the contrapuntal nature of this discussion will clarify and strengthen what we wish to convey.

Autobiographic praxis (Note 3) and personal practical knowledge

At the outset we should state that our epistemological and conceptual frameworks support the synergy of personal knowledge and practical knowledge into the *generic* notion of personal practical knowledge. The *particular way* in which Clandinin and Connelly conceptualize personal practical knowledge is not sufficient, however, for our purposes.

To serve our purposes of conveying how we wish to conceptualize teachers' knowledge it is useful to view the teacher as being an intentional actor who, with others, creates a cultural and social ecology that shapes and influences particular contexts, events, situations and interactions. Of equal importance, however, especially with respect to teachers' knowledge, is the individual and collective intentionality of teachers which acts in cyclic relationship with context to express actions. It is out of the whole cultural and ecological *breadth* of context interacting with the intentionality of living, working, and acting that each teachers' unique knowledge is expressed—in the present. How this knowledge is *held*, however, may be different from how the contingencies of the situation and context might shape its *expression* in the classroom. This shaping, due to present contexts, may cause adjustments in the elements of a teacher's personal practical knowledge for the future—which is the evolutionary nature of such knowledge. It is clear, then, that the make up of teachers' knowledge, *as held*, can be seen as being influenced by the personal biographical stream of cyclic interactions of context and personhood of the teacher in the *past*. This knowledge disposes each of us as teachers to interact with, treat, regard, and be shaped by *present* context in particular ways. It is from this *depth* of personal history and experience, both in terms of the teachers' personal private world, the social world, and the professional world that a teacher's knowledge emerges, representing, if you will, individual and perhaps collective pedagogical niches.

Our concerns, *as related to our purposes and interests*, with teachers' knowledge as conceptualized by Clandinin and Connelly in comparison with the view of teachers' knowledge we have developed so far, relate firstly to its narrowness of scope in comparison to the breadth referred to above; secondly to the shallowness with which it treats the personal; thirdly its ambiguous treatment and lack of explicit conceptualization of the biographical; fourthly its neglect of the process of formation of teachers' knowledge; fifthly the lack of consideration of the stream of social/institutional contexts that shape teachers' knowledge and its expression, and finally preoccupation with its expression in present action. These criticisms have implications not only for how we regard *substance* of personal knowledge, but also for *process of formation*, as well as, therefore, important considerations as to the modes of inquiry we use to illucidate teacher knowledge. Substance, formation, and methodology are inextricably entwined through the common element of biography. We will examine how these concerns can be taken account of by showing how teachers' knowledge can be construed, in terms of substance, process and methodology; through the common laws of biography.

Autobiographical meaning, inquiry and image

In 1983 at the founding conference of the International Study Association in Teacher Thinking we commented (Butt, 1983, 1984; Butt and Raymond, 1987), on the fact that many qualitative studies, including specifically the work of Connelly and Clandinin (1983, 1984); and Clandinin (1983), were implicitly biographical in nature. Consequently, we emphasized that:

> The problem here is, without being acknowledged as *biography* and guided by its principles and processes, these efforts might not take full advantage of the biographical approach... The biography forms an important aspect of these and many other studies is *testimony* to its usefulness, as instinctively recognized by researchers. It is important, however, that this aspect of the work be explicitly acknowledged so we can begin to make judgements as to how biography might be most fruitfully used in education (Butt, 1984, p. 99).

In their work to that point Connelly and Clandinin (1983, 1984; Clandinin, 1983) had not addressed the role and place of biography in the terms of substance, formation, and methodology with respect to their conception of teachers' knowledge. This issue might be considered of particular importance since personal practical knowledge emphasizes the personal and experiential. It also uses terms such as narrative and narrative unity, which are both literary and biographic in nature. In Clandinin's (1985a, 1985b), later work on personal practical knowledge where she lays out her conceptualization of the notion, the lack of explicit treatment of biography is again evident despite the fact that she makes use of fragments of biographical data in understanding teachers' knowledge. At the Annual Conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education we explicated through one particular autobiographical study (Butt, 1985b; see also Butt, Raymond and Ray, 1986; forthcoming) the folly of *not fully* exploring biographical experience in order to discern and understand substantive elements of personal practical knowledge as well, we tried to show how the autobiographical interpretation of one's life course revealed the formation of a teacher's knowledge in order to demonstrate the importance of autobiography in understanding how teachers came to know their classrooms (Butt and Raymond, 1985).

We portrayed the above contentions through a collaborative interpretation of Ray's autobiography. Ray, a junior high school teacher, has a strong image of haven that guides his approach to pedagogy and curriculum whereby he attempts to provide a classroom that addresses his student's personal needs first. He tries to provide a space where they are sheltered from the extreme buffetting they might receive in the world outside. He believes that taking care of personal needs first frees them to better deal with the prescribed curriculum. Initially Ray helps us understand his image of haven through a vignette of a young student who he encountered who was never able to participate in physical education since he seldom had gym clothes at school. Further investigation unearthed an alcoholic father who abused his children. The children slept outside in the car to avoid him on many occasions, so did not have open access to the home. Ray certainly provides us with a vivid illumination of his wish to provide a haven. We might be tempted to leave our understanding of haven in these terms related to school and the recent past. Later, within his autobiography, however, we see a new and deeper understanding of his image. Ray, himself, had an alcoholic father who left the family when he was six years old. His mother, a teacher, an older brother and he moved very frequently from town to town. His mother was very often his teacher. To be seen as having no favorites she was very harsh with him. His older brother, in his role as oldest male, was too.

This exploration of Ray's personal history, his private architecture of self, brings a richer understanding of the image of haven as a personal search in Ray's own life that he uses to identify with the personal needs of his junior high students. This example points to the need to use biographical means of inquiry, an examination of the span of a person's life, to more fully reveal the formation, in terms of process and substance, of a teachers' knowledge. We have used other autobiographical examples to illustrate the above point (Raymond and Butt, 1985; Butt, Raymond, McCue and Yamagishi, 1986). Glenda's interest in self-determination for her E.S.L. immigrant and refugee children was only fully illuminated through her autobiographical portrayal of her personal liberation earlier in her life. Lloyd's image of family and interest in upward mobility for his lower socioeconomic pupils can only be thoroughly understood through the cultural lenses and early experiences of his Japanese Canadian family.

Later Clandinin and Connelly (1985/86, p. 4-8; see Note 5; p. 134) address biography; while acknowledging *some* similarities as to what "narrative inquiry" holds in common with biography, they go on to outline differences. In the end, however, they state that biographical methodology is not part of narrative inquiry.

> ...because narrative is concerned with classroom understanding, most of our fieldnote and interview data are devoted to organizing classroom records and reflection on

> them. Only a small proportion of these records are given over to the noting of biographical underpinnings. Admittedly, the biographical material is of not less significance for this. But the biographical material is not collected with biographical ends in mind. It is collected as explanatory material, recovered as various narrative unities are traced. In this, biographical material is used as it is in Shaeffer's psychotherapy, not for the sake of constructing a biography, but for the sake of telling a client's story with a new meaning. (1985/86 p. 15; 1987, pp. 136-137)

What *is* clear from the above quote, however, is that Clandinin and Connelly neither see themselves as practicing biographical inquiry, nor by implication, do they see it as important to do so. Our work pursues biography for the sake of constructing a biography *and* for the sake of telling teachers' stories with new meaning. Autobiography is both the means to understanding a teacher's knowledge and the end in itself, since it is a symbolization of that knowledge and how it was formed. In their work Clandinin and Connelly do not focus on the process of formation of personal practical knowledge as being important to the understanding of a teacher's knowledge. Within other writings, however, Clandinin and Connelly describe narrative-in-action as "the expression of biography and history...in a particular situation." (Connelly and Clandinin, 1985, p. 194). Furthermore, they claim "the notion of narrative unity highlights our interpretive interest in the personal biographical origins of school practices" (Clandinin and Connelly, 1985, p.4). They also claim (p. 4) that "we demonstrated how Phil 'knew' Bay Street School, our research site, as a community and we showed how his image of community was a crystallization, a re-collection, of the experiences contained in the narrative unity of his life."

The relationship, then, between biography and both the substance and means of inquiry into personal practical knowledge appears to be somewhat confusing and ambiguous. We see autobiography together with the context as being the major roots of current action. That autobiography, which focuses on a teacher's past professional and private worlds, is the source of understanding of responses and actions in present context is emphasized by Greene (1978).

> I take from the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty the idea that the life of reason develops against a background of perceived realities, that to remain in touch with one's own original perceptions is to be present to oneself. A human being lives, as it were, in two orders— one created by his or her relations with the perceptual fields that are given in experience, the other created by his or her relations with a human or social environment. It is important to hold in mind, therefore, that each of us achieved contact with the world from a particular vantage point, in terms of a particular biography. All of this underlies our present perspectives and affects the way we look at things and talk about things and structure our realities. To be in touch with our landscapes is to be conscious of our evolving experiences, to be aware of the ways we encounter the world.

As Smith (1986) points out,

> ...biography structures the pedagogic relation. It gives meaning to the question: What is good teaching?

How personal is the personal

Clandinin and Connelly do not emphasize the biographical. Yet they do, in a recent article entitled *What is "personal" in studies of the personal?* (1986), emphasize the personal. Within this article they critically appraise a number of studies of teacher thinking with respect to the issue of "the personal." They conclude (p. 32) that there appear to be three general components in how teacher thoughts are imagined to be composed— practical actions, biographical history, and thoughts in isolation of the former two— most of the studies, they say, focus on the third. Exceptions are noted. They included Pinar (1981), and Grumet (1979) in biographical studies, as well as their own work— called narratively oriented studies— which they claim includes all three components in combination.

The first point we wish to make here is that the group of studies they have chosen to review is severely restricted. Despite the fact that they say (p. 32) "this set of studies on the personal has only a small tradition on which to draw" there are other studies that would be highly pertinent to review here. The reconceptualist curriculum group has, for more than fifteen years, emphasized the personal and personal emancipation of teachers. As well, scholars in phenomenology of education have long emphasized the same essential interests. Besides providing a rich epistemological and conceptual rationale for examining the personal perspectives of teachers, this work may also have been a source of studies that could have been included in the analysis. (See the *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing;* Pinar (1988) and the human sciences journal *Phenomenology and Pedagogy*. Work report by Huberman, Ball and Goodson cited elsewhere in this paper are also pertinent here.) This point is especially important since the article does conclude with suggestions for a variety of generic possibilities for research *all of which* pertain to autobiography and biography. This conclusion is made, however, without raising the issue that an adequate epistemological rational and conceptual framework would need to be evolved in undergird such biographical work with respect to teacher thinking and teacher knowledge. It is particularly evident, then, that the conceptual status of Clandinin and Connelly's work would need to be elaborated and reconceptualized to account more fully and less ambiguously for the central role of biography in both teacher's knowledge and methodologies used to discern it. What is also clear from Ray's, Lloyd's and Glenda's autobiographies is that Clandinin and Connelly's investigations of the personal in personal practical knowledge could be more extensive.

Within Context

Our efforts so far have focused on the need for a deeply personal understanding of the formation of a teacher's knowledge. It is, however, the *interaction* of *person* and *context* over many years that produces the experience that influences the formation of the architecture of self and teachers' knowledge that is brought to bear on current contexts and actions. We need, then to acknowledge the importance of *context* in the interactive and dynamic process of formation of a teacher's knowledge. As we noted earlier, Clandinin and Connelly's conception of personal practical knowledge does not sufficiently address the breadth and richness of context that characterizes the biographic formation of teachers' knowledge. There are various ways in which we can view past and present contexts and their influences in a person's life. In a Deweyan sense we can reflect *on* and reconstruct our sense of our experience and, as well, the sense of Schon (1983) we can reflect on our actions *in* experience. How each of us experiences our self can be considered, then, as perhaps a crucial primary context and reflection can be considered as a crucial primary educative process. We might call this the *existential* or *intrapersonal* context. Other interrelated contexts that need to be considered include the interpersonal, the cultural or collective (see Olson, 1986; 1987), the practical, the professional, the institutional, and the societal. The interpersonal-social context includes relationships with significant persons including parents, mentors, particular pupils, colleagues, and peers—including small groups who work and interact closely together. In over fifty autobiographies of teachers that we have already collected, the *interpersonal* has provided both powerful positive and negative experiences that have heavily influenced teachers' knowledge both within private and professional contexts. The cultural or collective relates to, for example, the culture of the school (Sarason, 1971) or other collective expressions of values and norms that might run across schools in, for example, a local early childhood teachers' group. In private life, cultural and collective contexts could take the form of ones ethnic, religious, or other such group expression. The practical relates to the day-to-day reality of the work of teaching. It is this context—the classroom, school, and community—that *requires* the teacher to express herself through practical action. The professional context includes what the teaching profession and educational system purports to expect of teachers as well as actual role, function and development. This context in interaction with others gives rise to the teachers career pathways (Ball and Goodson, 1985) which may be related, as well, to transpersonal and transprofessional phenomena such as adult life and teacher professional developmental phases and stages of readiness (Huberman et al. 1979, 1983; Huberman, 1984, 1986). The institutional context, which manifests itself through the educational system, its organizational and bureaucratic structures, roles and relationships, also significantly influences and shapes how a teacher's knowledge might evolve. These influences include the placement of teachers in particular contexts, workload patterns, prescription of curricula, testing of achievement, as well as the relationships of those outside the classroom to those inside (Butt et al. 1983; Butt, 1985a). This context brings with it influences related to autonomy, authenticity, compliance, power, control, and therefore the legal and political dimensions of professional life. All of these contexts lie within the broader societal context– the historical streams and flows of which also influence how we think and act as teachers.

We must, then, look at all the *breadth* of *past* contextual experience that has entered the *depth* of history in order to understand what pedagogical niche a person has arbitrated among the multifarious influences, intentions, and feelings with respect to teaching. By niche we do not mean only comfort or fit, but also habit (Sarason, 1971) as well as the relationships and tensions between the individual life and its contexts, such as between the pressure of the formal situations and the force of the inner private definition of the situation (Goodson, 1980/1981, p. 2).

Limitations of action

As we deal with problems associated with depth of personal nature of teacher's knowledge, breadth of contextual influences, and the issue of life history, it is not surprising that we see limitations within Clandinin and Connelly's methodological preoccupation with present action and the classroom context. Though they are beginning to deepen their interest in, and use of, biographic material (Clandinin and Connelly, 1986, pp. 32-33) the starting point and major emphasis in methodology is still oriented to action (p. 29-31). The assumption, however, that a teacher's knowledge is adequately revealed as minded action is, we think, problematic. It presents a significant number of potential weaknesses that narrow what might be discerned as teachers knowledge through limiting the visibility of the architecture of self.

Our first point is that elements of personal knowledge *held* by a teacher may or may not be *expressed* as minded action. This point is vividly portrayed in our work through Ray's story (Butt, Raymond, and Ray, 1986, forthcoming) which clearly describes a variety of contexts, both in the present and the past, within a significant proportion of which he did not or could not manifest much of his image of haven and the preferred teaching style associated with that image. Because particular "thoughts" aren't expressed in action in a particular context doesn't mean they aren't there, or that they cannot be expressed. Similarly, a particular element of a teacher's knowledge may be held as highly significant by a teacher but may not be expressed in a particular context because of inappropriateness of the events and situations that arise. These particular events or situations may not be characteristic of the context or may be rare in any context. These particular non-expressed elements may, however, form an important part of the architecture of self. Furthermore, particular contexts, events, and situations may permit only partial expression, or may shape and skew expression, so that it cannot be taken at face value.

In contrast to contextual and situational appropriateness, a teacher can make a personal decision not to express a particular element of her personal knowledge in an appropriate situation for all sorts of reasons. These may range from competition from other alternatives for action, fear of political, existential consequences, exhaustion or indeed, whim. As well, we have not clearly refined the role of the ideal within teachers' knowledge. We might strive for the manifestation of an ideal but the structure of context, situation, and events and/or our own lack of skills may not allow it to reach full expression in action. It does, however, remain as an influencing orientation on what we do. A related matter is that particular elements of a teacher's knowledge may be more abstract and/or aesthetic such as certain images, metaphors, or symbolic dreams which by their very nature have an indirect but strong and complex link to particular actions or practices. We cannot discern these very easily from actions. Also, in real terms, a one-to-one synergy of thought and action occurs, in action, in fleeting moments. Our observations of action, then, need to be guided by a thorough understanding of the teacher's autobiography as it pertains to teaching to be able to see those moments. There are also elements of a teacher's practice that consist of routines and habits, some of which have been carefully thought through and evolved, some of which have been intuitively authored, some of which have been unthinkingly adopted or mimiced, and some of which have been shaped by past and present contexts. Of these habitual actions, the proportion which represents unexamined habit may not lead us to a teacher's knowledge.

Do, then, actions speak louder than words or thoughts? Our response, following the above arguments, might be "only if we know a person's thought." But, then it is not only actions speaking and not all of our most important thoughts are or can be spoken in actions. The potential visibility of thought-in-action is restricted. Actions sometimes do not express thoughts; they obscure as well as reveal. Ordinary actions may obscure extraordinary thoughts. Similar actions of different people may mean different thoughts, or little thought.

From the foregoing discussions, the value of a deep and comprehensive autobiographic understanding of a teacher's *thoughts* in contrast to, and as well as, *action* is revealed. The virtually important distinction between the personal knowledge that is *held* by a teacher and that portion which is *expressed* in action is also made. We feel that the notions of teacher's knowledge should not be restricted, conceptually or methodologically, only to that which is currently expressed-in-action by the teacher in a particular context. To hold and to express knowledge means to be its author. For us, then, authentic teachers' knowledge is grounded in the autobiographical story— the person. The manner, however, in which the story is "edited" and currently "published" in action depends on the present context, events, and the situation.

The dialectic as problematic

Clandinin (1985a) characterizes the notion of personal practical knowledge as embodying a dialectical view of theory and practice. She also characterizes her relationship with the teacher, between the "researcher and the researched" (p. 365) as a dialectical relationship. The dialectical relationship is seen as "a particular form of social action that creates dialectical confrontations and produces intersubjective meanings (Dwyer (1979) in Clandinin, 1985a, p. 365). Following our discussions, however, we wish to point out that there are other important related interactions that need to be explicitly characterized. Those include: Though and action of the teacher (as distinct from theory and practice), the interaction of person and context, teacher's knowledge held and expressed, and the past and the present. How might these be dialectical and, indeed, problematic? Clandinin and Connelly's (forthcoming) work does not highlight these relationships; particularly the problematic aspects that we have identified here. They make the point (p. 7) that, in criticizing Dewey's and Schon's problematic views of classroom life, "we believe that many educational situations are better understood in non-problematic terms; terms such as rituals, habit, routine, cycle, rhythm, personal philosophy and image.

Firstly, we find the categorizations of personal philosophy and image as non-problematic, in and of themselves, as inappropriate. As well, embodying personal philosophy and image in action is one of the major problems of teachers' practical situations. Secondly, ritual, habit, routine, cycles, and rhythms while potentially being non-problematic can also be unexamined habits (Sarason, 1971), actions that are "cultural artifacts" or elements of technical rationality, all of which might bear little relationship to "mindedness", either of action of the personal practical knowledge that a teacher holds. The so-called non-problematic can be, then, problematic in the sense that they are taken for granted; they need to be unpacked, in a phenomenological sense, from the present and the past, to see what they reveal.

From within this expanded view of both the dialectical and problematic nature theory and practice, thought and action, person and context, teachers' knowledge held and expressed, and the past and the present, we see Clandinin and Connelly's work as overemphasizing the non-problematic. Their accounts of narratives-in-action have a partiality of view that has not included highly telling formative existential and contextual events, issues and tensions of classroom life and personal history (Goodson, 1980-81). These issues are more visible in autobiographical accounts than in an action-grounded methodology such as that of Clandinin and Connelly. Action, as we have shown, offers a restricted window into the personal practical knowledge held by the teacher. There *is* a dialogue in Clandinin and Connelly's work between the expanded dialectic elements mentioned above, including biography. This conversation, however, is limited, by expression-in-action, to truncated exerpts from the full depth and breadth of the *auto*biographical story.

Collaboration:
Facilitating voice and avoiding substance abuse

A most important concern relates to the fact that teachers' knowledge is supposed to be knowledge as it is possessed by the teachers. It is essential then that it is portrayed and construed in ways that reflect how the teacher knows, sees and perceives it. It should carry the *teacher's voice* in all, or as many respects, as possible. If we are to know what a teacher knows inside her head, and, if its expression is sometimes constrained by context, the only way we can know it is through the teacher's own commentary, preferably unfettered and unshaped by others'. If we are to try to know parts of a teacher's personal knowledge through her actions, then the only way we can know it is through the teachers' commentary on her own actions, again unfettered and unshaped by others' questions, ideas and interpretations. If we are to know how this knowledge came to be the way it is, again in the eyes of the teacher, we need the same type of autobiographical commentary. What is pertinent in thought and action needs to be identified, as far as is possible, by the teacher.

Within Clandinin and Connelly's anthropologically inspired participant-observation in which they see a dialectic relationship between "the researcher and the researched" (Clandinin, 1985a, p. 365) the conversations about activity appear to be initiated by the researcher's inquiries based on her observations (p. 367). Those inquiries are based on what *the researcher perceives as important, of interest*, as indicating personal knowledge worthy of further investigation. These inquiries and fragments of biography are as likely to be colored with the researcher's *prior* dispositions as the teachers. These "narrative unities" could be as much perhaps those of the researcher as the teacher. Despite Clandinin and Connelly's (1986, p. 13) claim that the knowledge that they construct is neither objective nor subjective, the teacher and her actions remain objects of inquiry. In fact, their perception of strength in methodology through their type of *collaboration* and, indeed, *joint negotiation* of meaning through a dialectic relationship could be construed as a *weakness* that dilutes the teacher's voicing of her own knowledge in her own way. So we see especially the *personal* in personal practical knowledge being constrained in yet another way by Clandinin and Connelly's method.

The type of collaboration engaged in, then, in attempting to discern a teacher's knowledge is a sensitive matter of great importance. This has been the case with our work in collaborative autobiography. Clandinin and Connelly's (1985/86; see Note 5; 1987) state that "The autobiographer reports to himself with perhaps, prods and suggestions by the researcher and the biographer elicits a record which may be constructed through interview or by the participant in the absence of the researcher"

(1985/86 p. 13; 1987; p. 136). This is a superficial characterization of the nature of the collaborative relationship that is fostered when autobiogrpahy and biography have been used in education generally (see Abbs, 1974) for phenomenological inquiry (see for example Hultgren, 1987; Weber, 1986; Carson, 1986) and in the strong and long tradition of biographical inquiry in history, literature, and sociology, as well as recently in education (see for example Grumet 1979; Berk, 1980; Butt, Raymond, McCue, Yamagishi, 1986; Butt, Forthcoming; Butt and Raymond, 1987).

Clandinin and Connelly (1985/86, p. 13; see Note 5; 1987, p. 136) go on to counter claim that:

> In narrative, however, researcher and participant enter into a collaborative relationship of classroom work. The significance of this is that qualitatively different kinds of knowledge claims result: claims which are tacit (Polanyi, 1958) moral and emotional.

To imply that autobiographical work does not reveal the moral and emotional is inaccurate. We suspect that these facets of personal knowledge come through more clearly and authentically in autobiographical inquiry than in "narrative inquiry." Since our particular approach to collaborative autobiography presents rich opportunities for the individual to re-examine and reconstruct their own perceptions of personal experiences; the personal interacting with self– the intrapersonal– is the ultimate context and interaction in discovering personal knowledge. This involves perhaps being objective about one's subjectivity; the subjective and objective are unified more personally, we think, than the claim for narrative inquiry (1985/86; p. 14; 1987, p. 136). As well, there is the suggestion that the autobiographer being "independent" of the researcher– separate– is not desirable. Surely this is to deny the value of knowing, as far as is possible, the teacher's own unadulterated voice. Are we then paradoxical in speaking about collaborative autobiography? Not really. The task becomes one of facilitating the *process* of the autobiographical impulse and expression, autobiographical interpretation and reconstruction of experience, without interfering with the substance of the teacher's story.

Our approach to collaborative autobiography involves, as we mentioned before, a group of graduate students working together. Through that process there is ample encouragement and facilitation of the process of autobiographical expression and interpretation by peers involved in similar realities who use similar language and queries of themselves and others. The process is also aided by the instructor giving, as a co-investigator, his own examples and vignettes of autobiographical inquiry– taking his turn as one of a group of presenters. This process, and the continuing autobiographical writing of the participants enables, encourages, and provides a supporting framework for us to write our own stories, in our own words, constructing our own frameworks, as far as possible. It presents the "whole" story– not just fragments derived from what is most obvious in action. The group, class, and assignments take the teacher away from the frenetic classroom and provide a structure for reflection-on-action over time, as opposed to the quicker responses required by participant-observation and interviews. These autobiographies *do* present vignettes of action– but teacher's views of them as they perceive them. As well as the problematic, contrary to the claim of Clandinin and Connelly (1985/86, p. 13; 1987, pp. 135-136) our teacher's stories do address the routine, habitual, mundane and the day-to-day aspects of classroom working reality. In the university seminar phase of the research, all teachers and the instructor are researchers; each participant is the expert with respect to self. Individually, we write our own song and lyrics, name, conceptualize, identify themes and patterns about what we want in the way that we want. We take an idea catalyzed by others only if it speaks to our individual story. This phase then has characterized an emphasis of *collaboration as facilitation of the autobiographical process.*

Only after each participant has had a significant opportunity to draft, redraft and evolve an autobiographical account of her current working contexts, a pedagogy and curriculum-in-use, her past life as it relates to thinking and acting as a teacher, and a projection into the future do we *as co-researchers* enter into a discussion and further investigative interpretation which *examines autobiographical substance.* This phase of collaboration occurs some time after the class has finished. We think there is less chance of us importing our own inappropriate frameworks to characterize *the teacher's* knowledge when the teacher has found and expressed her own voice, especially since we all try, as far as possible, to use the teacher's words, phrases, patterns and structures.

A return to action

All of the foregoing, does not mean, however, that action within the practical domain is not examined. It *is* examined through the autobiographical eyes of the teachers. It must also eventually be examined in its own right in order for us to pursue our direct interest in classroom change and educational reform. Understanding the intricacies of the relationships among the teacher's knowledge that is *held, expressed* and *not expressed* by a teacher, between what is *expressed* but *not held,* within various contexts; the way contexts shape expression; understanding the ways we can *take control* of what we express and how—the ways we can help others improve the expression of their ideals—all speak to emancipatory possibilities related to improving teaching, changing classrooms, and collective approaches to supervision and reform. The question as to whether one pursues collaborative autobiography first followed by classroom participant observation, or vice-versa, or simultaneously is open to debate; what is not, is the essential importance of having, at some stage, the light of the *full depth and breadth* of autobiography converse with and illuminate *action.* We are beginning to explore these questions and the strengths and weaknesses of methodologies which proceed from thought to action and action to thought (Butt and Raymond, 1986). Having worked collaboratively with several teachers to elicit the biographic formation of their knowledge, we have now entered their

classrooms to explore practice. In contrast we have also developed a methodology in which an ethnographic study serves as a base to subsequent full inquiry into the teacher's pedagogical biography of classroom practice.

Teachers' knowledge reconsidered

There are major differences in epistemological and conceptual roots between Clandinin and Connelly's and our conceptualization of teachers' knowledge. There are also major differences in the methodological approaches that we have evolved to discern the knowledge that teachers hold. Our work is characterized by: the deeply personal notion of the architecture of self (Pinar, 1986) created through interaction of person and context that the private person brings to the public act of teacher; the integration of this personal knowledge with the professional knowledge that evolves out of personal interaction with professional contexts; and how *the teacher* perceives and *holds* this knowledge. Besides *substance,* we are interested in how this knowledge is evolved and *formed.* Our particular interests are in the *biographic formation* of teachers' knowledge both in the sense of process, and in the sense of substance and structure. A third important interest which relates both to ongoing biographical process of formation of teachers' knowledge and its practical manifestation or expression—is the relationship among knowledge held, expressed and context. The final interest is in creating unity between the foregoing three foci and methodology through the practice of autobiographical inquiry both outside and inside the classroom.

We have a phrase that names and integrates these four lived interests of biographic substance, process, the relationship between knowledge held and expressed, and methodology. It contains the potentially synergistic, dialectic, and problematic interactions between person and context, thought and action, experience and reflection. It reflects the relationship between past, present, and future. The term *praxis* better reflects those interactions than the word knowledge. It also reflects the dynamic nature of teachers' professional craft as well as its ongoing evolutionary nature better than the somewhat static or fixed connotation of knowledge. Praxis, as substance and process, includes action, reflection-on-action, reflection-in-action, thought, thought-guided-action and action-guided-thought in a cyclic unity which occurs both inside a teacher's personhood and in action. The term *autobiography* reflects how we think a teacher's knowledge is held, formed, and how it can be studied or understood. *Autobiographic Praxis*, then, is the term we use for our conceptualization of teachers' knowledge. Moving from praxis to *praxeology* brings with it the meanings of studying and understanding, and the theory of *human action*. so that the phrase *autobiographic praxeology*, refers to our methodology. It means the study of teachers' knowledge, the process of how it has been and is being elaborated, how it is expressed through autobiographical inquiry (Lather, 1986, Note 4).

Autobiographic Praxis: Questions, Method, and Lloyd's Story

The following major questions are the focus of our research into the nature of teachers' knowledge as revealed by their autobiographies:

Questions of Substance

1. What might the central aspects of a teacher's autobiographic praxis be interpreted to be at the present stage of professional personal life and in the present context? What forms do they take?
2. What are the major elements of a teachers' present professional personal context?
3. What are the major elements of a teacher's past personal and professional life that are relevant to autobiographic praxis?

Questions of Formation

4. How do elements of *current* context interact with and shape autobiographic praxis and its expression?
5. What are the major sources of or influences on autobiographical praxis from the past?
6. How have elements of a teacher's perceived past influenced the formation of autobiographic praxis? How are antecedents related to subsequent elements?
7. What crucial life episodes occurred in which new lines of activity were found or new aspects of the self brought into being? How and why?

With respect to the dynamic interplay between person and context over time, we have speculated that a framework of particular contexts are pertinent to autobiographic praxis in teachers. They include: intrapersonal (existential), interpersonal, cultural (collective), practical, professional, institutional, and societal contexts. These contexts might be from either the private or professional domains of a person's life. It will be interesting to attempt to discern which, if any, of these contexts are pertinent in Lloyd's and others' stories, indeed, whether or not the framework appears to be of use? As important, if not more so, is the question of what is Lloyd's existential response to issues that various contexts raise? A final set of questions might be addressed that relate to current interactions of person and context. Which interactions contain issues that are not resolved— that is, which interactions are *problematic?* How does a teacher live with these? Which interactions contain issues that require continuing resolution— that is they are dialogical or dialectical in nature? In which interactions is there a significant degree of congruence between person and context— that is the interaction is synergistic?

We do not delude ourselves to think that we can answer or even address all of these questions. In a sense then they constitute an ideal set which give our inquiries direction. We regard the case study as an exploration which will obviously need refinement to adequately address the above queries. We also need more data, some of which we are gathering at the moment. But, at this stage, at least, we wish to portray the potential of this approach to understanding teachers' autobiographic praxis.

Evolving teachers' stories

We have been enabling teachers to construct personal and professional autobiographies through a graduate course in curriculum studies. We work through four phases of activity and writing: a depiction of the context of their current working reality, a description of their current pedagogy and curriculum-in-use, an account of their reflections on their past personal and professional lives insofar as they might relate to an understanding of present professional thoughts and actions and, finally, a projection into their preferred personal/professional futures as related to a personal critical appraisal of the previous three accounts. The process of the course is based on a collaborative social learning approach best characterized by Jaime Diaz.

> Social learning necessarily implies relationship with others; not only as an object of knowledge but as companions on the road in the same process— to think with others; to decide with them; to act in an organized way with them. It is a horizontal, pedagogical relationship in which all are considered capable to give and receive; therefore all are masters and disciples, parents and children. The group is the educator who leads the members along the road to maturity. It is no longer a vertical relationship in which the teacher monopolizes knowledge and decisions (Diaz, 1977).

The course is described in detail elsewhere (Butt, Forthcoming) but the following brief synopsis will characterize its main elements. Each member of the group (including the instructor) presents excerpts of exploratory writing on each assignment. The rest of the group ask questions, share points of similarity and difference in experience, in order, through dialogue and discussion, to gain a deeper understanding of each presenter, to assist each presenter to clarify their own understandings, and, as importantly, to catalyse each member of the group in their efforts to address each assignment. To facilitate a high quality of personal reflection, sharing and collaboration, a number of conditions are essential to the process of the course. They include making "I" statements, accurately identifying and describing feelings, being frank and honest about oneself, engaging in non-critical acceptance of others, and providing confidentiality. Participants are reminded that they have complete control over the level of disclosure they decide to manifest about personal and professional aspects of their lives. There are a number of different situations within which different levels of disclosure are possible. They include the public discussion in class, private conversations with a friend or friends in or outside the class, discussion with the instructor, the written biography, and of course, what one discloses to oneself. The experience of the course, then can manifest itself at multiple levels. The final written autobiographies, then, are individual and personal, but they evolve as well from a collective and collaborative process.

Interpreting the autobiographies

A significant proportion of what can be interpreted from a person's autobiography with respect to the nature of events, relationship between events, thinking, action and meaning lies within what is written by the author. In this sense each autobiographer has the major role in the process of interpretation. The first two authors of this paper, in attempting to further elaborate interpretative accounts have taken measures to re-present the teacher's perspective and voice in several ways. The first author participated in the course process as the facilitator and so was exposed to the social education that provides a context from which to interpret autobiographies. As well, the first author engaged in an exercise of "rewriting" the autobiographies used as illustrations in this paper in the form of summaries in the third person, using, as far as possible the language, words, and concepts of the teacher. This exercise was thought to enable a deeper appreciation of the text in a verbatim sense and also was throught to discourage interpretive conceptualization which was premature— prior to a thorough understanding of the text.

These summaries were shared with our autobiographical co-investigators who validated the accounts. There were no major disagreements as to text. Some suggestions were made with respect to confidentiality of certain aspects of the accounts. Visits were made to the field to compare the images held by the first author of the teacher and their classrooms to actual realities. There was a high degree of congruence— sufficient to attest to the basic validity of the accounts. Participant-observation is now ongoing in order to examine how this teacher's knowledge is expressed in action. The second author interpreted the autobiographies independently as a second reader of the text. The second author also wrote a descriptive summary of the autobiography. This summary carried the concepts, categories, phrases, and expressions used by the teachers. Then, the second author used a form of charting, in order to highlight important elements in the accounts as well as relationships identified by the teachers in their own renditions. Interpretive ideas were noted as they pertained to the nature, sources of influences, change, and evolution of the teacher's personal practical knowledge. It was then possible to see potential relationships among specific elements of the teacher's current pedagogy and biographical influences and, at the same time, to identify the most potent influences from the past. Following this process a joint description and interpretive summaries were constructed. This account was subjected to validity checks by the researchers and our teachers co-investigators.

A Paradigmatic Case: Lloyd's Story

Lloyd is a 38 year old teacher with 12 years of teaching experience. He currently teachers grade six pupils, most of whom are of average or below average ability. He has been teaching in his current school for the past 11 years. Four years ago he was made administrative assistant. Lloyd is a Japanese Canadian whose family was interned during the war and resettled in Southern Alberta. He is the third youngest in a family of ten children. He is married with three children.

Working Reality

In his current working life Lloyd experiences pressure from several sources: covering the curriculum at the upper elementary level, dealing with the many non-curricular tasks and interruptions that significantly diminish curriculum time, dealing with intercollegial relations, coping with the pressure of being scrutinized "in the fishbowl," and dealing with perceived expectations of being an administrator. We will deal with these here only insofar as they relate to curriculum and pedagogy.

Lloyd documents over 40 non-curricular activities as well as the continued flood of forms to fill out, record keeping, distribution of letters and advertisements that take away teaching time. Lloyd is peeved that charitable and service agencies constantly bombard schools with ideas they would like to promote for their own reasons and that schools provide an easy access to large numbers of people, a captive audience, and impressionable minds. These activities take away precious time, energy and attention from the official curriculum and ..."leave me less time to cover any nice-to-knows."

Lloyd reveals his feelings regarding intercollegial matters when he expressed his dissatisfaction with his peers who bitch about interruptions but who do not have the collective will to do something about it at staff meetings. He seethed inside when he experienced their apathy, lack of dialogue and discussion. In his early years of teaching he described himself as a radical outspoken loner whose opinions were non-conformist and unpopular, so much so that he began to question his own judgement. To understand this more fully however, we need to go back to Lloyd's early years of teaching when he encountered Mrs. S., an elderly teacher who was two years away from retirement.

> This elderly teacher...was very set in her ways, having taught a great number of years. As she always liked to put it, "I'm very experienced, you know." During our initial

> meetings, Mrs. S., Joan (the other third grade teacher) and I got along quite amicably. However, one thing was wrong— Mrs. S. seemed to be dominating the meetings and my suggestions counted for very little. In fact, whenever I suggested a new or interesting (in my opinion) way to handle problems or impending situations, she would cross her arms and state emphatically and in a condescending tone of voice, one of her patented retorts— "I've tried that before and it doesn't work...too much time and energy required...no way!"... and finally the ultimate putdown— "You're just a pup...I guess you'll just have to learn the hard way!" I assumed the other teacher had locked horns with her a few years earlier, as she kept very quiet during these skirmishes and just nodded in agreement regardless of who was on the floor at the time. In a very short time, these supposedly constructive sessions became increasingly less productive and longer silent periods became more the rule than the exception. It was surely a classic case of "new" vs "old" and no party could ever lay claim to victory (L.C. p. 16-17).

Lloyd was disappointed that these grade level meetings were not focussed on professional growth. He became more frustrated and very aggressive in attempting to sway Mrs. S., but it was like tackling an immovable object. This experience left a scar that was to last for a long time. When Lloyd moved schools, though not by choice, he changed.

> I became a "closet teacher," in that I would listen to suggestions, not offering any suggestions, and then "do my own thing." I found great success with this mode of operating and up to a few years ago, I hesitated to share any of my strategies/worksheets/lessons I developed on my own. Becoming an administrator forced me into sharing, for I wanted to provide teachers with access to as many resources as possible— the better the programs they had, the better it was for the school. It also started to make me feel worthwhile and proud when teachers tried some of my ideas and they actually worked for them as well (L.C. p. 18).

Another sense of pressure for Lloyd is that teachers are forever scrutinized by students, parents, colleagues, administrators, consultants, central office personnel and other administrators— and sometimes unfairly judged. He feels like a goldfish in a bowl. One example Lloyd gives of this phenomenon is the increasing use of test scores, not only as a way of measuring student achievement but also inevitably by some persons as a way of assessing teaching competence, without taking other variables, such as socio-economic status, into account.

Lloyd feels fortunate that his students, though regarded as having some problems, have produced acceptable test scores but feels "under the gun" that they must score well and rues the day when they come up short. Will it be interpreted as inadequate performance on his part? If so, Lloyd feels he would have to eliminate valuable 'nice-to-know' things like drama and computers.

> To cope with this anxiety I've decided not to play the game and will continue to operate my program as it is, until such time as I have to answer to my superiors for my test scores (L.A. p. 6).

Social development of students

The description opens with a vignette wherein a colleague of Lloyd's angrily requests to talk with him about the behavior of his class.

> As she stormed away, my innocent-looking children stared at me with disbelief. "Boy, is she ever mad at you," volunteered Sara sympathetically. "At me?" I questioned. "I'd say she was quite upset with you students," I added.
>
> I guess it was lecture time again. My students' overall work habits, attitude, and general conduct had not been up to par since the Christmas break and a gentle reminder during the first week back must have been ineffective..."Now, give it to me straight," I ordered.
>
> "I guess some of us weren't being very responsible stu-

> dents," offered Blake. The rest of the class nodded their heads in agreement.
>
> "Well, people," I began, "let's review my rules and your own growth objectives that you established at the beginning of the year." I felt a little better, for they were now able to admit their mistakes (L.B. pp. 2-3).

Lloyd has only two rules. No one will speak when someone else is already speaking, and homework must be completed. He has few rules for several reasons. The more rules you have, the more vigilant you must be in enforcing them. Too many rules can work against you since the students will always be testing to see how far they can go. As well, since the rules are Lloyd's he feels that lack of ownership on the part of the student would make them too hard to enforce if there were too many.

> On the other hand, I have my students develop their own personal growth objectives at the start of the year and although these are their own goals, I find that I am the one who must help train them and help carry them out. These goals can cause frustration at times, but nonetheless are stressed whenever possible. These goals are: strive for excellence, respect each other as persons, work as a team and help each other, be responsible for own actions and accept the consequences, be self-disciplined.
>
> When I dispense my responsibility lecture, I deal with key concepts such as self-respect, self-discipline, maturity, pride, teamwork, commitment and responsibility. Typically, there is total stillness in the room as I finish my monologue some 30 minutes later. The students are usually a little subdued, appearing to be deep in thought, and hopefully, pondering the virtues of my lecture. Most times I even get a collective apology and I feel really confident that I have reached them (L.B. p. 4).

Lloyd prides himself in having one of the classes that is the most responsible, trustworthy, and disciplined in the school. He also feels part of the reason for this, besides his disciplinary skill, is that he has good rapport with his students due to his personality. He shows warmth through talking to them not at them, through joking around, through physical contact, and feels his small stature lessens the physical distance between them. Having a well disciplined class also brings pressure. At times he fears that his classroom has become a dumping ground for students with every conceivable weakness...academic, social, disciplinary, and emotional. The principal and parents request placements. He wonders whether he is a social worker or a teacher—whether to go into counselling fulltime, therefore not having to plan lessons and teach curriculum! He worries about burn out, especially when some classes don't catch on quickly and require repeated reminders like his current class.

> At times, when I feel I am failing in my attempts to make them what I want them to be, I really get upset with them and myself and "lower the boom." I fully realize that I am foisting my own personal values on them and am constantly fighting their collective values, or at least, their form of presentation, which have been acquired from their respective homes and are certainly more deeply ingrained than mine. However, I believe strongly in my values and because I am a strong role model for these students, I will continue to try to influence them. There is an inherent danger in this attitude, I realize, as we saw in the recent case of Jim Keegstra of Eckville, Alberta.
>
> Overall, I do see definite progress with individual students during the school year. The satisfaction I get when they do indeed develop and grow—evidenced when they make return visits, make some kind of success in their lives, or I receive feedback from parents—make it all worthwhile. I have made a difference! (L.B. p. 6)

In making sense of how he came to think and act this way in terms of what he calls social development in the classroom, Lloyd posits several shaping influences.

Family

Lloyd sees his parents and family as having a major effect on his teaching. Throughout his life, his parents have repeatedly stressed the concepts of respect, responsibility, commitment, self-discipline, teamwork, trust, and right and wrong. They had the ability to ingrain these values without spanking or verbal abuse. They were good role models and used the identical lectures that Lloyd uses now with his own children and his class. Lloyd sees himself using the same concepts in the classroom and, as a professional, insists on the same high level of organization, efficiency, commitment, and standards of work that his parents exemplified in their community work for himself and his students.

For Lloyd, when he was growing up, the focus at home and elsewhere was collective family life, whether working hard as a team to "pull and top" sugar beets to get out of old shacks and beet farms to a better life, or other doing projects. The notion of family and team work also comes through from Lloyd's background due to being the third youngest of ten siblings. A rough early life required them to care for, stick up for and help each other. Rules and organization, including not speaking when others were, were a necessary part of such a large group of siblings!

> This feeling of family has also filtered down into my classroom. I stress to all my students that everyone is important in the classroom and no one student is the most important. I make sure that everyone has equal opportunity over the course of a week to assist in the daily routines, such as passing out books, being messengers, getting the flouride rinse, etc. I also like to stress the notion that each member of the class is responsible to the class as well as to himself.
>
> Developing a feeling of sticking together, helping and caring for each other—a feeling I had in my family—is also promoted in my classroom. I always stress in my lectures to my students on the subject of family, that they may not appreciate their parents/siblings right now, but sooner or later, they come to realize their value. Their family make up their true "best friends" who are there when needed—blood is thicker than water...(L.C. pp. 4-5).

Cultural Deprivation

> My parents, like all others of Japanese ancestry, were relocated and placed in internment camps during the Second World War. Allowed to take only as many personal possessions as they were able to carry, they lost virtually everything they had worked for in this "Land of Opportunity," except their dignity. From living in nice, clean homes, they were coralled into prison-type camps and later shipped to farms in Southern Alberta where they lived in "beet shacks" with few of life's amenities. Through all this, my parents were able to maintain their sense of objectivity to channel all their energies into gaining acceptance and the respectability that they desired (L.C. pp. 1-2).

Lloyd's family successfully worked and earned its way out of the beet farm shacks and into the city.

> ...our quest for respectability was not an easy one. At that time. There were very few Japanese Canadians willing to reside in Lethbridge for they were like "bananas"—yellow on the outside and white on the inside—and were not able to hide from the glaring eyes and sharp tongues of some bigotted people. I am certain that my sensitivity towards students of visible minority groups—like Native Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese and Pakistanis—is a direct result of the many instances of discrimination I personally faced some 20 years ago (L.C. p. 6).

Lloyd's own experience of cultural deprivation enables him to relate to the children in his class, most of whom could be described in similar terms or, at least, socio-economically deprived. He can empathize with their lot and feels that "with a joint effort we will have a smooth-running operation with a common goal—*to move upward*" (L.C. pp. 4-5). The common goal obviously includes Lloyd himself. Becoming an administrative assistant was very important. Lloyd also is highly motivated to do a good job to be the best teacher, a good administrator and also to be seen to be doing a good job so that he might become a principal of his own school. He also concludes in his autobiography that:

> *"You've come a long way, baby."* As I reflect back on the many trials and tribulations I have encountered over the years, I feel very fortunate to have come this far—from a borderline delinquent to a respected teacher and administrator. I am sure that many of my former teachers and companions are amazed that I changed so drastically from when they knew me. In this same vein, however, I am sure that these same people are not even aware that each and every one of them have had an effect on my current pedagogy (L.C. p. 21).

Academic Development

I am a stickler for mandated curriculum for the following reasons:

1. I have made a habit from my earliest teaching days to refer to the curriculum guide and follow it like the Gospel.
2. I want to avoid criticism from my students' subsequent teachers.
3. I want my students to have an easy transition from grade to grade.
4. I want to have the black and white data to justify my programs to administrators, parents, students and other outside groups (safety measure).
5. I have made a commitment—however covert—to superiors that I would teach the curriculum guide and having a well-developed sense of right and wrong, I just do not want to eliminate any areas (L.B. pp. 14-15).

Earlier Lloyd had also written that he didn't want authority figures to come down on him for failing to cover the curricula, that nothing should be left out in a system of progression, and that he found it challenging to learn and cover all curriculum areas since it gave him a sense of knowledgability (L.B. p. 2).

> However, I must admit that I do deviate from the curriculum guide, in that, my practical knowledge influences how much time and detail I will use in covering certain areas. For example, I will spend much more time than recommended with numeration, operation and problem-solving concepts than the areas of measurement and geometry. In essence, I am making a decision for the students, saying that the former is much more important and useful than the latter (L.B. p. 15).

Lloyd has a plethora of language arts materials which he has used throughout the last five years. He had gradually grown away from using the teacher's guide so closely, tending to pick and choose on the basis of relevance and suitability.

> The recommended math textbook lacks sufficient practice examples and also seems to make too many presuppositions as to previous experience and therefore creates a lack of sequence or a sense of progression...
>
> However, whenever I am teaching a subject for the first time, I follow a prescribed text, providing me with a vehicle to learn the subject matter. I may or may not leave the text, depending on its value and whether or not I am able to find and develop my own materials...
>
> As in most of my subjects, I use the text as only a guide and add a lot of supplementary activities of my own. Generally speaking, I place stock in my own materials moreso than a prescribed text (L.B. p. 16).

Lloyd uses his own and other tests quite frequently, including pre and post tests since: growth can be measured from start to finish; problem areas can be diagnosed; any concept worth teaching is worth testing; children need to write tests so as to do well in external assessment; also Lloyd does not want his teaching to be labelled by unfavorable test scores.

Lloyd's pedagogy in maths reflects a variety of strategies and resources that would need to be well planned. One girl, however, despite this apparently excellent instruction did not grasp the concept. Lloyd could not understand how Jayne could not have comprehended since...

> Her pretest paper showed she needed only a slight review on the area and perimeter of squares and rectangles, but a great deal of instruction dealing with triangles and circles. The whole class had spent 51/2 hours of intense work trying to learn, practice and review these concepts. We had spent 15 minutes watching a filmstrip, 1/2 hour using toothpick "manipulatives," two hours on the computer center, an additional hour with students at the blackboard solving teacher-directed questions. The remaining time was spent working on practice questions. We were now ready for post-tests, or so I thought (L. B. pp. 6-7).

Lloyd describes how he eventually asked another pupil to attempt to explain the concept to the girl having difficulty. She apparently did quite easily!

Lloyd's social studies approach uses research-oriented activities—the type of inquiry approach recommended by the curriculum guide. He describes how, at this stage, some students are able to write their own research questions. They are able to go to the wide variety of materials that are available in the classroom and pursue specific information that would answer their questions. Lloyd provides ongoing help in a private corner of the room for those who need help in developing their questions.

Lloyd's description of his approach to maths and social studies illuminates his teaching style which is characterized by structure, organization, flexibility, sequential order, and progression. Lloyd finds he prefers teaching in a block approach with sequential order and progression starting from the basics then proceeding in increasing levels of difficulty to more complex concepts. His flexibility is illustrated by the incident with Louise, as well, Lloyd has to be flexible with respect to interruptions from the principal or colleagues with respect to administrative matters, and also by the way he makes curriculum decisions as to what to emphasize and how to use resources.

Lloyd also mentions that his lectures (as we know from social development) are very important and serious in nature.

> My students have come to know that when I say it is time to listen, they know that something I am about to say is of importance. That is not to say that my lectures are not spiced up with interesting anecdotes or appropriate jokes, for I firmly believe the need to keep students alert and "hanging on every word" so they retain the message I am sending (L.B. p. 14).

Lloyd emphasizes language arts skills in all his classes and again uses a wide variety of instructional strategies and resources in a carefully structured but flexible way. He uses drama and role playing throughout the curriculum as a valuable expressive learning tool and tries to provide life experiences whenever possible to make the curriculum relevant.

Given this teaching style and emphasis, it is not surprising that Lloyd plans and prepares for teaching very thoroughly. He examines the curriculum carefully, works out long, medium, and short term plans. He plans lessons in comprehensive detail including instructions to be followed.

As to the human and emotional side of his teaching Lloyd tries to be patient, understanding, and sympathetic to the needs of his students. He also wants them, and pushes them, to strive to pursue their individual capabilities, using praise as a motivational tool. Lloyd also spends significant time and energy in developing relationships and good rapport with his students. He tries to talk to each student in a personal way each day if possible, and tries to manifest his warmth for his students in a variety of ways including jokes and hugs; he also plays games in the school yard when he has time.

Influences of the past

Lloyd locates his general attitude towards mandated curriculum in his parents' emphasis on right and wrong (you are required by law to teach the curriculum), commitment (complete the curriculum as prescribed), and survival (if you teach what you are supposed to you don't get into trouble), and in his striving to gain acceptance and respectability. The theme of upward mobility can be picked up again, here, from the previous section. The necessary striving for success as a member of a minority group combined with the strong work ethic of the Japanese culture contributed to what Lloyd calls his great obsession. This relates not only to his attitude to curriculum but the total teaching job, including thorough preparation and very detailed plans.

Lloyd arrived at his first full time job with "an inner drive and gusto to become the best damn teacher in the world!" (L.C. p. 13). He was obsessed with being the best using all his energy and time, even at the expense of his family and friends. Everything revolved around the realm of education. It became more than just a preoccupation.

> Each day, for the first seven years of my teaching career was like a ritual. I would arrive at school an hour before the first bell and leave about an hour and one half at the close. This made it a solid 71/2 hours of productive and instructional time at school, not including noon hour extra curricular supervision which occurred at different intervals during the year. After my evening meal at home, I would then settle down in my den and fly through yet another five to six hours of marking, creating worksheets and drawing up new and innovative lesson plans. I also studied the Alberta Program of Studies and the Alberta Curriculum Guides like a monk would study his Bible. I was ready (L.C. pp. 13-14).

Even though he felt emotionally and physically drained at each day's end, the many instant rewards from the students plus requests from parents to have their children in his class, made it rewarding and provided motivation for Lloyd to pursue "being the best."

Lloyd's emphasis on language skills can be related to his experience as a child in school for whom English was a second language. Lloyd floundered for the first few years of schooling due to language difficulties and lack of a person to direct him at school. In fact he can hardly recall any teachings during that first few years. He went through a period where he was embarrassed when his parents came to school when, with his parents, he accidentally encountered friends, as well, he didn't bring friends home, due to his parents inability to speak English fluently. The teaching of language skills in his class are influenced by his parents' lack of English and Lloyd learning it as a second language; its importance is deeply ingrained.

Lloyd's beliefs and practices regarding the provision of a carefully and logically sequenced set of concepts with clear structure and organization, and the use of rote memory types of activity on occasion, relate to his own first four years of school, as well as to a particular teacher whom he calls his "white mother." These historical events, as well as his personal involvement in a project on Objective Based Education in Mathematics, contributed to evolving such beliefs that some content must have priority— the basics must be taught and mastered first, and skills must be presented according to difficulty level.

Understandably, with Lloyd's language problem, his first years of school were very difficult. He remembers having to struggle and agonize over simple concepts himself. But this changed significantly in the fifth grade with Mrs. Hunt.

> My struggles as a student were nearly at an end after the fifth grade, thanks to a kind, young, energetic lady who brought everything all together for me and made me into a conscientious student. Mrs. Hunt taught in a very structured manner, was sensitive to our needs as students, and always had interesting lessons, however basic. She had many motivating techniques and was probably the single most important factor in my appreciation for handwriting, reading, neatness and order. To this day, I attempt to influence my students to do likewise. Since I learned most of my skills, it seems, from Mrs. Hunt, I still can remember

> some of her strategies, many of which were of the rote memory type of activities. This has led me to believe that with students who are unable to conceptualize data (such as I was in those days), the use of a similar approach is effective. I try to use it with my modified students and it seems to be working (L.C. p. 9).

His own suffering— culturally and economically— has made him try to be a patient, understanding, and humanistic teacher. At the same time as being humanistic and remembering to teach basic knowledge through logical, sequential order, he illuminates this with life experiences through discussions, pictures, role playing, and drama. The human side of teaching, particularly the emotional, has been helped by his wife.

> In addition, the old adage "behind every successful man is a woman," was very true for me. I feel fortunate and thankful that my wife was so supportive during these growing years. Her patience and understanding often permitted me to use her as a sounding board. More specifically, she helped me sort out my own feelings and emotions, and this awareness has carried over into my classroom. My students and I have established a mutual understanding that emotions and feelings are something real to be dealt with and not ignored. She also taught me that we can learn from each other and that an open line of communication is a must if learning is to take place. This is one of the first things I establish with my students as well as with other students and teachers in the school (L.C. p. 15).

Reflecting on his own pedagogy, Lloyd is quite pleased and comfortable with his current style; in fact he realizes it hasn't changed appreciably over the last few years. When changes did occur they were subtle and a result of changes in the mandated curriculum, a change in grade level, or through the effects of technology. Lloyd will not change his style of teaching until it is deemed ineffectual as determined by student reaction, test results, parental attitudes, and external evaluators.

> ...changes in my curriculum programming are determined by curriculum changes mandated by the "powers that be." They are the ones who keep in touch with ever-changing societal needs and I need not worry personally about them. Regardless of its value to me, I will teach the mandated curriculum because they are the dictators and I am the facilitator. However, to what degree I teach the curricula is a decision that rests solely on my shoulders. As mentioned in an earlier paper, I do not follow the prescribed percentage of time in the mathematics curriculum guide, giving more time to numeration and operations than to measurement and geometry. This is a key point, for it tells me that although I am a puppet, I still have access to the strings and can determine how much change I want (L.B. p. 2).

Collaborative Interpretive Analysis

Substance

Lloyd's autobiographic praxis seems to embody and be embodied by the notion of *basics* for the 3 S's— *survival, safety, success*. These three aims relate simultaneously to Lloyd himself, his personal and cultural history, his career progression, and to his socio-economically disadvantaged pupils. These also relate to his response to the intrapersonal, interpersonal, cultural, professional, institutional and practical contexts. These aims are perceived by Lloyd as very strong mutual interests which he translates into a common goal— *to move upward*. Lloyd, in order to pursue this goal of upward mobility with his pupils, has a strong image of *family* in his personal practical knowledge. It embodies and generates a significant amount of the content and process of curriculum and pedagogy for his classroom.

The notions of safety, survival, and success include *acceptance;* positive feedback is necessary to indicate both acceptance and success. We can see how Lloyd feels quite secure and successful with his students from their feedback and that of their parents, so much so that a major vignette he uses to show his usually successful pedagogy involves him being unsuccessful. This relates to the interpersonal context. When we move to a second potential source of acceptance and success—colleagues—we hear the story of Mrs. S. and apathetic colleagues—negative feedback. Lloyd *withdraws* for a number of years until his colleagues within the collective context of the Objective Based Education Project give him very positive feedback and acceptance—the problem was, though, that teachers in general resisted implementing project materials; another source of frustration for Lloyd. Lloyd also feels a lot more comfortable sharing his ideas now he is an administrator. By now, success as a teacher has given him the confidence that his ideas are worth sharing with his colleagues combined with the fact that success in becoming an administrator gives him legitimizing authority. This relates to both the professional and institutional contexts.

Lloyd's personal and cultural background, and his striving for the 3 S's, underpin his obsession with hard work, and constant pursuit for acceptance and competence for both himself and his pupils. Lloyd's autobiographic praxis integrates three main themes in order to provide for pupil acceptance, safety, survival, and success. Firstly, *social development* derives directly from his personal background and family life, but he relates it to the practical context of the need of his lower socio-economic pupils for upward mobility. He examines this first; it is considered at least, if not more, important as academic development which relates to the institutional press of the mandated curriculum. The values and ideals that Lloyd identifies as the fundamental content of his social development curriculum provide personal *anchorage* points of which Lloyd is certain. They relate to Lloyd's personal and cultural identity; they have also provided Lloyd, himself, with safety, survival, and success. They bring Lloyd as a person into the classroom and provide for authenticity and continuity as they are applied to his pupils. The words used to describe his pedagogy in the *social development* aspect of his curriculum should also be notice. He enforces, reinforces, trains, repeats, ingrains, stresses, and emphasizes. A pedagogy that seems to be oriented towards long term goals (personal growth objectives) would, therefore, be characterized by repetition, emphasis, training, and reinforcement. It seems that relentless effort must be exerted in this *pedagogy of ingrainment* for essential social development. It is understandable, then, that Lloyd wonders if he is a teacher or a social worker. Yet, if he gave up this aspect of his personal practical knowledge, he would be giving up the part of himself that represents an appeal to the authentic part of his culture and his experience that gave survival, safety, and success, and that binds him to his students' lives.

The second theme that is integrated into Lloyd's autobiographic praxis evolves out of *academic development*. This knowledge and practice evolves from family values, his experience as a learner, and through complying, for safety and survival reasons, to curriculum guidelines. He covers institutional requirements with regard to the curriculum, but integrates demands from the practical context through interpreting and including what *he* thinks are the *basics* in a logical, well planned, sequenced, structured and organized fashion. His sort of kids, from his experience, need to know this material to make sure they *move up;* they also learn it better if it is formulated in the above manner. We also find Lloyd using many pedagogical ideas from the current professional literature where they fit his predispositions and where they *work* for his style and pupils.

The third theme is what one might characterize as the transformational medium of Lloyd's autobiographic praxis. This is very much an intrapersonal and cultural response to the interpersonal context. The first two themes involving "ingrainment" of acceptable social values and learning the basics through a structured and sequential approach, in their own, might make Lloyd's pedagogy seem dry, boring, and traditional. This however, is not the case. Third theme can be called the *human* side of his teaching praxis. It appears to derive both from the image of *family* and Lloyd's background as well as being acceptable ways of teaching according to the modern theories of learning implicit in his curriculum guidelines, and the nature of children. Lloyd and his class, together as a team in an active way, provide the experience necessary for skill development. Through this approach there are opportunities for interaction and concrete experiences. He emphasizes establishing warm and friendly relationships with children as individuals and provides opportunities for expression of self and emotion through various means. Lloyd, through his past suffering, is able to identify and empathize in a very human way with his students. In the end, this human side is the predominant flavor of his pedagogy that they experience. They are part of the nurturing family which has the necessary structure and direction.

Formation: Souces and Process

Lloyd's social development curriculum is rooted directly in the set of personal, cultural and familial values emphasized by his parents. These were reinforced by the fact that they were successful in helping the family be upwardly mobile. Lloyd's own family experiences live on as an active image in his classroom.

His academic curriculum and teaching style are evolved from several sources. His parents moral sense contributes to curriculum coverage; their work ethic and other values combined with the need for safety, survival, and successful upward mobility are evolved and transformed through Lloyd's personal obsession with being the best. This also translates into finding what is *acceptable* from external guidelines, policies, and other resources.

Personal experience as a learner, the early struggles jointly with his *white mother* provide the source of an interest in structure, sequence, and organization. The early family experiences of suffering and working through cultural deprivation and language difficulties also provide strong roots for the human element, as well as the academic element, of Lloyd's autobiographic praxis.

Lloyd's early life (persons, experiences, family) are the ultimate roots of Lloyd's thoughts and actions. Later, *professional influences*, academic knowledge and experience serve mainly as substance into which he infuses his personal knowledge from the early years into his form of professional knowledge. His experience with socio-economically deprived children, with his peers in the Objective Based Education project for example, served to reinforce the periodically experienced interest in fundamentals, structure, sequence, and organization. Other sources of professional development have served more immediate instrumental, technical, and acceptance needs.

Lloyd's autobiographic praxis was evolved in a professional sense very early in his career through his hard work at becoming his personal interpretation of what external sources and internalized cultural and familial values might see as "the best possible teacher". Following this early development of teaching competence, Lloyd claims he has changed very little. If he has changed he has done so in response to mandated policies, changes in roles, or through technical elaboration of existing skills such as determining, structuring, and sequencing curriculum content, and designing effective tests through the Objective Based Education project. Experiences such as these allow Lloyd to become more explicitly what he already is. Following, then the relatively rapid initial formation of his autobiographic praxis which combines the personal with the mandated through practical experience, Lloyd's professional development mainly involves incremental elaboration of original patterns. In a sense, we see the domination of his professional knowledge by his private architecture of self, personal rather than public contexts over time, and his intrapersonal response to them. Despite Lloyd's apparent compliance to the prescribed curriculum, it is paradoxically evident that Lloyd, the person, holds sway in the balance of multifarious pressures, his image of family providing the personal glue in the interpersonal, practical, and professional context of the classroom.

The problematic, the dialectic, the synergistic

What Lloyd finds *problematic* emanates, for the most part, from outside the classroom over which the classroom teacher has little or no control. The dysfunctional values and problems that his students bring with them, the fishbowl-like scrutiny from many stakeholder groups, the way that the pressure and inappropriateness of external tests together with bombardments from external agencies on a captive audience interrupts and steals time away from parts of the curriculum that are of interest to his students, all trouble Lloyd with respect to his teaching. In his drive, as well, for professional development and upward mobility he discovers that intercollegial relationships can be a source of frustration as well as acceptance and professional development, whether related to cynicism, apathy, lack of professional commitment, or the implementation of innovations. Similarly, Lloyd has been irritated by the fact that the horizontal nature of education leaves few opportunities for relatively rapid upward mobility. He has learned, however, to be more patient and live with that dilemma, enjoying both the worlds of teaching and administration as an assistant principal.

Other dilemmas, paradoxes, and issues that he holds a balanced resolution for in a *dialectical* manner, include the tension between the prescribed curriculum, his own curriculum-in-use, and children's interests and needs. He has been able to fashion a pedagogy and curriculum-in-use that can contain all three, sometimes conflicting interests. He is able, through his hard work, to treat and cover the curriculum like the Gospel, avoid criticism, provide his pupils with skills that help them in the transition to the next grade, have his colleagues and parents request the education he provides, in order to justify and be accountable for what he does. As important as academic development, he works well with the moral and social development of his lower socio-economic children, constantly, through ingrainment and human worth, working to help them modify their values and self concepts to include tools for safety, survival, and success.

In contrast to some other teachers who work with lower socio-economic areas, Lloyd does not find his teaching context or his students problematic. In fact, because of Lloyd's background, his intentions may be thought to be congruent with theirs. He provides an environment which is open, human, and warm, where, within reason, he and his pupils are able to be who they are in an authentic manner, while they work together, as a team and a family to become better through a common focus on safety, survival, and success.

Interpretation of Other Teachers' Autobiographic Praxis

At this point we wish to bring our consideration of the nature, sources, and formation of teachers' knowledge to interpretations of data from two other teachers' lives which further illustrate and support aspects of our conceptualization of autobiographic praxis.

Glenda

This capsule of Glenda's autobiographic praxis has been interpreted from her personal story (Butt, Raymond, McCue, Yamagishi, 1986) as to how she evolved her practice as an E.S.L. teacher of mainly refugee and immigrant children. The content of Glenda's knowledge of teaching is seen within her current context which includes children of minority cultures and intercultural education. Its roots, however, evolved from an early childhood romantic fascination with far off lands, later made a more human and personally experienced phenomenon, both in the sense of how minorities might experience oppression, but most important how Glenda felt when in the same position. Her experience in becoming a self-determined person out of the "foreign" and "oppressive" cultures of Pakistan, the diplomatic service, and the traditional woman's role provides a core experience and image in her architecture of self that brings her to her work with her students and their lives.

In her work, there are structural continuums from the real to the ideal. Though the gap presents a dilemma, Glenda appears to use the tension created as energy to move gradually from the real to the ideal. There are three terrains within which she has real-ideal continuums, along which she aims to progress. One concerns the primitive dress, diet and dance approach to multicultural education and the ideal "vegetable soup" form in intercultural education. Another is her own professional competence which ranges in the past from, inadequacy and incompetence, towards a future whereby she will have evolved her skills to be able to work effectively within an intercultural notion of education. The third is the broader context of the school, school board, and society. This framework, regardless of the *content* of Glenda's autobiographic praxis, characterizes it as much as a process as anything else. We see her moving along a developmental continuum in an open and dynamic way. Her knowledge is self formed out of personal and professional experience, moved along by a strong sense of responsibility to herself and to others as well as a desire to succeed. As a result of this process, her autobiographic praxis, so far, is undergirded by several key factors. Emotionally, Glenda is able to understand and empathize with her students. She is able not only to accept but *value* them as individual humans with personal stories but also with their cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well. This is manifested in a central way in her curriculum and pedagogy. Her curriculum is based on themes which are of importance and interest to her pupils. The themes are evolved and shaped according to the responses of her students. Her job, to enable her students to communicate in the English language, she links directly to them through regarding them as already possessing expertise in communicating in another language which can be manifested in English if they are given the right support, opportunities, and a comfortable enviornment. Her classroom is small, cozy, with a hexagonal table as the center of everyone's activity. There is a plethora of resources from which selections in support of a variety of activities are made, depending on the theme, to enable all sorts of self-expressive communication to occur. Glenda regards the learning of communication skills developmental and self correcting. She does not have detailed plans, just a general idea of where each theme might go within general classroom routines. She doesn't therefore, use behavioral objectives, grammar drills, phonics and the like.

Glenda claims that her pupils have taught her what her curriculum and pedagogy should be. In that sense she lives the notion of teacher as learner, not only in her personal but also in

her pedagogical life. The relationship in the classroom then is horizontal in the sense that everyone participates in some sense in discerning where to go and what to do next—important ingredients in reducing alienation and increasing the opportunity for self determination. Glenda hastens to add, however, that this hasn't been easy. She still has difficulty leaving "the teacher as dispenser of wisdom and knowledge" to trust in her students.

Her father and the romantic fascination with other lands contributed an important predispositional interest in E.S.L. and intercultural education on Glenda's part. Ted Aoki, as teacher, and a mentor image, served an important transitional catalyst in moving Glenda from a distant other focused/directed framework of multiculturalism to be personal, human, and authentic view of minority persons and herself. These incidents and persons, though significant, only presage the major source of Glenda's teacher's knowledge which is herself. The key, for Glenda, and in her view, for her pupils, is self-directedness. This involved putting significant others in facilitative relationship to self as opposed to a source of self. The major sources, then, of Glenda's autobiographic praxis are rooted in personal and professional experiences that gave rise to her self-directedness. These occurred at the nadir of her anomie. Following the "stagnant period" of being a suburban wife, having children, teaching what she didn't want to teach (home economics) she was alienated further by being immersed in a "foreign culture," the artificial diplomatic life, and being still a traditional wife and woman. Many conflicting sets of rules, none of them hers, governed her life leaving her powerless and inauthentic. At this critical point in her life, in Pakistan, she had a hysterical tantrum about not being allowed to be issued a hall table lamp by the diplomatic service due to her husband's junior rank. In a sense the hall table lamp, as a symbol, encapsulates and represents, at once, the depths of other-directedness and the decision to liberate and author herself and to begin to understand other people (minorities) in their own terms too. Her personal development intertwined with that of others through her explorations of the people and culture of Pakistan, as well as through her explorations of the role of women in different cultures while teaching. She returned the texts of others, in a literal and metaphorical sense, to the storeroom and proceeded, with her students, to examine and create texts of her own and their own. She no longer rubbed and polished Aladdin's lamp in the hope of magic or treasure, but created her own.

The foregoing discussion of the nature and sources of Glenda's autobiographic praxis has also characterized, in a general sense, its change and evolution. The watershed experiences which enabled Glenda to become self-initiated and self-determined constitute a revolution of her disposition and activities with respect to her own life. This facilitated the commitment and energy for the evolution of a basic framework for curriculum and pedagogy in intercultural education over an exhausting but satisfying three/four year period which she continues to evolve. She acknowledged her inadequacy, lack of competence and the uselessness of particular theories and set about a process of practical self-education and professional development in the three terrains of her professional life. She did this through observation, questioning, experience, reflection on experience, and the careful selection of courses, workshops, and conferences that met her needs providing a coherent curriculum for professional development. This occurred in the absence of mandated curricula and tests. Glenda would not change her way of working even if a mandated curriculum and tests were now imposed. This evolutionary and developmental process continues in all three terrains. Glenda has already embarked on activities involving a school-based approach whereby she, with her colleagues in a cooperative team, are evolving their own version of intercultural education.

We see from this interpretive capsule of Glenda's autobiography the key role of her responses within the existential or intrapersonal and cultural contexts in transforming other personal and interpersonal forces into dispositions that carry directly into the practical, professional, institutional, and societal contexts. Through very intense personal professional activity she created her own autobiographic praxis within the practical requirements of teaching E.S.L. children through a thematic, child-centered activity to reflect very powerful intrapersonal themes.

Like Lloyd, Glenda experiences her main stress from sources outside the classroom, though hers are different, coming more from the institutional and societal contexts, although she does hold intercollegial relations as potentially troublesome. What she finds problematic are the racists bigotted attitude of society at large and the naive sense of what multicultural education is within the school system. She is not subject to the pressures of external testing and accountability like Lloyd. She has no prescribed curriculum to cover. She is left, therefore, to elaborate a curriculum-in-use and pedagogy with her pupils through a dialogical process.

As with Lloyd, Glenda has synergistic combinations of her personal intentions with those of her students. Her autobiographic praxis enables her to identify with the situations of her students. It provides a bridge between teacher and students that binds them together in the mutual interest of self-determination.

Ray

Ray's praxis is summarized in the following interpretive capsule derived from data within his story (Butt, Raymond, and Ray, 1986, Forthcoming). In contrast to Lloyd and Glenda, Ray's autobiographic praxis in a junior high school social studies setting manifests itself differently in the different class contexts in which he works. His held classroom image, as we described earlier in this paper is to provide a haven in which pupils could attend to their own personal needs in an empathetic and caring climate. Manifesting this image, however, rooted in Ray's personal life history, proves problematic. Firstly, it heightens his already alienated response to an inadequate prescribed curriculum and external testing which replaced his own individualized program, in that it pressures the teacher to mold students to suit the curriculum rather than vice-versa. Secondly, the nature of the subject matter, nature and behavior of students, optional nature of the curriculum in some classes all influenced whether or not he was able to teach in his preferred student-oriented style and express his image of haven. Early in his career, with flexible curriculum frameworks, and few external exams, Ray developed his own personal curricula for his classes using an individualized activity-oriented pedagogy. As well, he taught physical education and was involved in part-time counselling. This context enabled him to evolve a pedagogy that provided for pupils personal needs as well as academic development. He was more able to express his image of haven. Following, however, increased accountability measures, the introduction of more closely prescribed curricula, external tests, and a move completely into social studies, the person-context interaction became problematic. All of his work in individualizing curricula was lost and became devalued. He had to teach someone elses' curriculum. His pedagogy retrenched to the didactic mode; his pupils were less motivated. In time he had to use more authoritarian discipline measures which were inauthentic for him and not at all in tune with the notion of haven. The mix of generally problematic characteristics of his current classes leaves Ray with one optional course in which he evolved the curriculum which has pupil-oriented active pedagogy and paradoxically one compulsory course with a prescribed curriculum which, due to the highly able and motivated nature of his students allows for him to be what he wants to be as a teacher. The rest of his classes produce significant problematic interactions between himself and the requirements of the practical and institutional contexts.

Summary

Emerging out of an interest in creating better ways to facilitate futures-oriented classroom change through self-initiated professional development and collaborative approaches to school improvement, we have attempted to portray how teachers can become co-researchers with each other and those outside the classroom in inquiring into the nature, sources, and modes of evolution of the personal professional knowledge that they possess and use.

In this paper we have evolved a conceptualization of both the nature of teachers' knowledge and how it has been formed and expressed. As well, we have shown how a method for inquiring into how teachers think and act and how they came to be that way can be evolved so as to be congruent with the nature and evolution of teachers' knowledge, at the same time as providing for the expression of the teacher's voice as a co-researcher. We have provided the reader with qualitative data in the form of a case study of one teacher and two interpretive capsules of two other teachers personal and professional lives in an attempt to illustrate the potential of our conceptual framework and method. It is hoped that the language of this research will speak to, and engage, not only teachers, but other stakeholders in education, to broaden the ownership of education research and collaborative inquiry.

The conceptualization of teachers' knowledge that we have evolved is based on the notion that teachers, as persons, bring to teaching a particular set of dispositions and personal knowledge gained through their particular life's history. This set of predispositions and personal knowledge that teachers bring from their private lives to the public act of teaching is termed the architecture-of-self (Pinar, 1986). This continually evolving architecture-of-self is seen as having been learned or acquired through a life history of personal experiences of the teacher as person interacting with a variety of contexts. This process is viewed as continuing into the professional life of the teacher, who as an adult learner, continues to interact with a series of personal and professional contexts resulting in the evolution of a personal form of professional knowledge which guides the way they think and act as a teacher. Teacher's knowledge, then, is grounded in, and shaped by, the stream of experiences that arose out of person/context interactions and existential responses to those experiences. This knowledge and predispositions to act in certain ways in the present moment is grounded as much, if not more so, in life history than just current contexts and action; it is autobiographic in character. It follows, then, that autobiography forms one major mode of inquiry into teachers' knowledge.

Of existing notions of teachers' knowledge none are conceptualized with autobiography as the central source of substance, process of formation, and mode of inquiry. The closest notion to our evolving autobiographic conception of teachers' knowledge was found to be *personal practical knowledge* (Clandinin, 1985a). A number of weaknesses were identified, however, in the way that personal practical knowledge was conceptualized with regard to substance, process, and method of inquiry. We identified: a shallowness in personal practical knowledge in terms of what is meant by personal; a narrowness in terms of the notion of context as being limited only to the practical context of classroom reality, both in terms of the present and the past; an ambiguous characterization of the role of life history in the substance and evolution of teachers' knowledge; and concomitant problems in the chosen methodology for discerning teachers' knowledge. We addressed these problems in turn and attempted to illuminate how an automatic conception of teachers' knowledge and method could potentially overcome them. We showed the depth of the personal and autobiographic roots of teachers' images that go far back beyond how these images are conceptualized in terms of classroom practice through Ray's image of family. We conceptualized the breadth of context pertinent to both the shaping of teachers' knowledge and how it might be currently manifest to include not only the practical, but the intrapersonal (existential), the interpersonal, the cultural (collective), the professional, the institutional, and the societal arenas. These could be part of either private or public, present or past terrains. In evolving the autobiographic nature of teachers' knowledge we tried to show the educational significance of teachers' experiences over time as a person and as a professional in leading to the current form of a teacher's knowledge. This included the pertinence of the relationship of previous to subsequent to current events as well as the stream of harmony and tensions between contexts and individual lives and crucial episodes which forged particular new aspects of being. Along with the evolution of this autobiographic conception of the substance and process of formation of teachers' knowledge we evolved, in a parallel and integrated way, a biographic means of inquiry into teachers' knowledge. In contrast to Clandinin and Connelly's methodology, we emphasized the need for a fuller autobiographical account of a teacher's life history in order to better understand teachers' thoughts and actions and how they came to be that way. We discussed particular limitations of view in investigating teachers knowledge *primarily* or only through present actions and practice which tends to suppress action to, and importance of, how teachers think. For the same reasons, we also examined the lack of attention, in "collaborative" research, to the unadulterated expression of the teacher's voice to minimize, as far as possible, the inappropriate imposition of the outside co-investigators frameworks on what is supposed to be an expression of *the teachers'* knowledge. These weaknesses in methodology could be traced to limitations within an anthropologically inspired approach to participant-observation as well as a Schwabian type of focus on current practice within a narrow classroom-based context which does not give due consideration to the teacher as a thinking person. We try to point out, however, that provided we, as co-researchers with teachers, have at some stage a full understanding of the autobiographic nature of teachers' knowledge, we can profitably return to current practice with a better appreciation of the meaning of action, especially as it pertains to the synergistic, dialectic, and problematic aspects of the practical expression of a teacher's knowledge in current contexts. This would bring with it, as well, a fundamental view of problems of professional development, classroom change, and school improvement.

As a result of the foregoing deliberation as to the nature, sources, formation and mode of inquiry into teachers' knowledge we induced a term which would be an appropriate name for our conceptualization of teachers' knowledge. We tried to capture the character and dynamic synergy of both the substance and process of teachers' knowledge as well as its evolution and expression throughout a teacher's life history through dialectical relationships between person and context, thought and action. That term is *autobiographic praxis*. Our method of studying teacher's knowledge is called *autobiographical praxeology*.

We regard the case study and two interpretive capsules we used to illustrate our conceptualization and method as only the beginning of an attempt to evolve a method that can capture the full conceptual view appropriate for *autobiographic praxis*. There are undoubtedly many refinements necessary yet in terms of method and procedure. Nonetheless the qualitative data does address, in broad terms, most of what autobiographic praxis and praxeology can be, and it does address the issues raised with respect to teachers' knowledge.

At the current level of development of the art, the craft, and procedural activity within our method, we see a need for making sure that we are relatively comprehensive in our collaborative examination of important contexts, and responses to contexts, over time. We need, as well, to develop ways to follow-up general autobiographical inquiry with specific in-depth inquiries which follow leads into particularly telling contexts, responses, events, sequences of events, and persons. We especially need to focus on points in life histories where paths or contexts changed and new practices or attitudes evolved. Within existing and future methodological practices we need to carefully shape the process of collaboration so as to better facilitate autobiographical recall and expression in such a way as to maintain the authenticity of voice. We need, as well, to evolve our methodology to best examine the manner of expression of autobiographic praxis in current contexts. These tasks are being engaged as our project evolves.

We have not, as yet, written about ways in which autobiographical data might be limited and the significant issues that arise in methodologies for gathering such data, although we have worked through many of them. This will have to be the subject of future papers, as will the intriguing issue as to how we can examine the collective voice of teachers. How can the cultural knowledge of teachers be discerned through biographical means? Can we justify examining commonalities across

teachers' lives? If so, how can we present any commonalities that exist while simultaneously respecting and representing their uniquely personal stories?

Notes

1. This research is supported in part by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canada.

2. We wish to acknowledge Pat Panchmatia, Joyce Ito, Shari Platt, Karen Karbashewski and Pam Attwell for typing many drafts of this manuscript.

3. Autobiographic praxis is the term we use for our notion of teachers' knowledge; it is explicated later in the paper.

4. If we conceptualize the formation of teachers' knowledge as not only praxis but also a form of research, then Patti Lather's discussion of Research as Praxis can be very fruitfully applied here.

5. This 1985/86 conference paper by Clandinin and Connelly entitled "On Narrative Method, Biography and Narrative Unities in the Study of Teacher" has recently been published with substantially the same text and the same title with Connelly as first author. See Connelly and Clandinin (1987) in the *Journal of Education Thought*. The quotes and citations associated with these papers are double referenced.

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Letters

Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,
And unaware morality expires.
Nor public flame, nor private, dares to shine;
Nor human spark is left nor glimpse divine!
Lo! thy dread empire, chaos! is restored;
Light dies before they uncreating word;
Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall
And universal darkness buries all.

Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*

During the years of the Reagan era, a bone-chilling cold and impenetrable mist left a land and many of its people in darkness and despair. During this New Guilded Age, there were few members of Wall Street or persons on Main Street who acted as custodians of the public wealth. Dividends and potential returns, not ethics and social responsibility, ruled the boardroom, the parsonage, and the schoolroom. Rugged individualism not democratic socialism was the creed of orthodoxy. Social status not social change was the preeminent concern.

The full human and social costs of this administration's programs and policies will become visible only in the sobering light of the coming years. Like the 1930s and the 1960s, the 1990s will be a decade of social renewal and criticism. Within education, fundamental issues not technical questions will become paramount. Concerns about educational equity, economic justice, indoctrination, and social responsibility will be hotly debated.

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This set of letters provides a unique opportunity for readers of JCT to listen to an early round of this coming debate. Three generations of curriculum scholars and workers, representing differing educational views and life experiences, share their insights about the social responsibility of educators as we near the entrance way to a new era.

–J.T.S.–

Accepting Responsibility for Social Responsibility in Student Lives

William H. Schubert
University of Illinois at Chicago

Perhaps the most radical principle in all educational literature is John Dewey's (1900,1902, 1913, 1916, 1938) progressive organization of curriculum. Taken seriously and at the depth of its intent, this principle is the seed of democracy. It is the union of human interest and funded knowledge. As such it provides situational answers to the basic curriculum question: What knowledge and experiences are most worthwhile?

Dewey's progressive organization of curriculum asserts that pedagogical movement should proceed from the psychological (human interest) to the logical (funded knowledge of the human race). The assertion holds that momentary interest, personal and social concern, should be respected as the starting point of learning and growing. It should be respected, not merely as a means of tricking despondent students into learning; rather, personal and social concern should be seen in dialectical relation with funded knowledge. This is achieved by enabling learners to encounter the concerns or interests of one another. Through such encounters they become aware of the fact that they share deeper human interests, concerns, with many others. Although momentary problems differ among individuals, such problems usually symbolize a deeper strata of common human interests. Robert Ulich referred to these as "The great mysteries and events of life: birth, death, love, tradition, society and the crowd, success and failure, salvation and anxiety" (Ulich, 1955, p. 255). As common problems are posed (to use Freirian, 1970, language), meaning is given to the larger realm of funded knowledge. Funded knowledge, too, can be seen as intersubjectively created (albeit from a greater contextual and historical perspective) in much the same way that intensely personal concern can be experienced as social concern among peers. Thus, funded knowledge grows and is refined by personal interest and concern; in turn, funded knowledge enriches personal interest and concern. In essence, the two offer the potential of a mutually evolving critique through which both individuals and the society can grow.

Disregard for the progressive organization of curriculum is the great problem that I am convinced lies at the heart of the social issues discussed in the ASCD publication, *Social Issues and Education* (Molnar, 1987). We live in a society whose dominant values contradict the progressive organization of subject matter. Roots of capitalistic competition, authoritarian management, and naive self-interest fundamentally contradict much of the spirit of democratic cooperation and empathic altruism. Only when education of the young provides the experience of the latter, will society begin to assert a grasp needed to climb from the mire of problems characterized in Molnar's book; Nancy King's (1987) emphasis on play leads the way, for in play we see a natural example of Dewey's progressive organization. At play, under the watchful concern of loving adults, children proceed from momentary interest, to common human interests, to funded knowledge. This pedogogical process is lead by experience rather than precept, immerses children in democracy, and helps to develop empathic altruism, respect for pluralism and diversity, and careful perception of consequences vis-a-via the good life and the just society (Schubert, Schubert, and Schubert, 1986). These qualities are basic to social responsibility that has potential to overcome problems vividly characterized by other contributors to Molnar's (1987) book: tracking (Jeannie Oakes), eugenics (Steven Selden), ethnic prejudice (James A. Banks), gay and lesbian prejudice (James T. Sears), ecological disruption (Tony Wagner), illiteracy (Harold Berlak), and inequity (Vito Perrone).

In conventional schooling and in most of society it is assumed that the individual must learn to be a recipient of pronouncement from authority for extrinsic social ends. In the case of children and youth this state of opposition to progressive organization is accentuated. Democracy for the young is hardly entertained as even a possibility. Students at all levels, whether four years old and in preschool or forty and in graduate school, are seen as in need of completion by expert designers. In essence, personal concern and interest are deemed trivial by comparison to that which authorities of all sorts can bestow. This trivialization of the personal understandings and insights of the young (or those defined as young by virtue of student status) seems to be an almost universal phenomenon.

The greatest act of social responsibility for educators, then, should be to acknowledge the existence of relevant and meaningful concern in the life-worlds of their students. Such an acknowledgement would go far to recover the sharing of basic human interest and concern that schooling too often erodes into insignificance.

Indeed, this erosion is at the root of all of the social issues discussed in the ASCD volume. Many students have lost confidence in the purposes and subject matter that grow from their personal concerns and interests. They find themselves in situations where pursuit of their own purposes is not tolerated and where they are expected to disregard their own concerns and interests. Unfortunately, schooling often fosters the development of both of these attitudes.

The kind of social responsibility that I advocate for educators resides in a community of shared interest, a public space, in which pursuit of personal interest and concern is built upon perceptive attention to the consequences of striving to create a good and worthwhile life. My experience in parenting and in teaching elementary school students indicates to me that children are quite capable of this kind of educational responsibility, and educators can make a major contribution to social responsibility by simply helping students do what they are already capable of doing—live with social responsibility in the classroom.

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Social Responsibility

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The new ASCD publication which Alex Molnar edits makes me, an oldtimer in that organization, feel that some of the spirit that was so vital in ASCD's early years is being regenerated. For many of us, this spirit has been missing in the last fifteen years as the association grew in size and its conferences and publications became largely a matter of providing a little bit of everything for everybody regardless of the values involved. The dominant aim has seemed to be one of avoiding controversy. But educators clearly cannot assume their responsibility with social issues and at the same time avoid controversy.

JCT space does not allow me to comment on each of the nine essays which focus on some of the most crucial issues of our times— essays that are exceptionally well done. However, I do want to reflect on Jim Sear's piece which will register high on any educator's scale of controversy. In his moving, yet factually accurate, analysis of the need for educators to face up to their social responsibility to provide human dignity and to further social justice for gays and lesbians, he puts to the test the we-don't-want-to-understand-it, we-would-rather-fear-it attitude so widespread in the general public and among educators.

The tough task of assessing the meaning of one's sexuality— anyone's sexuality— has rarely been characterized by frank self-examination and clear thinking. In the Ohio community where I live and work, a conservative estimate indicates there are over 10,000 gay individuals. Young people are aware as never before of the existence of a wide range of gay lifestyles. The old stereotypes are being broken by the media and by gradual changes in many communities. Students know about, or perhaps have actually met, a young gay priest or a gay pro-football player who has made public his lifestyle. In effect, despite the current AIDS panic, there is a change in the consciousness both of the public and of gay men and women across the country not just in colleges but also in the schools as well as in cities and small towns.

Now is the time for us to face these changes and to ask what they mean for us as educators. We dare not shirk this responsibility. The five steps Jim Sears proposes are an excellent place to start. Even if one does not agree that all of his proposals are appropriate for each situation, they provide a sound, rational base for initiating a dialogue with the view to creating yet other alternatives for action.

Maxine Greene says it better than I can when she analyzes the role of foundational studies by asserting that our concern must remain normative, critical and even political. In writing about the empowering of teachers she insists that we must empower them "to reflect upon their own life situation, to speak out in their own voices about the lacks that must be repaired, the possibilities to be acted upon in the name of what they deem decent, humane, and just."

This point of view undergirds Sears' proposals and serves as a value position for the entire publication. I see this as a contemporary re-statement of the values many of us believed ASCD stood for in its years of leadership on the cutting edge of the profession. I might just again feel proud to be a member of the association.

Social Responsibility

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It is ironic that the people most likely to profess shock at the openness, bluntness, and honesty of many views expressed in *Social Issues and Education* are those who can readily defend and explain away the duplicity, distortions, and lies of prominent figures in the Reagan administration involved in the Iran-Contra scandal. The authors do not evade some of our most formidable and least discussed issues, including the prevalence of tracking; genetics and creationism in biology textbooks; homosexuality; and the ignoring of equity in recent reform reports. Hardy perennials among contemporary social issues are also discussed: maldistribution of national and global wealth, the nuclear threat, racial and ethnic discrimination, limited conceptions of literacy, neglect of education and social services, etc. The booklet's challenge to complacency and blandness is frequently combatative and sometimes close to shrill. Its call for responsible reconsideration and action on controversial issues by educators in their roles as educators and citizens is needed in our times.

Embedded in editor Alex Molnar's introduction and his impressionistic assembling of social data primarily from newspaper sources are important policy recommendations: that "creativity and critical thinking... are an integral part of education"; that "as citizens" educators must "participate in formulating the very orders that society gives us" and must help shape national social priorities; that "educators can make social, political, and economic issues part of the ongoing dialogue within their professional organizations."

As one who fostered critical thinking as a teacher, action for a better society as a citizen, and organizational commitment through frequent service on ASCD Resolutions Committees and elsewhere, I support such policies. Surely they are preferable to repeating the mistakes of some social reconstructionists of the 1930s who called for indoctrination rather than critical thinking and who blurred necessary distinctions among educators' roles as teachers, as citizens, and as members of civic and educational organizations. Molnar points out that "children need role models". Toni Wagner agrees and calls on "us to become role models for what we teach, to be active citizens in our own schools and communities." Vito Perrone closes the booklet eloquently with further support for these concepts.

It is heartening to note the rediscovery of responsibility for both citizenship education and understanding of students by a new generation of educators, typified by Toni Wagner who skillfully illustrates her call for both education "for informed and active citizenship" and for "understanding the interests, needs and concerns of students". Too long has education been plagued by either/or simplifications that ignore the interaction of social and psychological foundations of education.

High among the crucial issues is the need for what James A. Banks terms multicultural education, a movement that engaged some of us in the 1940s under the label of intergroup and intercultural education. His chapter calls for cultural, national, and global identification and reconciles "attachment to their cultural communities" with "strong commitment to a nation's political ideals and democratic values." My quibbles are few. Outstanding cultural pluralists such as the creator of the concept, Horace Kallen, also reconciled cultural identity with loyalty to democratic values. Banks might also indicate that his category "White" on page 61 refers only to "Whites of European descent". Such quibbles aside, his chapter is the best short statement of the case for multicultural education that I have yet read.

The chapters that made me think hardest were those on tracking and the responsibility of educators to gay and lesbian youth. Their authors deserve the thanks of readers for bringing out of their respective closets these most neglected and most misunderstood issues in today's school and society.

Critics may cite statistics which contradict figures contained in this booklet, for statistics can serve varied purposes. They may quarrel with social policies that are advocated explicitly or implicitly by the authors. But the social issues the authors describe persist. They won't go away. They have to be considered and acted upon. ASCD, the editor, and the authors have made an important contribution in *Social Issues and Education: Challenge & Responsibility*.

The Social Responsibility of Teachers

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Alex Molnar's edited book, *Social Issues and Education: Challenge and Responsibility*, contains a number of essays that deal with the discourse of teaching and social responsibility. The book is important not only because it reminds us that teachers perform a social function that is never politically innocent, but also because it provides a variety of programmatic discourses indicating what the substance of teacher social responsibility might actually be. Thus, the book embodies both a language of critique and a language of possibility, one that attempts to think risky thoughs and point to unrealized hopes. I want to extend some of the themes in this book but only in the most general way. That is, I want to point to some theoretical signposts for engaging the issue of what the social responsibility of teachers should be. In doing so, I want to argue that the issue of social responsibility has to be grounded in three particular discourses. These are the discourses of ethics, democracy, and hope.

The discourse of ethics represents an important starting point for taking up the issue of teaching and social responsibility. It is important because it addresses the necessity of formulating criteria on which to argue for and against particular forms of individual, social and institutional practices and the claims to authority through which such practices are legitimated. Moreover, the discourse of ethics points to the necessity for educators and others to address the central contradiction at the heart of any society, that is, the critical tension in society between what is and what should be. In one sense, such a discourse raises important questions regarding not only how actions and discussions can be problematized in moral terms, it also provides a basis for legitimating particular forms of authority and power. I believe that educators should ground the issue of social responsibility in an ethic of risk and resistance. In short, this view of ethics rest in a commitment to forms of solidarity that address the many instances of suffering that constitute the ongoing, and ever-widening relations of everyday life. This is an ethic that recognizes the importance of the excluded others in society and attempts to respond to their suffering and exploitation through a politics of care and social transformation. A politics of care refers quite simply to the willingness to help and aid those who are suffering by both addressing their immediate needs and also by fighting to remove the social conditions that create such suffering. The politics of transformation is linked directly to the second discourse of social responsibility, the discourse of democracy.

The discourse of democracy suggests that the notion of social responsibility be fundamentally rooted in a view of democracy as both a moral ideal and as a referent for social change. Seen as a social ideal, democracy becomes integral to developing a public philosophy through which one can assess the meaning and purpose of education as both a rationale and practice for deepening the role that educators might play as agents of public formation, agents designed to help students understand what it means to exercise intelligence and civic courage in the interest of developing democratic forms of public life and community. The discourse of democracy, in effect, provides the ideological basis for thinking critically about schools as places that introduce students to particular ways of life, that embody particular forms of community, and, legitimate particular values and moral principles. It is through the discourse of democracy that teachers can be given the opportunity to examine and interrogate the horizons of their own moral and political expectations. In essence, such a discourse raises serious questions about the role of teachers and students as critically transformative citizens.

Finally, I think that the issue of teaching and social responsibility needs to be grounded in a discourse of hope. That is a discourse that keeps alive a redemptive and radically utopian spirit for linking radical thought and action. In this case, to be socially responsible, in part, means in the sense articulated by Walter Benjamin, "brushing history against the grain". At stake here is the willingness of educators at all levels of schooling to develop a social vision and moral commitment to make public schools places where all children, regardless of race, class, and gender can learn what it means to be able to participate in a society that affirms and sustains the principles of equality, freedom, and social justice.

Social Issues and Education: Challenge and Responsibility

Alex Molnar, ed.

A Reaction
by
Louise M. Berman
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After reading Molnar's *Social Issues*, I reflected upon the book's meaning for me. I would like to share three ideas that I would like to see explored as a result of my thinking about the book.

First, the issues discussed in the book arise primarily from the perspective of the scholar conducting critical analyses of the human scene. For those who have not read the book, the issues identified by the scholars included inequities caused by unequal distribution of resources (Alex Molnar), classroom dilemmas caused by tracking (Jeannie Oakes) and prevalent social attitudes in textbooks (Steven Selden), perplexities regarding groups of persons who diverge including ethnic groups (James A. Banks) and individuals preferring gay or lesbian lifestyles (James T. Sears). I could not help but wonder what the issues would have been if students, teachers, community workers, or parents had defined the issues. Would they have selected these or similar issues? Might students, particularly in secondary schools, be more concerned about problems of relations than the ones defined in the book? I do not know, but I would like to suggest that another time when educational issues are being brought to the fore, the persons for whom education is being designed serve in a central capacity in the issue identifying and subsequently consciousness raising process. For example, high schoolers might observe in classrooms and later be debriefed as to what they perceive to be the issues.

Second, an issue involves alternatives, choices, decisions, judgements. After reading Molnar, et al., I had the feeling that the judgements had been made by the writers without their sharing with the reader the alternatives they had considered in arriving at their judgments. The topics the authors chose were certainly pithy ones, yet I frequently was wishing that some alternative positions on the matters considered had been given. As the book currently stands, the reader is introduced to persuasive and powerful positions. The book might have given attention to helping the reader think through options relative to the dilemmas and then been given the rationale for the positions assumed by the writers. An exception to the advocacy stance taken by most of the writers is the chapter by Nancy King in which she reports some original research on "Children's Play and Adult Leisure" but again, alternative positions are not given as much attention as implications emerging from the research study. In summary, then, readers of JCT might want to find opportunities to deal with the very major topics identified by Molnar, et al. in a forum in which two or more possible positions are given a hearing in additional to the sharply articulated positions which Molnar and writers advocate.

Third, the book treats themes which invite consideration for schooling. Themes such as living on an endangered planet (Tony Wagner), literacy in a democracy (Harold Berlak), and treating various kinds of personal and economic injustices and indignities surely necessitate developing curricula which give attention to critical considerations in a democratic social order. What is the meaning for curricular practice of the viewpoints expressed in Molnar's book? A follow-up by persons concerned about the implications for the stances for practice would be appropriate.

Curriculum theorists, it would appear, need to live in two worlds. In one world the inequities, discrepancies, problems, and dilemmas of schooling are uncovered. In the other world, theorists attempt to build curricula which possess the potential to create new social orders. The authors have dealt in a critical manner with dilemmas confronting educators. But problems can provide a basis for creative thinking and movement—a possible next step.

Social Responsibility

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ASCD is to be commended for sponsoring the publication of *Social Issues and Education: Challenge and Responsibility.* Educators will find this a useful book. We need to be reminded of our social responsibilities in a society that seeks to become a more fully democratic one. We are often so preoccupied with the particulars of the educational tasks for which we are responsible that we forget our larger social responsibilities. Reading this book should help to arouse us. The issues it examines are significant and worthy of study and action.

However, it does not provide a comprehensive and balanced treatment as might be required to challenge thoughtful reflection and informed action. There are three respects in which the book falls a bit short of comprehensiveness and balance. Several of the chapters do not present evidence of the extent to which their criticisms apply. Schools in America very widely in many respects. Among the 16,000 school districts and tens of thousands of schools there are large ones and small ones; urban, suburban and rural ones; good schools and bad schools, and they vary in many other respects. Hence when one criticizes school practices it is necessary to state in what kinds or in what proportion of schools their criticism applies. Otherwise we cannot judge the seriousness or extent of the problem.

This definition of the issues was not followed by most of the authors of this book and we may be misled if we assume that the criticism discussed by the author applies to all or a large proportion of the schools.

The report of the National Commission on Excellence, *A Nation at Risk*, suffers from its lack of data to support its analysis of the problems or even to estimate their extent and seriousness. For example, the problems of the schools in an inner-city district are not the same as those in an affluent suburb.

A secondary shortcoming of the book is its lack of historical perspective. When one compares the policies and practices of the American schools in the colonial period, in the early 1800's, in the period following the Civil War, in the first half of the twentieth century and after the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, one finds great changes in both policies and practices. Most of these changes are in the direction of our national aspirations for universal education. As an example the public as well as professional educators have slowly expanded the concept of who should be educated in a democratic society, although the concept of differential educability of different classes of children prevailed for thousands of years and in my childhood was supported by a belief in the results of so-called intelligence tests, it is now the dominant view supported by experiment and experience that all children are educable. As Dewey reported from his experience in the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago: "The problem is not the educability of children but our ingenuity in finding learning experiences that stimulate children to put forth the effort to learn."

As an example of this lack of historical perspective, mention is made in Chapter 3 about the teaching of eugenics in the schools. One or two biology textbooks in the period immediately after World War I included this topic but by 1930, no such topic was treated by any of the textbooks that had wide distribution. I taught high school in 1921-26 and found no references to eugenics in the books I used.

A third shortcoming of the book is the treatment of issues about which honest intelligent citizens have different points of view as though there was only one proper point of view for the educator. For example, the withdrawal of funds for school lunches in poverty areas is treated as an example of indifference toward the needs of poor children. In California, SDC conducted a study of how the children used the free lunches and found that they were unaccustomed to eating a proper diet at home and disliked greens and other vegetables. In many cases they were throwing the food around the room to show their distaste for a proper diet. It cost the school more to clean up the mess than to have purchased the food. Many of us who are parents know how hard it is to get children to eat vegetables when they prefer hamburgers with French fries.

As another example of an issue about which honest and thoughtful people differ is in the extent to which the nation should try to protect itself from external attack. Some believe that little protection is needed, others recall how Chamberlain, Prime Minister of England returned from Germany with a non-aggression pact signed by Hitler. Chamberlain announced "We shall have peace in our time." Three weeks later Hitler attacked both the Eastern and Western fronts.

Finally, I am disappointed in the fact that little attention is given in some chapters to the question of what we as educators can do to make the schools more adequate in meeting their social responsibility. One author quotes Counts, who once suggested that the school should be responsible for building a new social order. John Dewey responded to this suggestion in 1936 in a speech he gave to the Michigan School Masters Club. He said that the educators' role is to help children learn to identify problems and seek to work out solutions to the problems of concern to them so that as adults they will be sensitive to the problems of that time and work constructively to solve them. To teach them to believe in our analyses of the problems is to indoctrinate them rather than educate them to be intelligent citizens able to work on the problems they encounter as adults.

These comments are not intended to belittle the value of this book. Rather they are intended to suggest additional factors to consider in seeking to comprehend more fully the social problems of our society and to plan effective and feasible attacks upon these problems that are appropriate for educators who take their responsibility seriously.