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DEVELOPMENTALLY APPROPRIATE PRACTICE AND THE PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF DAY CARE TEACHERS

by

Carol Anne Wien

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at
Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
July 1991

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The undersigned hereby certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance a thesis entitled: "Developmentally Appropriate Practice and the Practical Knowledge of Day Care Teachers"

by Carol Anne Wien

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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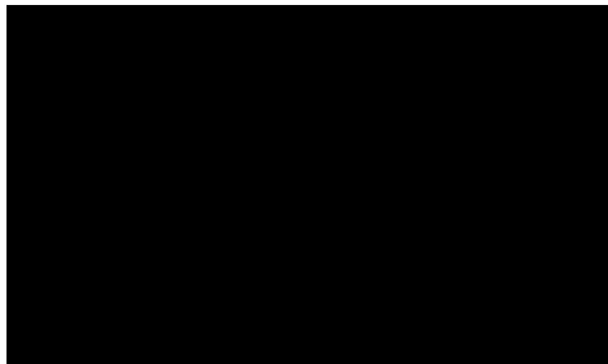

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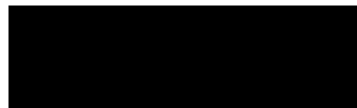

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For

my parents
D.J. and Georgina Matthews

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ABSTRACT

Developmentally appropriate practice is widely considered the most effective practice for supporting optimal development in young children. Yet in Nova Scotia, day care teachers frequently follow teacher-directed practice. What makes it so difficult for day care teachers to construct developmentally appropriate practice? From case studies of five teachers, using observations (59 hours), videotaped review of practice and interviews (60 hours) over a five month period, a portrayal of each teacher's practical knowledge was constructed and reviewed with her.

While one teacher was constructing developmentally appropriate practice, the dominant practice of the others was teacher-directed activity. Nevertheless, a second teacher was shifting towards developmental appropriateness, and yet another incorporated many aspects within a framework of teacher direction. All teachers were motivated to accept it.

From the data generated, four arguments are suggested as sources of difficulty in constructing developmentally appropriate practice. First, four teachers were somewhat unfamiliar with six major aspects of this practice. Secondly, teacher-directed activity was frequently the dominant form of practice in settings and teachers inherited teacher-directed scripts which became automatic practice. Thirdly, these teachers were frequently torn between two ways of acting, shifting from one to the other, without recognition of the conflict. Lastly, some organizational procedures reduced and impeded opportunities to construct developmentally appropriate practice. The study revealed specific areas where administrators and teacher educators could make changes to support more appropriate practice, and suggested that day care teachers increase mastery of their practice through reflection.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have boundless admiration and respect for the teachers who opened their work to me, and for their directors, because it took courage and a vision of the contribution which research can make to understanding. The children, as usual, make any endeavour in their presence a delight. But it is their teachers who have won my devotion.

My committee served as the most graceful of teams. Joe Murphy was instrumental particularly in the early stages, when his sanguinity and enthusiasm led me past the fear of starting such a monumental task. Ann Manicom, with her meticulous eye for details of both style and substance, and Kim Kienapple, with his intriguing questions and ability to sum up a dilemma tidily, acted as de facto co-supervisors, for the duration of Joe's sabbatical. Kim struggled to rein me in when I strayed from my findings. If I wander still, it is not for want of Kim's attempts to help me develop a more finely honed judgment. Ann continually helped me to set teacher practice in a more complex social context. I am immeasurably grateful for their contributions to my own learning. Joe quite simply made it all possible through qualities that I will sum up as the art of constructing harmonious work relationships. Each member brought such different background and expertise to the committee and it was a pleasure to witness the regard each accorded the others: it was a superb committee.

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The Preschool Education Association of Nova Scotia made a financial contribution towards my studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Education in 1989 and I am grateful for their support. While there, it was Catherine Krupnick's class on improving teaching which sparked my excitement for the potential of video as a tool to use with teachers. As well, her role-modelling of consulting opened up a new set of possibilities for encountering a teacher's work.

I thank my parents for their pride and pleasure in my work, and my father, who honours this effort with a gift to cover printing and binding.

I thank my husband, Fred Wien, for his equilibrium, and acknowledge its role in my life as both anchor and harbour of safety. I thank him too for his technical help in using Microsoft Word, the complexity of which made me require that equilibrium. Our daughter, Erika, requires mention for her acute sensitivity to her mother's moods, and for her messages of encouragement.

Chapter One

> Everyone, whatever his [sic][1] social status or time period, grows up with a certain ideal, a certain view of the world. And one day he is pitted against a more intimate and harsher reality, that challenges his ideal.... The fight between idealism and experience is the most fascinating thing in the world.
>
> Milos Forman, 1989

This is a study about difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice in day care. As a teacher educator, I have an image, an ideal, of how effective day care practice looks, and what a day care teacher should do. I have also lived this ideal as experience, trying to stretch the boundaries of experience toward the ideal image. The ideal image itself is based on my experience and training as a preschool teacher and on my interpretation of the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice, an ideology which links many members of the early childhood community in North America. However, when I supervise students of child care in day care

---

1 I have kept references to 'he' in quotations used in the thesis without marking each one [sic] to indicate its exclusion of females. In the text, when referring to any child, I alternate between male and female. Teachers are referred to as 'she.' If I refer to both teacher and child in the same sentence, the child becomes 'he' simply for clarity. All the participants were female, as indeed are most day care teachers. One male occupied an administrative position. Because he would lose anonymity, as would the teacher in his centre, I disguise him as 'she.'

settings, I frequently see that carrying out effective practice is very difficult for teachers. Rather than providing situations where children can engage in child-initiated activity, play freely with friends and try out absorbing activities in an atmosphere of exploration and a climate of social responsibility (as the ideology suggests), day cares more frequently operate like miniature factories, with fixed time periods for activities and children moving through them like an assembly line: if it's 9:30 it's snack time, no matter how absorbed Susan and Graham have become in making fingerpaint designs. From the outset, I ask the reader to accept the premise that effective practice in early childhood is developmentally appropriate practice. My overall research question then is what makes it so difficult for teachers to construct the practice that we think is most effective for the development of young children?

The Importance of the Problem

Why does it matter the sort of practice teachers construct in day care? What difference does it make if they have difficulty using a model of developmentally appropriate practice? What is accomplished by a better understanding of the difficulties they may have in constructing effective practice? There are five contexts which are directly affected by this problem and the potentials in understanding it better. First, the problem has considerable significance

to my personal understanding and development as a teacher educator. Secondly, it has significance for the community of early childhood teachers and administrators who support their work. Thirdly, it may provide some insight for teacher educators, and so has the potential to affect not only my own teaching, but that of other educators. Fourthly, any influence or insight which results however peripherally in a change toward effective practice has the potential for affecting the lives of children positively. Finally, the work is valuable to the academic community, for it draws problems of early childhood education into a broader debate, conceptions of professional practice. It both makes the work more visible to the academic community, and conversely draws the attention of early childhood educators to conceptions of practice. A more rounded account of each of these contexts follows.

This is a problem which excites me still, because it concerns human attempts to drive reality towards a chosen ideal. Having a vision (developmentally appropriate practice) and setting out to try to construct it is, as Forman noted, continually fascinating. But more than that, this is the work problem I care about most passionately. It arises out of personal experience both as a preschool teacher struggling with day to day practice and as a teacher educator, trying to facilitate the construction of practice in others. The results of this project -- the interpretations, illuminations, insights -- will inform my

practice as a teacher educator. It will alter what I say and do with student teachers as I reflect on what I have discovered. How then can I construct my teaching to better reflect this ideal? I should at least be more aware, more sympathetic to the problems of day care teachers, less likely to become frustrated by seeing practice recur, unchanged. I might find different ways of conveying material or engaging students in experiential learning. There is the possibility of shaking up my own thinking, my understanding of the work of teachers, broadening and deepening it and altering my practice as a teacher educator accordingly.

Secondly, this is a problem which excites the community of day care teachers and administrators. When I approached the directors of the centres where I hoped I might search out willing participants, I was surprised by the keen interest of the directors. One told me outright, she found the project exciting (I was mostly terrified at that point). Another said I was addressing a key difficulty and "how nice it is someone wants to do research on something important." Several described how they were stumped themselves trying to convey to teachers the practice they wanted in their centres: one who wanted to support the development of children's art found that, in spite of her prohibitions, stereotyped stencils constantly crept back onto teachers' shelves like some organic mold. Another commented that

there was a quality of harassment, of hurry, among her staff which she could not fathom:

> They seem to feel thay have to get those kids up to the top of the hill and back down no matter what. But they don't stop to look at the acorns!

Even directors, thus, had problems with the practice of their teachers which they were little able to influence. Their interest in the project was considerable.

Teachers too found the problem significant both because it addresses a central difficulty and because teachers work alone, with perhaps one or, at most, two colleagues. Catherine Krupnick 2 argues that the work of teachers is public work done primarily in private. Individual teachers think their problems belong to them personally, that they are alone in meeting them. They often have few or no opportunities to see other teachers in action, and can easily become caught in a net of routine patterns. Jorde-Bloom (1986) has pointed out that there is little research on the needs, perceptions and thinking of early childhood practitioners, or on the effects of their practice. This is in contrast to the well-developed literature on teacher thinking and teacher practice of elementary teachers (Clark and Yinger 1979; Yinger 1986; Sachs 1987; Shavelson and

---

2 In class, "Inproving Teaching," Harvard Graduate School of Education, Winter 1989.

Stern 1981). This project may help to remedy that, for it gives day care teachers a view of others like themselves.

As well this project has the potential for providing other teacher educators in academic settings a more realistic sense of the constraints and tensions of practice which make construction of effective practice more difficult. Since teacher educators enter day cares under special circumstances, such as supervising student teachers, they may be very familiar with day cares in a general sense, but not grasp the full complexities of the work, the totality of demands the work setting places on teachers. Better understanding of problems in constructing effective practice has the potential for removing the sense that somehow the day care teacher herself is at fault. The situation is much more complex, based in broader social processes and not simply the individual.

The fourth context concerns the lives of children, their present and future life. Those who promote developmentally appropriate practice believe it provides a successful and harmonious childrearing environment. It offers a positive psychological climate in which children are accepted and respected as persons whose intentions, needs, and interests are seriously addressed. It enhances children's dispositions to be curious, to care about themselves and others, because they are permitted to be active learners. Children are actively engaged in interesting things to do so that their interactions with

materials and other people are meaningful, rather than the product of instruction. Children's play (a source of voluntary, motivated activity), inquiry, and problem-solving as learning processes are vital aspects. Teachers set and keep social limits, supporting children in understanding the rights of others to physical and emotional safety. They offer (rather than teach) intellectual content. Understanding of child development (particularly age appropriateness and uniqueness of individuals) in concert with observation of children's reactions is the basis for teacher decisions about curriculum. While early childhood texts have long promoted the practice, assessing its short-term impact is only beginning to become part of the research base. Burts et al. (1990, 417), for instance, explored stress behaviours in kindergarten children and found "significantly more stress behaviours" among children in a classroom using "inappropriate" practice.

There is, as well, convincing evidence that developmentally appropriate practice has beneficial long term effects in the lives of children. Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, and Weikart (1984) and Schweinhart (1988) report that programs which permitted more child planning, decision-making and more emphasis on social communication had lasting long-term effects on development. Longitudinal research projects such as the Consortium and The Perry Preschool Project indicate that children in programs that offered opportunities for social skill

development as well as meaningful cognitive experiences suffered fewer social problems as adolescents (such as frequency of delinquent acts, dropping out of school, job incapacity) than children who did not have these experiences in early preschool programs. There is thus, evidence that developmentally appropriate practice affects not only the present life of children but their future. If early experience has an effect on later life, as such studies persuade us to believe, then adults have a responsibility to provide this care, to protect the future of children. As Kamii and deVries so aptly argue:

> Since later relationships are created by coordinating the ones that were created earlier, those that are established in early childhood are indispensable for the later construction of all knowledge (1978, 27).

If we know the sort of experiences that offer the promise of a better future, how could we possibly offer children less? Yet practice that is not developmentally appropriate offers less, and administrators themselves acknowledge its presence in their centres. A better understanding of what makes it difficult to construct effective practice should point the direction to making its construction more feasible, less difficult.

Finally, this problem has significance for the academic community in education for two reasons. It shows the

usefulness of a body of research from other levels of teaching and other disciplines to an understanding of day care teaching, work that has been ghettoized as female labour. That this work has demonstrable links to the professions, in its elements of design activity and of reflective practice, and that much research from other levels of education, such as curriculum studies and teacher knowledge in elementary education, can be applied to it and found helpful in understanding it, shows this ghettoized group that they are part of a much larger world. It can broaden their horizons. There is useful research day care teachers might want to know about: this should be reassuring to the academic community. The second point is that it turns the spotlight on the work of day care teachers, a long neglected group. With the exception of the interest of developmental psychologists, the early childhood community has to a large extent been a population overlooked by the academic community. Education departments within universities have apparently had difficulty including early childhood (Milburn 1982), and Biemiller noted that "it is virtually impossible to obtain doctoral level training in Canada specifically in early childhood education"(1981, 63). In a decade in which universities have been held in the vise of financial constraint there has been little room for improvement of this situation, as I was painfully aware in attempting to construct a program of doctoral study. Without the training, those with an interest in early

childhood education will be unable to bring this work to the attention of the academic community. This project does just that, and in so doing, legitimizes the work of day care teachers as a focus for serious study.

The study had this significance too: it allowed several early childhood practitioners to think with care about their work over a period of time. If day care teachers are led to review their own perceptions of their practice, it may lead them to a clearer view of how to cope with, reduce, or work towards their own ideal. It thus encourages reflection-in(and on)-action (Schon 1983) and the concomitant impetus towards professional practice among a group that is struggling to gain credibility in their own and society's eyes for the very demanding and undervalued work which they contribute to the functioning of this society.

The Research Questions

Clearly, I hold a personal theory about what teachers in day care should be doing. However, the possibility of understanding practice by starting with theory is unlikely. As Connelly and Clandinin point out, "one does not apply theory to practice to enhance its improvement, but instead, works with practitioners to better understand practice ..."(1986, 294). I wanted to know what teachers themselves think they should be doing and the problems they encounter

as they attempt this. Once I had some illustrations of the theory and practice of individual teachers then I could set this alongside the ideology of practice espoused by the broader early childhood community. This might make visible some tensions between what teachers thought and did and the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice. As well as showing problems for teachers, this might also make visible potential limitations of the model. It should also lead me to uncover difficulties in the construction of developmentally appropriate practice.

Because the field of day care work for teachers is both huge and complex, I chose from the outset to focus my project on three contexts in day care. These three contexts are of particular interest because they are the principal arenas in which teachers think of encouraging the intellectual and socioemotional development of young children. For me they represent the core of what teacher practice is about. These areas are the teacher's handling of children's play, her organization of the routine, and what she offers as her program. Program, play, and their interaction with routine, thus, are the major contexts in day care which I wanted to examine. While teachers must also attend to much else, including child health and safety, good nutrition, balancing activity and fatigue, matters of dress and hygiene, these areas concern basic physical needs of children. Although there is potential for problems in these areas, for the most part, these are fairly adequately

addressed in current day cares, in my experience. It is in the intellectual and socioemotional contexts that problems in constructing developmentally appropriate practice abound.

Therefore, the questions with which I began this project were as follows.

What is the personal theory of individual teachers about children's play, routine, and teacher-provided program?

What is the actual practice of these teachers in the contexts of children's play, routine, and teacher-provided program?

Given an articulation of personal theory and a view of actual practice, how do these compare with the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice?

What will this exploration and comparison reveal about the difficulties which teachers have in constructing effective practice?

Conceptual Background

Given these four research questions, there are several concepts to make explicit. The thesis analysis is situated in concepts of ideology, of theory and practice, and of

scripts and reflection. Each of these requires some exploration.

The Notion of Ideology

Sociologists such as Rokeach (1968) and Sharp and Green (1975) argue that to speak of the ideology of any society, or subgroup within it, is to refer to a comprehensive belief system, complex and interrelated, held by that group to be true about some aspect of the world. Apple (1979, 20) says of the term ideology that most agree it is "some sort of 'system' of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments or values about social reality, but here agreement ends." He sees three uses of specific ideologies: rationalizations for the activities of occupational groups such as professionals, for political programs and social movements, and, more broadly, comprehensive world views, symbolic universes. I shall consistently use the term ideology to refer to the set of beliefs, values and practices held by the broader community of Early Childhood Education, a community that is continent wide, at least, and a use of the term ideology consistent with Apple's first use, rationalization for a professional group, and third use, a comprehensive world view. The notion of an ideology of developmentally appropriate practice, for instance, includes not simply ideas, theory of practice, but "lived meanings, practices and social relations" (Apple 1981, 136). The ideology

comprises both thought and action, and in its complexity may be inconsistent, but the key to the use of the term throughout this thesis is that it refers to the aspect of the model of practice which is culturally shared, part of the broad community, rather than located in the individual.

There are several ways this ideology is evidenced in the world. It takes the form of documents which have been widely accepted by member organizations of the early childhood community, formulated over a number of years and via a broad consultation process (Caldwell 1984) and ratified by memberships. These documents include position statements on developmentally appropriate practice (Bredekamp 1987), position statements on accreditation procedures for programs which implement developmentally appropriate practice (NAEYC 1984), and mammoth research projects and literature reviews undertaken to examine various aspects of quality child care and make recommendations with regard to this practice (Ruopp, Travers, Glantz, and Coelen 1979; Phillips and Howes 1987; Whitebrook, Howes and Phillips 1990). It is evidenced in some training programs which attempt to educate teachers for early childhood and restrict their program to developmentally appropriate practice, rather than using an eclectic approach; High/Scope is one such program. It is evidenced in guidelines or mission statements adopted by particular organizations such as school boards and teacher professional associations. It is evidenced in individual

teachers who construct for themselves an understanding of the ideology and attempt to practice it.

This community-held ideology is separate from (but obviously has connections to) the personal theory or philosophy which each teacher constructs for herself. I shall use the term personal theory consistently to refer to the belief and value set of the individual. In the mental activity of the teacher, the contents of the ideology interact with the totality of her past experiences and history and temperament, and she appropriates an approximation of the ideology through absorption and reflection. Thus it becomes her personal theory, an interpretation of the ideology grounded in the lived experience of the individual. Her personal theory has unique aspects, personal to her, and features shared with others who also hold the ideology. It is these shared features, the things she too believes and does, that make her a part of the broader community which accepts the ideology.

Her personal theory can be considered separately from her practice, and yet her practice is continuously informed by her theories-in-action. It is the conception of theory and practice comprising practical knowledge and the body of work to which I connect my conception that next requires attention.

The Notion of Theory and Practice, or Practical Knowledge

Western thought is dualistic: mind and body, good and evil, theory and practice define the world by contrast. Such dualities or schisms help organize concepts of the world by defining oppositions. I too, well-situated in my culture, began this project with a notion that I could examine something called teacher theory, then her practice, and examine them as one might examine two separate weights sprung from the ends of a balance. In the process of selecting from the education literature the thinking which helped to inform my project, I underwent a process of transformation regarding the sense of theory and practice as dual. Since I am at a different point now on the conceptual map than I was when I articulated the questions around which the project revolved, I might have been tempted to reshape the questions, at the writing stage, the better to show my new thinking. But this would be deceptive, because it would disguise the process, the intellectual journey. The changes will emerge at the appropriate junctures. At the outset then, I had some notion that "theory" was abstract thought, imparted by theoreticians of the field and assimilated or rejected for use by practitioners, and that practice was the set of actions informed by theory, plus anything else teachers did on the job.

Polanyi's (1958) elegant articulation of the concept of tacit knowledge, that combination of knowing-that and knowing-how which permits a master artist or scientist to act with special expertise, provides an anchor or root within the literature on the relationship of thought to action. One of the key things about tacit knowledge is that it is inarticulate, not easily surfaced or verbally expressed. A classic example provided by Polanyi is the recognition of faces. We do this unconsciously, easily remembering whether a face is new or not though the name for a recognized face may well be forgotten, but to describe the process by which we recognize another's face is too difficult. Nor could I consciously describe how I improvise when I play the piano, or how I know what to do when I sight read and can suddenly 'tell' how the piece is supposed to sound. It is too complex. Anything said would be but a fraction of what goes into action. The notion of the inseparability of theory and action, theory and practice, has long roots, but for me Polanyi's conception of tacit knowledge is the tap root for much work that followed.

Connelly and Clandinin (1986) offer another term to convey the inseparability of theory and practice, but I have some problems with it. In their study of junior high science teachers they distinguish between personal theory and personal philosophy. Their articulation of these suggests that personal theory is what a teacher says about his or her work, and may be quite distinct from practice.

The personal philosophy of a teacher, however, includes the theories-in-action and thus the term takes on the same colouring as the phrase practical knowledge. The difficulty here I think is that the expressions 'theory' and 'philosophy', in common usage, both refer to abstract thought, so that it is difficult to remember which term refers to the inseparability of theory and practice, and which does not. The problem is of course, that theory can be thought of without practice, but that no practitioner can act without personal theories informing action, although these theories may be unconscious and carried out like scripts, about which I will say more shortly.

Freema Elbaz (1983) was the first researcher with teachers, to my knowledge, who captured the inseparability of theory and practice for the practitioner, in her conceptualization of practical knowledge. Her point was that theory is enacted in the actions of the teacher, that actions display both practice and the theory that informs them. Elbaz provided a concrete example of this through examining the work of a single teacher and built her presentation around her conception of the content of practical knowledge as a set of five orientations to situations, to the self as teacher, to the culture surrounding the teacher, to subject matter and to the theoretical knowledge in the teacher's field. This seems persuasive as a map of the territory which practical knowledge addresses. Her suggestions about the structure of

practical knowledge are less so. She suggests a hierarchy of rules of practice, practical principles and images. Hierarchies may be sensible for explicitly constructed systems where set sequences are followed, but for lived life they tend both to oversimplify and to mechanize. However, whatever I might say about the unconvincingness of some of her theory, for this explanation of structure seems particularly contrived, her concept of practical knowledge and its explication through the work of one teacher was both original and a powerful heuristic for others.

Clandinin (1986) built upon her work by addressing the area of images in teacher practice. The image which is a coalescence of theory and practice, acts as a gathering up, a prescriptive quintessence of what the teacher attempts to do. (Schon describes the reflective practitioner as having an "overarching theory, an appreciative system" (1983, 164) which gives the performance or practice coherence; this I see as very close to Clandinin's use of the term image.) Clandinin found five such images for one teacher, six for another, but the reader does not have the sense that these coalesced into a single coherent structure which each teacher could use, but that the images were separate, perhaps restricted to particular contexts. This left room for the possibility of conflict, of contradiction among them: what circumstances would call each into action?

Clandinin (1986) described some examples of images that inform the work of two teachers but stopped short of

conveying the sense of struggle or conflict which might be part of a teacher's work. This I point out not as a criticism but merely to note her focus. Both Elbaz's notion of practical knowledge and Clandinin's notion of images that are prescriptive of action reassemble the separation of theory and practice, and made important contributions to my understanding of practice and how personal theory is embedded in teacher action.

It is the work of Berlak and Berlak (1981) that is particularly rich in portraying struggles, conflicts and tensions in the work of teachers, in this instance, elementary school teachers in Britain. They focus their attention on "dilemmas" in the practice of teachers, describing sixteen of these, in the realms of extent of control over the child, of what counts as knowledge, and of the relationship of the child to the society at large. Their work made sense to me because it described what I felt and remembered to be at the heart of teaching, a continuous tussle with the self concerning what choice of action one should make, and a continual priorizing of one choice over all the other possibilities for action. Berlak and Berlak examined the teachers' struggles in terms of dominant and exceptional patterns of resolution of teacher dilemmas. For instance, one day, Mr. Scott permitted Steven to play with his baseball cards rather than ask him to do math (an exceptional resolution) whereas the next day, the same child was required to do an entire page or he would lose a

privilege (1981, 132). For Berlak and Berlak, their concept of an act is derived from George Herbert Mead who saw any action as informed by three aspects, the sense of the "me" as active agent who initiates action, the past actions of that agent, and the self as acted upon by society through the weight of past patterns of action. "The act is a process that includes its history and is continuous with its future" (1981, 116).

Some actions are done thus automatically as patterns given by society. Berlak and Berlak, borrowing a term from psychology (where it carries a narrower meaning) refer to these as "habituated responses," as "dispositions to act ... taken from past experience" (1981, 114). Schutz's (1976) articulation of this same idea as "recipe" knowledge has perhaps had wider circulation. Again his point too is that much that we take for granted as our personal knowledge is passed on to us by society, already formed, patterned: we take and use it. A three year old accepts that an elephant lives in a zoo without direct experience of either. I think this is a powerful idea, but the term which I prefer as a descriptor for the taken-for-granted patterns of knowledge and consequent action is neither habituated response nor recipe, but script. We have scripts for action that originate outside us.

Scripts for Action as an Aspect of Practical Knowledge

I will posit the notion of mental scripts for action on the one hand, with reflection-in or on-action on the other, as two processes of mental activity in the work of teachers. As Berlak and Berlak noted:

> Sometimes teachers' patterns of resolutions appeared to be consciously chosen, deliberate efforts to put social and educational values into practice, though these choices were always qualified by situational constraints, some of which teachers recognized and discussed openly; at other times teacher's patterns seemed almost totally mindless, sheer habit, or formed by cultural and social experiences and forces, or by internal needs of which they were but dimly or not at all aware (1981, 108).

Scripts for action are one type of theory-in-action. They are the taken-for-granted patterns for action given by past experience and absorbed without conscious effort or thought.

In recent years, script-based knowledge has been offered as an explanation of natural understanding (Schank and Abelson 1977), a way information is organized in memory and a basis for early concept formation. Memory is organized in part into event structures that act as scripts

which include actors, objects, actions, and locations in a sequence. Schank and Abelson (1977) describe three different types of scripts. Situational scripts prescribe actions for specific contexts such as a script for church or restaurant or day care. Instrumental scripts prescribe how to get something done such as a script for getting dressed, making breakfast, or starting the car. Finally personal scripts suggest action for particular needs as in a script for romance or achievement (but these last are more ambiguous as they concern both conscious and unconscious needs).

> An episodic view of memory claims that memory is organized around personal experiences or episodes rather than around abstract semantic categories (1977, 17).

> Some episodes are reminiscent of others. As an economy measure in the storage of episodes, when enough of them are alike they are remembered in terms of a standardized generalized episode which we will call a script (1977, 19).

Much of daily life is lived easily, semi-automatically, because we know the script and find the situation highly predictable. For instance, as Nelson (1977) reminds us, much of the work of the very young child is finding

predictable patterns in a novel world. The idea of script-based knowledge makes intuitive as well as theoretical sense and percolates through the literature, turning up in areas as disparate as curriculum theorizing (Halkes 1988), explanations of children's play (Bretherton 1984), and studies of literacy and language (Pellegrini and Yawkey 1984). Let's apply this to the context of day care.

Once a pattern of action works successfully to accomplish a teacher need, it is likely to be used again. It then quickly becomes an established pattern for accomplishing a task: if it works, it becomes automatic, and frees the teacher to think of something else. Since there will always be multiple demands upon the attention of the teacher, some things must be done automatically, so she can attend to others. As an example, a day care teacher who always finishes her group circle with the song 'one elephant', repeating the song many times until all the children have gone off in small groups of four or five to the bathroom, clearly has an instrumental script for moving children through the transition from circle to bathroom. Her script for action allows each child to have a turn in the song, permits the children to be spaced out in time in using the bathroom, prevents the children from having to line up and wait, and allows those still waiting in circle to be active singing the song. Used day after day, it becomes a permanent script for action, the transition from program for the group to bathroom.

Scripts help to make action routine. Scripts are embedded with theory too, but it is taken-for-granted theory, that is, tacit knowledge not easily articulated. The script-based knowledge that exists about the work encapsulates (in part) how to put theory into practice, in so far as practice could be considered script-bound. As activity becomes more creative, more reflective, it is less script-bound, (or at least the scripts are subsumed). Nevertheless, theory is implicit in scripts for action as much as in the more reflective situations.

Clearly scripts as reflections of theories-in-action can belong to several ideologies of practice. Different ideologies will produce different scripts for action. A script for action presumes the comprehensive set of beliefs about the world from which it results. Developmentally appropriate practice tends to produce different scripts than teacher-directed or instructional practice. Different degrees of experience too could also be expected to change what a teacher takes for granted, the scripts she subsumes as automatic practice.

Reflection-in/on-action as an Aspect of Practical Knowledge

Reflection as an interactive tool by which theory and action become inseparable has received concerted attention in the past decade through the efforts of Donald Schon (1983, 1987). He speaks of the "design-like artistry of

professional practice " (1987, 158) and early childhood educators fit this definition of a profession as design-like work: "Herbert Simon and others have suggested that all occupations engaged in converting actual to preferred situations are concerned with design" (1983, 77).

Schon argues that professional practice is reflection-in-action. Professionals cope constantly with "awareness of uncertainty, complexity, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict" (1983, 17) all of which may result in diverging views of what the particular practice should be. He argues that the practitioner has an "overarching theory, an appreciative system" (1983, 164) which provides the sense of how things are supposed to be. I call this the personal interpretation of the ideology to which the individual practitioner has made a commitment; it provides an image, as Clandinin would say, or a vision, out of which she tries to construct or alter daily reality.

Schon argues that reflection-in-action arises out of a kind of knowledge that is largely inarticulate and unconscious: "in much of the spontaneous behavior of skillful practice we reveal a kind of knowing which does not stem from a priori intellectual operation" (1983, 50). Schon describes reflection-in-action by practitioners as "on the spot surfacing,[3] criticizing, restructuring and testing

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3 I will use the verb 'to surface' frequently, a usage adapted from Schon, and referring to the act of recognizing or having insight into something previously hidden from view. It is used in a problem-solving sense then, as the first stage in reflection which may lead to change.

of intuitive understandings of experienced phenomena" (1983, 241).

> When someone reflects-in-action, he becomes a researcher in the practice context. He is not dependent on the categories of established theory and technique, but constructs a new theory of the unique case. His inquiry is not limited to a deliberation about means which depends on a priori agreement about ends. He does not keep means and ends separate, but defines them interactively as he frames a problematic situation (1983, 68).

For Schon then, the refection-in-action, the thought displayed in acting on the environment, is intuitive, complex, artistic and arises out of a totality of experience as a professional. How might this apply to the context of day care?

An instance of reflection-in-action is evident in the following situation in which a mature student teacher discovered an absorbing activity for a lively, dominant four-year-old boy who displayed a well-developed habit of annoying adults:

> The teacher notices that Jacob, who seldom chooses activity indoors, but prefers to wander, flitting from child to child, joking, poking, rolling his body around

> the backs of chairs, becomes absorbed outdoors on the playground digging in the sand. He works at this contentedly for up to thirty minutes, alone or with a pal. Inside he ignores the sandbox. She decides the indoor sand is too dry, too shallow and too thinly spread, and creates, with Jacob in mind, a digging activity using potting soil, garden trowels and tools and several deep buckets which permit the dirt to be moved around. Not only Jacob but several other children are absorbed by this and use it for several weeks. (from supervision of student teachers)

When the teacher creates this activity she is using the totality of her knowledge about child development, about what is good for children and what will appeal to them, her understanding of this particular child (that he is bored inside, not 'hooked' (Hunt, 1964) into anything in the environment), and her own resources and skills as a gardener to create something that will work for him at that moment. The problem she sets is how to involve Jacob in activity indoors and she arrives at a solution by her critique of what is there (the unsatisfactory sandbox), and by restructuring an outdoor activity for indoor use. In the process, she creates something new for that child, for herself as teacher, and for the day care setting. I think this fits Schon's conception of reflection-in-action. As

well, it illustrates the design aspect of early childhood education.

Perhaps Schon's description of professional practice as reflection-in-action is also an ideal, describing the best moments of practice, the most fruitful or productive occasion when a solution is generated or a new direction formulated. He could be said to be describing the creative aspect of practice, and thus contributing to an ideology of practice that does not describe the totality of professional practice, but the high point.

As day care settings are currently organized, much practice is not professional in Schon's sense of the term, but routinized menial tasks of the most repetitive kind. Much of current day care practice concerns the carrying out of mundane routines (bathroom 'duty', serving lunch, arranging cots, fixing snack, washing tables, changing diapers or helping children dress), and these quickly become automatic scripted actions. Practice as reflection-in-action addresses that part of practice that concerns framing and solving a problem. If a day care teacher accepts her situation uncritically then she will attempt neither to set nor to solve small problems in the setting but will remain as a stable force of inertia within the system. She will perpetuate the system in place, whatever it may be, because of the particular way that humans understand repetitive, predictable situations; they call up automatic scripts. An

interesting question concerns how teachers manage to surface problems for reflection.

A clarification regarding reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action requires articulation. Reflection-in-action presumes thought during and embedded in action. Reflection-on-action presumes thought about action separate from the action itself. In one, thought is embedded in action, and in the other, in words. The advantage of reflection-on-action is that it can be more easily communicated, acknowledged and shared with another. But this difference between them can lead us to regard them as separate, distinct aspects of human functioning and I think this is incorrect, for both reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action have tacit and conscious aspects; the balance changes as one moves from action to thinking about action. It may be more fruitful to think of one occurring relatively spontaneously, in the heat of the moment, and the other having a longer life span, occurring over days or even months in a cycle of thought and action. Nor is it correct to think of one as mostly tacit and the other as primarily deliberate, as one might first be tempted. Both draw upon considerable tacit knowledge and both have deliberate components. Although other researchers separate them (Clandinin and Connelly 1986; Yinger 1986) I prefer to think of them as the same process used differently over time and I have taken the liberty of expressing this notion as reflection-in/on-action.

To summarize the central conceptual elements then, the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice shared by the community of early childhood education is evidenced in the world in ways that are separate from any particular teacher but linked to her through construction of her own understanding of this ideology. Her theory and practice, what she believes and what she does at work, are more aptly conceptualized as her practical knowledge. This practical knowledge includes both conscious, deliberate actions and tacit, taken-for-granted actions. Polanyi (1958) offered an exposition of tacit knowledge and its importance in performance skills, pointing out its inaccessibility to verbal articulation. Shank and Abelson (1977) suggested that we construct scripts for action, event structures in memory which are carried out semi-automatically. I have connected these two, and argue that scripts for action in day care are one expression of teacher tacit knowledge, her theories-in-action which are taken-for-granted. Schon's concept of reflection-in-action as professional practice describes the teachers' theories-in-action which are more consciously understood and reflect a location of deliberate effort. What is suggested by these conceptual elements together is the hope that tacitly understood scripts for action might somehow be made more accessible to reflection, and that an increase in reflectiveness in teachers permits both more effective problem-solving and an increased sense of mastery of teaching.

The Structure of the Thesis

This chapter provided the conceptual background from research on teacher knowledge and professional practice which informed my approach to the study. Chapter Two describes the research process. Chapter Three explains the term developmentally appropriate practice and provides an example of this practice as it was experienced in this study. Thus the reader sees the vision of practice which the ideology attempts to encompass, and one examplar of that as it occurred during this research. Chapter Four describes teacher-directed practice, and explores the range of this common ground among the other four participants. These two chapters provide a descriptive base highlighting the major aspects of teachers' practice.

The actual work context is more complex, and Chapters Five through Eight each present a thread of the argument, displaying what makes developmentally appropriate practice so difficult to construct. Chapter Five shows how key aspects of developmentally appropriate practice are still relatively unfamiliar, unknown by teachers. Clearly there is difficulty in constructing effective practice if it is simply unknown. Chapter Six shows how the structures of organizational procedures, the work processes already constructed in the setting, may interfere with, and even obstruct, the attempts by teachers to construct the practice they desire. Chapter Seven demonstrates tensions and

conflicts in the practice of teachers, showing how teacher-directed practice and school-like organizational procedures can undercut teachers' efforts and throw them into contradictory practices. Chapter Eight shows how teacher-directed practice may be inherited as scripts for action already present in the setting, and examines the role of reflection in permitting problem-solving and change.

Chapter Nine summarizes the findings and describes some limitations of the ideology which may also contribute to difficulties in constructing practice. Finally, specific implications of these findings are suggested for teacher educators, for administrators, and for day care teachers.

Chapter Two

Methodology

To explore difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice in day care, I focussed on the work of practitioners, five day care teachers, each in a different centre. To understand their practical knowledge about play and program I observed them five times (each occasion separated by two to three weeks), videotaping segments of their programs, and reviewing the videos with them in hour-long sessions the same day. For each teacher, this phase lasted two and a half to four months. For several months following, I analyzed this data, constructing an individual feedback paper for each teacher. In a final interview (which occurred two to three months after the observations) we discussed this paper, and I also probed her thinking about developmentally appropriate practice, using an instrument designed for the study.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used in that process. There are five sections. The first describes the process of negotiating entry, including information on the day care centres, the selection criteria and process. The second section introduces each participant and her setting. The third section outlines the first phase of data generation: the description of the first phase includes subsections on observations, use of video, and the interview process, and a consideration of

interaction effects between researcher and setting. The fourth section outlines data management and analysis procedures around storage-retrieval systems, the failure of early coding and the sorting which did work to permit a synthesis of data. This section also includes subsections on the second phase of data generation, after the feedback papers were constructed, and on the process of constructing the criteria to represent developmentally appropriate practice. The fifth and last section is a reflection on the research process and a justification of the methodology.

Negotiating Entry

Approaching the Day Care Centres

In negotiating entry my concern was that everyone in the setting be clear about the purposes of the research and his or her part in it. The directors of five centres were approached individually. I discussed my concern about difficulty in constructing effective practice, my desire to step aside from my role as teacher educator to understand the perspective of day care teachers, and described the research questions. I reviewed what I would ask of the teacher: six to eight visits (two to three hours long) in her room, and as much as six to eight hours of interview time with her. On four occasions, this would include a videotaped segment (40 minutes) of activities in the

setting, and I would need access to forms for documentation. Each director was given a copy of the consent form for directors, the consent form for participants, the letter to parents requesting permission to include their child in the video, and the abstract of the dissertation proposal. (See Appendix A: Consent Forms.) I invited each director to submit a pool of names of staff members whom I could approach individually.

Without exception, the directors were enthusiastic about the project and pleased to see it undertaken. In Chapter One, I mentioned some of their reactions, their worry about staff seeming to feel rushed, harassed, their pleasure that someone was doing research on a subject that mattered to them. Several as well found the idea of videotaping practice very appealing.

I approached directors of large centres, each with 90 to 380 children in their care, and thus a large and varied staff in terms of background, experience and training. I chose centres with sufficient staff that a pool of possible participants could be provided, yet centres where the size of the institution suggested some similarites.

The similarities were these. All offered service for infant through school age children. Three of the five centres have multiple locations. All have directors and cleaners and cooks: their size requires a division of labour within the centre. They all have a diverse population of children, diverse racially (Vietnamese, MicMac, Black,

White, Lebanese), diverse in socioeconomic level (from professional parents to those on social assistance), diverse in family structure (intact families to single parents). They are all in a single urban area and serve working parents and, as well, families at risk. They all have some spaces which are publicly funded.

Selection Criteria for Participants

The selection criteria for the pool of names was as follows:

1) that the participant work full-time in the day care setting.

2) that the participant be reliable. (Directors could withhold names of those with frequent illness or absenteeism.)

3) that the participant not be under additional stress beyond normal work. Women who were pregnant, expecting to move, or embarking on their first year of day care work were all considered to be coping with additional stress.

4)that the participant be working with preschool aged children. This was loosely defined as not children under two and not children over five. In fact, as the complexities of programs became apparent, teachers were considered eligible as long as they worked with some children in this age group.

I wanted several teachers who were mature or seasoned members of the field, and several with less experience. Teachers with experience have clearly coped in one fashion or another with difficulties in constructing practice. Newer teachers face this problem and are in the midst of coping with it. Beyond these points, it was necessary that the teacher be interested in investing the necessary time and be willing to be videotaped.

The Selection (Recruitment?) Process

The centres offered respectively eight, three, five, and five names so that I had an initial pool of 21 names from four centres. (The fifth centre was added a little later.) Dividing the names into two groups by years of experience, the median number of years of experience was six. I then had 12 with low and 9 with high experience and drew names out of a hat to provide an order by which to approach individual teachers.

There were two reasons for using an element of chance in selecting whom to approach. Directors inevitably thought of a staff member who would be excellent and would enjoy the project. The 'stars' (from the directors' perspective) came readily to mind. Since I wanted to work with average teachers, encountering their problems and pleasures and conceptions of the work, approaching those nominated by

directors would likely bias the selection towards teachers with highly developed or unusual skills. The second reason was my own familiarity with some centres. If there was someone I knew whom I might be interested in working with, I might overlook other equally interesting teachers. The simplest procedure was an arbitrary one.

I met individually with the first four teachers at their convenience (lunch hour), outlining the project as I had done with the directors, providing copies of the consent form for participants, the letter for permission to video for parents, the proposal abstract. I told each one how her name came up and assured her she was under no obligation to participate. I left the forms with them, invited questions, and invited them to think it over. The reactions of these first four were instructive for me.

They all declined to participate. (I had done several previous projects including a masters thesis and never had problems at the entry point.) Why did they decline? One, a high experience candidate, was very interested, but had just begun new administrative responsibilities: if she gave the time to me, she would have to take administrative work home, thus reducing time with her three children. Another expressed reservations about the video process and went on:

> We have our work cut out for us this year. We have quite a bunch, we have to nip it in the bud. They're going to school next year and we have to whip them into

> shape for school. ... It's not that I mind people watching, I just want it to be me and the children.

The other two were shy and hesitant in the introductory interview, expressing interest but also grave reservations. One felt inferior, that there were others with much more training, "couldn't" I do it with one of them. The other became more animated and intrigued as we talked, said she would think about it carefully, but then declined.

At this point, there seemed to me to be a self-selection process out of the study. I began to think that participation might require a certain courage, risk-taking, that might not be the normal day care teacher's lot.

Starting on the second round of four names, the first agreed to participate very quickly, said she did not need time to think it over, that she liked new things and she would probably learn a lot. Her verve and enthusiasm were refreshing. The next teacher expressed many reservations, grilled me thoroughly on the consent forms, but after a day's thought, did agree to participate. The third in this round declined, citing a difficult bus schedule and hesitation about being videotaped. The fourth name was a temporary worker, who should not have been included in the pool, and I chose not to pursue the interview once I realized her work future was uncertain.

I had now approached eight teachers, garnered two participants and five refusals. It had been more difficult

than I had imagined, and time consuming, since some people took a week to tell me no. But the ninth person told me right on the phone, before we even met, that she would be delighted to do it! After a month of trying, I had three of four participants. In the fourth centre, the fourth teacher approached accepted. Again, she accepted with alacrity, expressing immediate interest, and had no reservations. It was interesting to me that three of the four made an almost instantaneous judgment either before or during our first interview and were totally positive from that point. In total I had approached eleven teachers (one of these unsuitable) to garner four participants.

After my first visit with a teacher I will call Nina, she changed jobs, and since she no longer met the criteria for participants, we did not continue. I approached the director of a fifth centre (since my pool of names was getting too low) who provided me with five new names. The first teacher to be approached here agreed to participate. At this point I thought I needed an additional teacher in case I lost another participant and, to ensure sufficient cases, I went to the last available teacher at Nina's centre, who also agreed to participate. These five stayed throughout the research process. The recruitment process absorbed, in fact, a full three months, the time between when I first approached the directors formally in mid-September until I added the fifth participant and had my first session with her in mid-December.

Once a teacher was interested in participating, I asked her to discuss the project with her co-workers to ensure they did not mind the intrusion, particularly the video. On my fist visit, I chatted with these co-workers, explaining the project again, and informed any other adults (student teachers, parents, practicum supervisors) who I was and why I was there. The teacher and I also discussed the process for gaining parent permission for the video. In some cases I provided the forms, and if necessary, spoke to individual parents to assure them the project did not involve testing children. My goal in negotiating my presence in the setting was that every adult I encountered should know why I was there, and be assured that they were not a focus for the video, that only the teacher and I would be watching it.

Confidentiality.

Each participant, her co-workers, children, and centre were promised anonymity when I negotiated conducting research in her setting. Thus, I developed a system of pseudonyms to use in written materials. In a binder separate from the fieldnotes and transcripts for each teacher I kept a list headed with the teacher's pseudonym, with children's first names opposite a chosen pseudonym. In transcribing, I could pull out this sheet for each teacher from visit to visit. With only five teachers, I did not need a key for their pseudonyms and it is not written down.

Settings frequently have distinctive names for areas of the environment. I have used one set of names, removing any distinctions settings may make, referring always to the block area, housekeeping, the sandbox, water play, the art area, the craft table. Occasionally I omitted or changed details of setting which were too particular.

The Participants

The teachers with whom I worked all made their commitment to the project graciously, quickly, and with ease. They possess what I might call professional courage: whatever their private shynesses or reserve, they were willing to bare their work to scrutiny, theirs and mine, and risk the outcome. They were all teachers with verve and personality. It could be that they in particular agreed to participate because there was something in the timing of the project that was right for them. Each was consistently marvelous in the openness with which she shared her work and her thoughts about it. I reported difficulties in negotiating entry; once I began with these participants, the fieldwork in the setting was eminently enjoyable, positive, and without problems. I wish to introduce each participant briefly so that as she appears in the text, the reader will know a little about her and the children in her care during this project. Five 'snapshots' follow, then, for the

teachers, whom I have named Jill, Donna, Carla, Liz and Nora.

Jill

Jill cares for fourteen children two to four years of age and has worked in the same room for nine years, since she began day care teaching. She has always had the same co-worker, Marion. Prior to her day care work, she took a ten month training program in early childhood education following high school. With her love of visual display (Jill always wore such interesting earrings) she worked first selling ladies clothes at a department store, and began working in day care almost by chance, when asked to substitute in the centre where she had completed her practicum. She has been there ever since. Jill is quiet and reserved, and moves about her setting with qualities of grace and refinement.

Her room is light, windows on two sides and a movable step so children can look out. One free play time, Geoffrey spent most of it excitedly watching blackbirds flapping at a milk carton birdfeeder which they had made and hung outside the window. The room is very clean and organized, "a place for everything..." says Jill. One end has a cosy area with books, record player, lego and puzzles, and a single fish in a tank. The other has a table area with sandbox nearby, and a dramatic play area in the middle. There are small changes

to the room each time I come, a mini-trampoline or slide added, a different set of fourteen collage papers on the bulletin board, once a mural of African animals when they pretended to go to Africa as a theme. Children's songs waft frequently from the record player and there is singing and dancing. Here we see Jill for a moment as she encourages children to put on smocks before craft: some children whine and complain they cannot do it.

"You try, I'll help you in a minute. Find the holes for your arms." One child gets it over her head successfully. "Yeah, Eliza, when you try you can do it! You guys are catching on so fast. It makes it much easier if everybody tries" [JF2.2].1

Carla

Carla works with nine preschoolers in the morning, with twenty-two five year olds added in from noon until 5:30. The morning is relaxed and calm. The noon hour is suddenly hectic with the press of many bodies in a crowded space. At 1:15 pm and 3:00 pm there is the commotion of some, but not

1 The conventions adopted regarding citation of material from the data corpus are as follows: data location is indicated by a square bracket [] in which the name of the data set is specificed by the teacher's initial. An 'F' refers to a fieldnotes location. The first digit refers to the number of the visit, and the second to the page number in the data corpus, so for example, [N3.21] refers to Nora's data corpus, third interview, page 21 of the transcript. Occasionally, the reference includes 'per,' as in [Jper20], which refers to page 20 of the feedback paper, or [Jwc], of Jill's comments written on the criteria questionnaire.

all, children leaving for or returning from school, as first year children do for two afternoons a week. From noon on, the day is very busy, with children beginning to leave at 3:50 pm but many still present at 5:00 pm. Carla works with two colleagues and they divide the children into three groups. Carla generally cared for nine to eleven children, the older, more difficult ones, and more boys than girls. I immediately sense that she can, and will, handle any difficulty that arises in the group, and that her many years of experience -- some thirteen -- establish her as a veteran in day care.

> I find especially this centre, some children are very very rough. Very rough. I worked with other day care. I never seen day care like this. This is a challenge for me, to work here. I like working over here [C4.13].

Carla has an undergraduate degree and completed training in early childhood education in a two-year extension program. She thinks it is the combination of training and experience which has been significant in permitting her to develop as a teacher.

Here she is scooping red jello into paper cups for snack. "Remember Monday, about touch? Feel and touch? Before you eat I'll let you do something." She suggests they

put one finger in to feel it. "It's wibbly," says one. "Is it soft or hard," says Carla, "Is it hot or cold?" [CF5.1]

The changes in her room centred on her theme changes. When the sense of smell was the focus, the interest table was crowded with small jars of leftover cosmetics and lotions, the water play abounded in smelly bubbles, and milk for snack was flavoured with peppermint (one boy would not touch it until she reminded him he liked gum), and the craft was the making of enormous tissue flowers, huge and bright as peony heads and profusely sprayed with perfume: these went out of the room, homeward bound, like flags of radiance.

Nora

Nora cares for fourteen children two and a half to four and a half years of age. During the research project, nine were boys, most hovering around their third birthday, and two of the girls were young two year olds. The effect of the age distribution was that the bulk of the children functioned as very young three year olds, with several older children clearly not fitting this pattern. Nora was beginning a new job after five years as assistant in a private centre. When asked in June about the most significant thing in her background, she said it was the job shift she had made into her current centre: "I would never have lasted in the field if I hadn't switched" [N6.12].

Nora had undertaken a ten month program of training in early childhood education after high school. In her room, Nora was always quiet and calm, emoting a slow-moving ease and comfort with these young children.

Her room was high-ceilinged, with a high loft in one corner, a table area to one side and dramatic play and block areas on the other. Nora enjoyed rearranging different areas, trying to determine what would draw children to activity under the loft (for instance a typewriter and office? an extension of housekeeping?), repainting the lockers or reorganizing the art and craft area. She often sat on the loft stairs or on a chair watching the children as they played. When a tiny toddler at the craft table was using valentine collage materials, Nora later said "I was wondering why Alexa was putting on her hearts and taking them off [again] and rubbing the glue with tissue paper; she said she was cleaning it" [N5.9].

Once when I was filming the block area in free play tiny Rose wandered in from the adjacent housekeeping area, in floppy hat and high heels. Nora asked her to return to housekeeping, worrying she would trip over the blocks in her heels, but when Rose said, "I want to smile for the lady," Nora "just left her," later describing this to me, amazed at the child's awareness [N5.14].

Donna

In the mornings Donna conducted a "nursery school" half day program for young three year olds. She had a changing roster of children from day to day, as most children attended only several mornings a week. The numbers might vary from seven to twelve on any given day, with ten about average. At noon, up to 34 children ages five to ten arrived from a variety of public and private schools for lunch, frequently overlapping with leftover morning children whose parents were late in picking them up.

In the early afternoon, seven "primaries" (five year olds who do not attend school all day) had a program with one teacher, while her co-worker was on lunch break. As the year progressed, these children were sent back to school, but only two days a week, remaining in the day care the other three. After Christmas, other children from another location of the day care, four year olds who did not nap, were added in at this time to bring the complement of children up to ten. Different children arrived to join the primaries each day, so Donna did not know exactly who would appear. These added-in children left as the school-age children returned, and from three until five thirty, an afterschool program was conducted. Donna and her partner thus had three programs, in their view, to construct and

manage, for three different age groups from two and a half to ten, and a changing cast of players from day to day.

To the outsider, it felt a little like going to a fair, people coming and going, the setting sometimes very noisy and crowded, sometimes sparsely populated. Adding to the fair-like atmosphere were spectacularly decorated bulletin board displays, every spare inch of wall space used for something, and these were frequently changed. In February for instance there were hearts everywhere, doilies on a valentine tree, pink hearts all over the theme board, lunchbags stapled below in a row for each child's cards, huge cut-out hearts emblazoned "love is...," along one wall, a window mural of painted hearts. The furniture and materials stayed the same, but the walls changed weekly.

Donna earned an undergraduate degree in Education and worked two years in another centre prior to taking this job. When she began as a research participant, she had been working in the new situation scarcely a month and was still making her initial adjustment to it. She thought her approach as a teacher in day care had been "moulded" by the teacher she worked with at her first job. She was working in day care because she had been unable to find a job as an elementary teacher, which she had trained for and preferred.

We see her for a moment at the craft table, making pine cone ornaments for the Christmas tree. Kate grabbed the sparkles from Sonia. "That's not nice," said Donna. Katie, looking chagrined, gave them back. Bobby asked, "Kate, can

I please have my glue back?" "That's a nice way to ask, Bobby," says Donna. Bobby adds, "Tina's going slow and steady." Donna adds, "Slow and steady wins the race." "What race?" asks the youngest child [DF4.8].

Liz

Liz cares for fifteen children two to four years of age and has worked as a "toddler" teacher for nine years. She has one co-worker, Bess, in her first year of day care work, and several challenging children. Liz is a graduate of a ten month program in early childhood education and for the year prior to the research project, had been involved in an extensive in-service program in implementing a High/Scope curriculum. Liz is a talker, full of vitality, earthy, tolerant of mess, always finding room for one more child on her lap. She said the significant things in her background had been the totality of her training, extending from the distant past through her present, and the fact she came from a very large family: as a child who grew up in the midst of a large group, she retains a strong empathy for individual needs in the midst of a multitude.

Her room is large and high-ceilinged, with many areas and a split-level deck. One area of the room is a pet area with fish, gerbils, and a guinea pig. During activity times, the floor is strewn with materials. The room has a slightly run-down, lived-in feeling. At each of my visits

the environment has been changed, housekeeping moved up to the loft, or the central area rearranged to open it up, or a planning board with photographs of areas of the room to facilitate choices, or a big new easel added. Once as I observed, the phone rang and Liz asked me to answer. It was Robert, from administration, asking how big a Christmas tree she would like. "Not too big," said Liz, because if it's too big the children cannot reach up to decorate it.

The day Martin brought his new umbrella to day care, Tina wanted to see it up. Liz, sitting on the rug doing a puzzle with Leam, opened it above Tina. As other children saw this, they came running from all directions to crowd underneath all together, gazing up at the yellow canopy above them and holding their breath in wonder.

Table One summarizes several characteristics of the group of children which each teacher cared for in her work.

TABLE ONE
CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN AND SETTING

	Donna	Carla	Liz	Nora	Jill
Ages of Children (in years)					
a.m.	2.5-4	4-5	2-3.5	2-4.6	2-4
p.m.	4-5	4-6			
noon	5-10				
Number of Children in Room					
a.m.	12	9	15	14	14
p.m.	10	17 or 11			
noon	34	31			
Number of Co-Workers	1	2-3	1	1	1
Racial Diversity	White Asian	Black White	Black White Asian	White Micmac	Black Asian White
Language Diversity (English +)	Chinese		French Vietnamese	Micmac	Arab
Number of Single Parent Families	unknown	28/31	5/15	9/14	4/14
Program Allegiance	Themes	Themes	High/ Scope	Webs	Themes
Size of Location* (Children)	34	93	68	27	60

* Centre size is not included because it identifies specific centres too readily, removing anonymity.

Data Generation

Overview

The plan for data generation involved two phases. Here both phases are encapsulated briefly as a guide to the following sections. In Phase One I concentrated upon accessing and understanding individual teacher practical knowledge about play, program and routine. Once negotiation of entry was complete, that is, once teachers agreed to participate, consent forms were all signed, and forms for parent permission to video children were collected, then the teacher and I began a cycle of visits, with two or three weeks separating each one.

A visit consisted of an observation in the setting of 1-3 hours duration (with a gradual reduction in time as I became more familiar with settings and more fucussed in observation), and, later the same day, an interview ranging in duration from 45-90 minutes. From the second through the fifth visits, selected segments in the setting were videotaped (25-40 minutes). Review of the videotape coupled with prepared interview questions on play and program was the focus of interviews.

After the visit, I wrote up fieldnotes (usually 6-10 pages of text per observation), journal notes (impressions, reactions, informal conversations), and the following day transcribed the interview. I then reviewed fieldnotes and transcript to begin analytic notes and coding, to check the

questions asked, and to prepare follow-up questions for the next visit. My goal was to have sufficiently rich data that I could accurately and vividly portray the teacher's personal practical knowledge regarding play, program and routine. This would answer my first two research questions, a necessary preliminary step in coping with questions three and four.

Phase Two data generation occurred following this. Once I completed the cycle of visits, I had generated some 750 pages of notes and transcripts and quietly retreated from the field with hope I could manage it. My intention was to provide a feedback paper for each teacher and invite her input to revise and expand the portrayal, to confirm its authenticity or shape it more closely to her reality. The final interview session combined an examination of the feedback paper, reponses to questions on models of practice, and responses to a questionnaire with a criteria representing the model of developmental appropriateness. The process of constructing the feedback papers, conducting, writing up, transcribing, and analyzing the final interview sessions comprised the second phase of data generation.

The brief summary above is intended to orient the reader to the overall structure of the data generation process. The basic methods for generating data were three-fold, observations in the setting, videotapes in the setting, and interviews with the teacher. I will describe each of these, considering the time spent on it, the

content, data-recording, and decisions and reflections about my use of these methods.

Observations

I made five observational visits to each teacher, sometimes in the morning and sometimes the afternoon, until we both felt that I had seen the full range of her program. I stayed for lunch at least once with three teachers. (The other settings were too crowded.) The total time spent observing each teacher was as follows: Donna 17.5 hours; 2 Carla 10.5 hours; Liz 9.5 hours; Nora 11 hours; Jill 10.5 hours. I was generally present 9:00-12:00 am or 3:00-5:00 pm, visiting them once every two to three weeks over a total time span of ten to twelve weeks. In Donna's case, the time span was sixteen weeks.

I observed the stream of experience, with the teacher as focal point. This included the overall activity, what she chose to do and what else was going on around it. As a participant observer I was only involved passively. If children approached me I chatted momentarily, did up the stiff jeans buttons or zippers. If they interfered or pressed me to play I simply said, "I have to do my work

2 In Donna's case two factors added time. One was an additional visit before I began videotaping, so that she could be more comfortable in my presence, for on my first visit she withdrew from much of the action in the room. As well, her work was complex and I needed more time to see its various components.

now." If they wondered what that was: "I'm watching what people are doing and writing it down." (One child did spend twenty minutes sitting beside me "writing" everything down too with borrowed pen and paper.) Towards the end of afternoon sessions, when there is a palpable relaxation in rooms as children depart, I sometimes played or talked for a few minutes with individual children: someone rouged and powdered my cheeks once, another wanted me to play school. Any adult in a day care room is an available resource to children and I did not mind this when it did not interfere with my work. The teachers and I sometimes chatted too, or they offered comments in passing by way of explaining something, or commented about a child.

The notes I took were on-the-spot accounts, with verbatim remarks by the teacher. I noted exactly what she was doing, against the background of other activities. The observer in such situations continuously makes intuitive judgments about what it is important to preserve out of the stream of experience. It was my focus on play, program and routine which provided a frame for selection. Yet I still noted much else -- snack procedures, bathroom routines. At my first visit I took copious notes to become familiar with the setting but did not focus on the teacher so exclusively. At later visits, part of the time I spent in intense scrutiny of the teacher's actions towards everything around her.

A frequently noted issue with interpretive methodologies is the problem of reliability. Kirk and Miller (1986, 41) argue that "reliability depends essentially on explicitly described observational procedures," and that the careful documentation of procedures is the best response to the issue of reliability. Spradley (1980) describes four different kinds of fieldnotes which help build up this careful documentation. I found these very helpful and used them throughout the project. The first set is the on-the-spot 'condensed' account, scribbled on the run but capturing just what was said. The second set is the expanded account and is written out as completely as possible as soon as possible. This is done with concreteness, with inferences marked off as such. (See Appendix B: Sample Fieldnotes.) A third type of fieldnote is Spradley's fieldwork journal, a diary recording the researcher's impressions, fears, problems, all the personal reactions. I kept these first three types of fieldnotes chronologically for each teacher. The fourth set is analytic and interpretive memos, the ideas and insights and interpretations which the researcher arrives at during the logging of data. Lofland and Lofland (1984) suggest researchers risk a strategy of "calculated chaos," immersing themselves in the logging of data to permit ideas to emerge. Analytical memos ended up written down where I thought them, generally on the backs of pages of interview transcripts,

and after about two months, and a reading of Lofland and Lofland (1984) I moved important ones into a memo file.

The range of time which researchers spend in observation in interpretive studies varies enormously. Elbaz (1983) for instance, visited her teacher merely twice, and after conducting five interviews. Klass (1987) on the other hand, spent four days a week in a day care for months. When did she do her fieldnotes? I found a visit of two hours took as long to write up, and sometimes more. I did not believe it was possible to observe too much. Yet it had to be balanced against other needs and time constraints. From a previous study (Wien, 1984) I found that nine visits were unnecessary because the information became so redundant and estimated that five or six visits should be sufficient. I noted a pattern to my reactions: the first visit tended to offer a particular impression. The second visit was often sharply contrasting, as I noticed things I missed or that might have been unique to the first occasion. In the third visit both these views tended to be synthesized in a broader view. The fourth and fifth visits, while adding individual incident and richness were repetitive and confirmatory. The data generated in later visits became redundant as the same pattern of events was observed repeatedly.

Because the focus of my study was teacher practical knowledge I believed it critical to spend time getting to know the practice of each teacher so that we shared a context when we talked. Thus, what she said in the

interview would not occur in isolation but would be set against the totality of my knowledge about her and her program. When I asked Jill, for instance, whether she used children's ideas in planning activities, she said no, she did not think the children had many ideas. Yet I had seen her respond to children's ideas in practice in a way that showed she recognized them: Wanda brought a chair into the song and dance area, and Jill understood at once that she wanted the monkey song which included actions with a chair, so she put it on the record player. Hearing her say that the children did not have many ideas made me realize she thought of 'ideas' as talk, words. She wasn't thinking of actions as ideas. Yet in her practice she responded to actions as ideas. Having this richer knowledge of context through observation was invaluable in understanding the teacher's talk and in leading to ideas for analysis.

Using Video 3 with Teachers

Visual data offers an engaging mirror to the teacher. To watch herself and her children, moving and talking, is to step outside her lived experience and see it from a novel perspective. As Yinger (1986) pointed out, watching video creates a new and complex event for the teacher: he reminds us that she often cannot tell what will happen next because

3 The first three months I used a GZ-F5 Camera, made by JVC, fed to a JVC Model BR-6200U Video Cassette Recorder. The last two months I had new equipement, a Panasonic Camcorder, Model AG-180.

she sees it from a new perspective. It does not replicate what she lived. She both reacts to herself as a stranger (seeing herself from the outside), and is intimately connected to every move that 'stranger' makes. As well, video provides new evidence, often showing information unavailable to her in the midst of experience.

I chose to videotape practice for five interrelated reasons. First, the video segment provided the teacher and me with explicitly shared data for discussion. The visual data provided a record that, while a narrow selection from the total range of possibilities, was accurate. Each of us could observe and reflect on it. Secondly, it provided the teacher with feedback, a 'mirror', to which she could react: it provided a review of segments of practice. Thirdly, watching this permitted her a process of reflection-on-action, at those moments when her personal theory triggered it. In other words, this reflection process was not dependent upon my questions or comments.

Fourthly, it permitted this reflection-on-action (surfacing comments on her children, her hopes and goals, problems and tensions, what bothered her or worried her) in a way that was relaxed and comfortable because it evolved directly out of her viewing the natural context to which these thoughts and feelings were attached. This allowed all her comments to be embedded in practice, rather than separated off as a presentation of her theory. I believe it preserved her theories-in-action, in relation to specific

practice, in a way that interview data alone cannot possibly do. (Although I had <u>read</u> accounts of the inseparability of theory and practice, it was this process of discussion with teachers which provided direct experience of this, for everything teachers said was in relation to some specific example or a specific plan.)

Finally, sharing video with the teacher provided an additional data source, beyond observations and interviews, and thus was useful in the triangulation of data. I had data not only from observations and interviews, but from videotapes and, further, from the teacher's reactions to her videotaped practice. Triangulation of data in this way is one way of addressing the issue of reliability of data.

The Content of Videos

My research focus was play, program, and routine, so I chose video episodes which displayed those. Smith (1988) discusses several sampling techniques for the use of visual data in context. These are time-sampling (in which a stationary camera shoots at timed intervals), shadow-sampling (in which the camera follows an individual), and event-based sampling (in which an event provides a natural closure for the camera.) I used the latter strategy, because it retains a beginning, middle and end which provide a sense of framing, a 'story,' for discussion with the teacher. For the first video segment I filmed an aspect of

program which we had jointly decided upon. For the second, I filmed free play, trying to show the teacher's activity in the context of the range of play occurring in the room. Then, the teacher and I together chose other episodes she might like to see. I made an arbitrary decision not to include activities if they were scheduled both outside the centre and only once a week, partly because of the potential problems in videotaping in unfamiliar contexts, partly because they were somewhat atypical events and the problems outweighed the benefits. I also did not film on outdoor playgrounds (although I went out at least once with each teacher) because it was winter and the equipment subject to damage in the cold.

Although there are several free play and group activity segments for each teacher, the content varied with the teacher's program. For instance, where 'show and tell' and baking and craft segments do not occur, it is because they did not happen while I was present. Liz had art and messy materials out at all times and no separate 'craft' time and thus there is no such labelled episode in her videotaped data. The selection of what to video was guided by two rules related to my research questions. Did the teacher think we had videotaped an example of all the important segments of play and program? Did I have at least two segments each of play times and group activity times? (See Appendix C: Contents of Videotaped Segments.)

Time and Videos

My original plan was to collect four 40 minute segments. This estimate was based on previous experience videotaping a single teacher, which allowed me to learn my capacity for data selection and working with the camera. (I carry it, since I find tripods too constricting when videotaping teachers and young children: too much happens beyond the range of a camera on tripod, but carrying it becomes fatiguing.) This previous experience also gave me a sense of what it was practical to ask a teacher to do over a period of several months. Since watching video occupies roughly twice the duration of the film, this time has to be built into the time which the teacher can comfortably make available for the process of viewing it. As I collected video segments on this project, they became shorter, reduced from 40 to 20 or 30 minutes, because of the limits on how much we could reasonably review. Since I felt an obligation to show the teacher all the video data I recorded, I became careful not to collect more than we could cope with in interview sessions.

The Process

I gradually developed my own 'script' for handling video review. While I had been careful to ensure teachers were adequately prepared for seeing themselves,

acknowledging, as Krupnick 4 urges, the aversion almost everyone experiences at their first encounter with the self on tape, acknowledging the unflattering lighting, the amateur camera work, the slowness of real time (ie. it is not like television), I had not adequately thought through how I was going to ensure the rich reflection about practice that I intended should emerge. The first two sessions were somewhat rambling and unfocussed, and the fact that something was missing was unclear until that point. For the third occasion (each of these was with a different teacher), I consciously provided a frame before we began:

> As we watch I'm interested in things you notice that proceed pretty much as you expect, that match what you were trying to do; and any things that were surprises or seemed unusual, or bothered you; or just anything you want to make a comment about.

This time the teacher seemed much freer to talk. We were both more relaxed, and she gave me a running commentary that was fascinating. She was a lively, fluent talker. When I transcribed the interview, however, I saw that the material was full of digressions (was that good or bad? I did not know) and I was so entertained I had not asked a single interview question. (They were supposed to slip in naturally as the context permitted.) I was chagrined.

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4 Krupnick, Catherine, 1989. In class, "Improving Teaching." Harvard Graduate School of Education.

(Certainly an argument for preparing transcripts immediately after interviews is the fact such lapses are quickly visible.) I had permitted her to take over the interview, quite forgetting my own agenda, seduced by the richness of her talk. I should not look so foolish again! She taught me to plan what I wanted to accomplish more precisely, which questions to try to include.

But the frame I provided before the review seemed to help. I developed this idea more, and began to frame each separate episode in the videotape. The structure for the frame arose out of the first two research questions: could I portray examples of teacher practical knowledge about play, program and routine. I began by telling the teacher what I had filmed and asked her before each episode what she expected and hoped to see as we watched. Her responses provided an agenda, a focus of shared observation. Then afterwards, I asked if the segment had occurred as she expected or hoped. Here is an example of how the teacher's agenda emerged: Carla and I were about to watch a string painting craft.

> CA: Let me just ask ... what are we expecting we are going to see as we look at this? What do you have in mind as happening?
> Carla: Okay, imagination. Their imagination? What they think about that painting, what they did.

CA: So we're looking for imagination on the part of the children? Do you want to say anything else about it?

Carla: Mostly their imagination. Like ... they fold the papers with the string, and then they pull it out and they want to see what's in there. And then I ask them, 'what do you think about the picture? Do you have a story about that? what did you make?' And so they can imagine, or ... they can tell me and then I can write it down for them, exactly what they say [C2.1].

This frame for watching worked very well, I found, for eliciting both teacher theory in relation to concrete data and her evaluation of her practice, which also demonstrated her theory. It was also interesting to compare what she said in response to approaching a video segment and her response to one of my question on the purposes of various activities. I continued to use this framework for accessing the teacher's agenda and her evaluation of segments throughout the remaining sessions.

Sessions began with some informal talk, and frequently several follow-up questions which I had brought from our previous session. We generally watched a minute of the video to become calm and focussed. I always stopped the tape when we talked and so, after this beginning I would stop it and ask what we should expect to see, what she hoped

she and the children would be doing. I did this for each episode on the videotape, so this could occur two or three times in one review sesssion. The agenda gave us one focus for discussion, and my questions provided another.

Gradually, I learned which comments were incidental or fleeting ("Look at how she's holding the spoon"), and could be let go (without stopping the tape), and which signalled something to discuss because they were relevant to the research. ("Oh what a sin! Because he was sitting nicely, but he was talking. I feel bad" [J3.7].) The teacher and I shared this role of stopping and starting video playback and tape recorder.

Interaction Effects in Using Video

On children. In some settings the video equipment drew considerable interest from children, and in others scarcely any. Initially, my equipment was ancient technology, bulky boxes and cables surrounding the camera, and it was irresistible. The two year olds in Liz's setting crawled over it like flies, trying to push buttons, lift lids, poke and prod. I learned to position myself in the loft. Because all material in her room was accessible to children, they clearly expected this would be too, and I felt badly: when I had finished filming, I showed the hangers-about how it worked, let them look through the view frame to see each other.

If the youngest children found the video irresistible for its manipulative possibilities, the oldest, the five year olds in two settings, wanted to perform for it, seeing it as a form of television, and mugged and danced for each other. They wanted to see each other through the view frame. This created events in these two settings for short spaces of time and both the teachers and I let this happen. It only occurred if they were in free play. There was never the slightest attention paid to the video camera if children were in group activity.

On most occasions in most settings, there was only sporadic interest in the equipment, generally from specific children who were curious about it. I would make time before or after filming to show them. If it began to interfere, I said, "Now I have to work," and stood up, if the verbal cue was insufficient.

Does the video affect how children normally behave? It has a minimal momentary effect. Children react to it either unself-consciously, or with explicit awareness of its function. Occasionally, they are curious or intrigued by the equipment, showing off or making a face at the odd moment, but generally they carry on their own activity without awareness of it.

On teachers. All the teachers were super alert or a little nervous, as they would admit, when I began observing, and particularly for the duration of the first videotaping session. They were remarkably accomplished at hiding this

nervousness, but 'confessed' it to me at some point. (One teacher even admitted to anxiety dreams.) After viewing the first videotape, they were more relaxed. Probably they were always a little more alert in my presence, aware of being watched. Did my presence influence the data? It is conceivable that it may have pushed their actions in the direction of either their ideal, or their interpretation of my ideal.

Interaction effects from Reviewing Video

All the teachers noted with surprise things happening on the videotape which they missed as they had lived the moment. Donna was astonished to hear a child singing 'jingle bells' over and over [D3.5]. Liz saw footprints in the cornmeal on the floor while watching video tape and wished she had noticed them in the activity, so she could draw the children's attention to them [L2.5]. In my journal half-way through the sessions, I noted:

> Teachers seem to like watching the video, to get 'hooked.' They lean forward, lean in to the screen, for instance, or comment how fast the time goes. They are willing to run over time to finish seeing it, or meet on additional noon hours. Sometimes on leaving I hear my participant telling her colleagues something she has seen on tape. I know several teachers long to see the videos, and suspect that it privileges the participant somewhat, this attention to her work and the fact she sees things her co-worker does not [Jan.18].

Watching the video sometimes resulted in events occurring which otherwise might not. Jill, for instance, had warned me at our introductory session that she did not talk easily,

that I would have to "pry things out of her." At our first interview she had difficulty answering some questions and would sigh, "I don't know." (She was what teachers sometimes jokingly describe as a 'high performance-low verbal' type.) She would have appeared unreflective, if I had used only interview questions, because of her difficulty articulating thought. Gradually, as we used the review of video as the basis for our discussion and she had an image base from which to work, she became increasingly relaxed and engaged in a musing kind of reflection where she saw problems. Her progress in opening up in conversation was quite remarkable as she mulled over situations. At our final interview, Jill said she loved the video, could "watch that anytime." The video gave us a different tool to work with, visual and auditory and action-based, instead of verbal, and this permitted Jill to offer data that otherwise would have remained inaccessible.

Liz, both reflective and articulate, let me see how watching the video changed her. She brought an active stance to viewing it, first becoming aware how her use of her body might be intimidating to children.

> One thing that stands out in my mind is my body language. Seeing myself on video. I just noticed that when I was coming towards the children sometimes I'd come down on them like this [gestures that she towers over them] and then down. What I try to do now, is

> come down away from them and then come towards them [L6.15].

She told me she used the time watching the video to check her own actions, "watching what I missed or what I didn't see or what could I have done differently" [L6.16]. As well, the video acted as a catalyst, mobilizing her to take action in her setting, as a result of what she saw:

> Also I think I went ahead and the things like the gym, and the housekeeping, and I just said, 'we need to do this now.' I really acted on those things more immediately [L6.16].

To summarize my reflections on developing a video process to elicit talk about teacher practical knowledge, I believe this part of the project was very successful. The frame which I developed gave the teacher permission to think out aloud, to articulate consciously her own purposes and intents in carrying out activities and then to assess that in an informal atmosphere. Since she and I alone saw the video, what she did with this information in her work setting was entirely under her control. The framework of permitting the teacher to set the agenda gave her control of the evaluative aspect as we watched video, made her theory more visible to the researcher, and, in some cases, clearly

operated to increase reflection. I close this section with one enthusiastic endorsement of video viewing:

> Those videotapes were the best thing! They were. They were. I think every teacher should have a look at herself. Over a period of time too. ... I remember thinking, then I was getting anxious to watch them -- 'let's see now' -- and watching what I missed or what I didn't see or what I could have done differently. Oh I think it should be done two or three times a year. Necessary [L6.16].

Interviews with the Teachers

My concept of the interview, its purposes and how it should be conducted, owes much both to Spradley (1979, 1980) and to Lofland and Lofland (1984). From them I have the sense of the interview as natural and conversational: the participant must feel comfortable and free to talk with ease, if the goal is to construct "the richest possible data" (Lofland and Lofland 1984, 11). My purpose in conducting interviews was to elicit material which would allow me to understand the teacher's practical knowledge -- her intentions, perceptions, reactions to feelings about children's play and her program. Therefore I prepared a series of questions to use in a "guided conversation" (Lofland and Lofland 1984, 12). There were general

questions on her work processes, and "grand tour" questions (Spradley 1980) about organization of time and space, questions on play, program, purposes or activities and on planning. (See Appendix D: Interview Guides.)

Since we were, from the second session, also reviewing videotape, interview sessions were complex. I learned to select questions closely connected to the video episode under review. Then some of the questions could occur natually in the flow of discussion as we watched. The others were asked afterwards when the concrete context was still sharply present for both of us.

Reflections on the Questions. I revised the interview questions after several sessions with participants. I dropped several questions because they were too long and I had the information already from observing. I omitted several others because they did not generate much data: they were too abstract or philosophical and puzzled the first two teachers. This is not always undesirable, but if a participant grows too concerned about her inability to respond, the interview becomes counterproductive. I omitted, for example, the question "what do you like best about children's play?" I did not omit all the abstract questions for these are often the very ones which display teacher theory. I kept "what do you think provides the structure in your program?" with rich results. I became conscious of interjecting these difficult questions when the

participant was well-warmed up, and could talk with animation, pleasure and fluency.

With this conversational structure I needed to ensure, prior to the final video sessions, that I had in fact asked each question of each participant. A simple chart with a column for each teacher, and a fixed location in each column for each of the 24 questions permitted me to go through the data corpus to that point, locating the discussion on each question and inserting it on the chart. There were at this point in time, 5-8 questions, different for each participant, which I had not yet asked. I was pleased with this simple visual display, locating the content of each question in the data corpus, and found it useful too during analysis, as a data management tool for locating specific content.

In watching video we were particularly subject to the temptation to digress. Initially unsure how to handle this, I let the digressions occur, thinking they portrayed what was vividly significant to the teacher at the moment. As well, some constraints on the work of teachers became obvious this way, as initial digressions. And with the teacher who held me enthralled with the articulate richness of her talk, full of wonderful examples, I learned after two or three interviews to assert my agenda. Overall, I was open to digressions, although it made analysis more difficult. In the end, I was rewarded: although I had too much data on a special needs child, on one teacher's

attitudes to parents, and on student teachers, the reader will later hear a story of remarkable change over the course of the project, and the richest account of this recurs throughout this teacher's data corpus as spontaneous digression.

Time and Place. I had six interviews with each teacher (seven with Donna), and this included an introductory session, four interviews in conjunction with video review, and a final session some months later. The first five interviews for each teacher averaged 60-80 minutes in length. Interviews ranged from 45-90 minutes. The arrangements for these were idiosyncratic and negotiated to suit each teacher's schedule. It was not always easy to make time for interviews, but they did so with willingness and commitment. One teacher gave up part of her planning afternoon for interviews, one gave up her lunch hour. With one, we met immediately following her work from 5-6:00 o'clock and with another in her home in the evening. Another gave up a weekly double lunch to meet with me. I visited two teachers per week, each visit occupying me for two and a half days or more.

Transcriptions. All interviews were transcribed and reviewed immediately afterwards, following numerous recommendations to do so (Lofland and Lofland 1984; Manicom 1988; Patton 1980; Spradley 1980). Useful for both feedback to the researcher on interview technique, and as stimulant to thinking about content, it helps to familiarize the

researcher with the data while the context is fresh. Interviews were transcribed word for word with no cuts. People speak with grammar errors, in fragments of sentences, as they think out what to say next. I preserved this language intact both to have the teacher's exact words for the analytic process and to retain the voice of each participant.

Data Management and Analysis

Before undertaking this project, I had no clear image of how to perform interpretive analysis. As Polanyi (1958) and others such as Schon (1983) have noted, when performance skills are required, the actor must do it, in order to learn how to do it. Essentially my problem was to construct an analytic process by which to synthesize (ie. reduce the data) and theorize about 900 pages of fieldnotes and interview transcripts. The reading one does while in the process of hunting down a problem affects the performance differently than the reading one did in preparation. Thus my earlier reading of Patton (1980), and of examples of outstanding ethnography (such as Lewis' <u>Children of Sanchez</u>, and Liebow's <u>Tally's Corner</u>, Ray Rist's explication of classing processes in kindergartens, and Jackson's <u>Life in Classrooms</u>) provided a sense of possibilities without specifics. And most shorter works on qualitative methods in education were notoriously short on accounts of how analyses

proceeded. Without either conventionalized procedures for analyzing or reporting analyses, I had no clear script for action.

Sherman and Webb (1988) and Fetterman (1988) provided some useful context and I grew attached to my Spradley and Lofland and Lofland notes, and later, Kirby and McKenna (1989) and Miles and Huberman (1984). Reading these last two side by side was marvelous because they represent such poles in the continuum of approaches to methods in interpretive research. Miles and Huberman, involved in massive multi-site school evaluation projects, impose explicit and systematic procedures on interpretive methods with a heavy emphasis on matrix displays as a useful data reduction device, and on explicitly documented procedures. Kirby and McKenna, in contrast, set out a series of processes by which to allow all one's tacit as well as explicit knowledge to be brought to bear on the research question. My heart, and my 'natural' way of working was with Kirby and McKenna, but I developed great respect for the contributions of Miles and Huberman and took from them what seemed useful for my smaller scale project. I grew attached too to Erickson's (1986) portrayal of interpretive analyses, and from him gained some notion of how to check data for both confirmation and disconfirmation of emerging theory. I am indebted to these researchers because my work is informed by their thinking, though I have used it in my own way and must bear responsibility for that.

Phase One Data Management

The storage-retrieval system which I worked out for the first phase of data management had four components. Using a separate binder for each participant, I kept one complete set of chronological data. The binder contains fieldnotes of observations, interview transcripts, and journal notes (impressions, inferences, ideas and things that puzzled me). A second component was a separate binder housing a chronological record of the process of research. This included both a near-daily record of what I was doing and puzzles and problems and my plan for tackling them. Crises and near-death struggles show up, and descriptions of confusion, for it is in writing things through that I generate ideas for solutions. A third component was a filing or cataloguing system for several issues which emerged as critically important: all examples of corrections, of types of resource management, of examples of a focus on process in teachers were catalogued until this system proved inadequate because it was restricted to teacher actions. Nevertheless, it gave me extremely detailed summaries of teacher strategies in these areas and was very useful at the stage of concerted analysis. The fourth component, which I did not begin until I saw that the aforementioned filing was too restrictive, was a complete second set of interview transcripts which I partitioned and

used for 'sorting games.' (As a natural conserver it was some months before I broke down and made this second set: in retrospect, I would recommend doing this from the beginning, like the methodologists say.) These four components comprised the storage system for the first phase of data generation.

Starting Coding and Analysis

In reviewing fieldnotes and interview transcripts immediately following visits with teachers, I labelled items for sorting if they were constraints, tension points, corrections, management of resources, potential scripts, rationales and purposes for activities, rules, values and so forth. I did this on the backs of pages in two columns, with ideas, insights and hunches about these forming a second column beside these. The material on the far-left of the page often functioned as an idea for analysis or became a 'memo.' Initially these were rather wild and unfocussed, (seeing for instance, five different types of rationales which teachers brought to why they did an activity, but I was not doing a study about rationales).

Gradually, the labelling or coding evolved into a system representing teacher actions (with her talk about actions included) such as monitoring, managing resources, correcting, planning, supporting child-initiated activity, carrying out themes, and so forth. (See Appendix E:

Categories for Sorting Data.) There are many different patterns of resource management which teachers might use, but all teachers in day care must manage material resources. There are many aspects a teacher might think of in monitoring the group, from observing primarily for safety or discipline problems, to observing for individual children's interests expressed as actions, but all teachers must monitor. I found some categories applied to all the participants, such as those just mentioned, and others applied to one or two or were unique among my five teachers, depending upon the specific content of her practical knowledge.

I labelled problems, scripts for action, obvious reflection to problem solve, and recognized these as a different system: one set of coding dealt with the personal meanings and practices of teachers, whereas these categories suggested the teacher's stance to a specific meaning. I saw that depending upon the particular theory, the world view, which the researcher brought to the fieldwork text, dozens of systems for categorizing were possible. The sorting system must arise out of the research questions. I saw too that when writers talk of theory emerging from data, it is an emergence, an idea, an insight that does not simply arise out of the data like steam from fresh bread but out of mental activity produced by the interaction of the researcher's theoretical framework with the data set.

Once a month I tried a small portion of analysis, working one or two days on a particular teacher, searching out key aspects of her conceptualization of practice and documenting this. I wrote up two to five page summaries. Later, I saw these as rehearsals, trials and somewhat primitive ones, but they became a point of comparison when I later constructed the feedback paper from the entire data set for a teacher. I practiced, following Erickson's (1986) suggestions, generating "assertions" and searching out the "evidentiary warrant" for both confirming and disconfirming evidence. I learned that some assertions could be trusted: for instance, when I argued that Carla acted as gatekeeper to resources in her room, I found 24 examples of this gatekeeping in her data corpus, and then realized there were three distinct types of gatekeeping. Deciding what constitutes disconfirming evidence is more difficult, but I eventually realized there was a single context, morning free play with only a few children, in which she did not engage in gatekeeping. On the other hand, for another assertion, I had almost as much disconfirming evidence as confirmatory data, and saw that the assertion was too weak. (See Appendix F: Sample Confirmation and Disconfirmation of Assertions.)

Nevertheless, this failed assertion led to a first major hunch in terms of my emerging argument, the notion of teachers' toleration of conflicting sets of values. In retrospect, this process of trying out an idea on the data

and checking through the entire data set sytematically, is the key element in generating theory, whether or not the assertion is initially accurate: if it is inaccurate, the search for disconfirming evidence points this out and the process leads to a more accurate assertion. It was extremely helpful to understand that the process was self-correcting in that an assertion which did not work would not simply be unsupported, but would lead to more accurate, supportable ideas.

One issue to decide was whether to give feedback to the teacher early or late in the research process. I thought early feedback could institute a change in teachers, and I wanted them "as they were," without more intervention than my presence and questions already offered. Secondly, as Miles and Huberman (1984) argue, to provide feedback later permits a broader understanding of context and a higher level of analysis. I opted not to offer feedback until the video and interview sessions were completed. The overall span of data generation for this first phase was five months.

Phase Two Data Generation

The first portion of this phase began with analysis of the five observations and interviews, in order to provide a feedback paper for each teacher to consider. As I approached this task I soon saw that the filing system I was

using, coding by teacher actions, was not including all the data. Initially, I thought what was missing was a framework for coding teacher theory, and duly resurrected an earlier class paper (Wien 1983) outlining a conceptual framework of four dimensions to teacher theory. This was a crisis point: it took the breakdown of the methods I was using to lead me to see that I was still imposing, in part, frameworks that required deductive thinking (ie. content analysis) on the data, rather than first examining what was there in the data, and permitting the categories for organizing concepts of teacher practical knowledge to emerge from what was, in fact, there. I had not, until this breakdown, understood fully what was required by an interpretive methodology.

I inverted the process, trying out the techniques described by Kirby and McKenna (1989), and began by partitioning a second complete set of data by episode, unit of conversation, incident. Each change marked a new unit. With each unit (3-6 per page, each unit several sentences, but sometimes units could be paragraphs or even pages long), mounted separately, I then playfully sorted which ones belonged together, without attempting to name the piles: as Miles and Huberman say, "the task is essentially one of saying, 'I have a mountain of information here, which bits go together'" (1984, 224)? I used the entire data corpus for each teacher, with the exception of some material unrelated to the research (digressions on having children, the Montreal massacre and violence in boys, technical talk,

and so forth). Sorting without labels for 'bins' or categories meant that I was using complex tacit judgments about what belonged together. Occasionally, I stopped and wrote out explicitly why I put an item in a specific pile: making it explicit absorbed 15-20 minutes, and clearly could not be done for several hundred pieces in a data set, but allowed me to see that these judgments could be made explicit. This process allowed new categories to emerge. Each teacher was somewhat different, and these new categories showed some of that difference. With some, for instance, concern for parents was a theme whereas with others, parents were never mentioned. With one, there was rich material about coping with the administration, and with others, hardly a murmur, and so forth.

The process I evolved for constructing the feedback papers was as follows. (See Appendix G: Description of Analysis for Feedback Papers.) After the initial playful sort, which produced many piles and varieties of unattached items, I examined each pile and item thoroughly a second time, articulating for myself the common properties which allowed items to be included, shifting items where the fit was better, making new piles if necessary, and beginning to construct a sense of what the category was about and its relationship to others. Since I favour visual-spatial thinking, I physically arranged the piles to indicate their proximity to each other. At this second, more analytic sorting, the number of piles was reduced, as I saw that one

small set was a subset of something else, or that a loose item really belonged in a category. The effect of this process is to absorb the researcher so intently in the data that previously unseen connections or similarities or insights dart up at one, and a sense of coherence about relationships between elements develops. After the second sort, I left it for a day, and went back to it a third time, beginning an enumeration process of each item in a category, naming the 'bins,' ordering the contents of a category by subtype, for I could quickly derive patterns from the larger body of items. The enumeration of items was a second check on placement, and there was some final shifting of items. Once the cataloguing or enumeration of items was complete, I made a summary sheet organizing the main points for each category. I then drew visual displays of the categories, as Kirby and McKenna (1989) suggest, generally two and sometimes three before the interrelationships of categories stabilized, and from this, I constructed an outline for the paper for the teacher. I wrote everything up for the teacher, knowing I would not deal with it all in the thesis, but wanting the teacher to have an opportunity to respond to it.

My commitment to the teachers was to permit them to alter and revise my perceptions of their work, both as a way of respecting their work, and as a validity check on my interpretation. The papers that resulted were longer and more elaborated than I had intended (19-26 single-spaced

pages each). Each took two weeks to construct. As a result, there was a hiatus ranging from two to over four months between the fifth and sixth interviews with each teacher. These papers were long and loosely structured, and reflected the context shared between researcher and teacher, so that they were not suitable for the thesis itself. However, the examples which I have used throughout the thesis, and the teachers' thoughts and reactions, are drawn from these accounts and our discussion of them at our final interview session. This has made the data very rich: for some incidents, I have my observations in fieldnotes, video footage, teacher comments to the video, my feedback account of this to the teacher, and her reaction to my account. The construction of the feedback paper was one aspect of the preparation for the final interview session.

A second aspect was the construction of a model to represent developmentally appropriate practice. From the outset of the project, one issue was how I would represent the ideology of developmental appropriateness in arriving at a portrayal of the match and mismatch between individual teacher practical knowledge and the ideology, as my third research question required. It was many months before I worked out a satisfactory format and criteria. I initially considered using portions of the NAEYC assessment criteria for Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp 1987) or portions of the criteria in use by the Certification Council for Early Childhood Educators of Nova Scotia (1986). The

advantage of one of these was that it was an instrument accepted by members of the early childhood community. However, there were two disadvantages.

Both instruments are long, bulky, and look like formal evaluations. I reasoned that if the teacher thought she was being evaluated by an outsider, I would simply lose the data for she would say what she thought I wanted hear, or respond as she wanted to be seen. This possibility could not be entirely removed, but I believed something simpler and more focussed would be more appropriate, given the context.

Secondly, the instruments above were neither sufficiently precise nor particularized for this study. For instance, it was clear from my observations that all participants could respond positively to having age-appropriate materials for their group. However, whether or not the children could actually use the available materials varied widely, for access to them was controlled in different ways. Practice is not developmentally appropriate if materials are there, but children cannot use them at their discretion. Similarly, from observations of practice, I saw that how corrections were handled was critically important to the continuance of children's play, and corrections became a major focus. Thus, I wanted something which fitted more precisely the key concerns emerging in my research.

The criteria constructed represent quintessential aspects of the model of developmental appropriateness as it

addresses the issues of play and program. (See Appendix H: Criteria). They address high quality care, standards which require professional practice, as it is described by Schon (1983), rather than automatic practice. I organized the criteria under four headings which I called teacher agenda, teacher planning, resource management, and corrections. These issues emerged out of an interaction of the totality of my personal knowledge and what I was observing and hearing in interviews with participants. I began with my overall sense of the ideology and derived criteria from the interaction between this interpretation of the ideology and the practice which I witnessed in the research process.

The Final Interview

The final interview occupied three to five-and-half hours. I invited each participant to read the feedback paper which I had constructed on her practical knowledge about play and program, and to add comments and revisions. A blank lined sheet of paper accompanied each page of text so that she had ample room to write in her comments. Reading the paper and writing comments required from just under an hour to over three hours (in one instance). Three teachers took one-and-a-half to two hours. For the teacher who took much longer, she read slowly, sometimes reading out loud to grasp a passage. She often skipped a line in such reading, so that literacy problems may have interfered with

her reading. One teacher read quickly, writing in only three short comments, preferring to talk. The others wrote comments of one to several sentences as they wished. The number of entries made by each was as follows: Donna, 13; Jill, 12; Nora, 17; Liz, 3; and Carla, 11.

What was the nature of their comments? They generally confirmed and corroborated the feedback paper by adding further information. Occasionally, a comment refined my interpretation (as when Donna said she actively chose not to play), or corrected my sense of events (Jill and Nora each showed me an unexpected interaction effect). Jill noted that something we discussed hypothetically never actually happened in her practice. Liz and Carla did not like their own phrasing in a quotation from interviews and refined their own words, and so forth.

We then discussed the paper, using the written comments as a starting point. There were several final questions I wished to ask, such as whether she consciously used a specific model of practice, with model of practice defined as a particular style or type of practice she was attempting to implement. As well, I asked her to choose from a list of models the practice which she thought her teaching most resembled. (See Appendix D: Interview Guides.)

Lastly, I introduced the criteria representing developmentally appropriate practice, explaining each item as necessary, and inviting her to discuss it in terms of her practice. I told her I was interested in what she thought

of this model, whether each criteria was something she carried out or whether she preferred to do something else. During the discussion I might probe her meaning, by for instance asking for an example, or asking what the criteria suggested to her, or from my knowledge of her program, asking something specific to her context which was pertinent. I chose to do the criteria last because I did not want her to read the paper with the criteria in mind, thinking it should be present in her practice.

However, this order of events was salutary, because by the time we had discussed the paper and coped with the wrenching quality of seeing herself in print, there was a closeness and level of honesty between us which generated what were to me quite astonishing results with the criteria. We were also in some cases fatigued at this point (or I was) and although this might seem a danger point for sloppiness in data generation, fatigue can also be used to advantage: in this case, there were simply few remaining barriers or defenses as teachers looked at their work. Their openness and integrity was powerful, and there is something almost unbearable about making such reflection public.

The final interview thus had three interconnecting components. One component was the teacher reading the feedback paper and responding to it in writing. Secondly, was the discussion of the paper and her comments. Finally, I asked several short questions about models of practice, which led into the questionnaire about criteria representing

the model of developmental appropriateness. There was a synergistic effect in doing the three processes together and new and surprising data arose out of these sessions.

In this second phase, the data management procedures consisted of two more binders with a section for each participant including the feedback paper, my write-up on the interview, a complete transcript of this interview, and interspersed throughout the feedback paper, the written reaction comments of the participants and, at the relevant points, a second copy of transcript sections in which we discussed aspects of the paper. This provided a chronological record, and preserved intact our entire discussion about certain issues within the paper itself.

Reflection on the Research Process

Why did I choose an interpretive methodology, rather than a positivist or critical theory approach? The approach to the problem must suit the problem (Delaware and Hamilton 1984; Eisner 1985; Patton 1980). The research questions outlined in Chapter One required an approach that addresses the meanings and personal understanding which teachers bring to their work. They required that the work of day care teachers be accepted in its totality, without reducing its complexity or removing it from its natural context. To understand teachers as they are and to explore difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice, I

required natural social contexts which are not reduced by preclassification or categorization.

As Eisner (1985) pointed out, different modes of inquiry, such as the positivist or the interpretive, use a different "language of disclosure." Numbers transform reality because the number is a code for an event or a quality. Words, while also representations, evoke meanings analogous to the concrete situation and thus remain more closely linked to it. Secondly, a positivist approach prespecifies procedures, begins with theory, and proceeds deductively. An interpretive or critical approach permits processes to emerge in the course of inquiry, proceeds inductively and generates theory. (This oversimplifies, of course, for both forms of inquiry use inductive and deductive analysis, but a positivistic approach tends to use inductive analysis early in the inquiry, in the design phase, before the actual empirical part of the investigation, whereas an interpretive approach interweaves inductive and deductive analysis into data generation as inquiry proceeds.) Further, in interpretive inquiry, causality and predictability are not the goals or end points of research; the intention is the discovery of patterns, and the implicit order underlying meanings. Guba and Lincoln suggest that "all elements that may be found in some situational context are in constant interaction, each shaping and being shaped by the others in myriad complex ways" (1988, 95). I thus link my work with the interpretive

tradition, but am sensitive to criticisms of this from the tradition of critical theory and feminist criticism.

There are two aspects of feminist and critical theory which I have consciously tried to incorporate in this inquiry. One aspect concerns the criticism that positivist forms of inquiry, and interpretive accounts which are written in a highly particularized 'ethnographic present,' frequently deny historicity, and report findings as if they exist in some universal context outside time and place. The critique is that all research occurs in a specific period and location and is in part shaped by the beliefs and values of that time and place. I worked with participants at a particular conjunction in their lives, and in mine, and have attempted to situate the study in that time and place within the cultural context, without jeopardizing the right to anonymity of those teachers and settings. Thus, I use the past tense.

Secondly, it is now widely acknowledged "that values play a key role in shaping inquiry," (Guba and Lincoln 1988, 95). Both feminist and critical forms of inquiry value participant involvement in research processes, and a dialectic between researcher and participants, with a view to empowerment of the latter (Klass 1983). Ethically, I believe that participants should benefit from research and I made a commitment to share with them the view of their practical knowledge which I constructed. Paradoxically, this was particularly rewarding for the inquiry because it

generated new data, but it was initially done to give participants an opportunity to respond to and affect the analysis. But this process had a second benefit for the researcher, as Guba and Lincoln argue, for this consultation to affirm or deny the constructions of the researcher provided "a kind of check for credibility that, in the naturalistic paradigm, parallels the test for internal validity in the conventional paradigm" (1988, 97).

Eisner criticizes educational research for, among other things, sober, humourless, sterile and mechanistic writing that is "emotionally eviscerated" (1985, 17). I have tried to keep the presence of people, the richness of lived life and of feeling, which is so often siphoned away from both research and schooling. I keep these for it is the combination of affect and thought which generates personal meaning in humans. Maxine Greene describes the mood of interpretive research as "a mood created by the realization that human beings are self-defining, self-creating, 'condemned to meaning,' and in search of possibility" (1988, 187). It is a mood which does not shy away from the risk that such complexity engenders.

The four research questions outlined in Chapter One suggested a naturalistic methodology. The questions required natural contexts, the richness and complexity of lived life. The personal meanings, the intentionality of participants are crucial to this inquiry. The third and fourth research questions suggested an alertness to tacit as

well as overt, explicit aspects of meaning and practice. As well, the values stance suggested by the interpretive and critical forms of inquiry is one I prefer, for I believe that values are always present in research and that the notion of objectivity reflects a concept which expresses a vantage point towards the world, not a reality.

> On the objectivist view, the truth of beliefs can be tested by their conformity to reality independent of anyone's way of seeing it; ... On the constructivist view, perceptions and beliefs are rooted in worlds of our own making that we accept as reality (Schon, 1987, 222).

Or, as Eisner puts it, each form of inquiry uses a different language of disclosure.

How does one deal in interpretive inquiry with the issues of generalizability and reliability? Many qualitative researchers argue that these standards for evaluating quantitative research are overrated or unsuitable for interpretive forms of inquiry (Clandinin and Connelly 1990; Eisner 1985; Guba and Lincoln 1989). This issue continues to perplex qualitative researchers, and many have suggested idiosyncratic terms as possibilities to describe appropriate checks on the viability of this research: Eisner (1985) suggests "structural corroboration"; Guba and Lincoln (1989) try "transferability"; Van Mannen (in Clandinin and

Connelly 1990) offers "apparency"; and Agar (1986) tries on an entire new vocabulary about breakdowns and schemas (in which I became quite lost). These issues remain unsolved and part of the evolving history of the field of interpretive inquiry.

Clearly inquiry is pointless unless it has something to say that applies to others beyond the cases involved in the inquiry. Yet the positivist concept of generalization cannot be applied because the conventions for determining it are not part of the framework for interpretive inquiry. Erickson provides a response to this issue which I like.

> The search is not for abstract universals arrived at by statistical generalization from a sample to a population, but for concrete universals, arrived at by studying a specific case in great detail and then comparing it with other cases studied in equally great detail (1986, 130).

The assumption is that some aspects of what occurs are generic and will tend to occur across many situations. It is the reader who recognizes the similarity to her own situation or others like it.

Kirk and Miller (1986) provide a thoughtful response to the problems of reliability in interpretive inquiry. They suggest it "depends essentially on explicitly described observational procedures" (1986, 41) and argue that

reliability slides into validity, for when observations are not "synchronically reliable," that is, when they differ or seem unreliable, that it usually means something else is going on which has not yet been understood.

An equally serious problem for interpretive research may result when a single individual carries out both fieldnotes and analyses, and not spot his or her own biases. The strongest bias with which I had to contend is my preference for developmentally appropriate practice. While I believed I had removed its presence sufficiently in observations and interviews, when I came to write a first draft it spilled out in a moralistic way, an implied critique of practice. However, once it was out in the open, and once I could also see the impact of organizational processes on teachers and how each individual is caught up in a web of socially held beliefs and processes, this bias could be more easily recognized and removed.

Throughout the project I worried about deceiving participants, a recognized phenomenon of interpretive researchers, as Lofland and Lofland (1984) and others point out, because the participant can never truly know the entire purposes of the researcher, though the latter explains as honestly as possible. There were two deceptions, one specific to interpretive research, one to this project. The first deception occurs, I think, as Miles and Huberman (1984) said, because private matters are made public. Written text is public domain. Participants are exposed,

their 'cover blown.' They do not fully appreciate that this will occur when agreeing to participate. The deception specific to this research was that though I said I wanted them to be themselves, wanted them just as they were, that ultimately 'the way they were' would be viewed from the perspective of developmentally appropriate practice, and it might show them to disadvantage. Even though this was done to enable examination of factors which make construction of developmentally appropriate practice difficult, it created an undertone of evaluation which bothered me. Erickson, to my relief, addresses this conundrum and explains it thus:

> In an ultimate sense, the researcher's purposes are indeed evaluative, for to portray people's actions in narrative reports is to theorize about the organization of those actions, and evaluation is inherent in any theory (1986, 142).

This occurs, I propose, because although the single inquiry tries not to impose or create change, and addresses the site as it is, the ultimate purpose of research is change-oriented, for the researcher addresses problems which people want to do something about. Evaluation is thus implicitly present in inquiry.

Writing Up Qualitative Research

The heading is a nod to Wolcott's monograph (1990) of the same title, whose appearance was both reassurance and a source of tips. The first draft of this thesis served as a synthesizing of data. It was in the process of writing it that the lines of the argument became clear. I saw, at that point, the parallel between my work and those teachers caught struggling between two frameworks for practice; several times I slipped into a pattern of trying to report all the data, to account for it, as in quantitative research. This reporting in linear text merely resulted in a list of points, and on rereading, that moment of frailty as one thinks, 'Why am I reading this?' It required a failed chapter to show me that the data was available to use to construct an argument, not there for its own sake. But then how did one show that the data had been used fairly, systematically, that what was drawn was both representative and comprehensive? Each major argument is an assertion (Erickson 1986) and the entire data set concerned was checked; the assertion becomes the figure to lift from the ground. In Chapters Four, Five and Seven, this was facilitated by the feedback papers, which served to synthesize the data corpus for each teacher. For Chapters Six and Eight, on organizational procedures and scripts and reflection, I used the full data sets. The task is like a

hunt for truffles. Once the events in data are lifted out, they are examined in relation to other such pieces and this is where the ideas flow.

In looking for confirmatory data, I also checked for data which did not confirm the point. This, in fact, is the most interesting part, because it leads to an expansion of the analysis as problematic material is encountered. The most fruitful instance of this occurs in Chapter Seven, concerning Carla's points of tension.

However, in constructing an argument I could not use all the data which supported it or the thesis would become unbearably long and tedious. One selects judiciously and hopes the selection is both balanced (in terms of the data) and persuasive. I typically describe a key instance or two, and try to give the range of other instances or indicate locations of other instances in the data.

The most difficult moments throughout this research project were those when the analysis procedure to follow was unclear. It was unclear what route would bring an advance and it was necessary to invent, on one's own, something to do with the material, tolerating the uncertainty, the ambiguity, the tremendous irritation of taking a step and not knowing if it was a productive lead or a dead end. Of course, the only way to know, was to try it, immersing oneself in the problem, living inside it as it were, to permit ideas to begin to work. As Duckworth (1987) reminds us, there has to be a solid base upon which wonderful ideas

can occur. Gradually I learned not to fear those points, to recognize that leads would always arise, some more promising than others. Polanyi (1958, 127 and 129) eloquently describes this process in speaking of the search for mathematical solutions. He asks how we can concentrate our attention on something we do not know.

> The seeming paradox is resolved by the fact that even though we have never met the solution, we have a conception of it in the same sense as we have a conception of a forgotten name. ... The admonition to look at the unknown really means that we should look at the known data, but not in themselves, rather as clues to the unknown; as pointers to it and parts of it. ... I believe that we should likewise acknowledge our capacity both to sense the accessibility of a hidden inference from given premises, and to invent transformations of the premises which increase the accessibility of the hidden inference. We should recognize that this foreknowledge biasses our guesses in the right direction, so that their probability of hitting the mark, which would otherwise be zero, becomes so high that we can definitely rely on it simply on the grounds of a student's intelligence.

Chapter Two has provided an account of the methods used to approach the problem outlined in Chapter One. It

described the process of negotiating entry, data generation devices, data management and analysis procedures, and offered reflections on the research process. As well, it introduced the participants and their groups of children. We turn now to a description of developmentally appropriate practice and specific examples of teacher practical knowledge encountered in this study.

Chapter Three

Developmentally Appropriate Practice

This chapter briefly outlines the ideology of developmental appropriateness and portrays an example of developmentally appropriate practice as it occurred in this study. The intention is that the reader see both the ideology as expressed by the broader community and an exemplar of this, as one teacher constructs this practice in her own setting.

The main issue in Early Childhood Education is the question of which child-rearing experiences offer the highest quality in support of children's present and future development. Which are the experiences that offer the most productive present and optimum development towards adulthood? If we agree that ideology is an organized system of interrelated beliefs, values, intentions and perceptions that affect behaviour, that it is shared among group members and supported by the rationale of an authoritative source (Rokeach 1968), then I argue there is a well-formed and articulated ideology surrounding the work of day care teachers. What group shares this ideology? What are the authoritative sources which provide its rationale? What are the main elements of that ideology?

If the group sharing the ideology is visualized as a wheel, then at its hub is the series of statements by The

National Association for the Education of Young Children which are outlined in their Accreditation Program documentation (NAEYC 1984) and in the more recent Statement of Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp 1987). Over 5,000 individuals contributed to the construction of these statements and they were vetted through over 500 separate organizations concerned with child care (Caldwell 1984). These statements have been accepted and ratified by major institutions functioning for child care across North America. They are like the hub of a wheel because they synthesize decades of thought and action concerning care for young children. There is within the field of Early Childhood Education, in spite of peripheral movements and dissenting groups, a major unifying ideology which attempts to prescribe the ideal world of child care. This view appears consistently within texts for students of Early Childhood Education (for example, Hendrick 1986; Hildebrand 1976; Read 1980; Dopyera and Lay-Dopyera 1987; Hohmann, Banet and Weikart 1978). It occurs in the content of conference presentations and in the periodicals (such as Young Children and Day Care and Early Education) which circulate to centres and teachers.

What are the authoritative sources which provide the rationale for the ideology? There are three streams of research within academic settings which are frequently aknowledged as having implicit authority for the Early Childhood Education community (EPIE Far West Laboratories

1972; Dopyera and Lay-Dopyera 1987; Hendrick 1986). These three are the fields of Developmental Psychology, Humanism (and Humanistic Psychology), and Learning Theory (and in particular the tradition of behaviour modification). Academics in Developmental Psychology in particular have made direct contributions to practice in Early Childhood Education: examples here include Weikart's involvement with the High/Scope Curriculum Foundation and the Ypsilanti Research Foundation, Burton White's Parent and Child Care Centre in Cambridge, Massachussetts, Constance Kamii and Rheta deVries'(1978) applications of Piagetian theory in physical science activities for young children, Elkind's work as President of NAEYC, and so forth.

In addition, as mentioned in Chapter One, a body of developing research (Berreuta-Clement et al. 1984; Schweinhart 1988) indicates that developmentally appropriate practice is preferable because of its positive long-term benefits for children. As well, recent research suggests inappropriate practice has negative effects. Burts et al. (1990) for instance, conducted a study which indicates negative effects of inappropriate practice for they demonstrated increased levels of stress behaviours displayed by children in academic classrooms.

The Ideology of Developmentally Appropriate Practice

The dominant view as articulated in the previously mentioned documents and the majority of texts for Early Childhood Education specifies that in order to grow well young children must have high self-esteem and confidence; they should be active agents in constructing their own knowledge (through testing ideas out on the environment, for instance); they should be working towards independence and social responsibility; their basic needs for affection, security, physical health and well being should be met; they should have respect for self, for others, and show evidence of a developing conscience. They should be constructive and suitably expressive (as opposed to destructive and aggressive), emotionally content and communicative (as opposed to unhappy and withdrawn), creative and tolerant of social order. The emphasis is on the individual child, and his or her uniqueness as a person (Bredekamp 1987).

If the child is to demonstrate these qualities and characteristics, then others are obligated to behave in ways which permit these to develop. I have summarized below four main elements of the ideology of developmental appropriateness which are generally accepted as prescriptive of this obligation and espoused in contemporary programs with trained staff.

1.The program is child-centred, as opposed to adult-centred. Adults are non-authoritarian, sharing power and responsibility in interactions, and supporting the child's intellectual intentions, for example encouraging their ideas for testing out how the world works through inquiry.

2.The program maximizes individual development through allowing child decision-making, planning and child-initiated activity, for this leads to independence, competence and confidence.

3.The program serves the whole child, that is, the notion of development is general, specifying that all areas of the child's development (physical, intellectual, socio-emotional, expressive) be involved in activity, for at this age the child does not learn intentionally, and cannot control or separate off areas of the self for concentrated learning. Age appropriateness is critical.

4.Teachers respect children as persons, and help children to respect and trust others, through (for example) verbal articulation and resolution of conflicts and through individual and group problem-solving, for through these processes children integrate within themselves appropriate social limits and the ability to function in the group. This is based on the notion of psychological safety as critical to healthy development.

How do these four elements of the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice obligate teachers to act? Implications for programs are briefly described below with examples of documentation for these elements. Appendix H: Criteria provides a more expansive description.

Characteristics of Developmentally Appropriate Practice

Child-centred program. The central focus is experiential learning, the child's need to be actively engaged in personally meaningful experiences. Teacher observation of children's activity, interests, and needs is the basis of decision-making about what to do in the program. Children are involved in self-selection and self-pacing of activities for a dominant portion of the time. This results in an emphasis on play and child-initiated activity. Play is agreed to be voluntary, spontaneous, intrinsically motivated activity under the direction of the player (Ellis 1973; Neumann 1971; Rubin and Pepler 1980). Such activity is believed to assist concept formation (Kamii and deVries 1972; Bateson 1971), metacommunicative awareness (Bretherton 1984) and many other aspects of development. [1]

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1 Play is believed to increase children's repertoire of responses (Sutton-Smith 1971) and to contribute to the construction of memory through the "creation of novel environments which then generate their own feedback and further complex memories" (Singer 1973, 33). The script model of concept formation (Schank and Abelson 1976; Nelson, 1981), suggesting that representation initially occurs as "event schemata or scripts that are skeletal frameworks of

Some attribute to play the foundations of human will and of all voluntary action (Vygotsky 1976; Sutton-Smith 1969). Thus the teacher offers stimulation to individuals or small groups of children as their natural activity suggests, extending children's ideas and supporting their efforts to produce, to think, to help, to empathize with others. This kind of play activity is seen to support divergent thinking, problem-solving, fluency and originality (Christie and Johnson 1983; Pulaski 1973), concentration and ability to organize (Singer 1973).

Focus on individual development. Activities are individualized or prepared for small groups. Since each individual is unique, then attention must be given to activities particularly for that individual. Child-planning and decision-making are encouraged, and the size of groups is adjusted to the age and developmental stage of the children. While adults support child initiative they also understand child limits in independence. This requires a detailed and comprehensive understanding of child development and expectations regarding individual variations.

The program serves the whole child. Learning is integrated, offered within the complexities of richly lived

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everyday events" (Bretherton 1984, 5) provides evidence that the play of young children does not merely reveal thought but contributes to its development. Play offers cognitive gains, leads to abstract thought and is closely connected with success in reading (Smilansky 1968; Yawkey and Diantoniis 1984).

group life where interesting things happen and the child has the freedom to choose within social limits. Social interaction is valued, the teacher providing the intellectual "scaffolding" (Bruner 1983) for children, offering the parts of social activity which the child can not yet manage, but giving control back to the child whenever possible, and thus expanding the experience beyond what the child could do on her own. The tone is one of tolerance and acceptance of the child as he or she is.

Respect for children is paramount. Respect for the child as a person, shown by active listening, empathy, assistance in solving problems and a willingness to honour children's constructive intentions forms the basis of communication between children and adults. The teacher is authoritative in that she protects children's rights and keeps social limits, but non-authoritian in that she works to share power and responsibility with children where possible. Quite apart from the intellectual and social benefits of such active learning, this kind of activity is believed to be vital to the healthy emotional development of children for it allows the integration of cognition and affect (Gould 1972; Erikson 1964) and is thus crucial to the construction of personal meaning.

The vision of developmentally appropriate practice culled from literature, from the broader community, is still somewhat abstract and prescriptive. What does such practice look like in everyday life? What does it look like

when a teacher describes her practice as fitting this model [L6.15]? Among the five participants was one who, in her ninth year of teaching, felt she was at last constructing her program around children's needs and interests, struggling to construct child-centred practice. While unquestionably a successful teacher in her earlier years, she felt it was only recently that she had really understood what was meant by child-centredness, and said she was putting it into practice for the first time. The second purpose of this chapter is to provide an illustration of such practice as it occurred during this research in Liz's work as a day care teacher.

An Example of Developmentally Appropriate Practice

Here is how Liz described the key characteristics of developmentally appropriate practice.

> It's child-oriented, it's not teacher-directed. Teacher controlled. It's child oriented and directed, you know. And it's not like a laissez-faire chaotic thing, I hope not -- sometimes it is -- but in general, it's child-geared. I feel it meets their needs. It's for their development. It's Piaget based. I believe ....It's FUN! They're children, it's fun! I like that [L6.14].

Liz's practical knowledge is presented in four sections. The first and principal one, the teacher's agenda, includes subsections on aspects of her practice which emerged in the analysis of her data corpus. Shorter sections follow on specific aspects of teacher planning, resource management, and corrections.

The Teacher's Agenda

> We want to follow the plan, do, review, so that children are looking at what they're going to be doing, then they're doing it, and then we say, 'This is what you did.' So they're making a lot of decisions on their own, which I feel is really important for them to do at an early age, and they're really in control of their own play [L1.20].

In all contexts of the day, whether during routines or in free play or outdoor activity or while baking a cake with a small group of children, Liz was attempting to provide the children with choices and with positive experiences in which they could initiate action. Liz described her program as 'positive experiences' and a multitude of choices so that children could control their own activity. She believes that this will encourage the development of independence and self-esteem in children. The limit to their activity is

that it be constructive, that "they're not hurting themselves or the things in the room, or other people" [L1.20]. She began with observation of this child-initiated process and surrounded this with language and other strategies to support the children's attempts to be active agents interacting with their environment.

The focus for programming is "basically around the child's interests" [L3.2] and meeting children's needs in play. One week, carpenters installed a toddler-sized set of stairs to the loft, "and the children, the whole rest of the day, everything they picked up was a hammer, so we brought out hammers and we brought out wood ... and they got into all kinds of other things with building and construction and wearing hats, that was stuff they showed an interest in" [L3.2]. Her framework for action thus focusses on observing children's interests and providing for these.

As a teacher, she is actively involved in the activity of the children. When asked how she spends most of her time, she said, "playing with the kids, I hope, yeah, playing with the kids" [L3.21], or "down and dirty" [L1.4], which is how she described to parents the direct quality of her involvement in children's play. A year ago, she told me, she could not have said this, and the difference is both the sixteen month in-service in High/Scope which she has undergone, and her co-worker, a new partner this year, who also knows High/Scope.

In Liz's work, play and program are integrated, occurring together. In other words, the teacher's agenda for activity is to match her responses to the agenda for activity generated by the children in play. I asked if there are any differences between the two, play and program: "Gosh, I hope they go side by side, I hope we're meeting their needs in play" [L5.7]. The following sections under teacher agenda describe some of her strategies for meeting their needs.

Routines as vehicles for choices. Liz believes that children should be offered frequent choices across all contexts of her setting, even the most mundane routines. Choices and child pace were built into all daily maintenance routines such as lunch, bathroom and 'tidy up.' Children did not wait in line to go to the bathroom all at once but went in groups of three or four with a teacher. Liz commented about their procedures for handling bathroom routines:

> It's very smooth, it is very smooth, and it gives -- you know, some children want to brush their teeth for a very long time, and look in the mirror, and it gives them all that time they need to do that [L1.16].

Lunch was arranged in small bowls with child-size serving spoons so that children could serve themselves small amounts

of beef stew and coleslaw, and thus could actively estimate the match between their appetite and the amount they put on the plate, quickly learning to assess what they could eat. Morning snack was generally fruit, cut into a multitude of small segments, and again they could choose as many slices as they could eat, so they had the experience of making decisions about this. Once a student teacher prevented a child from taking one of each kind of fruit at snack. Liz told me she corrected her later, saying:

> 'It was okay that he wanted another orange. If you'd looked at his napkin, [you'd see he wanted] one of everything and that's all right. He could have ten of everything, that's okay. That's the point in this classroom is choices. You know you can make the choice' [L2.17].

The routine maintenance aspects of the day were permeated with a sense of taking time, not rushing children, and of noticing their interests. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the daily 'tidy up' ritual after morning free play. Since materials do not have to be put away as they are used (and certainly the speed with which toddlers switch track from one activity to another helps account for the trail of previous choices across the floor) everything is gathered up all together in one giant 'tidy up.' This is done at a gentle pace, so it can be enjoyed as activity, and

children are invited to find interesting ways of accomplishing it. David used a hollow block, a triangle shape, as a bulldozer to try to push spilled cornmeal together for sweeping up, and when an apron from housekeeping turned up at the foot of the aquarium, Tina wore it up to the loft as a way of returning it. On my first visit, I was so impressed by the mess I could not imagine how it could possibly be cleaned up: even as cornmeal was swept up it kept re-spilling.

> Our goal is for it not to be a chore. It's a time where we can think of all kinds of different ways to put things away in our classroom and there's lots of positive things happening there [L1.22].

Tidy up lasted perhaps fifteen to twenty minutes, with everyone involved and invited to find interesting ways to accomplish it. Amazingly enough, at each visit, the classroom was restored to order.

Observation as a teacher process. Much of Liz's talk with me, whatever the question or image on video, included her observations of children's interests, process, discoveries, behaviour problems or ideas. If her concept of program provided a framework, a set of lenses through which to see her work, the first step before taking action was to see, to perceive fully what was happening before her. All of this information was offered spontaneously, without my

asking, in a kind of running commentary revealing her thinking and excitement or concern about the actions of individual children. Here is an example.

> And when we did this small group activity, Lynn's in my group, and what she did for the full twenty minutes, was with a small measuring spoon, she took one bean at a time and she filled up a medicine cup and when it got full she dumped it back into the big one really quick. It was like she wanted to keep doing it again. ... I had more medicine cups, I said would you like [more]? No, she just wanted to fill the one. And the whole twenty minutes she just enjoyed that so much [L2.4].

Out of the flood of observations some things are selected to act upon. Below I describe the quality of her interactions with the children and the principles of action which I saw when I analyzed her data corpus.

<u>Supports child-initiated activity, interests, and ideas</u>. Liz wanted to support children's choices in their play, their ideas and processes in activity. In her interactions with the children she displayed many skills and strategies which provided this. Perhaps the most obvious was her use of language with the children. When Liz walked through the door, the energy level in the room palpably picked up, as she began a continuous flow of talk describing back to children what they were doing. They crowded around

her: where Liz stops, interesting things are about to happen.

> 'I see you're putting your broom under the table, you're pulling it towards yourself,' and children love to hear what they're doing being described to them [L2.9].

She believes that providing a running commentary of talk to these children was highly significant for the development of their language. Surrounding the actions of the child with talk was a theme in her personal theory as strong as the notion of choices and positive experiences. She did this shadowing of children, describing their actions, so much that she said she no longer thinks about doing it, it has become automatic [L2.9].

This running commentary was one strategy she used to acknowledge and support children's spontaneous activity. There were at least eight others which I observed or found in our talk together. I have illustrated them here with one or two examples, but these are all strategies which she used day to day.

Participates in child-initiated activity. Liz joined the children in activity, doing it alongside them, and noted that wherever she goes, the children will follow, happy to be around an adult. Here is a description from fieldnotes.

> At 9:35 Liz is at the planning board (an easel at floor level on which are arranged large colour photographs of each area of the room). She is 'on the phone' (a paper receiver) asking each child in the group around her what he or she is going to choose. David chooses sand, and when she asks what he will do there, he says "make soup." "Let's go make soup then," she says, and the entire crowd, Liz in the middle, moves over to the sand area to "make soup." Liz is as involved with the sand as the children, pouring and spooning and talking, asking Bobby what he needs to make soup -- a bowl. Some children leave after a minute or two, but several stay more than ten minutes [L3.2].

Demonstrates possible uses of material. Liz was constantly active with materials, trying out what the children were doing and offering other possibilities for action. A fragment of gym activity displays this.

> In the gym, two boys take three galvinized steel garbage can lids from the storage area and bring them out onto the concrete floor. Liz sits down beside them, saying, "What can you do with these?" The boys grab multi-hued plastic bowling pins nearby on the floor and drum on the lids with them. The noise is piercing. They drum in short bursts, then stop. They smile at each other and at Liz, as if pleased and

surprised to have produced such a thunderous sound. "That's loud, that's a loud sound," says Liz.

A tiny girl takes up a bowling pin and knocks it against the third garbage lid, alternating betweeen loud bangs and very soft taps. Liz describes each sound to her -- "That's loud, that's very soft" -- as she produces it. Liz copies her sounds, alternating loud and soft, and then demonstrates a different quality of sound which she can make by drumming with a bowling pin on the concrete floor.

David stands up and lifts a lid in each hand and drops them clattering to the floor. They make a horrendous electrifying clatter as they wobble rhythmically side to side until they stop. He continues this.

Bobby, watching David toss his lids onto the floor, picks up the third one and heaves it across the floor. Liz tells him, "Bobby, be very careful of the children when you're tossing them. He's holding it by the handle and dropping it." She demonstrates how to grip the handle and drop it directly down from his hand. He tries it as she demonstrated [LF1.2].

Follows child's lead. Often children want to do things which adults tend to restrict or not permit, like banging on garbage can lids which make a horrendous noise. Liz did not restrict spontaneous activity that, in her view, did not hurt someone else. She noticed and commented on it. Of the

noisy garbage can lids she said, "Anytime they want to bring them out I let them bring them out" [L1.9].

Martin came with a fancy new child-size umbrella one day which he wanted to show around. The children began to play with it and Tina wanted to see it up. As we watched this on the video, Liz said:

> He got it for his birthday and it wasn't that strong and I thought it might get broken. So I showed her how it would look up [L3.17],

and then she wanted Martin to put it safely in his locker.

Now when she put the umbrella up, clicked it open in its full position and sat cross-legged underneath, Tina underneath it too staring up and shivering with pleasure, children began to run from close by to gather under the umbrella top with them. The air was palpable with excitement as one more came, then another, and another, to see if they too could crowd under its open shelter. They stood very still, huddled together, almost breathless [L3.2].

When we watched this on video, Liz saw it as an experience of inside versus outside, a moment of experiencing a boundary, and a moment of shared cooperative intention.

> Everybody has the same goal. 'Let's get in' and everybody gets in. ... And nobody had a problem, nobody was doing -- 'ah, don't touch me' --. They also like the outside view [L3.18].

If a child had something she wanted to try out, Liz would typically permit it, participating in the activity too. (This is not to suggest she did not limit the children, for there were persistent, frequent corrections in this room.)

<u>Asks and follows up on open-ended, problem-solving questions</u>. "What can you do with those?" she said of the garbage can lids, setting up the mental set that thinking up something to do with them is a fine thing. Exploration of materials is part of her vision of children's activity. Walter discovered that the garbage can lid made a huge indentation, a 'print', when pressed onto a plush carpet sample. Walter forgot about the noise and began exploring this phenonmenon. Liz noted at naptime back in the classroom that he was pushing his fingers into the rug (the same plush) and she commented to him "You're thinking of when we were in the gym and you did that" and saw his face break into pleased assent [L1.10].
Here is another example from fieldnotes:

> In tidy up Emma faced a sea of cornmeal and chick peas in mounds on a table. "How could you get this off the table into the bucket?" asked Liz. Emma picked up a

> child-size dustpan on the floor nearby and made scooping gestures. Liz replied, "yes, we can use that, that's a good idea. That's good thinking" [L2.10].

Here she invited the child to generate her own idea which is a solution to a problem, and then applauded her success.

Interrupts own activity to acknowledge children's creations. Although she says it doesn't happen frequently, she will interrupt her activity with one child for something really important to another. Dryden one morning made a lego construction and called in excitement to Liz to come see it. He said things like "whole boat go" and "make it big loud like this". As we watched this on video Liz chuckled and added:

> This is very important to him, this boat he's made. The outboard motor snaps on and when I started to move away, he's telling Bess that it's like his uncle's. And they go down to his land so it's something that's really relevant to him [L2.11].

Liz responded to his excitement by leaving the small group with which she was working at a table to go see what he had done and to talk about it with him. The motor boat was also displayed during 'recall' at snack, so Dryden's production and his pleasure in it were twice acknowledged.

Extends children's interests. On the video, we saw Bobby carrying a dinky and walking across to Liz who sat on the floor. It looked like he was spilling something onto her lap.

> He's got cornstarch on the wheel of his car. And when he moves the wheel, it falls down on my pantleg. That's what he's showing me there. The flour [sic] falls off the wheel of the car.
> And I said something like 'oh snow' and he said 'yeah' and he went faster and faster [L3.14].

Bobby was excitedly spinning the wheel, making it "snow" on her leg. Understanding his interest in the spinning action and the effect of the powder spurting off, Liz remembered she had a wooden water wheel which she added to the sandbox for him.

> And he really enjoyed it. And he was talking about it moving, and when he poured it this way it went another way. I think I met his need ... Bobby was really intrigued, looking right into it, looking at how it all goes through [L4.5].

There are numerous incidents like this throughout Liz's work day. The limit is not so much what is generated from the children, but the limits of the observation powers of the

teacher to surface interesting processes to follow up. Clearly the processes which she surfaces as interests affect her planning and more examples will be mentioned in that context.

Invites children into areas, demonstrates and enhances materials. This more general strategy intended for all the children may be carried out anytime, but is also a possible focus for a small group activity. For instance in November, Liz spent considerable time in the block area:

> -- so they really know there's animals and there's cars and there's many other different things. Often they go in there and play with the animals and cars and the blocks never get touched. So we're showing them different ways, you know, 'I can do this or that.' That's starting to work, we're seeing little different things being used and used differently, that's nice [L1.5].

Thus she actively demonstrated the materials that were there, and various possibilities for action with them, leaving the child free to pick up on this or to do something else.

Another general strategy is the enhancement of areas, housekeeping, blocks, practical life shelves. In the block area, for instance, in order to encourage more variety in use of materials, "We're going to be putting [in] some pictures of construction" [L1.5]. There was much talk about

housekeeping in this regard because Liz found it inadequately equipped, but I will deal with that in Chapter Seven on tensions for teachers in day care.

<u>Protects child's idea</u>. One of her most interesting strategies was active protection of children's incipient ideas, even if they could not articulate them. If there was a glimmer of intention, she would make room around the child, space for the idea to develop. This meant children were not asked to share materials, and in fact, were discouraged from infringing on material which another child had endowed with particular purpose. The effect was to leave the child who was about to infinge watchful and alert to Liz's explanations about what the child with the idea was doing.

> Sebastian stuck the end of a pink plastic skipping rope in a tiny hole in a low wooden wall in the gym
> and the other end of the rope in the hole of one of his tricycle's handlebar grips. Marcel started to pull out the rope from the wall hole. Liz stopped him, saying, "He has a special idea for the string. He's thinking about something. What's he going to do?"
> Liz asks Sebastian, "What does this do?"
> "It's a wire."
> Liz stays with him for several minutes, telling other children who encroach about his "wire" [LF1.8].

Whether this child had a clear intention (gas pump, for instance?) or simply saw two interesting similar holes to fit the rope, Liz was prepared to make room for his action as idea, give it space, presume intention.

> David built, with teacher assistance, a "train" of three plastic round stools, and identified a corner with "That could be my land." Later he acquired a plastic riding toy train, which he put in the corner. Marcel spots the riding toy, empty, in the corner, and makes for it. David grabs it, struggles and complains in whines and shrieks. Liz explains to Marcel that David is "parking the train, that it's in the garage to be fixed," and says to David, "Do you want to tell Marcel about your other train?" Several children play on his train construction of plastic seats, which does not seem to bother him as the takeover of the riding toy does [FL1.6,7].

Here again Liz protected the child's idea, not expecting him to share material on which he had imposed representation, but sharing the idea with other children, a form of acknowledgement of it.

I do not expect that this is an exhaustive account of Liz's strategies to support the child-initiated activity which she values, for her language and responses to children were so varied. It was, however, the range of strategies

which I observed in five visits to her room, and gives the flavour of her approach to carrying out her concept of play and program.

Supports Parents

Liz chatted easily with parents, who seemed to be around to a noticeable extent, and surprised me in our talks with what she knew about families of children in her care, including who was away in Vancouver, names of their cats and dogs and which ones scratch: "We try to know them on a personal basis" [L6.4]. In the morning when parents arrive with children she finds it a good time to "really talk to parents" [L1.4], both for context about the child but also to try to explain her program approach to them. In the fall, when she re-developed the class schedule, she did up a version for parents to explain each segment and its purpose, using colloquial language accessible to them.

On one of my visits, Max had been "whiny" all week and Liz explained that he was missing his mom because she had just started a training program and he went home to a sitter.

> I'm really proud of her ... I know how much of a strain she's put on herself. She's really trying to better her life [2.8].

The parents of another child invited the class for snack and a visit at their house nearby. Liz took snapshots and wrote captions underneath and these were displayed in the room and frequently mentioned on a visit I made soon after. On one occasion a parent was offered a book on fish overnight because her child was suddenly so interested in fish, cooking up crawfish in housekeeping, after a trip with his grandfather to taste lobster and crawfish at a fish market.

Sometimes when parents were drawn into her program the occasions were both instances of problem-solving and of gift-making. In circle, Liz invited Jane to bring her new green coat, hand-made by her mother, to show the children how it looked with its new buttons.

> Yeah, her mom came in yesterday, and they were going to Woolco to buy buttons, and I said, 'Well I have a big bucket of buttons here.' ...So we brought out this bucket of buttons ... and she found one big white one. ... And then David found another one just like it. This was an enormous thing of buttons. So we found four buttons, and they were also exploring all the other buttons. ... And her mother sewed them on last night and she wore it today, which was really interesting. And she was really pleased, her mom was really pleased [L2.11].

In Liz's room there was a strong sense of connection to the families of children in her care. They were drawn into the life of the classroom, offered things that connected to their child's experience, made to feel welcome, and Liz's attitude towards them was consistently supportive.

Teacher Planning

In considering Liz's planning, I mention here both what she does plan, and some conventional contexts for planning by day care teachers which were not of much concern to her. I begin with the conventional contexts. It is interesting to consider how Liz handled group activities, which are so frequently a focus for teacher preparation in day care. 'Circle' time was merely a fifteen minute transition between outdoor activity and lunch, its purpose to calm the children by channeling their energy into active games or songs, gradually bringing their activity level down so they were relaxed and could eat comfortably. Circle for Liz was "fairly spontaneous" [L6.14] and more probably active than quiet: "It's not necessarily a quiet time, our circles are not necessarily quiet, ... and if children don't want to come to circle, they don't have to come" [L1.14].

Stories, often a focus of day care group activites, might occasionally be part of circle but were more typically read informally during free play, with three or four children huddled around Liz's lap and free to come and go.

Neither her circles nor story times were contexts involving extensive planning: their character was more spontaneous. Nor was it obligatory that children participate in these. They were offered as activity choices within a context of other choices.

What then did she plan? Liz's planning focus was two-fold. One aspect was changes to the room, to materials and areas to "enhance" functioning or to encourage children to "plan-do-review" in their play, and this aspect I will deal with in Chapter Seven. The other aspect was planning for small group, occasions three times a week when Liz met with the same four children for shared activity. The expectation was that the children would be using materials extensively and interacting with Liz and the other children as they did so. At the beginning of the year, Liz used these occasions to demonstrate areas of the room, the block area, for instance, demonstrating possibilities in using materials and letting the children initiate their own actions. While she might use small group time for something like baking a cake (a more teacher-directed activity because of the necessary sequence involved), she was more apt to pick up on some need or interest observed of a child at free play, and turn this into a focus for small group. Max, for example, hoarded a new puzzle which he especially liked, unable to tolerate the sight of anyone else using it, so Liz did a small group time using puzzles.

> So when I was planning last week, I thought better bring out lots and lots, tons of puzzles, and we'll try to have 12 puzzles and four children and there's lots of choices, and he was able to let someone else sit beside him and work on it and do another one [L3.8].

My intention here is to show that children were always active in Liz's group activities, using materials and able to talk freely, and that her plans were based on observation of perceived needs. Their participation was not obligatory, although they generally wanted to do the activity which Liz was doing, but they always had one or two other choices, such as the book corner or sand area.

In her planning for program she was looking for individual children's needs or interests to address, or more general interests, if something caught the attention of a number of children.

> Now I'm not going to have 15 or 14 plans, obviously, but instead of what I've been doing the last eight, nine years -- you know, we're doing 'blue' this week, and we're doing 'winter' and 'transportation' and you know, blah, blah, blah, blah, boring, boring --- we're trying to target in on their interests [L4.2].

In focussing on children's needs and interests to plan what to do next, Liz utilizes both children's talk and

children's actions as sources of ideas. Her response to the boy who inserted the skipping rope ends in the handlegrip hole of his bike and the hole in the wall shows how children's actions were seen as a source of intention. Below are examples of her planning responses, an example first of ideas as talk and then of ideas as action.

Ideas as talk. Here she attempts to pick up on conversation during lunch.

> Jane was asking about elephants yesterday at lunch time. She had a cup that had a giraffe on it, and she said: 'That's not like an elephant. An elephant has long things but it's not like that.' She wanted to know what elephants eat. I said I believe they eat trees and grass. I found a book later on in the afternnon and we looked at it, and that's what they eat. ... And she wanted to be an elephant with the trunk, so we're doing little things like that [L4.2].
>
> I think zoo animals might come into there and I have sandpaper rubbings and zoo animals, all that. ... They'll go in the sandbox, some'll go in the blocks, and they could go anywhere [from there, in the room] [L4.3].

When she puts such materials out, it is a matter of seeing whether children's interest continues: there is no

obligation to use them or to learn specifics about elephants or zoo animals.

Ideas as action. Liz told me how popular Christmas was for the two year olds in mid-January, that they were pretending to make Christmas things with playdough.

> Christmas is very popular right now. I put all the Christmas cookie cutters away for playdough and I made playdough yesterday, and I took them all out again. It was really interesting, they were making trees and the lights were going on the trees and none of this conversation was going on before Christmas, none at all. And they were making presents and there was a bow on this present, and 'that's my brother's name,' and 'that's my name' and 'don't touch that one.' It was really interesting [L4.1].

In this case it is the materials to use in interaction with a malleable substance which allowed an interest shown by the children to develop a more elaborated form than she had previously seen.

Thus, in her planning, Liz did not use themes or content arbitrarily selected by the teacher. She had used some curriculum webs (described in Chapter Four), such as one around Christmas which drew on the customs of various families of different ethnicities, a Vietnamese family, a MicMac family, but webs were exceptions. Generally, her

intention was to stay close to what she saw emerging from the children's interaction with materials and people in the setting.

Perhaps most remarkable was Liz's ability to drop her plan in the face of more pressing needs or interests displayed by the children. Here is her description of what happened one day in small group.

> Yes, for example we had a small group last week and we did it in ______'s room and they have a turtle in there. So as we walked in they saw the turtle, and I said 'oh I can see you're looking at that turtle. As soon as we're done our activity we'll go over and look at that.' But we just left it, and went --
>
> CA: What was the activity?
>
> LIZ: Oh it was ...fingerpainting.
>
> CA: And they didn't want to fingerpaint? They wanted to look at the turtle?
>
> LIZ: Teenage mutant ninja turtle. I said but he wasn't a teenage mutant ninja turtle, you know. He looked different. So that was really positive, especially for John who's (she picks up a piece of paper) -- this is a teenage mutant ninja turtle. Everything is. This <u>is</u> a turtle. So whole small group we talked about this turtle and we gave him something to eat and it was really neat because he was up against the glass, and

his face was all pushed up, so he was really close to us.

CA: So you didn't do the fingerpainting?

LIZ: No, they didn't want to, they wanted to talk about the turtle. And that was okay. And I think we did it [fingerpainting] that afternoon [L6.26].

In conclusion, I argue that Liz's planning has the same intent as her overall framework: it is intended to provide positive experiences in which children have some control and lots of choices, to support child-initiated activity through observing the children's process, and to follow this lead with other possiblilities which the adult can then offer.

Resource Management

In Liz's room all areas for play were always open and available to children and all materials were accessible.

> I really try and keep everything, everything that they can reach they can use, as much as possible [L3.18].

In fact, in her setting children clearly expected to interact actively with any material that entered the room. My video equipment was one example and another was the record player, which Liz had to remove to an inaccessible height after it was broken a third time.

Materials could be moved about the room from one area to another; for instance, serving spoons would be brought down from housekeeping for use with playdough or sand. Liz told me that parents arriving before clean up sometimes commented, "You guys had a rough morning?" Materials get dumped in the process of play and "people say, 'what a mess.'" However, she does not see it as a mess, but as a classroom heavily used, one that has been played in for a very long time when tidy up is called.

Although children were free to move materials around at will, and they would then be returned to their areas at tidy up, there were occasions when this movement was limited by physical constraints in the room. All fall, Liz had the problem of sand being moved from the sand areas up to the loft where housekeeping materials were kept. The loft was carpeted and sand could not be satisfactorily cleaned out of it. This resulted in considerable tension for Liz and her reflections on this led through a series of solutions which we will see in Chapter Seven.

Liz was one of two teachers among the five with whom I worked who kept all areas open and all materials accessible to children. As well, Liz always had messy materials available. She tolerated enormous mess and movement of children and stuffs and brought the room back to equilibrium with a mammoth tidy up activity.

Corrections

Any correction has one of two directions. It closes off possibilities for action on the child's part or it opens up possibilities for action. If it opens up possibilities for taking action, for child-initiated response, then the child's play can continue unbroken. If it closes off possibilities for action, then the child's activity is inhibited or even stopped, for the child has to find something else to do.

In Liz's case, corrections opened up possibilities for action. How did they do this? There are four important aspects which became clear in analyzing her corrections. Liz's corrections were explicit, personal, particularized to context, and invited the child to do something. They were explicit in that she used language that described what was immediately relevant to the situation: comments were concrete, descriptive, and explanations demonstrated relations between events. Her corrections were personal in that she addressed a child individually, frequently ackowledging his or her feeling or reaction in the situation, accepting that and working with it. Thirdly, she dealt with the specifics of the particular context so that each correction was somewhat unique and particularized. Fourthly, once the child had understood what he could not do, she offered other choices and asked the child what he was going to do. This last strategy gave control of action

back to the child so that he could choose to do something appropriate within the range of what Liz found acceptable. Thus he displayed his competence and slipped back into active play. Here is a typical example of a correction from fieldnotes.

> Two boys struggle vigorously, both clutching a plastic riding toy, a train. Suddenly one takes off on it. Liz follows the boy on the train: "Look at this, (she turns his chin towards her face). I see an angry face. You really want it but Davey chose it first. Let's go see if there's something else that could be a train." He gets off, the train is moved off by the other boy, and he and Liz view the room quickly.
> "What about the wagon?" "No." He spots a stack of three plastic tubular chairs, red, green and orange, and carts the stack out to Liz. She separates them, with difficulty, they are so stuck together.
> "That could be my land," he says of a corner.
> "Going to take your train in there?"
> He lines the three chairs one behind the other along one side, parallel to the wall and sits on the first chair. Liz sits in the back. I hear 'caboose.'
> A student teacher comes and sits on the middle chair.
> "This is a great train ride," says Liz [FL1.3,4].

The correction was explicit in that she pointed out that the train was already chosen by another child. It was personal in that she acknowledged the child's anger, and the fact he wanted the train himself. It was particularized in that the episode dealt entirely with finding an adequate train, the child's goal. Furthermore, Liz's comments invited the child to locate a satisfactory train. In the process of generating solutions -- she offered one first, then he took the lead -- the child solved the problem, that is, he satisfied his original goal, but in a new way. For Liz, this approach works, that is, it solves the conflict of the moment, but it also models problem-solving, and reduces conflicts among children as they begin to grapple with ideas for coping with conflict themselves. Liz's corrections were distinctive, and it was only in analysis of them that I saw that they included these four characteristics which I have described as qualities of explicitness, personalization, particularizing to context, and inviting the child to action.

Lastly, Liz demonstrated a willingness to observe children's intentions and to consider them honourable. Thus she did not correct children in situations where I as an observer recognized that some other teachers might easily correct. Her sense of judgment about both when to move in and how to react was tilted in favour of the child's intention. When Bobby sprayed cornstarch off the wheel of his dinky car onto Liz's pantlegs, for instance, she was

able to overlook the cascade onto her clothing and respond to his action as idea, as snow falling, and eventually to extend it to play with the water wheel.

I have drawn examples from Liz's practical knowledge in portraying developmentally appropriate practice for two reasons. Firstly such practice was readily observable. Secondly, Liz openly acknowledged developmentally appropriate practice as the model of practice which she attempted to construct [L6.15].

Chapter Four

Teacher-Directed Practice in Day Care

This chapter demonstrates that teacher-directed activity was a dominant form of practice in the settings of four participants. Although the practice of these teachers was more complex than this initial statement allows, teacher-directed practice was a common foundation among these teachers. The ways in which their practice was more complicated, shifting and dynamic, will become apparent in the chapters which follow, but we first need the foundation.

Although an account of the ideology and history of teacher-directed practice is beyond the scope of this project, its prevalence as a conventional approach in schooling in western culture is beyond dispute. It is predicated on an acceptance of the teacher as authority, as one who controls and serves as the source of learning, and on the belief that knowledge can be transmitted in a straightforward way from teacher to student. Supported in this century by the application of learning theory to education, it has a well-established and significant place in conceptions of education.

I have linked a group of characteristics occurring in the practice of four participants to this tradition of teacher-directed practice. There were five distinctive characteristics. The teacher chose the activity, its

purposes and design, and implemented it: ownership of the activity belonged with the teacher and part of the activity included persuading the children to her purposes. The second characteristic, following from this, was the permission of a prescribed range of responses from children during the activity: the teacher controlled the agenda for action. Thirdly, the activities were obligatory for children. Fourthly, the activities were generally conducted as large group processes. Lastly, these teacher-directed activities were offered within a fixed schedule of events that provided the routine for the day. In summary, in teacher-directed practice, the teacher controls the children's movements by prescribing the intentions, the course of the activity and the responses acceptable from the children. She controls the content, pace, and duration of activity, generally in a fixed schedule which she keeps, and in a process involving movement of the entire group.

Before proceeding, if we stop and compare for a moment what this means from the perspective of developmentally appropriate practice, we will see what those who propose the latter fear to lose in situations where teacher-directed practice surrounds young children. If the teacher sets the purposes of the activity, designs it and carries it out, this removes possibilities for child-initiated activity, for the child's ideas and intentions in interacting with material. That part of the work has already been done. With a prescribed range or responses which suit the

activity, then responses which do not fit the teacher's sense of the appropriate range are corrected or ignored. This may inhibit many genuine ideas. Because the activities are obligatory, then opportunities for choice and decision-making are largely removed from children for the duration of the activity. Because these activities are usually conducted as large group processes, attention to individual interests, needs and development is suppressed as children conform to those group processes. This is not the place to debate the merits of teacher-directed practice; I only wish to show how it contrasts with the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice, for I will later argue that it is very difficult for teachers to attempt to entertain both practices simultaneously.

The data presented in this chapter shows how teacher-directed practice informed several contexts in the work of four participants; these contexts were group activities, conceptions of planning, craft times, conceptions of play, and resource management and corrections during play times. There is a section on each of these.

Teacher-Directed Group Activities

Donna, Carla, Jill, and Nora each spent a major time period, morning and afternoon, in activity of the whole group. At this time, children sat quietly and listened to the teacher. Nora and Jill tended to read stories and

conduct fingerplays or songs, whereas Donna and Carla, with older children, included more presentations of theme materials. The format of these teacher-directed group activities was similar to conventional notions of teacher instruction in schools, that is, the session was obligatory for the children and they suspended any child-initiated activity while attending to the day care teachers' words. There might well be participation, but it was as the teacher requested and required, so that the focus of children's activity was waiting, following directions, and answering questions on cue. Some examples of such sessions follow, with some comments from the teacher on her role and the purpose of the activity.

Donna's Shape Circle

Donna's theme for the week was shapes and she had prepared a sponge painting craft, just completed, and made paper puppets with faces and holes (so two fingers looked like legs) in the shape of a circle, rectangle, square, and triangle. Sitting on a chair, the children on the floor at her feet, she put the circle on one hand, named it, and asked the children to find things like it in the room. She did this for each of the shapes, with results such as this:

> "Can you think of something that is made out of a square?"

"A table?"

"A table could be made out of a square, what else?"

"Plates!"

"Music?" says one.

"Is music a square? No. Can you think of anything else that's a square? Look around," says Donna.

The children and Donna name items, the Exit sign, someone's lunch box. One child shakes her hair vigorously back and forth, another raises and lowers her knees.

"How about this triangle?" Donna holds up her paper puppet.

"A house!"

"Yes, the roof. When we were doing craft today we thought of something shaped like a triangle. Can you remember?"

(No, they cannot.)

"A musical instrument," says Donna.

"Oh yeah!" says one.

"What is it?"

"I don't know."

"A triangle, it's called a triangle too." [DF3.2,3; DV1]

Donna thinks of circle as a time for talk, but found this a little difficult with these three year olds: "it's like pulling teeth to try and get them to talk about most

things"[D3.8]. Her theme circles such as this one on shapes were content-driven. "I first wanted to introduce them to the shapes, [and] to think about what things are made of certain shapes"[D3.10]. She wanted the children to name and recognize the shapes by matching her cut-out exemplars to items in the room. The surprise in this circle was that the children already knew the shapes: "I thought it was going to be a lot of trying to get to know these shapes; I hadn't expected them to know them very well" [D3.9, 11]. Learning circles such as this occurred daily for each group, and were followed by another teacher-directed activity, either a group craft or a period of gross motor activity.

Carla's Smelling Game

The theme for the week was the senses, and this day focussed on smell. For the group activity, Carla had prepared a guessing game with foil-covered jars, each containing a strongly scented item -- vanilla, after-shave, lemon, and so forth. Its purpose was to see if the children were familiar with the smells and could identify them correctly, "and it's find of fun, you know" [C5.4]. She passed the smelling jars one at a time, from child to child, inviting them to guess its contents and pass it on. The children who did not have a jar in hand waited their turn. This took considerable time, but, with the exception of two restless older boys, the children awaited their moment with

the jar intently. When we viewed this episode on video, she assessed its success in terms of their interest and the correctness of their deductions.

> Out of four, they guessed three. Not bad. ... I don't expect too much from them, they have to guess every thing because they're still young. They're not familiar with all the smells in the world [C5.8,9].

On this occasion, she stopped the game after doing four smells, as this occupied thirty minutes as each of nine children took the jar in turn, stopped it because she did not want them to sit longer: it was 4:05 pm and they had been sitting close to an hour after school.

> I could have done [the entire tray of smelling jars, about 12] but I didn't want to because they were restless because they just came from school, right? ... I thought I would stop because I didn't want to sit longer and longer [C5.7].

During my five visits with Carla, group times occupied roughly fifty percent of the time between 9:30 am and noon, and between 3:00 and 5:00 pm.

Nora's Four O'clock Game

Nora set aside four o'clock as a group time for a structured game at which she presided. Children tidied up play materials and came to a particular table: "it's something they have no choice [but] to do" [N1.4]. This obligatory game marked the end of child selection of materials, for their choices after the game were restricted. The game was teacher-directed, in that she decided what they would 'play' and this direction of control was conveyed to the children quite clearly, as in this instance.

> Nora plops a boxed game on her table, and goes off to Kim's table for a moment. Five boys sit expectantly at Nora's table. Nigel dives right in, opening the box and laying out large puzzle cards. Nora returns. 'Who took the top off? Put it [the pieces] back inside. I'm not ready yet' [NF1.8].

The children thus quickly learned that the frame for this activity is different than in free play. Its first requirement is to inhibit activity, to wait for the teacher. Nora described these games as 'concepts' -- weak-strong, shapes, colours (perceptual matching and sorting exercises), and wanted the children to do these for exposure to these 'concepts.' Although she never said so explicitly, the

tacit reason for doing these seemed to be general preparation for schooling.

> Listening, like we hope that they get their listening skills, kind of sitting, because when they go to school they have to sit, so you always try and get that [N3.9].

This was later confirmed when she spontaneously told me in our final interview, at which point she was consciously rejecting aspects of conventional teacher-directed practice, that if she had not participated in this project, "I'd still be sitting there at four o'clock" [N6.11], requiring the children to do a concept game. Nevertheless, her earlier practice suggested a concern for preparation for school.

Teacher Planning

Three of these four participants planned program following the structure of teacher-directed practice. Jill, Donna, and Carla, planned group activities around themes. Themes are a preplanned program of content selected around a particular topic.1 How did these participants select

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1 In Nova Scotia themes became popular in the late 1970's. In Methods classes for Child Study from 1977-1982, I actively promoted the development of themes as a way for teachers to design curriculum content. For me, they always fit into a setting that was already informal, and by the early 1980's I was distressed at how they were used in the field. I wrote the Department of Social Services in 1984 describing the problems I saw with the use of themes in day

themes? In all cases, the selection appeared arbitrary. ("It doesn't have any rules or regulations," said Carla.) Ubiquitous choices were colours, shapes, numbers, letters, seasons, the senses, community workers [C1.12, J2.4] and as Donna describes:

> 'Autumn Fun' we did. 'I'm Me, I'm Special.' You know, start off with the kid, the child and who they are, and then their family was this week ... and then we stuck in the things like Thanksgiving and Christmas and then we went back and filled in the times in between with just whatever we wanted [D1.15].

Although these choices appear arbitrary, appear to be the teacher's choice, they all belong clearly to the category of topics used in early elementary schooling and reveal a conceptual bias associated with school, with mastery of content. (Another type of bias for instance, could be for action: but no one did a theme on what the child could do with a ping pong ball or a boat.) As Donna said, circle was "basically talk time" [D1.14]. What then were children to do with the themes presented to them?

These three teachers responses demonstrated that children were to do two things, to learn the content, and to grasp the underlying structure of group activities as a

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care, but by that point they had been actively taken up as an aspect of desired program, as a form of teacher-direction.

school-like process. Jill, for instance, said in singing a colour song, children were to "recognize the colours," and in theme circle, they should "grab the concept of trees or plants or something"[J1.19]. With stories they should grasp its main point and pick up new words [Jper10]. When Carla did a smelling game at circle, her concern was how many smells they concretely deduced. When Donna conducted a 'shape' circle with paper puppet shapes over her hands the point was to identify the shapes and others like it in the room. Their initial concern then, was that the content register, that children learned the theme.

As well, Donna quite consciously articulated a second purpose of such groups, to prepare children for the probable structure of schooling:

> They learn about structure. They learn there's times when they have to sit and not be silly and talk and play and have fun. There's times to sit and think. I think they learn to listen [D6.12].

Preparation for school, both in terms of content of these activities and of understanding how they may be conducted was thus an implicit factor in using these activities.

Carla showed a strong preference for a play emphasis in her talk with me, but also kept children attentive to long discussion circles, so that I probed her relative valuing of these, free play and theme circles.

> Learning in both situations. Discussing things, but they don't enjoy that much, some children they do. School children they sat over there [in school] for a long time, they don't want to sit there listen to me, right? So the best thing will be do as quickly as possible.
>
> CA: Let me push you a bit on this, this is interesting. Why would you feel that you needed to do the discussion with them rather than let them play?
>
> Carla: Well this goes with the theme. They have to know what the theme is for the week [C6.37].

However, Jill was bored with themes: "like doing 'Fall,' I get so bored doing 'Fall,' -- every fall I don't want to do it anymore"[J1.12]. (She keeps on because her colleague likes it.) Many themes she has done over and over, trying to find some different activities that make it bearable for her. Yet even though she was bored with themes, Jill believed she should be doing them for the children's sake because she values the content and young children's exposure to it. She told me that in one other room in her centre there were "artsy" teachers who did "really weird themes" but she thought they should be doing 'Numbers' and 'Fall.'

CA: What makes you think they _should_ be doing the numbers and they should be doing fall?
Jill: I guess down in the other group because they're going to be starting school next year. With us, just I guess make them aware of numbers. I guess stuff that they always use when they're in school? ... Just I guess so they'll be aware of them now. ... I want them to know their colours, their numbers [J6.5,6].

Jill wants children to be "aware of" and "know" conceptual materials -- colours, numbers, letters --- which she believes they will shortly encounter in school. She sees a part of her role as familiarizing them with the conceptual content which they will be expected to master. Implicitly, she wants to prepare them for this, whether or not the school would see this as necessary. These themes, provided in a routine which simulates conventional school processes, and approximates school content, have the purpose of preparation.

Teacher-directed group activities are a sort of rehearsal for school, several years before the actual experience. The comments of these three teachers suggest that they believe an important part of their role is preparing children for school life.

Nora, while accustomed to themes in a previous job, was introduced by her current colleague to the notion of a curriculum web. Curriculum webs, a device for both planning

and documenting program, were first articulated for early childhood education by Cowin, Hein and Levin (1976) and Levin (1986). Designed for open or informal settings, the notion of a web specifies a series of loosely associated ideas for activity generated by either teacher or child. The plan is loose so that free moves, choices, are possible. They allow choice and flexibility in planning and provide a broad range of options and individual activities over a long time span. Nora thought of the web as a brainstroming of ideas about activities or changes which she could make to the environment. She liked this new way of planning, because "there's way more freedom" [N1.9]. The web is planned for a month, rather than a weekly theme, and she could bring out activity ideas at appropriate times rather than feeling pressured to 'cover' them. "When you do themes, time is short; when you do a web, it's more what the children feel [like]" [N1.9]. Her planning and group activities thus were less teacher-directed than those implementing straightforward themes.

Crafts: Hybrid between Teacher-Directed Activity and Play

The degree to which practical knowledge and valuing of teacher-directed activity informed the participants approach to children's use of art and craft materials varied

extensively. The examples provided here are intended to indicate that range.

Liz was unique in not having a craft time: children in her room were involved in continuous interactions with material all day. However, for the four other participants, 'craft' was a separate activity-time planned in conjunction with themes or webs. Crafts were selected to accompany theme choices. In some ways, crafts were carried out as teacher-directed activities, and in some ways they fit into free play.

Four of the participants planned craft times in teacher-directed and content-driven ways. The teacher selected something to make -- usually involving precut pieces to use with glue -- and had in mind a product which the child should reproduce. Craft began and ended at a particular time, with the teacher in attendance throughout.

However, crafts were different from circles in several respects. Firstly, the ere not always obligatory, but offered in several patterns, sometimes as activity for the entire group and sometimes as a choice within the free play time. If children did not wish to do craft, there were other options. Secondly, in some ways craft reflected developmentally appropriate practice, because the children were permitted continuous interaction with their own materials and natural conversation. These aspects tended to encourage the appearance of child-initiated activity, and

this was the tension point around craft for several teachers.

Whether the child was to produce the object the teacher selected, or whether the child's ideas and processes were permitted to be part of the time period was a point with which these teachers coped. Among the four who used crafts, they coped in varying ways.

Donna was unconcerned with the product of craft, although she generally began with one in mind: "I think it's the process they're going through, what they're doing, is a lot more important than what comes out on the paper"[D3.6]. When she did a theme on shapes, for example, she offered a sponge painting craft, the sponges cut into geometric shapes. She described this to me as a time to "have a chance to talk to them about what they [shapes] are, and see what they know" [D3.2]. At the end of the session, all the papers were a solid unvaried muddy blue-gray, as the children enjoyed spreading the paint with the sponges, rather than printing. This did not bother her, even when her co-worker said teasingly, "Where are all your shapes, Donna?"

Jill was ambivalent about whether her product or the child's should predominate in craft, but tended to lean in the direction of permitting children's ideas. If she was doing a craft and "they have something totally different in their mind," she permits them to do it, "but you kind of wish they'd do it another [way]" [J1.10]. For instance, if

she has a craft with a face, "you want it done right" [J2.5]. Jill began with her idea and tolerated the children's product, wishing nevertheless for a better match between them.

Nora's crafts underwent such a considerable change during the period of my contact with her that I prefer to save her situation to demonstrate aspects of change in a teacher. (See Chapter Eight.) Let it suffice to say that she began with precut and paste crafts, glueing tissue feathers onto paper plate Thanksgiving turkeys and so forth, and was nonplussed by the children's total lack of interest.

Carla showed neither Donna's tolerance for child process nor Jill's ambivalence in trying to balance process and product, but used craft time as a context for carrying out both teacher-directed process and product, as in this example where she provided a string-painting activity.

> During free play, Carla sits at the 'art' table, three or four places for children around her, and children may choose to come or not, as they wish. Arthur winds around the table several times, as if assessing whether he will join, as several other children manipulate paint-coated strings. Carla helps Arthur into a smock. Standing, he picks up a string from a central tray and, holding it high, wiggles his hand so the string descends on top of the paper in coils.
>
> "You fold the paper," Carla says.

"Yeah, yeah, I know," he says confidently.

"Here," she says and takes the string from his hand and lays it down the middle of the paper, folds the paper in half over it, demonstrating the technique she has in mind. Arthur pulls the string out from between the folded paper and opens it to see the result [CF2.2, Video 2785].

As we watched this on the videotape, Carla said:

He is not following the direction....He knows how to do that but on purposely, he's not doing the, pulling through the paper, pull on string? Eventually he will do it, but he has a tendency, like if you say something, he always says 'No!' Right away. And he wants to do [something] completely different. So in day care what we are trying to do, we don't want to give in, like if you say something, you stick to that point. Like okay, you are told to do that, you do it. Sometimes we do the free art, like they can do anything they like to ...[and] sometimes we direct, like this is the things, we want you to use this, this, and this.
CA: So here you wanted him to do the process that you've shown them?
Carla: Yeah [C2:12,13].

Thus, unless otherwise indicated, craft activities were to be carried out according to the sequence specified by Carla. Actions initiated by the child which were not seen as part of the planned process were deflected or redirected to fit the plan.

In the three sections above I have considered how teacher-directed practice pervaded the organization of program for several of the participants, how their practice reflected a concern with content and preparation for school. However, children too clearly generate content in day care, in the context of 'free play.' If a teacher uses teacher-directed practice for group activities, including craft, then how does she handle children's play?

Free Play in Day Care

In the work context of four participants, the second principal time frame, apart from teacher-directed activity, was 'free play.' Free play is a time segment in which child choice of activity is permitted and children move about the space at their own pace, from block corner to housekeeping to puzzle table to sandbox. Group activity and free play were kept separate, each inhabiting its own time frame. In other words, with the exception of teacher-directed craft, group activities rarely occurred during free play. In the settings of these teachers, then, there was a rhythm of alternating back and forth between these frameworks for

action, with clearly defined transitions, like 'tidy up,' marking off their boundaries. Transitions become, in such settings, a sort of fence in time demarking a switch in framework for action.

How did these four teachers handle free play then? How did they see it fitting into their settings and how did they see their own role during free play? What were they actually doing during free play and how did they attend to or otherwise intervene in children's play? These are the concerns of this next section. What we will see is that when teacher-directed activity pervades day care practice, then "free play" tends to be approached as a fixed time for removing teacher direction and participation from children's activity. With teacher direction lifted off, the teacher stands back outside the play domain, intervening only for control issues such as conflict among children or management of space and materials. As we will see, this absence of teacher participation in play was not seen as incompatible with a high valuing of the importance of play for children.

There were similarities among these four teachers in their beliefs and attitudes towards play. There were three main aspects to this pattern: all four believed that play is very important for young children, but that children can play on their own unless a problem requires adult intervention, and that apart from handling problems teacher involvement in play is unnecessary.

All four teachers valued play and believed that they provided ample opportunity for free play. "I think there's lot's of free play, in the afternoon I see lots too" [J4.6]. All believed that it provided children with important learning for their development. All mentioned learning to share, socializing, language development and role play opportunities as important gains from play.

> They learn how to share. They learn a lot of language, a lot of role playing......just a lot, their basic skill of picking things up, you know, hand-eye coordination, all that kind of stuff is what they're learning from play. Cooperation [N3.7].

> They learn to share, they socialize....They discover things [D2.13,14].

The benefits of play could be something particular to context, like "a specific game, learn how to play it" [D2.13]. And Nora said:

> Like I think through playing that they're learning a lot more than if we sat down and said, 'this is a such a such shape, show me where it goes' [N4.10].

Although three of the teachers spent considerable time in teacher-directed activities, they were convincing, even

insistent in their belief in the efficacy of play for children. Carla told me emphatically, "children's play is learning, like playing they're learning everything!" [C5.16] As an example she described how a child might learn that he cannot mould dry sand, "so they have to put some water to make it moist, and they can make a shape out of it: children's play is learning, they learn through play" [C5.16].2

My next point is to show how, even though these four teachers might enjoy participating in play, they tended to believe their involvement was neither necessary to the play nor helpful, unless there was a problem. The teacher was a non-player.

These children, they can play by themselves [C3.8].

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2 This view of play reflects the conventional discourse about play which has developed throughout this century and moved in the direction of increased acceptance of play as valuable to development. It has roots in the maturationist view of the child which suggests that development unfolds naturally, roots which can be traced back to Rousseau's Emile, through the Froebelian kindergarten movement of the late nineteenth century. This view was assisted by the maturational studies of Gesell and the observational studies of early childhood teachers like Parten in the 1930's, and the progressive education movement of the 1940's and 1950's. Although the latter did not take hold in Canada at at that time, the value of cooperative play among children, and of sharing, were congruent with Christian values and are widely accepted among teachers. This view focusses on the social aspects of play, buttressed by Piaget's argument (influential since the 1960's when his work became commonly available in English through translation) that peer interaction in play is a critical aspect of development (Piaget, [1945] 1962; Piaget in Piers, 1972).

> I don't think it's necessary to always be involved every day in the kids' play and asking them about what they're doing. ... It's not something I've done myself regularly [D2.18].

> I kind of stay back, I guess, unless there's a problem. Or they ask me for something. I'll see them playing and walk by and everything is fine, so ...... I don't get too involved [J4.5].

(While Jill did not become involved in housekeeping play, she actively participated in music games. Like Liz, Jill was a full participant in play, in the context of music, but withheld herself, as she stated above, from housekeeping play. Carla too, was a strong player in one context, free play in the morning with the nine four-year-olds. She would play colour 'bingo' or perceptual games with a small group at the invitation of the children.)

Both Carla and Jill wanted to participate in play more, but felt they could not, due to organizational constraints, discussed in Chapter Six. The point here is that for these two experienced teachers, both of whom valued teacher-directed practice extensively, this was not incongruent with also valuing play which in some contexts they joined, although in general, they saw their participation as redundant, as not contributing to the play.

Neither Donna nor Nora participated in children's play. Both present special cases of some interest, for their reaction to children's play.

Why Donna Chose not to Play

Donna intentionally chose <u>not</u> to attend to or be involved in children's play because she elected to use the free play time as a 'free' period for herself as teacher so that she could accomplish other necessary tasks. In my feedback paper to her, she corrected my description of her as one who did not play, saying she <u>chose</u> not to play, that it was her choice to prioritize administrative tasks over involvement or observation of play [D7.2, Dper11]. Since she believed her participation was not necessary to the play, she felt free to work in other ways, in spite of her considerable valuing of play.

How did Donna describe what she was occupied with during free play? She told me that at this time she was busy signing children in, attending to forms, greeting and talking to children, and either "basically circling around" [D1.8] in general monitoring or doing a 'free craft' with those who choose it. It was during free play that she found moments to make signs (the wall decorations were extensive, varied, and frequently changed), "run out and tape the bills to their cubbies or clean a shelf" [D2.8]. The perceived need to attend to maintenance and administrative duties

forestalled closer involvement in play: "when they're doing free play, we're not spending as much time as we could [with them]"[D2.8].

As well, Donna found she had so much to plan that she would squeeze out time for this while the morning children played.

> We've got so many things to play that sometimes, which is not good but it's necessary, you're taking time away from the kids in the morning to get a few things done while it's nice and quiet [D2.7].

> Now if during free play, if I have everything set up, if I'm ready for the day, then I can go and play. Or I can watch or I can do anything. But, if otherwise, that's the time when I'm running around like a chicken with my head cut off, getting things ready [D6.3].

The priority of planning, of being organized and ready for the group events, also overrode her involvement or notice of the children's play. Monitoring, supervising 'craft,' maintenance and administrative duties, finishing up planning and preparation for future activities, all these prevented active attention to the observable play activity of the children. This practice during free play was in spite of or in contradiction to her valuing of play, her sensitivity to it as developmentally appropriate.

> You know, I don't think I've had a chance to sit down in the block corner and play, with any of the kids, since I've gotten here [D2.8].
> I find that there is just <u>so much</u> to do, that we've always got one more thing [D2.8].
> But I don't think it's good to have to do things when they're there 'cause I can't -- I'm not playing with them. I'm not really as attentive to them even if they want to [D6.4].

Here was a friction point where two valued priorities conflicted. In the face of the multiple agenda competing for her attention, play, in spite of its apparent value to her, was simply the least priorized.

The consequences of this for Donna emerged towards the end of the year, when her comments at our final interview indicated she had fallen into a pattern of quasi-custodial care of the children, with most of her attention drawn away from them to other matters.

> I'm not really involved in their play, I'm always somewhere else. ...I feel that I was hired to direct a room and move kids around and chairs and tables and make it look nice, and what I actually should be able to do is work with the kids... 75% of my time is spent doing the little things ...when I think that 95% of the

> time should be spent with the kids and 5% the little things. ... I feel like I'm not needed, and it's a bad way to feel, because I think they do need us and Iris and I have been so wrapped up in things about this job ... where you notice that as soon as you sit down at a table, all these kids come over and sit by you. It's like they're craving some teacher attention, and not getting it. And that was really scary for me [D7.16].

The consequences of abandoning play for Donna were that she realized she was not there for the children. When she saw this, it startled her, because it went against what she believed she should be doing.

Why Nora Could Not Play

Nora could not play, she said, because the children would not permit her, actively rejecting her presence. She stayed out of their way, cleaning, tidying or watching, unless it was to correct children or add or remove materials. When I asked her if this was what she believed teachers should be doing, she quickly replied:

> No, I would prefer to sit with someone and play with them. You know, like sit at the table when they're painting or something. These guys, a lot of them, will just tell you, go away or not bother them [N3.11].

Preferring to play, Nora found these children rejected her approaches. With a laugh, she said, "they find that I'm a nuisance" [N2.13]. She might go into housekeeping if a child invited her for "a cup of tea" [N2.13] or she might draw the boys some roads, but generally, "you try and stay out of it as much as you can and let them play"[N2.13]. I asked her when she would enter play areas: "only when you're asked!" [N3.6] She entered primarily for safety reasons, "if they're building them [blocks] up too high or something, you might make a suggestion. Most times they don't listen"[N3.7]. Or she might enter for a "fight"[N4.11]. She refrained from asking children about their play, in case they were unable to answer and it inhibited the activity. "I wouldn't ask in case they didn't know...If you do, and he can't answer it, then that's it. The activity's gone" [N5.1].

How did she herself describe what she does as the children play?

> I usually just kinda hang around.(laughs) It's just standing around watching them or tidying up or putting things away --- over Christmas was a perfect example. I went into housekeeping? And they told me to get out! TOLD me to get out. I was not allowed to play. I was surprised: they told me to get out [N3.5,6].

On another occasion a child asked her to play in the loft with him, and rejected her as soon as another child joined him. They had set up a miniature circus.

> And he wanted me to put together the ladders, and I did and then he said, 'I'm playing with Robin.' I said to Ian, 'my feelings are hurt.' So he just came over and smiled (she demonstrates a strained grin) and went on his way. He didn't care. I even had the monkey going across the ladder, doing monkey noises --- just totally ignored me. They had who they wanted to play with and that was that [N3.13].

Were the children genuinely rejecting her participation? If her perception of rejection was accurate, what dynamic produced this, since it was apparent during my observations that children would try to entice visitors to play. Were they unable to see Nora as a player? I will return to this later.

These four teachers in day care approached play with some contradictory beliefs, and the consequent tension. Play was important to them as a means via which children learn, and was seen as an alternative to the teacher-directed group activities, but their role in such play was ill-defined. Jill and Carla, both of whom had many years of experience, participated in play when they found it possible, but Nora and Donna did not find it possible.

Elbaz (1983), Clandinin (1986), Hatton (1987) and Jorde-Bloom(1986) are among those who argue that the image which a teacher has of what she is supposed to do has a powerful impact on practice. I believe that the image of teacher-directed practice which informs much of these teachers' work excludes an image of teachers as players and participants. What I observed in practice (and Jill was an exception to this) was that the contribution which they might make to play as demonstrator, initiator, role model, encourager and supporter of child-initiated language and process, as suggested by developmentally appropriate practice, was not part of their concept of their role at free play. They were adjuncts to play.

Teacher Direction during Free Play

This last section explores the occasions upon which teacher direction was inserted into free play. That is, although teacher control of activity was removed and children were "free" to generate play, certain situations would result in an imposition of teacher control. There were three major arenas of teacher direction/control during free play. These were the closing of play areas, gatekeeping access of individual children to play areas, and corrections which removed material or children from play. None of these occurred in Liz or Jill's settings.

Closing Areas

Nora, Carla, and Donna had patterns of closing off play areas from use during free play. This produced particular effects on the children's play. I have omitted Donna's patterns of closing here because these occurred primarily at noon in the context of handling the school-age children, but the effects were similar. In both Nora and Carla's settings, the table area of the room, sand and water play at its edges, was always open, but there were several areas which were frequently closed during play so that children were not permitted access to them. In Nora's setting these were housekeeping, blocks, and the loft, and in Carla's setting they were housekeeping, blocks and water play. Here is the pattern of open and closed areas on my visits over a three month period for each of these two teachers.

TABLE TWO
OPEN AND CLOSED AREAS DURING OBSERVATIONS

Nora's Setting

Visit	Closed	Open
1	housekeeping, loft	blocks
2	housekeeping, loft	blocks
3		housekeeping, blocks, loft
4	blocks, loft	housekeeping
5		housekeeping, blocks, loft

Carla's Setting

Visit	Closed	Open
1	housekeeping, blocks water play (in a.m.) water play (in p.m.)	blocks, housekeeping (after 3:30 pm)
2	housekeeping, blocks water play	water play after 11:10p.m.
3		housekeeping, blocks, water play
4	water play housekeeping	blocks
5		housekeeping, blocks water play

In both settings, the areas which were closed were the ones which all teachers agreed were the most popular with children [N1.17, D5.8, C4.1, L4.18]. The first and most obvious effect of closed areas was that the children needed to check with a teacher whether an area was "open" before entering it. (The area did not look any different: it was simply unoccupied.) There were occasions when children did not know if they were permitted to enter an area or not.

The video shows Nigel in the loft, looking over and quesioning Nora. "He asked if housekeeping was closed.

And I said, 'No,' so he looked around to see if it was all tidied up and then he came down" [N4.8].

'Are we allowed in blocks?'
'Yes, it's open' [CF3.3].

Two girls to Carla after circle:
'Can we go in the house?'
'The house is not open yet. When Fran [staff] comes you can go in.'
Minutes later, Fran arrives. Lia immediately asks, 'Can we play in the house now?' Jane repeats the question.
Carla: 'Alright, we'll open it.'
'I know who opened the house,' says Jane, 'Carla.'
'Can we go in?' [CF1.10]

The children thus, did not assume that the play areas of the room were available to them.

But there were other effects of closing off these popular play materials which were less obvious but, I think, powerful in their impact on children. It was invariably housekeeping, blocks and water play that were closed, the larger areas that involve the entire body in play activity, and as well, the messier areas. In both settings, tabletop materials such as puzzles and perceptual games, the craft

table, book corner or (in Carla's case) the science table or theme table were never closed.

Thinking about the choices that remain open to children once one or two major play areas are closed, it is clear that of the remaining materials choices in the room, most are more school-like materials. They are activities that are done while sitting at tables and chairs. They involve hand-size perceptual materials or paper and pencil-like materials. These materials have the pragmatic benefit for the teacher of being easy to supervise because they are not messy or large in scale, and for Nora this made them attractive.

However, the effect of frequently closing off some of the major play areas while leaving the quieter but less involving tabletop materials always available, was that the children's choices were restricted and coerced towards more task-like or teacher-directed materials. While the content of the materials was different from school tasks, the frame, that of sitting at a table and using paper and pencil or small games or puzzles was the <u>spatial</u> frame which their lives as school children would take. Thus these teachers tended to replicate the spatial frame of schooling, either years before the child would actually be in school, or, for the children who had already experienced a full day of school, when this was supposedly their free play time.

The Teacher as Gatekeeper to Resources

In Carla's setting, the other major effect of closing off areas, in interaction with several other factors, was that Carla and the staff acted as gatekeepers to the major play areas. The other factors involved were the crowded nature of her room, 31 children in a space with minimal square footage, and the limits on the numbers of children permitted in each play area.

In Carla's setting, when previously closed areas were opened up again, there was a "rush" on them. These popular areas for play were suddenly sought out with some intensity. The pattern that emerged was that particular children would extract a promise from Carla that they could use an area when it was reopened. Then other children had to negotiate their entrance contingent upon these first-comers.

> And somebody came, I said, "Don't ask me about housekeeping, ask one of the other teachers because they know who is coming and who is going." See, they have to ask to go [C5.10].

In other words, permission to enter the favoured areas had to be granted before admission. In my five visits, I found two dozen examples of this gatekeeping function. Two examples demonstrate this gatekeeping and its effect on specific children.

When water play is reopened, five children rush pell mell to occupy the three spaces. Two girls quickly take up spots, and Bertram throws himself into a shopping bag smock, sliding it up over his legs and torso and quickly positions himself. Beth is too slow getting on a smock, and disconsolately leaves for the art table, where she takes out paper and coloured pencils. She looks sad.

George, who also came too late to play here, waits for a space, chatting with others or with me, his eye frequently on the tub, waiting for a spot to open up. Carla stands, arms crossed, beside the water play area, watching but not interacting. George sees Carla fiddling with the sleeves of Dana, who plays in the water, pushing them up under the shopping bag handles on her shoulders.

"Oh, she's coming out! I better hurry!" George runs to line up at the tub, apparently thinking Carla was helping Dana take off her smock, since this is a service she often provides for the children. However, she is simply pushing up the sleeves of her sweatshirt to keep them dry. False alarm. George returns to a chair near me, takes up a pink pencil and tiny scrap of paper and makes several marks, eye on the tub. After thirty minutes of waiting, he went again to stand by the water play tub. At this point, Carla invited him

> to wash out a margarine tub of red paint in the bathroom down the hall. He went happily [CF2.1-6].

In our interview, Carla told me the three girls had asked for water play earlier, as it was being closed, and she promised it to them: "'I'm closing it down and later on when you finish [art] you can play,' so I kept my promise." When George came by half an hour later, she told me she said to him:

> 'You're just standing there. Why don't you do something while you're waiting?' And he just stood there. 'Okay, would you like to help me?' And he said 'yes.' 'Why don't you wash this pan?' and he was happy to do that. ...Two things he can do, water play plus wash the container [C2.15].

She also promised him he could be first in water play after lunch, stated that she would inform the other teachers, which she did.

Here is another instance when the same child, whom Carla noted had difficulty settling down to anything, negotiated a play space in the housekeeping area. Three children were allowed in housekeeping. Two girls had just been asked to leave, and a third remains.

George to Carla: "Can I go in the house?"
Carla: "I've already promised Elijah and Janet. When they come, you have to leave, okay? Do you want to do it that way?"
He nods, goes off to the area. Shortly after, Elijah and Janet arrived and George was told to come out. I sit close to the entrance. As he passes me he mutters, "I didn't get to stay in there very long." I say oh maybe he'll get a turn some other time.
"I don't think so" [CF1.11, 1.16].

Very evident is a sense of competition for desired resources, scarce resources, from this child's perspective, and one senses his belief, (momentary perhaps) that they won't easily be accessible to him. The room was, in fact, well-equipped, and Carla told me they could generally acquire whatever they needed [C5.18, C3.19].

Carla regulated access when the areas were reopened and children negotiated with her for entry into one of these areas. She priorized their wishes and ensured access, even though there might be a considerable wait. Part of her gatekeeping function then was determining the order in which children would play in particular areas. In this role she was seen by the children as a 'grantor' of favoured activity. They knew she kept her promises [FC2.6, C2.15], and the stress of trying for a spot was relieved when she intervened. Thus, a frequent part of gaining access was

eliciting the teacher's help, for otherwise, a child might decide what he wanted to do, and then be unable to do it. Teacher direction in opening and closing areas and in allocating children to specific play spaces was a major feature of free play in her setting.

Corrections and Children's Play

In Chapter Three, we saw how Liz intervened as player, a participant who opens up more possibilities for action. Jill also, particularly in the context of music, intervened in the same way to extend children's play. I have already shown that the day care teachers who used teacher-directed group activities value play but set themselves apart from it, leaving the children to play unless there is a problem. They intervened in children's play primarily to offer direction, that is, to correct or to control resources. In this section, I will consider these teacher-directed corrections during free play.

The teachers either removed a material from children's use so that the play which the children were generating was halted, or they removed a specific child from a play material or area so that the child could not continue to play.

Removal of Material: A Script for Correction

A pattern that occurred with regularity among several teachers was the strategy of removing specific play materials which were a source of conflict. This conflict could be among children or a conflict between teacher and children about correct use. Repeated sufficiently, the strategy took on script-like aspects, words repeated like slogans, a pattern of actions used by the teacher whenever a situation triggered them. Nora relied on such a script when she perceived children's use of materials to be inappropriate, as in this example.

> Four boys play firefighters in the block area, each holding a quadruple unit block in arms like a fire-hose. Part of their play pattern involved falling on the floor. Several boys jammed their fingers between block and rug in falling, pinching them. Nora instructs them "not to use the blocks as firemen, just to build with them. We'll try again tomorrow."
> "Okay Julien, let's put them away, cause people are hurting their hands with them."
> "I want to build," says the child. He clearly does not wish to give up these blocks, pinched fingers or not.
> "Well build then."
> The four boys build lackadaisically, moving several

> blocks in a grid on the rug for a few turns of the hand, then are up and away with the blocks in arms as firehoses. Nora corrects them a third time: "They are for building today."
> "Oh no!" says a boy, as he lays down the block. The tone conveys his displeasure at not being able to continue as he wishes, a tone of annoyance and of losing out. They build sporadically, and within moments the blocks are up in arms again.
> "Chris, this block needs to stay on the floor. " A breath later, "Two more minutes and it's tidy up time" [FN3.2,3].

Nora commented that she found this play fairly "rough" and was afraid:

> they're going to get hurt, if they're not careful. We've explained to them if they're going to use them as firehoses, they have to keep them in their hand. If they fall on the floor, their fingers are going to get jammed, other peoples toes are going to get hurt. So if they're firehoses, they need to be in your hand and if not, then they need to be built with....But if we find that after a couple of times telling them, if it's not going to work, we'll just tell them to put them away. The next day, it's tried again [N4.11].

There were half a dozen contexts where this script was repeatedly used to handle correction situations. The block area was closed for "piling" blocks, rather than building with them [N1.6], the loft because children became excited and waved, housekeeping because the children did not tidy up satisfactorily. Once Nora surfaced a problem, she reminded children of correct use of the material. If this was ineffective, she closed the material or area for the current time period and said, "we'll try again tomorrow." This meant they could use the material tomorrow and she would assess whether they were using it correctly, as she specified. If not, it was closed again. This broad strategy was applied to several materials in the block area, to housekeeping when it was not adequately tidied, to several of the texture materials that were "misused", and was, in its impact on children's use of the room, the single most powerful and significant strategy for handling a problem with materials.

The reader will recall that Nora believed that the children actively rejected her efforts to play, asking her to leave an area. I wish to suggest an interpretation of the effects of her correction strategy of closing off use of materials and areas. Firstly the tactic closed down play and left a gap in the child's activity. It left the child uncertain what to do next: would that be stopped as well? Secondly, it distanced Nora from the children because she entered the play areas only to correct: the children knew

that this often meant they would have to stop the play which they were currently enjoying. Thus, thirdly, Nora would be seen by the children as an inhibitor of play, something intuitively recognized by the little boy who said "Oh no!" when she wanted the boys to build with the blocks rather than play firefighter.

It seems a reasonable inference to suggest that the children saw Nora as a rule-maker, one in control, rather than as a potential co-player. Their instructions to her to leave the play area could be a way to ensure the survival of their play. Here we see the effects of such correction not only upon the children, but the inadvertant outcome of the tactic for the teacher.

Removal of the Child: A Script for Correction

The other common strategy was the removal of a child from an area for actions which the teacher perceived as undesirable. In this example, the correction was so fast, as the teacher anticipated a potential problem, that nothing had been said by the children.

> Some intensity is present among the four boys in the block area, the beginnings of intent discussion -- passion -- about something. How can I tell? The way they are turned to each other, eyes alert, something passing from one hand to another, the sharp watchful

> eyes of the others. An increase in energy. There has been no noise, no fighting. It is primarily nonverbal. Carla tells Wayne to leave the block area. Wayne cleans up immediately and leaves. What happened, I wondered, what is Carla seeing? [CF5.3]

She told me, "He was aiming the knightrider car; the other boy was just laying [sic] down and looking at him, and he was just aiming right at his face" [C6.6]. She asked him to leave because she anticipated that he was going to hurt someone. I asked her if she felt the strategy worked.

> ..... Yeah, it works. (considering voice) ..... ah, a difficult question, does it work. That time it works, they stopped doing that. Then they'll do it again [C6.8].

She gives me an example, how with Bertram she is continuously correcting him for being unable to stand in line: "he's wibbling, pushing people, and poking, elbowing and saying 'oh, I didn't mean to.'[C6.8] He is removed from the line, given timeout, knowing Carla is "licked off"[sic] because she has to "stay back" with him. Next time, he says "'I'll be good, I'll be good,' and he stays for a few seconds, then he goes again knocking people, jumping again'[C6.9]. It is clear that the strategy of removing a child is a last resort strategy, that in this case, does not

have sufficient impact to keep the child from repeating actions which led to correction. Whatever the problem, removing the child does not seem to solve it.

I suggest that these two strategies, closing down play material for perceived misuse and removing a child for perceived misdemeanours operated as automatic scripts for action in correction situations for these teachers. Whether the patterns were inherited or personally devised, their repetition using the same actions and words ("play nicely" or "properly" standing for a category of appropriate behaviours) has the comfort of predictability. The strategies as scripts are general and depersonalized, institutional in character, the teacher fulfilling a role in carrying them out. As well, they are static, in that no change occurs as a result of them, beyond the mechanical stopping of activity. The next day it happens again.

Summary

This chapter demonstrated that teacher-directed activity was a dominant form of practice for four of the participants in this research. For three of the four, their notion of planning too was circumscribed by teacher-directed practice. While they valued the benefits of play for children, and two in particular enjoyed some participation in play, they generally believed children could play on their own. In general, they did not attend to children's

play unless they believed it necessary to control or direct children at play. For three teachers, this meant restricting choices by closing areas or removing children and material from play as a correction. The idea of the importance of preparation for school is demonstrated in expectations for group activities. As well, a preference for table activities (perhaps simply because they are quieter) emerged in subtle ways even during free play in the choices teachers made when closing areas or directing choices.

Nevertheless, some teachers (Liz and Jill) managed to involve themselves in children's play in developmentally appropriate ways, while the actions of others during free play (Carla, Nora, Donna) were restricted to monitoring functions, as shown in certain patterns of correction, closing areas, and gatekeeping access to play materials. This was sometimes inconsistent with their theory, that is, they would prefer to play more, but could not see how this could be possible.

Chapter Five

The Unfamiliarity of Aspects of Developmentally Appropriate Practice

Chapters Three and Four portray the practical knowledge of five day care teachers as I encountered it. Chapters Five through Eight each present one thread of the argument demonstrating difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice. The present chapter examines the unfamiliarity of some key aspects of developmentally appropriate practice for some teachers.

The distinction between knowing-that and knowing-how has frequently been acknowledged and attributed to Ryle (Polanyi 1958, Schon 1983). As Polanyi describes, knowing how to do something involves tacit knowledge which is difficult to articulate, for much of it is subsumed as automatic. Riding a bicycle, playing the piano, recognizing faces, are examples of actions we may easily perform while being unable to describe how we do so. In terms of the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice we can distinguish between knowing of or about this practice, and having the performance skills to implement it. In addition to knowledge about something, and knowledge of how to do something, we can add our attitude towards it, its value to us, our motivation to do it. What I discovered is that a valuing of developmental appropriateness, according to

teacher talk, does not necessarily coincide with high familiarity with this model of practice, or with a high degree of implementation of it.

I tried in Chapter Four to persuade the reader that teacher-directed practice is a common feature of day care practice, and that implicit notions of preparation for school are important to day care teachers. School life is the dominant presence in the life of children, outside the family, and day care teachers' practice frequently reflected this. Nor is it the case that aspects of developmentally appropriate practice are not at all recognized or utilized by these teachers, but that they did not have the overall impact upon practice expected by proponents of developmental appropriateness.

There were six interrelated aspects of developmentally appropriate practice which were not well understood by four of the participants, whereas Liz was very comfortable with them. While some teachers, and Jill in particular, showed partial understanding and implementation of these aspects, others found some of them entirely new and unfamiliar concepts of practice. (What this suggests about training and administrative support will be dealt with later.) I will briefly outline each of these unfamiliar aspects, describing it and showing contrasting examples from practice which suggest familiarity and unfamiliarity with it. This will be followed by examples of teacher talk about the practice, taken both from interviews and from our discussion

of the criteria representing developmentally appropriate practice in our final interview.

Each example from practice also displays many other aspects of practice in addition to the one which it is used to exemplify. Separating out aspects of practice in this fashion merely serves the analytic purpose of describing these present or absent facets. The examples then do not display singular aspects of practice: much more is present in an example than can possibly be discussed in linear text.

The six aspects of developmentally appropriate practice which were somewhat unfamiliar were these: teacher observation of individual children as a basis for curriculum decisions; teacher focus on child process in activity; an understanding of play and teacher roles to extend and support it; an understanding of the importance of opportunities for child choices; an understanding of the importance of child-initiated activity; and understanding of and support for child problem-solving. The chapter contains a section on each of these.

Observation of Individual Children as a Basis for Teacher Decisions

Such observation is attentiveness, watchfulness, to select from the stream of children's behaviour the actions and talk which display individual children's interests, ideas, intentions, needs and level of development. When

Sebastian stuck the end of the skipping rope into a hole in the wall, Liz stopped Marcel from taking it out [FL1.8], saying, "He has a special idea for the string, what's he going to do?" She selected Sebastian's action out of the stream of experience as an intention worthy of attention. The following vignettes show an instance of a teacher with this sort of watchfulness, and an instance of a teacher whose agenda includes many things, but not close observation of children. We see the latter instance first.

> Sandplay has been changed to a bin of styrofoam pieces with scoops and measuring spoons. Donna puts a music tape on, telling the substitute the record player keeps breaking. Two boys play in the styrofoam. She goes over saying:
> "I didn't know we changed the sand play!"
> Richard says, "Popcorn!"
> Donna replies, "When did we get that? Is it snow?"
> Three girls rush over, drawn (I infer) by the exclamations, and hover around the bin. Donna leaves, taking a siphon of clear plastic with her. Three of the five children also leave; two more girls come, hanging back. Donna is at the kitchen doing something with papers, talking to the substitute.
>
> Five play in the styrofoam, making broad arm movements, chuffing and shuffling through it, scooping and pouring it out. Richard bites a piece, chews it.

> Girls take handfuls and walk to a shelf. Donna approaches: "That's for inside the container. We can pretend it's snow. It's not like the other toys that we take to the table." She tells them the bits will get lost if they remove them from the bin.
> Donna leaves and enters a storage room, returning with blue construction paper and white chalk, arranging it on the 'craft table.' She arranges chairs around another table, removes the sandplay lid to the storage room.
> The children say they are "making popcorn" in the styrofoam.
> Donna sits at the craft table. "We can use chalk to make snow pictures. We can make anything we would do in the snow" [FD5.1,2].

Richard has an idea about the styrofoam, an idea which is adopted by other children, but the teacher misses it, absorbed as she is with her own agenda which includes tidying, organizing craft, and correcting. Here is a teacher reacting quite differently to actions initiated by a child.

> Jill conducts show and tell with six children whom she bodily places in a loose semicircle around the shopping bag of items. A Mickey Mouse stuffed animal is first. "Come on up here, Chloe, and show everybody what you

> brought." "Mickey Mouse." "What's hanging on the string?" "It's a bear," says Daniel. After each item is displayed by the child, talked up by the teacher, it is parked at the circle's edge, near John. At one point, his fingers flex over a large-beaded fake pearl necklace. He rubs his palm over the beads, curling them up in his fingers. Jill took up the necklace and passed it around the group again, inviting them to feel it, try it on [JF5.7, JV4].

In this circle, she switched away from her focus on language skills as she talked with children about the toys, and invited more interaction with the necklace, when a child showed interest. As we watched this on video, she commented:

> How hard it must be to sit there. Like I think, imagine if you're sitting there and there's a bunch of fudge [next you] and you're not allowed to touch it [J5.10]?

Close observation of children's actions as a basis for teacher decisions has, at the least, a century long history. Montessori's work began with observation of children, rather than with design of a curriculum, and developed out of practical need. Piaget, who was President of the Montessori Society in Switzerland in the 1920's (Kramer 1976), spun his

theories out of meticulous observation of child action (Piaget 1954, [1945] 1962). Observational studies of children expanded in the 1930's and, in laboratory preschools since the 1950's at least, observation has been a part of education for early childhood teachers (Read [1950] 1976). Observation has always been closely linked with understanding children's development, with sensitivity to the differing world views of the child at particular points in her development (Hendrick 1984, Hohmann, Banet and Weikart 1978, Lindberg and Swedlow 1976).

Jill and Nora, in discussing observation, displayed a global sense of observing, "to see where the children are, to begin our programs and daily routines" [J6wc]. Nora thought, she said, about what the group was most interested in talking about during a particular week: "work from there and do something that's fun that they want to do -- they were talking about going out playing in the snow, so we did all our activities about snow" [N6.21]. Thus, these two teachers used observation in a general way, towards the group as an entity, rather than to individuals (although Jill also responded to individuals more in practice than her interview talk reflected).

Donna and Carla both indicated that their concept of planning was circumscribed by theme planning, finding general activities suitable for the group. Their awareness was of general characteristics and needs of the age group rather than a focus on individuals. Since Donna did not

attend to children's play, as shown in the example above, she missed much activity generated by the children, and Carla, though she did observe to assess use of materials, to add props or put them away, was highly attuned to her theme: "We have to follow that, we have to make theme, [each teacher] every three weeks" [C6.34]. Here we see her wanting to draw children's attention to aspects of her theme.

> Carla sits before an enormous bowl of red jello, eleven children crowded around the table with her. She spoons it out into paper cups, saying, "Who can tell me what happened to the jello?"
> "Look at the big hole!" says Bertram. She does not reply.
> "Remember Monday about touch? Feel and touch? Before you eat, I'll let you do something." She suggests they put one finger in to feel the jello in their cup.
> "It's wibbly," says Angelica.
> "Is it soft or hard?" says Carla. "Is it hot or cold?" [CF5.1]

Goffin (1989) reminds us of the importance of teacher planning:

> ...descriptions of teacher planning document teachers' deliberate structuring of classroom content and

> organization. During planning, teachers formulate a course of action for carrying out instruction. Plans become scripts for carrying out teaching, and they change intentions into actions (1989, 191 and 192).

When planning is so focussed on themes, the teacher's agenda becomes narrowed to the chosen program content. Alertness to ideas and actions generated by children becomes difficult, for the teacher's mental space is absorbed by her attempts to convey content, to be a teacher in the conventional sense.

Focus on Child's Action Process

A focus on process reflects the emphasis in the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice on development of the whole child and the constructivist view of how the child learns (Duckworth 1987, Forman and Hill 1980, Kamii and deVries 1978, Piaget [1937] 1954). Learning is neither segmented into subjects for mastery nor restricted to parts of the body, but involves the entire self, alert and concentrating. Since the young child learns concretely, in interaction with the social and material world, and only gradually over a period of years understands symbolic systems, then logically, interactions with people and with physical material, and a focus on the child's actions in so doing, is the starting point for teacher

action. The fact the child is active and not passive, initiating and not simply receiving, generating rather than reproducing someone else's words and actions, reflects the value of the constructivist view of social and intellectual development.

When Donna did her theme on shapes, she cut triangles, rectangles, squares, and circles out of sponges so children could print these shapes with paint as a 'craft' activity. As she sat supervising the activity with those who chose to do this, she talked with them. Her talk focussed primarily on colours or shapes, and guided the children to respond to her with 'shape talk,' thus focussing their attention on the theme, whereas she made no mention of what their hands were doing with the sponges on the paper. Their actions were free to vary, and their wide sweeping strokes or circling patterns went unremarked, whereas their talk was constrained and separated off from the processes in which their hands were engaged.

> What shape are you using, Annie? Do you know what shape that is? That one's round.
>
> Yes, I like your elephant. What shape did you use to make the elephant? [A square.] That isn't a square, that's a tri - [triangle]. Yes.

> Eva, what shape's that? What shape are you using to make all that pretty blue [DV1.0]?

However, her focus on theme talk -- shapes in this case -- shows both what is drawing her attention and what is absent from it. Absent from her talk was any focus upon children's actions, upon their processes in interacting with the materials. It was as if Donna had imposed an aspect of developmentally appropriate practice, the belief that the process is more important than the product, on the content of a teacher-planned curriculum, but had not replaced the absence this leaves with the observation of process considered so important to developmentally appropriate practice.

Watching these teachers what struck me was that what was missing was the knowledge that the _actions_ of children express ideas, intentions, and incipient plans. While very focussed on language, on talk and the importance of language development (the rationale behind every large group activity! [N3.8, C4.7]), actions which the child made as he or she engaged with material were often overlooked.

Developmentally appropriate practice suggests the focus of most activity for young children should be the child's interaction with material and people, with each child having his own materials and able to offer his own talk, rather than having talk and action constrained by group process, by teacher-direction. This does not seem to be an easy thing

to grasp and Carla and I had an interesting discussion about this.

> We don't discuss all the time [in circles]. We read stories or we sing songs ... we bring the puppets in there ... what did we do in group activities? Oh yes, they all cut the banana pieces and put them in the blender, they scoop the ice cream. They all had a turn to do that. Then I helped them to pour the milk and they drank it, what do you call it, milk-shake. They do have opportunity to handle it [C6.32].

Her insistence that children were active, after I had suggested that from what I saw, children mostly sat and listened and took turns with material as instructed in group activities, created an interesting tension for me. Here was a teacher who wanted to be seen to perform in developmentally appropriate ways and who honestly believed she did. My conception of the practice was different from hers, in that I did not see children in her setting as having <u>control</u> of the materials they were using. They were not able to make any decisions about what to do and they were corrected quickly and efficiently if they did not follow her sequence of actions. Any activity outside the frame of doing as they were told at group times could quickly result in removal from the group. She thought they could sometimes do as they wanted, but did not see the

critical difference between having to wait to be told by the teacher that on this specific occasion their own actions with material were permitted and the alternative where the child knows she can freely initiate interesting things to do. The fact that in six visits of 2-3 hours each I did not see occasions where children were permitted to interact freely with materials in group times also led me to think such occasions were atypical. She clearly did not want to perceive these as atypical events: she saw them as a normal part of her practice.

Actions as a source of ideas upon which teachers could base their own response, a focus on child processes, was not widely present or understood by three of the participants, although both Liz and Jill were sensitized to this and able to adjust group process to accommodate individual children, as shown by Jill's response to John's fingering of the pearl necklace.

Understanding and Supporting Children's Play

Accepting the ideas which children generate in play, and supporting their efforts to be makers, producers in the world (Gardner 1980), suggests that teachers should understand their own role in play as one of positive intervention to extend and support children's interests, and should intervene in positive ways to encourage the development of more elaborated play. From a developmental

point of view, the benefits of play are seen to be so profound for the child, that active teacher support is necessary for good development (Bretherton 1984, Bruner, Jolly, and Sylva 1976, Christie and Johnson 1983, Smilansky 1968, Sutton-Smith 1969).

Liz actively intervened in play to extend it, to model possibilities for her young two year olds, to demonstrate possibilities in using material, to open up a world of action and thought for them. When Bobby spun cornstarch off the wheel of a dinky to make snow, she saw his excitement and provided a water wheel to spin in the sand box. Ambrose pretended to cook fish in housekeeping and this led to wider interest in fish and a donation of lobsters by a parent. The lobsters swam in the water play tub until they were cooked for lunch, an event of great interest to the children.

> Somebody was talking about pollywogs, and we brought them in, we got them in the classroom, got books on them, so we've extended on that. All day long we extend on their play. Oh gosh, we're doing a good job! Just now when I think about the whole thing [L6.24].

> With interventions, of course if there's a problem or something they can't [do] I would intervene right away. If things are going really nicely, you know, I like to

> be in there too. ...Interventions can sometimes be very quick. You walk by, or you give
>
> Carol Anne: Yeah, a look?
>
> Yeah, 'I see what you're doing' and keep going. Housekeeping keeps coming to mind, because I'm intervening in there a lot. We're doing a lot of dramatic play, and I'm the baby. I'm mostly baby [L6.25].

Liz followed this with a description of what she does when she plays baby -- crying and throwing away her bottle -- and how astonished the children are, and how they try to help 'the baby.' She actively played with children in housekeeping, taking on a role in the play so that children could react to her in the role. Besides being fun she was aware of using this play to extend children's language and role understanding: "the language again, that's me with the language, going in" [L6.25].

For the other teachers, the notion of extending children's play was somewhat foreign. Jill saw the idea of extensions as referring to giving children more <u>time</u> to play, and also recognized that her routine truncated play, made its continuation more difficult [J6wc2]. Certainly an inhibitor of play is a tightly structured routine in which play is restricted by the clock. Donna, Nora and Carla thought they themselves were not needed in children's play, as described in Chapter Four, so that their intervention was primarily negative, to correct. Donna, for example, missed

out on Richard's transformation of the styrofoam into 'popcorn' and corrected the girls who began moving it around, without knowledge of the children's intention or consideration of the possibility it could legitimately have been extended. To support play the teacher interprets the intentions of children and permits them space, rather than simply correcting activity which does not fit her agenda.

Whether play is accepted or not is causally connected to the corrections of the teacher: if playful actions do not fit her mental set for what should be happening, then she will inhibit those actions. Clearly the practice of closing off areas of play from children's use, a frequent practice in Donna, Nora and Carla's settings, is at odds with both developmentally appropriate notions of play and the teachers' role in supporting and encouraging it. Since these teachers also frequently corrected children in play, either by removing material or children from play, the cumulative effect of these two practices was to reduce and truncate the opportunities for play in their settings.

A lack of understanding of the positive role the teacher may play in encouraging the development and elaboration of play in developmentally appropriate practice may have made it more difficult to see the impact of their practices regarding access to resources. Yet their positive valuing of play suggests that this effect was inadvertant. Carla displayed this clear valuing of support for play.

Initially, Carla did not understand the language in which I tried to express this understanding of the teacher's role as one who extends and supports play. "What is it? Can you explain it?" [C6.32] she asked, but then, once it was explained, she spoke passionately in its favour.

> I think it's <u>most</u> important, I do think it is important. I think it's a good idea to extend it [C6.33].

In her setting, children played mostly on their own, except when corrected, but she felt this was due to constraints, pressure to monitor a large group.

> You really don't [have time], like when two people [staff] are gone from the room and you really actually don't have time to sit down and play with them.
> CA: Would you prefer to?
> Yes. In the morning I do.
> I like to sit with them. ...This is the main thing in preschool or day care, you are one of them. You're the friend. You like to share things with them, although they have other friends. You are not like a teacher or boss telling them what to do all the time. ...Actually you are there to play with them [C6.33,34].

By the time of our final interview, Nora was pleased that she was intervening less to correct than previously, and this was part of an experience of major change which she underwent over the course of the year. As yet she had little sense of positive interventions.

> Orlando and Raphael were playing in the water and they were pretending there was a storm. It was [all] over the floor, and you know, I just accepted it like it was, and after they were finished, they dried their hands, I just got them the mop. And they were having a great storm! Yeah well, it was green water and just the way they were talking, the clouds are here, and it's raining and it's storming, look at the waves, how big they are [N6.17].

She said that earlier in the year she would have "jumped in" to correct them for spilling water on the floor. At this point, she saw herself as able to tolerate the consequences of their play without interrupting it to correct or stop it, when she believed it unnecessary. The way she spoke conveyed her pleasure in this new-found practice.

Overall, my sense of their understanding was that for four teachers, the idea of positive interventions in and extensions to play was unfamiliar and their concepts of these underdeveloped, but whatever sense they made of the idea, it was something they valued.

The Importance of Providing Choices

A choice allows a child to make a decision about what to do. It keeps the child engaged in the world, with some sense of having an impact upon it. As well, a choice is a free move and gives the child a tiny bit of power. A choice is also a plan, an intention to do. Control of one's own agenda, a chance to direct the actions one takes, is seen as central both to developmental appropriateness and human learning (Dreikurs 1968, Hendrick 1984, Hohmann, Banet, and Weikart 1979, Rogers 1969).

The concept of child choice and decision-making is a highly priorized value in models of developmental appropriateness. Where each participant provided for some child choice, particularly in the context of free play, they differed in the extent to which they extended child decision-making across the other contexts of their programs.

Liz saw it as applying to all facets of the children's day, consciously building choice into all group times and into common routines such as bathroom and snack:

> That's the point in this classroom is choices. You know you can make the choice [L2.17].

As discussed earlier, even her corrections would offer choice to a child to help him move back into activity, as

in, "You need to choose another bike, which one are you going to choose" [LF1.7]? As well, children in her program were not obligated to attend large group circles: there were always one or two other choices available to them. While most children would be with Liz at the rug, a child might be playing in the sand box or looking at books.

However, choice as a valued aspect of practice was not well understood by several of the teachers.

> Carla invites each child individually by name to retrieve the show and tell item from a carton where they are stored. This takes several minutes. I wonder why the box isn't brought to the table? With all the items on the table, she then has them guess from her verbal description which one she has chosen -- a small airplane. The owner picks it up and holds it, while the other children are asked, in order of their seating arrangement, to ask a question of the owner.
> "Now Gary, you can start asking him a question. No, you guys have to listen."
> "I don't know what to ask."
> This takes a very long time as there are 8 children, and they have difficulty thinking of questions.
> "Where did you get it? When did you get it?" are asked over and over. There are one or two genuine questions. "Can it fly high?"
> It starts again for the next item, all the way around

through 8 questions or non-questions, and continues through nine items. By this time, the children have sat 40 minutes, their only activity holding an object for a few minutes and trying to think of eight questions. They waited, they wiggled, they tried to be attentive but it became increasingly difficult. Because story and snack preceded this, with the exception of a few minutes going to the bathroom, the children had been sitting for an hour, this upon arrival from school [FC4.2,3].

"That was for language development" [C4.7], Carla said, and "the main thing in day care or preschool, some children or maybe majority, attention span is not that good, they are so young" [C4.9]. She wanted each child to ask a question about every child's proffered toy, a sort of Socratic method in reverse, and her focus was stretching attention span, listening skills and language. The concept of child choice is clearly absent from such teacher-directed frameworks for action. As well, choice may be seen to be incompatible with a priorizing of listening skills and attention span.

One question is whether such absences are a deliberate decision, or a lack of familiarity with developmentally appropriate values and how to implement them. Because of the cumulative impact of Carla's statements valuing developmentally appropriate practice, both in interviews,

and in discussing the criteria, I am confident it was lack of familiarity.

Interestingly, four participants did not realize that our discussion of choice applied to all contexts within day care. They said yes, the children could choose material, choose what to do, but did not realize the concept of choice in developmentally appropriate practice applies to every time frame: they applied it to free play and not to teacher-directed group times [D7.11, J6.8, N6.14]. I infer that they assumed the criteria could not refer to group times, since child choice and control of material are not conventionally a major part of teacher-directed instruction. They removed from consideration all the things they do -- crafts, group circles -- which reflect another framework for action, teacher-directed practice. The fact that four teachers omitted reference to group activities and to time organization in considering opportunities for choice suggests a split in allegiance between two frameworks for action in day care, a matter for full treatment in Chapter Seven.

They were much more comfortable considering choice with reference specifically to free play. Donna, Carla and Nora had patterns of closing off entire areas and rendering them inaccessible during play. All three of these teachers would prefer, so they said, to keep areas open, offering more choices to children. Donna and Carla blamed constraints -- time pressures, lack of space, and pressure to monitor while

insufficiently staffed -- as reasons for closing off areas during play. This bothered Donna: "...it's an awful thing to have all these centres closed....and they'd do so much better if they were allowed to go in all those areas" [D7.10]. Carla took it in stride: "It doesn't bother me that much, because it's open again, you know" [C6.22,23]. Although in theory, she "would like to open it all the time," she does not see this as possible [C6.22].

Nor was building choice into corrections a familiar aspect of developmentally appropriate practice. Jill, Nora, and Donna used directions as a positive form of correction with both frequency and ease, but without conscious use of choices to invite the child back into activity, as in "Honey, I want you not to have scissors please, you colour [DF2.3]," or "Trevor, you should say 'excuse me' when you walk by Elizabeth [JF2.2]." (Carla did not understand either the notion of choice or direction as applied to corrections [C6.25].)

There are many occasions when teachers give directions as a form of correction when choices may not be appropriate or it may not be necessary to suggest them. However, the use of a choice, when correcting, so the child still retains some measure of control over his or her actions, is a favoured aspect of models of developmental appropriateness. Liz used techniques which incorporate choice consciously, and Jill and Nora used choice in a global sense of permitting child-initiated activity rather than stopping it

or asking a child to find something to do, with an either-or option. Donna used frequent directions but without choice, and Carla did not use directions with or without choices or understand our discussion of these.

Although I have every confidence the four teachers thought they understood the concept of child choice, and thought they met it, their concept of this was bounded by the context of free play. They took for granted that the concept applied merely to free play and did not address the totality of time and space in their setting as a single context. This suggests the separation of a framework for action into two compartments or conflicting spheres held in tandem as separate and different ways of conducting practice in day care.

The Importance of Child-Initiated Activity

Child-initiated activity is purposeful activity, deciding to do something and carrying it out, with teacher support. It is opportunity to initiate actions, activity, ideas and plans and take responsibility for completing them (Schweinhart 1988). It is a broader category of activity than play, for it includes activities such as looking at books, writing stories, experimenting with bubbles, making discoveries about how the world works, activities which are not imaginative, but attempts to address the real world. Liz's understanding and support of Tina's desire to see the

umbrella opened and feel what it was like to stand underneath it was one instance when child-initiated activity was welcomed. Another was her dropping of her plan to fingerpaint when the children wanted to watch and talk about the turtle, relating it to their television experience. Jill's moment of offering children more tactile experience with the bead necklace in show and tell is another.

The notion of child-initiated activity was new to several teachers. For Donna, it was so new that she was unable to respond, except to say that she thought she was "too rigid" in welcoming children's ideas, that she wanted to be more spontaneous in including them in her program [D7.13,14]. Carla did not recognize the term: "What's that? Can you explain that" [C6.28]? When explained, she described instances when she took children's ideas and developed them into program, in one case a theme on jewellery making, and another on tools and machines. Her way of extending children's ideas was to turn them into contexts for teacher direction. Both Nora and Carla saw child-initiated activity simply as child selection of material in free play: "That they should go to the shelf and take out the crayons and paper sort of thing" [N6.18], as Nora put it. Although this is part of the concept, it is a narrower conception than intended by the ideology of developmental appropriateness. Here is an example of how possibilities for child-initiated activity were unwittingly deflected.

> "We're going to make pumpkin masks today." Carla passes out orange paper and gives instructions to nine children at her table.
>
> "I'm making a rooster!" says a boy.
>
> "We're making pumpkins. You can make a rooster another day."
>
> "I'm going to make a snowman," says another. She either does not hear this or chooses not to respond.
>
> After an interruption from children wanting the housekeeping area open, she says, "Make a nice pumpkin" [CF1.9].
>
> The finished masks vary in shape, placement of eyes and mouth, etcetera. They all made pumpkins -- no roosters or snowmen [CF1.11].

Carla explained her response thus.

> Now in this one, that was the Hallowe'en theme. At circle time, theme, we all make Hallowe'en because we have to decorate the room. So they were told they have to make, like all that we discuss before, they're all the Hallowe'en symbols. So pumpkin is one of the symbols, so that's why I asked them to make the pumpkin.
>
> So but other time[s] they can do whatever they want to. So there are some children they always want

> to do something different. You said they didn't make snowmen or rooster, but I mention we are going to make a pumpkin for Hallowe'en time. It was going with the theme [C6.12].

Carla had such a strong belief in taking responsibility to ensure interesting activity for the children, adding rocks to paint when she thought string painting might not be sufficient to interest them, adding containers to water play when a child in an arm cast could not use what was there [C3.13,14]. She articulated what she actively thought about in preparing such activities, " the ability, age, and my ideas" [C2.17], saying they have to match the children's interest. What was absent was a sense of letting ideas emerge from the children. When she asks me what child-initiated activity is, it suggests this is simply something she does not know about.

The Importance of Problem-Solving

The ability to generate solutions, to think up different things to do when facing a problem, and the ability to anticipate consequences, are considered fundamental to healthy adjustment (Shure and Spivak 1978). These abilities prevent frustration and build competence. Taking the initiate is the opposite of passivity; trying to solve a problem is the opposite of helplessness. The

rationale in developmentally appropriate practice is that problem-solving builds confidence and competence and a sense of ability in handling the world: ability to handle small problems is sound preparation for handling larger ones, as well as making life more comfortable for the moment. The concept of 'scaffolding' is useful here too (Bruner 1986) for it describes how adults surround children with talk that assists children to do more than they are capable of on their own. Such talk conveys to children a range of possibilities for thinking.

Liz understood problem-solving and made use of it constantly in her work (and was the one teacher who labelled her practice as developmentally appropriate [L6.15]). Here are her responses, when I asked what problem-solving would look like in her setting.

> 'What could we do about that?' If they're having a problem with another child ... or they need something to stick with this, 'Well what could we do about that? Looks like you need something more.' I mean if they just can't even see that, I'll say, 'Well there are some things over here, let's go over.'
>
> I try to keep it open. Depending on the child, some children will say, 'Well I need glue.' 'Where do we find the glue?' Some children may not even know they need glue or tape, so depending on the child, of course.

> We go through the steps of what --- 'And I can see that you're really angry, and that's okay. And I know you really want that truck, but you can't have it right now. What can we do about that? Is there another truck? Where can we find a truck?'
> 'How did that make you feel?' You know, these kind of things. 'What could you say to him instead of 'No'? 'I don't like it when you take my car,' or 'it makes me sad when you broke my playdough' [L6.21].

Other examples of how other teachers handled similar types of situations follow.

> At the sandbox, Charles and Gordon struggle to hold the same rubber dinosaur. Donna, arriving, says:
> "Charles, did Gordon have it in his hand?"
> Charles: "Me have it my hand too."
> Donna: "Who had it in their hand first?"
> Charles flashes his hand up in the air like a school child with the right answer. Gordon looks insistent, perplexed, says he had it. Donna takes the dinosaur in her hand. "Someone's not telling the truth. Only one person can have it in their hand." More conversation, too low for the mike to pick up. The boys' heads hang and Donna leaves, taking the dinosaur with her [FD4.18].

As we watched this incident on the video, Donna said to me:

> I didn't know what to do with these two. I didn't know. Usually I can tell, but I couldn't tell --I couldn't get them to admit to me which one had it [D4.17].

Donna's usual concern in such a conflict was that children share materials by turn-taking. Her more typical reaction, she thought, would be to say "well why don't you play with it for a little while, and then let him play with it for a little while" [D7.3]. Turn-taking focusses the child's attention on social interchange, halts one child's play at a time, but leaves the dinosaur in circulation as a play object. On this occasion Donna removed the dinosaur, leaving both boys displaying body posture which I read as disappointment. They left the sandbox shortly after.

Here is another example from another teacher.

> The two girls who asked to play in housekeeping scurry about, crawling and chasing each other, one saying, "This kid is driving me crazy!" Their noise level increases and they tussle. Carla, sitting with a craft at an adjacent table, calls, "Angelica, are you playing nicely in the house?" Moments later, Carla calls out, "Chantal and Angelica, clean up the house please!"

> The girls immediately set about tidying up, and leave [CF1.10,11].

When we discussed this Carla told me that they were choking each other.

> I told them 'I want you to play nicely over there ... Look, there's a lot of people waiting to go there and play, and if you don't play properly you'll have to leave because that's not the way to play, you don't choke anybody like that.' ... So, I was watching, so I said, 'it's time for you to clean up' because I already talked to them about that. And they didn't ask me or anything, because they know [C1.16]!

Apart from Liz, the criteria representing problem-solving techniques were difficult for the teachers to discuss, and required considerable explanations on my part. I felt they were 'grasping at straws' to try to understand problem-solving techniques. At the same time, it was clear that they liked the idea of problem-solving and would like it to be part of their practice. The following examples attempt to show both the appeal and the strangeness of problem-solving to them.

Carla referred to problem-solving as situations in which a child complained to her about, for example, being hit, and she would say, "Why don't you talk to them, [tell

them] you don't like to be hit by somebody" [C6.26]. Humans take actions like hitting when they have run out of other resources to try, and problem-solving with children is an attempt to build up those other resources. Problem-solving is such that, if it was actively undertaken, the children would find more solutions without hurting other children. I could accept that she thought she problem-solved with children, but not that her concept and that intended by the ideology referred to the same thing.

Nora and Jill clearly valued problem-solving and were conscious of trying to assist it, but saw it as a situation in which teachers would direct children towards a solution, rather than helping children to generate solutions of their own.

> I'm going to help them, but I'm not going to do it for them; I'm going to show them how to do it [J6.10].

> Sometimes the solution is easier to tell them than to let them solve it [N6.16].

Donna was quite unfamiliar with the notion of problem-solving as it applied to her practice. "Problem-solving? I don't know. As in? .....I'm not sure. Problem-solving as in" [D7.12]? As she asked me for examples, I felt she was actively seeking what she did not yet know, and was prepared to absorb any idea which added to her sense of it.

The most intriguing aspect in asking teachers about problem-solving was the reaction of the three whose understanding was partial. Donna, Jill and Nora all actively sought what these criteria might mean. Here are examples of their reactions to my explanations, in which I used the example of two children fighting over a plastic dinosaur.

> If they were fighting over a dinosaur -- there wasn't enough -- I'd probably say, 'you have to wait till they're finished.' Yeah, that's what I would do. Or try to find another one. But I probably wouldn't suggest something else for a dinosaur. I will now [J6.10].

> No, no I don't find I do that. I think actually it's a great way to do things but I don't think it's something I do [D7.12,13].

> We try to redirect them when they come to us with it [a problem], but not in the other sense of actually saying okay, this is you guys having a problem, and maybe we could find a solution by thinking about what you could do to make things better, how could you both win, sort of situation [D7.12,12].

I felt these two teacher left the interview with a different sense of problem solving than when we started. Most obvious was the felt reaction that all five placed a high value on problem-solving as an idea. Even the teacher who had the least knowledge of it wanted to be seen to be performing it.

This predisposition to accept aspects of developmentally appropriate practice as having something valuable to offer, while being somewhat unsure of important aspects of it, suggests a tension between teachers' current practical knowledge and some glimpse of desirable possibilities just beyond them. Liz understood and struggled to implement these aspects of developmentally appropriate practice. The others obviously wanted to be seen to do so, and were able to suggest ways in which they did carry out parts of it.

Discussion of Unfamiliarity with Developmentally Appropriate Practice

Greene (1988) notes that each of us has "horizons of understanding," that there are boundaries, edges beyond which we cannot see. It is difficult to be aware of what we do not know. Once awareness is roused, action is possible. If teachers have never been exposed to something how can they be expected to know it, let alone implement it in practice? This chapter dealt with areas of developmentally appropriate practice which were unfamiliar to several of the

five participants. The lack of familiarity with these integral aspects of developmentally appropriate practice is not unusual, for they are aspects which are new in the culture of early childhood, having seen wide development only in the past twenty years. However, although these may be sophisticated aspects of practice, the model does not work without them. They are essential. I was led to consider why these aspects in particular might be so unfamiliar.

The question of whether there has been adequate exposure to them in training in the first place is beyond the scope of this thesis, and clearly a matter to address in future. As well, there may have been inadequate exposure to them in practicum settings, because they are so new. Nevertheless, even with adequate training and practicum experience these aspects may not be sufficiently understood or absorbed and there is a particular reason why this might be so. It concerns the language that describes the model.

The model of developmentally appropriate practice has some terminology which is specific to description of concepts of the model, words which must be addressed as new vocabulary by one learning the model. Phrases or terms such as 'interventions' or 'extensions in children's play,' 'child-initiated activity,' and 'child-centred program' are not part of the common vocabulary of teachers and require interpretation in light of the model. If a teacher is unfamiliar with these concepts, exposing her to the ideas,

the 'knowing-that' aspect, is relatively straightforward. A teacher, like Donna or Carla, who discovers a new term, such as child-initiated activity, can do something about finding out about it: it is no longer beyond the horizon of her vision. Any performance skill requires an apprenticeship, and if the ideas appeal to her, she can begin the arduous process of attempting to construct these in her practice.

There is a second problem with the language in which the ideology is expresssed though. Much of the language that is used to describe the model of developmentally appropriate practice is the language of every day use --- words such as observation, a focus on process, active learning. I submit that one problem with conveying the model to teachers is that the words have one meaning, congruent with the model, to the teacher educator, but that student teachers may assimilate such familiar terms to present intellectual structures, rather than grasping that the concept behind the terms is different than their normal understanding of the word.

Both teacher-directed and developmentally appropriate practice, for example, emphasize language development, but in teacher-directed practice the emphasis is on teacher instruction and the goal of fluency in reading. In developmental appropriateness, with the stress on active learning, the emphasis is on _action_ first (child action) supplemented by language which connects to that action and so has meaning for the child (Hendrick 1984, Hohmann, Banet,

and Weikart 1978). The reader will recall that several of my participants used language in isolation, for example in crafts connected to theme content, entirely ignoring the child's process in acting upon material. Four of the five participants in fact paid little attention to children's actions. Interestingly, language development was the major rationale for most group activities, a context in which possibilities for action were generally suspended. Teachers had absorbed a belief in the efficacy of language for intellectual development but stressed this in teacher-directed rather than developmentally appropriate ways. In April I noted in my journal:

> I am slowly becoming convinced that teachers do not think much about children's actions, for example with their hands, and how they connect to thought. Remember Donna's sponge painting craft, where she talked about shapes and ignored movement of hands entirely. Child process went unremarked. And Jill's wishing they would do her idea in craft, faces 'the way they should be', rather than their own idea, and the focus on talk alone at circle among Jill, Donna, and Carla. The idea that when hands do something -- successfully construct a bridge with blocks or a face with a crayon, that something has been learned, an internal mental structure effected, seems very foreign to teachers, yet is at the heart of notions of child development.

A second example of this difficulty with the every day language of the model is the term 'observation.' Teachers hear of its importance and assume that because they monitor children, they are observing. But there is a vast difference between observing solely for safety problems and observing to note intentions behind children's actions and act upon them, such as Max's skipping rope, the ends stuck in two tiny holes. Teachers cannot observe something they do not know: again it is beyond that metaphorical horizon of vision, and without an adequate understanding of the theoretical framework, the developmental expectations for children in the preschool years, they will bring previously formed notions of concepts for such words as 'observation' to bear on their learning of the model. Conveying the nuances of a different meaning for common words may be problematic for teacher educators.

(One can hypothesize that understanding developmentally appropriate practice requires a shift in mental framework, an accumulation of specific understandings until some threshold is reached beyond which nothing is ever quite the same again. One of Greene's metaphorical horizons has been crossed. Or, to use the Piagetian metaphor (Nelson 1977), one no longer assimilates material to present structures, but shifts or accommodates the structures, in the process acquiring new possibilities for action.)

Discussion of Difficulties in Constructing Desired Practice

It may be the case that developmentally appropriate practice is neither easily nor simply grasped. Donna's reaction, in reading her feedback paper, was traumatic, as she valued the idea of beginning with the child, and saw in contrast how her highly programmatic approach covered up much of what might emerge from the children. She acknowledged that she did not address children's needs and interests in preparing activities, that it was not part of her practice: "...not really, ideally I'd love to say yes, but not really" [D7.18]. Nevertheless, the tension for her arising between her allegiance to teacher-directed practice and her awareness of a developmental approach, different from the one she used, was apparent in the reflection and self-criticism in her responses. One senses, below, that she was appalled that she was not carrying this out more extensively in her practice.

> But no, not really. (then said with irony) 'Start with the child and work outwards.' No, we don't do that! We do whatever's easiest. God help me [D7.17].

In this honest and almost bitter self-appraisal lies something which needs to be acknowledged. The teacher is suggesting that it is not easy to construct developmentally appropriate practice. A particular belief may not be part

of performance skills, just because a teacher wants it to be. A teacher may value an aspect of developmentally appropriate practice, may even think she has the theoretical understanding which underpins it (Donna had an undergraduate degree in Education), and be quite unable to perform the skills it requires.

Donna, for example, wanted to be more spontaneous, accepting ideas from children, but complained that she did not know how to do this, to make this part of her program.

> I think I'm too rigid... but a lot of times I don't know what to say when it comes to that.... You know, it's foreign. And that's where my plan comes in, the plan, I know what I'm doing. But when you move off, you get scared. ... You should be able to go off and do that, but where do you learn to do that? ...I'm not a spontaneous person ... so how do you make yourself do things that you think should be done? You know, I think I should be going that way, but I don't know how to [D7.14]!

Clearly Donna is unfamiliar with planning and observation of children which would permit her to notice, extend and support ideas which emerge from the children, and just as clearly, these are aspects of practice which she implicitly values although she cannot yet quite see them.

Each of the five participants was different in the extent to which she understood and implemented these six unfamiliar aspects of developmentally appropriate practice. What was impressive was that all, no matter the degree of understanding or implementation, strongly valued the ideology and preferred to be seen to adopt it where possible. Although it is possible to attribute some of this to my presence as a researcher, it is also instructive, for it suggests a willingness, a motivation to make a commitment to carry out developmentally appropriate practice.

If teachers were familiar with these aspects of the model of developmental appropriateness, they could themselves make a decision as to whether this was practice which they wished to attempt to implement. However, they could not consciously implement these practices if they were unknown. (In fact there were several instances where teachers implemented in practice something they could not name or did not recognize in talking about it. Think of Jill responding to Jason's hand flexing over the bead necklace in show and tell, responding to his action as idea, yet saying she didn't see the children as having many ideas [J6.11], or Donna's saying she wished she were more spontaneous and yet agreeing to join the research project after a mere ten minutes of discussion.)

These teachers had the courage to share their practical knowledge with me, aware that I was interested in discrepancies with the ideology. However, what our final

interview showed me above all else was the pain of wanting to be constructing valued practice and not fully grasping what is meant by that. If these teachers could implement appropriate practice to the extent they were, on partial knowledge, think what they could be doing, and the confidence and reassurance it would provide, if they were fully comfortable with the model.

The teachers who best understood the criteria characterizing developmentally appropriate practice (Liz and Jill) also selected this as a model of practice like their own. Where the model was familiar, known, it was implemented. As the model was less understood it was also less implemented. One the one hand, this is just as the reader expects: on the other, all participants valued developmentally appropriate practice and wanted to implement it. The question then becomes, if the motivation is present, the eagerness to make a commitment, why the difference in familiarity and grasp of the model? All the teachers have extensive training received in the past ten years. It was interesting that the three who best understood the model all received their training in the same program. Clearly one area of interest to teacher educators is the specific effects of training and this result raises the question whether the other programs adequately convey developmentally appropriate practice. Alternatively, perhaps it has more to do with the stance of the day care centre itself, the 'overarching theory' appropriated by the

centre as its own, what it communicates to staff as desired practice.

Other researchers have noted some of the same phenomena as emerged in this study. Snider (1990, 75) found, in a study relating teacher education and work experience to knowledge of developmentally appropriate practice, that teachers' knowledge of developmentally appropriate practice was low if they had not been trained specifically in five areas:

1) observing and recording children's behaviour,
2) creating learning environments,
3) creating, evaluating and selecting materials,
4) curriculum models, and
5) the planning, implementation and evaluation of developmentally appropriate content.

She also found that length of experience in itself had no effect upon understanding appropriate practice: "experience without a knowledge base does not provide a teacher with a framework for understanding what constitutes developmentally appropriate practice "(1990, 75). The findings in the present study suggest that teachers are unfamiliar with several important aspects of developmentally appropriate practice, and these overlap with Snider's findings. Teachers were unfamiliar with observation of individual children as a basis for curriculum decision, with a focus on the child's action process, with the role of the adult in extending and supporting children's play, with the

importance of child-initiated activity, with providing opportunities for choice, and with the importance of problem-solving.

Goffin (1989, 199) attributes to Schulman the interesting observation that teaching "lacks a history of practice --- that no collective memory of teachers' best practices exists (similar to architectural plans and buildings, legal case studies, or medical records)"; he suggests that we "focus on collecting and interpreting the practical knowledge of teachers." Paley's (1985, 1990) documentation of teaching kingergarten and Lillard's (1980) on a Montessori classroom are prototypes for such collections of practical knowledge and its evolution. What this suggests is that teachers need access to accounts of developmentally appropriate practice to help make it familiar, to bring it into the open as something to be discussed, debated, and reflected upon: we need teachers' stories about the struggle to construct developmentally appropriate practice.

Chapter Six

The Impact of Organizational Procedures on the Practical Knowledge of Day Care Teachers

Teacher knowledge is one aspect which shapes practice. Chapter Five demonstrated the lack of familiarity with aspects of developmentally appropriate practice among several teachers: practice is difficult to construct if it is unknown. Chapter Six focusses on another component which shapes practice, organizational procedures in the setting.

Day care teachers are both producers of structures in their practice and acted upon by previously formed structures of the workplace. They take their place within the previously produced structures and they act as agents altering and producing new structures of practice. My sense of the social act as including both the past (in the social structures present in the context) and the present moment (when the actor may choose to alter or maintain some work process) is influenced by Berlak and Berlak (1981), and through them, the pragmatics of George Herbert Mead, whose concept of the social act (as continuous with both the past and future of the agent) provides an alternative to the dualism of theory to practice, thought to action conceptions of practice. Mead's concept of the social act includes not simply the overt behaviour, but "the continuous dialectical process of adapting in a social and historical context"

(Berlak and Berlak 1981, 117). Mead sees the central factor in human adjustment as the making of meaning. In his conception, humans are not mere social products but social agents also, "world producers," in Goodman's phrase (Schon 1987). Mead's notion of the "generalized other" (described by Berlak and Berlak) as the norms, values, and beliefs representing the limitations and possibilities of our society is parallel to the notion of society as guided by the blueprint of an ideology, or of several contested ideologies (Apple 1979). What dominates the social world then is "not only the articulated beliefs represented by the 'ideology,' but the lived relations taken as legitimate and given, which are justified by and serve to maintain the ideology" (Berlak and Berlak 1981, 122). Both Berlak and Berlak, and Apple, argue that this domination (hegemony) is always resisted and altered, and they argue that there is a parallel between the contradictions in ideology --- the dominant norms and attitudes --- and in individual consciousness. This conception conveys the dynamic tension in the thought-action relation of the individual as both acted upon and actor in the world. In this conception, thought, action and social context are inseparable, a unity contained in the concept of the social act.

This chapter examines the impact of previously produced structures for work on the five day care teachers. Greene, who also links her conception back to Mead, notes

> our tendency to perceive our everyday reality as a given --- objectively defined, impervious to change. Taking it for granted, we do not realize that that reality, like all others, is an interpreted one. It presents itself to us as it does because we have learned to understand it in standard ways (1978, 44).

Teachers adopt present scripts for action; in other words, as they adjust to the demands of the work context, they interpret those established organizational patterns for action as legitimate and necessary processes of work. Soon, these become taken for granted as the reality of lived work life. This chapter addresses four areas of organizational procedures within the day cares of the participants and the impact of those procedures on teacher practice. The four areas are organization of time, the impact of documentation procedures, the impact of coordination of work with others, and the power of myths of practice. The chapter is divided into four sections, then, each dealing with one of these areas.

The Organization of Time in Day Care

> A schedule defends from chaos and whim. It is a net for catching days. ... It is a scaffolding on which a worker can stand and labour with both hands at sections of time (Dillard 1989).

There are several possible ways to build activities into a day, for instance, by whim, by plan, or by the clock. Ball, Hull, Skelton and Tudor (1984, 41) note that "a modern industrial conception of time is strongly present in schools, where timetabling symbolizes the finite, ordered and scarce nature of 'school time'." The teacher in schools is the master timekeeper for the class, controlling the content and pace, and in turn responds to the school-wide time frame authored by the administration. Ball et al. (1984) argue that the organization of time becomes taken for granted as part of the meaning of school, and that teachers then cannot imagine anything different: it would not be recognizable as part of their definition of school. Jackson's (1968) insights into the hidden curriculum of schools demonstrated how children learn to wait passively and to repress self-initiated learning in order to give over agency to the teacher. For Ball et al. the impact of this experience is such that "time as a regulator of activities in school may provide a basic socialization into subordination to time regulation in other institutional contexts" (1984, 57).

Day Care Time as School Time

To demonstrate how day care time is similar to school time, here is Jill's description of her routine, remarkably

similar in form to Donna's and Carla's [D1.2-5. C1.5-12]. When asked to describe her day, Jill outlines it in terms of the time structure.

> I come in at 9:30 and we tidy up and have snack. And from 9:30 to 10:00 we do snack and bathroom so like to finish right at 10:00, so it's not too early. 'Cause today we were finished at 10 to 10 so then it kind of makes the morning longer? So then at 10 we tidy up and I take half the children and do craft and Marion has the other and she does circle for 20 minutes and then we rotate the groups [J1.1].

She continues with this sort of description to describe the rest of her day, with a specific time for breaks, lunch, nap, quiet play, story circle and so forth until she leaves at 5:30. Activities were the 'figure' to be distinguished from the 'ground' of the time slots they filled.

Three of the five teachers worked in day care rooms where the structuring of time was similar to school time, with prespecified time frames for specific group activities, the content and pace set by the day care teacher. As in schools, time was fragmented into segments to be filled. In this section, I will show how this use of time affected their practice and their conception of it, how routine as school time drives the day.

Getting through the routine becomes the priority, as for instance when Carla, in the middle of reading a story to a group, slams the book shut and shoos the children off to lunch; it is twelve o'clock. What happens at twelve o'clock? One group leaves the lunch room and her group enters it, each allotted thrity minutes to eat. Leaving the lunch room on time is circumscribed not simply by the next group's arrival, but by the fact the older children, the third group to enter the lunch room, must eat in time to return to school for the afternoon. As well, Carla leaves the centre at noon to attend to her own family, and has to leave to meet this obligation and return promptly for work again at one o'clock. The clock thus served as announcement of a complicated script for action, a script which held intertwined many individual threads, all of which must follow the prescribed pattern if social functioning of several institutions is to be preserved.

For Carla, Donna, and Jill, time was a scarce resource. They needed to squeeze more into time than would comfortably fit, leaving them rushed. This was particularly so for Donna and Carla, whose situations were more complex and whose numbers of children at peak times were higher (34 and 31 respectively). But Jill too, was occasionally very rushed. In cleaning up between craft groups, for instance, she would be "trying to get everything put away and the table cleaned up before everybody comes out [from her colleague's 'circle'] and Marion goes on break [J1.18]",

hanging up paper products, monitoring children who were finished and playing, and helping those who were still occupied at the craft table. Giroux and Penna (1981, 225) note that:

> The concept of time in schools restricts the development of healthy social and intellectual relationships among students and teachers. Reminiscent of life in factories with its production schedules and hierarchical work relationships, the daily routine of most classrooms acts as a brake upon participation and democratic processes.

The teacher's rush to be ready for the next group forecloses on child participation in cleaning up in a relaxed way and on any sense of inhabiting the activity. The activity's pace is controlled by the clock.

As well, each of these teachers felt harassed by being unable to accomplish what they perceived had to be done within a certain time frame. Carla for instance, one day looked out the window close to five o'clock and realized she had not yet moved the centre van, which she drove on field trips, to its correct location. She left the room, still full of children, muttering, "Too many things to do" [CF3.6]! Another time in watching the videotape she noticed that she still had her boots on an hour after arriving back

from a field trip: she had not had time to take them off [C3.18].

In Donna's talk there was a continuous sense of trying to squeeze more into available time than would fit.

> Maybe the rush of things will stop. I find there is just so much to do, that we've always got one more thing to try to put in[to the day] [D2.8].

Regarding planning, she said, "There is not time, unless you might be able stick it in when you've got the primaries in the afternoon before you do an activity with them [D1.11]." If she got the lunch dishes done quickly, she would get her full hour for lunch [D1.4]. "It kills me, you know, we're losing our planning time for the next two weeks [D2.23]." (It was lost due to school children being present the full day because of in-service programs for their school teachers.) As a result of the squeeze on planning and preparation time in particular, Donna grew increasingly accustomed to carrying this out during children's free play, as described in Chapter Four.

All three teachers acknowledged that the organization of time frames in a school-like schedule interfered with children's play [D2.17, J4.4]. Carla in particular expressed frustration with this:

> Like they just get started to build something with the legos, maybe 8 or 9 pieces to build somethihg, and now it's time for them to play, and they have to go home, or snack time came, or lunchtime came, or it's time to go outside. That's really happening all the time [C6.13].

Hatton (1987) argues that time is a powerful situational constraint and that, with a school-like structuring of time, preferred or valued activities will be unlikely to occur unless specific time is allocated for them. This is simply because all available time is already occupied with other activities. Time is mental space, space in which the teacher has been granted permission to give a specific arena of concern her total attention. Hatton's argument is that in order to change what teachers do, the structuring of their time must be changed. I would add that situational constraints in time may prevent the teacher from perceiving other possibilities: there is no time or place to conceive it differently, especially when she is harassed by having too much to do within the time she does have.

In the day care, there are two arenas of control of time for the individual teacher, routine events coordinated with other groups in the centre, and expanses of time in her room with her own group of children. The pressure to meet the requirements imposed by the interconnection of groups in the day care, say around the lunch room, as was the case in

Carla's and Jill's centres, was considerable. Kitchen staff had notable power to affect routines, and not simply around lunch time, as in the example below. When Jill read my comments about her use of time in the feedback paper, how routine drives the day, she wrote beside it:

> Another reason for tidy up at 9:30 and they have no choice is because the kitchen staff insist on having the dirty dishes by 9:55 or they complain. The dishes have to be in at 3:50 [from afternoon snack] or else Frida won't do them [Jper7].

This kind of press from the routine organization of the institution has a straightforward impact on practice; the teacher is coerced to respond to it in entirety because the consequences (having to do dishes after her work finishes) are unmanageable.

However, an interesting aspect of time organization in day care is that, while there are unquestionably specific points in the day when the routine interconnects with other groups within the centre, there are also expanses of time, several hours at a stretch, during which the practice of day care teachers is not shaped by imposed routine. Nor is the day care teacher bound by the need to cover and master a curriculum, as are school teachers. Hypothetically, during those long expanses (from arrival to snack, from after morning snack through to lunch, from after nap to closing)

teachers are able to organize the activities of children in their care to suit their group. Nevertheless, Jill, Donna, and Carla inhabited routines which continued the school-like organization through these times, with scheduled periods for group activities, crafts, and free play and a similar press to get through the schedule and so accomplish the day. In these cases, even the time that theoretically belonged to the teacher, that did not abutt onto the institutional life of the day care centre, was still given school-like design. This is neither a necessity nor a requirement.

Nevertheless, it may be perceived as necessity by these teachers. It may be so perceived because the institution offers no other experience of time organization, and as noted earlier (Ball et al.), the teacher's own school experience of activities regulated by time may provide socialization to accept such regulation in other institutions. Time as the regulator of activities easily becomes the taken-for-granted script for action in day care.

The following incident shows the power of the use of time as a script for action. Once action is begun, it is difficult to replace it with another action for it requires overriding the teacher's current agenda, an agenda set by organizational procedure.

> Donna is in the kitchen doing dishes. There are 24 children in the room. It is noisy but without much movement. Each child is in a place, though they may

> squeak, roll, set the chair legs on their feet, lean on their chins and so forth. Iris is about to start a 'craft,' and has newspapers spread on two tables and 11 children sitting waiting, when a parent arrives, insisting on seeing the director about a financial matter. No director. The parent talks to Iris for some time. The children wait, rolling, leaning, squeaking. Donna is still in the kitchen. The parent absorbs Iris for seven minutes, then goes off to the telephone. Iris approaches the tables of children. "Thanks for waiting so long." A child whines about the long wait. "I'm sorry. I had to speak to M's mother. I'm the only one out here, Donna's doing dishes. I'd appreciate it if you'd be patient." She sounds tense and harassed [DF6.6].

Theoretically, Donna could have stopped doing dishes to deal with the parent so the children would not be left waiting for activity. Theoretically, the colleague could have sent the parent to Donna and spared herself the children's irritation and her own displeasure at their impatience. However, I argue that the force of practice as it is institutionally organized is so powerful that neither teacher could at that moment alter its direction to see a different possibility. This is in spite of the fact that, for Donna, opportunities for the children to be active (through doing her prespecified planned activities) were

considered very important [D2.4, D5.2]. Yet there were many situations where this valuing of activity was overridden by some event, like this one, that preempted activity.

Relaxed, Flexible Time in Day Care

Nonetheless, two of the five teachers, Liz and Nora, were not caught in school-like schedules of timed activities and did not appear rushed to the observer. Now Nora (new to day care work and paired with an experienced co-worker in a preschool room) began her outline of her day in the same time-oriented fashion as the other teachers.

> It's free play until 9:30, between 9 and 9:30 everyone has gone to the bathroom, 9:30 is tidy up time..[N1.1].

However, the routine which her colleague had adopted was more relaxed than those of Carla, Donna, and Jill, with fewer scheduled activities and a more flexible approach towards altering those that were scheduled. In concert with this, the program focus of Nora's colleague was on making changes to the environment to encourage more desired activity on the part of the children. Nora adjusted to this different handling of time as part of her adjustment to a new position, and told me this centre was "less structured" than her previous work setting, though she had not realized it until she experienced working here [N1]. Just as she had

previously adapted to a school-like routine, Nora adapted to this relaxed handling of time, and now said she preferred the latter arrangement. Experiencing a different construction of time allowed her to make the comparison, and to value one over the other: she no longer took for granted that day care time was like school time. When she was faced with a relocation to a room she feared was more rigid in its use of time, she resisted this.

> I worked there in the summer for a couple of days. It was very .....routine. You know, like right to the time. And like here we're really flexible with it [N5.3].

The structuring of time may be the most difficult arena of all the organizational procedures in the day care for the teacher to surface as a problem. This is, I think, both because of its taken-for-granted personal meaning to the teacher and her concept of the work, and because it is so embedded in the institutional practices of each person who participates in the setting. To a new worker, adjusting to the time schedule is a priority of successful functioning; she is no help to her co-worker if she cannot quickly understand and replicate the schedule. As a taken-for-granted basis for functioning, it does not have to be thought about and can be carried out automatically, as a shared script for action, for practice, and becomes

important as part of the mutual cooperation valued by staff. Manicom (1988, 137) notes that time schedules and "routinized fragmentation" is a crucial regulator of practice for school teachers.

Liz also was not bound by a school-like time frame as the organization of her day. When I asked each teacher to describe her work day, the others began with time and its breakdown, as described above. Liz began with what she was trying to accomplish with the children and a description of the room.

> We're implementing the High/Scope curriculum.... Both Bess and I are really keen on it. We want to follow the plan, do, review ... so they're making a lot of decisions on their own [L1.2].

This is a radically different conception than that of the other teachers. How might the situational constraints surrounding Liz's work affect her practical knowledge to contribute to this difference? Participation in a sixteen-month in-service in how to implement a High/Scope curriculum clearly had an impact for here she was priorizing not the time structure as the basic frame for her day, but the goals of a specific curriculum. In particular, offering choices and continuous opportunities for interaction with materials were important to her, and she had worked out ways to

include these curriculum goals in routine matters like serving lunch and using the bathroom.

Nor was her reaction to routine tasks similar to the others. All the centres had kitchen staff, yet several teachers, such as Liz and Donna, were also expected to do dishes for their group. Here is Liz's reaction to the necessity of doing dishes, and the practice which she and her partner evolved to handle their concerns. They did not wish to take time from the children, reducing staff at the busiest time of the day [L1.18], by absorbing one person in dishes after lunch, so they worked out a scenario where they placed all the dishes in a large bucket in the classroom to soak, and washed them at five o'clock when there only a few remaining children. "They love to go to Esmeralda's kitchen and sit in her chair and have a cracker and get the dishes done" [L1.18,19]. Doing the dishes thus became a special time in the day, a change of pace and location at a time when teacher and children could accomplish the task in a relaxed way.

The High/Scope in-service program legitimizes the value of priorizing the children's development (and thus their activity). This permits Liz to see a conflict between her image of practice and reality. Having seen the conflict, she had worked out a solution which met both the need to get the dishes done in accordance with health requirements, and to provide the children more adult attention (two staff, instead of one) at the busiest time of the day.

Simultaneously, she was permitting the children more control of routine processes. The administration, as well, supported this work process which she invented, because the process was consistent with the goal of implementing a High/Scope curriculum, and this is centre policy.

What is suggested regarding time by the situation of these five teachers? The structure of time in day care will likely reflect the traditional Nova Scotia pattern of a school-like design, (activity in its own time, done in groups) and this will be taken-for-granted as valued and proper practice by day care teachers unless there has been an intervention sufficiently powerful to challenge that organization of time. Among the five teachers were examples of two interventions which apparently were sufficient to alter the teacher's organization of time. (Both Nora and Liz had previously worked many years in contexts where day care time was structured similar to school time.) In Liz's case, a weekly half-day of training over 16 months had a cumulative impact as she continued to make changes in her room and her program. In Nora's case, inhabiting a more relaxed schedule which was constructed by a respected colleague gave her a new experience of time organization. In both cases, the more relaxed handling of time, with children permitted to do different activities in the same time frame for much of the day, was more consonant with developmentally appropriate practice.

School-like design is an enormously powerful situational constraint. In Liz's case it was primarily practical training (and personal motivation) and in Nora's, lived experience, which allowed these teachers to break the dominance, the hold, of the organization of time as school-time in day care. While it is possible for the teacher to adjust or simplify the schedule during the expanses of time with children in her own room, I suggest that it would be difficult for individual teachers to alter the institutional design of time without unequivocal recognition of the problem and support from the administration itself. It also appears that there is an inextricable link between time conceptions and program conceptions. In both cases where the school-like design of time was broken, the administration was promoting a program concept that was broader and more comprehensive than themes.

Documentation

Manicom (1988, 72) argues "that documents/documentary practices are integral to ruling and managing, intending particular institutional courses of action, organizing and administering daily reality into forms which are actionable within the institutional context." Having to fill out a form determines practice not only for the time it takes to complete it, but more significantly, contributes to shaping what the teacher thinks about and what she takes for granted

as legitimate practice. The content of the form orients her practice in a particular direction.

There are basically two types of documentation required of teachers by day care centres. These are forms which document the procedures of the institution itself, (such as attendance, medicine slips, order forms for supplies, lists of who is permitted to pick up children), and secondly, forms which document aspects of curriculum. The latter demonstrate how the time and space has been occupied during the day and include schedules, evaluations of children, observation records, or theme plans. The first type are institutionalized forms given to the teacher by the administration. The second type are somewhat more negotiable, altered by either teacher or administration, as the teacher participates in the design of what will be done in her room. This section considers how requirements for documentation help shape teacher practice and personal theory.

Documentation of Institutional Procedures

For four of the teachers (Carla, Donna, Jill, and Nora) forms which recorded institutional procedures were very similar, and covered attendance, procedures for giving medicine to children, and "logging" unusual incidents [C4.4, J1.10, D6.18, N1.15]. (Documentation of attendance is necessary for legal reasons, for fire regulations, and for

funding purposes, since centres are paid a per diem rate which the government provides as a subsidy to families.) However, the impact on teacher practice of taking attendance was considerably different for Donna and Carla, who had 34 and 31 children coming and going throughout the day, than for Jill, Nora, and Liz. Donna and Carla's school-age children had to be checked off when they arrived and departed so that these teachers were taking attendance four times a day. It is one thing to do this when children arrive in a group, as in school, but here they came and went individually. At the end of the day, when parents might arrive any time within a two hour period, checking children's departure was interwoven with ongoing activities, deflecting teacher attention from those events. Carla, as well, had to fill out two sets of forms.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that where numbers are high monitoring attendance fragments a teacher's attention so that her practice, whatever she is attempting, can only be attended to from moment to moment. It is impossible for her to build up momentum or concentration upon a single activity or group of children. For Nora, Jill and Liz, who each had fourteen children, it was not so difficult to track attendance, even over the two hour stretch of leave-taking, for the numbers of children were significantly lower. For Donna and Carla, with more than twice the numbers, it was both more difficult to scan and to determine what was happening. In any observation, the

teacher must make a figure-ground distinction, select something from the perceived landscape of activity. If her energy is absorbed with continual monitoring of who is leaving, there is proportionately less time to observe other things (such as aspects of children's activity, interest, or development).

Liz's situation was different. She perceived her centre as requiring the handling of an enormous number of forms, including two attendance forms, daily and monthly, snack requisition forms weekly, outing forms, unusual incident forms, supply forms:

> There's a list there, in the filebox, I can give you a list of them all. I couldn't possibly remember every one [L5.10]. There's a form to order forms [L5.12]!

Since hers was by far the largest centre, with multiple locations, this perhaps reflects simply an increase in bureaucratization resulting from size, but her tone of voice clearly conveyed her annoyance at all these forms. Yet because I never saw her occupied with a form and because they were otherwise never mentioned in our conversation (except on this occasion when I specifically asked) I made the inference that while such forms were, to her, a nuisance and she would prefer to do without them, they did not intrude overly upon her attention.

Documentation of Program and Children

The second type of form documented teacher program or children's progress. The pattern was somewhat similar as for institutional forms, in that four teachers used comparable forms, and Liz used forms that were qualitatively different. I briefly discuss evaluation requirements first, then program documentation.

Carla, Jill, and Donna carried out evaluations of children every six months. According to these teachers, these are required by Day Care Services [J1.9, C4.4, D6.18]. The forms used by Carla and Jill were similar, requiring anecdotal observations about arrival and departure, adjustment to routines, comments on fine and gross motor skills, and "if they know their numbers and their colours [J1.9]." Donna, however, had been asked to do a "narrative" description of the child and his passage through the day [D6.18]. Donna did not know the purpose of these evaluations, but thought it was for "social services, I think, I'm not sure, but I have a feeling that has something to [do with it]" [D6.18]. The other teachers described them as "for the files" [J1.9, C4.4] and Carla added that they were used in parent interviews: "sometimes I think that it's useless because out of 31 children, probably we'll have two parents are coming.... waste of time [C4.4]."

Nora, as a new worker in a day care setting, did not have much information about these, except to suggest that

her co-worker Kim would be doing them in February and she would assist [N4.13]. The impact of this was that in January, boys who did not normally choose crafts were required to do them [N4.5] so that Nora and Kim could assess glueing and cutting skills. Also, Nora was "trying to break them from the lego" [N4.13], and direct the boys to do puzzles, so she would know which puzzles they could complete.

> Like we know he can build with lego. We know he can do the snap blocks. ... So I've been trying to see as much as I can, so when it comes time to do them [evaluations], I'll be able to help Kim [N4.13].

The implication then is that something required by an institution removed from the day care itself influences this teacher to alter her practice to take into account a requirement she knows little about but which demands knowledge about children from her: to acquire this knowledge she must observe the child in the activity. The activity is assumed to be both appropriate and necessary and she rises to the demand.

Liz, in contrast, used Child Assessment Record forms designed by the High/Scope program and organized around the notion of key experiences for children. The form offers some ten categories for observation, focussing on intellectual development, and including categories such as

use of representation, references to time, to number, and so forth. Liz made daily observational notes of individual children on a small notepad and entered these observations weekly in the appropriate category, during her afternoon for planning, using a form for each child. The form permitted her to see what she was not observing, and she consciously targeted these areas [L5.11]. This, of course, is what happened too with Nora, except that the content of what was observed was qualitatively different.

The other major type two form was the documentation of program. Among the five teachers, three followed the same documentation. Carla, Donna and Jill all had planning books and used weekly themes as the basis for planning: "our program has to be in our book [D6.18]." Donna was terribly concerned that her planning be complete, her book well received (it was submitted weekly to the director). She fretted over her plan book and was anxious to be completely prepared once the plan was set [D1.1, D1.9, D2.21, D2.5, D6.3,4]. Each of these teachers planned theme content for every second or third week. In Carla's case, the theme was also posted in the hallway for parents, with a complete list of activities, books to be read, songs, and snacks for the week. This was done, I was told, for "Social Services" [C4.4]. However, this was the only one of the five centres where this posting was visible to the visitor. Unquestionably, since the centre requires specific practice it orients the teacher towards producing it.

Nora's colleague used a different approach, introducing her to curriculum webs as the unit of planning. Together they "brainstormed" to arrive at an overall plan for the month, and then, from this list of possible activities and changes to the room, Nora selected weekly which crafts she would prepare, the changes she would make to the environment. Plan books were not a central concern for her, and she felt free to change activity from their joint plan [N1.10]. Her director responded not so much to the plan but to its manifestation in the room, questioning Nora on changes. Nora liked the fact the director would tell her outright if she did not like something.

> Whatever you want to do is fine. ... If she [director] doesn't like something, she'll just tell you. And if you give her a good enough reason, she'll say fine [N4.18].

It is plausible to infer that the weekly submission of a plan book to a supervisor, and the posting of plans for all to see, created for Donna and Carla a higher press to do these sorts of plans, to meet centre expectations with regard to planning, than for either Jill or Nora, whose plans belonged more securely to the teacher and her colleague.

Liz too used a daily planning form, but again, its content was completely different from those of the other

teachers. "It's something we're supposed to be filling out but it can be designed different ways [by each teacher]" [L5.10]: each teacher may organize the form according to her own schedule. Rather than theme categories for circles, crafts and gross motor activity, the divisions of Liz's daily planning form included categories such as work time, small group plans, and planning occasions with children. The form could be done daily or weekly and was to be shared with her High/Scope instructors, who offered substantive feedback. "They're very helpful; that's a nice form, I like that one [L5.11]."

What can be said about these documentation procedures and their impact upon teacher practice? The observation or evaluation form offers a map to the landscape which the teacher traverses as daily life. Each form is an articulation of some aspect of ideology which the day care centre adopts, whether wittingly or unintentionally. Each form encapsulates beliefs about what children should be able to do. Thus, a form directs a teacher's attention to the facets of child action which it describes. In other words, it offers the teacher a set of figures to lift from the background of her experience as a teacher. If it asks if the child can reconstruct puzzles, she will be obliged to observe puzzle reconstruction. If it asks whether the child represents one thing with another, she will be obliged to notice a child pretending to eat fish from a cardboard box. Observation and evaluation forms have a singular

significance upon teacher practice in that they orient teacher thinking towards the content of the forms.

Unquestionably, part of the difference in what was planned from teacher to teacher was shaped by the institutional procedures for documenting program, for the differences in content required by the procedures assists in turning the teacher's attention to that aspect of practice and legitimizes it as something which deserves attention. She cannot overlook it if it is on the form. In fact, the contents of the form are very likely to be taken-for-granted as necessary components of program, because they are provided by the administration. For several teachers, Carla, Jill and Nora, there was no set form to follow in documenting program, it was simply handwritten by the teacher. In Donna's case, she was given a plan book, the very same plan book used by elementary teachers in Nova Scotia. (Since their recent publication in 1990, plan books specific to early childhood education were adopted by her centre.) In Liz'a case, the form itself included some flexibility in its design; a framework was provided leaving the specific way it was worked out to the individual teacher.

Lastly, a comment on the variety in planning time provided by each administration is in order. Hatton (1987) claims that, in schools, if something is to be included in practice, time must be set aside for it. Otherwise, the available time is already fully occupied by other events.

By extension, if day care teachers are to plan for their children, time to plan is essential. There was a wide range in the support which administration offered to teachers for their planning. Liz had a half day per week, Donna a morning every two weeks (but three programs to plan), and Jill an hour every three weeks (but she could lose it if the director needed a substitute). She said that "basically we do that [planning] on our own time [J1.10]." Nora and Carla had no formal planning time and did it primarily in non-work hours. Nora and her colleague would shorten their lunch hour once a month, to "brainstorm" together, after which one would write it up on her own time [N5.17]. And Carla's comment, when I asked when she would do the evaluations was "Oh I stay up two o'clock in the morning (laughs) because at work I really don't have time [C4.4]." The centre which required posted theme plans (and preparing them to go on the wall takes time) provided no planning time for teachers.

Developmentally appropriate practice requires observation of individual children to note interests, activity and developmental needs. This requires documentation in some form. The teacher also needs time to reflect upon what she could do to provide activities, rearrange materials, redesign areas, to meet those needs and interests. Then she also needs time in which to carry out these plans. There was, in fact, a proportional relationship between the amount of time which administrations provided for planning and the degree of

change to the environment in these teachers' rooms. The most change occurred in Liz and Jill's rooms and the least in Carla's, the teacher with no allocated planning time.

Coordination of Work with Others

Each day care teacher works in concert with her colleagues, with whom she forms a team responsible for the functioning of a shared space and group of children. Beyond this immediate sphere of action, the team must work in concert with other teams to coordinate use of shared facilities (such as bathrooms, lunchrooms, playgrounds, gym spaces), shared supplies (such as quantities of art materials, cooking and snack supplies), to coordinate the approach to parents, students, visitors and so forth. The administration of the day care is instrumental in designing and controlling this overall coordination among all the players in the day care. This constitutes a second level of coordination of work processes in which the teacher participates. Beyond the physical centre itself are other institutions whose decisions, policies, and procedures have direct impact on the daily practice of the individual day care teacher. The Department of Day Care Services of Nova Scotia, which sends supervisors to assess whether centres meet their criteria for licensing, is one such agency, and the elementary school is another. This arena of the coordination of work processes with others, both those

within the centre, and those beyond it in institutions which directly affect day care practice, is complex and multilayered and could occupy the entire thesis. However, I bring it into the account as one aspect of the fabric of daily life to which teachers must respond in their practice. I will deal with the coordination of work within the centre first, and then with the effects on practice of institutions beyond it.

Intensification of Work from an Expanding Multiple Agenda

All teachers working with groups of children face a multiple agenda of things to which they must attend and potentially respond. Monitoring is the process of supervising through observation -- alert watchfulness and readiness to take action --and is the bedrock of teacher practice for any adult responsible for a group of children. At basic levels, preservation of physical safety and personal rights (coping with potential conflicts and injury) is the adult's primary responsibility. If she cannot do this, she cannot build any kind of program at all. At more sophisticated levels, observation of needs, interests, abilities, and teaching moments, allows the teacher to make informed decisions about what to do. Obviously, as numbers increase, the stress of monitoring increases: there is more to watch. Equally obviously, as freedom to move (to choose what to do where and when) increases in the activity of

children, the stress of monitoring increases. As both numbers and movement increase, the increase in teacher stress is exponential: she must hold it all in mind.

Monitoring is a normal part of the work of all teachers. However, the normal stress of monitoring and coping with a multiple agenda for action was expanded and intensified for participants under two conditions; increases in numbers of children, and working alone as the sole staff member on duty with a group of children. I will describe two conditions in which the multiple agenda expanded so much that it could scarcely be followed, and the results for one teacher, and one example of teacher reaction to working alone and its consequences for practice. First, the multiple agenda.

Donna and Carla coped with large numbers of children (31 and 34) added-in at various times during the day. In both settings there was simply so much happening (except during group activities) that it was extremely taxing, no matter how many adults were present, for the teacher to manage to keep track of events in the room. If the teacher engages in teacher-directed activity, she controls the single legitimate activity, has but one agenda, and as long as she can delight or coerce the children into following it, she solves her monitoring problems. In fact, an implicit benefit of teacher-directed activity is that it keeps children quiet and eases the teacher's need to monitor when such a large group is present. It is legitimate to ask

whether more teacher-directed activity occurred in these settings in part because it reduced the stress of monitoring.

Carla's multiple agenda after school included monitoring the play of 31 children, the arrival of parents, checking the pick up person against her list of who was permitted to take the child, checking two attendance lists, correcting children who choked or pushed or punched in free play, receiving messages from the director, and somehow also attending to the children taking direction from her at the craft table [C5.12]. With her years of experience, she coped with aplomb (a similar load left Donna, in her own words, "stressed out"). The fact that it was so stressful for Carla too emerged on one occasion when I innocently remarked that she seemed to be doing two things at once: "not two things, lot of things!" [C5.12] and out came the stream which I have summarized above.

For Donna, this sense of harassment generally occurred in the context of coping with the large numbers of school age children at lunch and after school. She conveyed this in comments such as "there's so much to be concerned about," [D1.5] and "I can't relax, ... I can't relax anymore. So, it's kind of hard to relax with that many kids in the room, and you know no one else is watching them" [D2.4]. She described lunch as her "insanity time" and "I've got a pounding headache" [D5.2]. "I'm really finding it's just too much," and "I think at lunch time it would be fair, a

little bit fairer, if they had two teachers here" [D5.1]. These quotes are drawn from interviews extending from October through January. In May she told me in informal conversation that she felt the noon hours to be unsafe because they could not adequately monitor all that was happening among so many children.

Donna left the day care work at the end of the year. It would be unfair to suggest that she left because of particular work processes, yet it is fair to say that it was not a situation which she wished to repeat, and the quotes from her data corpus show that this situation brought her close to a physical breaking point. It is also fair to say that staff turnover is a considerable concern in day care. In the United States, the rate is higher only for the occupation of gas station attendant (Galinski 1989), and in 1984 it was thirty percent (Jorde-Bloom 1986). Donna's experience of noon and after school hours with its hectic multiple agenda, and her evident sense of surviving rather than coping (apparent in the physical symptoms suffered), demonstrates how the expanding multiple agenda becomes aversive and potentially destructive of commitment to day care.

Intensification of Work from Sole Responsibility for Children

The descriptive account below shows Jill monitoring free play alone with eight children.

> Jill joins the children playing musical instruments as Raffi sings on the record player. Trevor bangs the drum with a confident beat, Lisa hits sticks randomly, and Jill marches around with the several children, clacking sticks as she goes. She tells them they can do something in the rest of the room now, if they wish, or they can stay and dance. Suddenly, she crosses the room and sets out three painting places at a table, paper and paint pots and brushes. Three girls follow her and paint. Two boys stay to drum and dance. As a child finishes painting, Jill writes her name on the paper, clips it to a drying rack high up, and calls out: "Trevor, would you like to paint now? Tidy up the instruments first." He does.
>
> Sandy kneels at the flannelboard easel and Jill comes, reaches into its inside without a word and pulls out a huge child-size Charlie Brown figure with cut-out felt clothes and the child presses pieces of felt around the figure. Several children draw, after painting, replacing the marker tops carefully. Jill joins a child who asks "Can I have the rain song?" They

> sing with the song, and as the others finish drawing, they come, drawn by the sound. Three girls and Jill sing the 'paw paw patch' song, each with a turn to hide and be found. They insist Jill take a turn hiding too, and she crawls under the loft. All three run to find her, falling into her arms for a big hug.
> Jill gets up, comes out from under the loft, saying: "Is Mallory still painting over there?" They all troop over to the table. "Oh what a lovely picture" [J4.4,5].

When Jill read this descriptive account she wrote, "This seems very true...I feel I'm just running wild around the room" [Jperl]. She saw it as showing how scattered and fragmented her attention was as she monitored the children alone.

Jill was alone with 14 children 30 minutes of morning free play, and, with somewhat reduced numbers of children, 30 minutes of afternoon free play. This was approximately two thirds of her free play time with the children, a situation resulting from the need to accommodate teachers' breaks [J3.12,13]. The practice of building a teacher break into the time schedule at free play had the impact on practice of intensifying monitoring resonsibility and reducing involvement in activity with children.

When asked what her overall purpose was with the children, Jill said simply that she was there to play with

the children, and she would much prefer to be able to play with them more, but the need to monitor interferes and she is not able to interact much in the children's play.

> Well I feel I would rather be playing with them, interacting with them more, but I don't see any way to do that. Without, well, I'm trying to watch them all at the same time [J3.13].
> I'm basically, when I'm alone, I'm not really involved in their free play. I'm just watching them to make sure everything's okay [J3.12].

And because her attention will be drawn to children who require it, in order to keep the room functioning smoothly, (to get dressed, solve an argument, find something to do, channel rough play) the children who are busy playing do not draw her notice. She says of housekeeping play, "If they're playing with someone, if the children are playing together, they don't need me" [J4.11].

Jill's agenda as a teacher during free play has as its top priority the need to monitor and respond to the entire group of children. Her interactions in play, thus, are frequently fragmented. There is thus, a sharp tension between the requirement of taking responsibility for the group, and the belief that interacting in the play of individual children is implicitly helpful to their development. Free play cannot occur without monitoring, and

for its duration, Jill suffers the dilemma of continuously being drawn between the two, monitoring and interaction.

Jill, Carla, Nora, and Donna all said they needed more staff in at least one context [C5.18, N6.7, Dper23]. They believed that two teachers should be in the classroom at all times when all the children were present. This would permit more involvement in individual children's activity, and less distance on the part of the teacher, resulting from intentness upon overall monitoring. For those working with younger children, the stress of being responsible for the children as a solitary staff person for some periods of the day was considerable and the most salient outcome of pressure on teachers to monitor was the reduction in involvement in children's activity.

Developmentally appropriate practice specifies responding to individual children in terms of their uniqueness, with activities and conversation attuned to their interests and level of development. If the teacher's attention is primarily absorbed with monitoring during free play, because of procedures imposed by the context, such as accommodating her colleague's breaks, then opportunities to implement developmentally appropriate practice are being reduced simply by the demands of the workplace. If staff cannot concentrate on focussed observation of children, then developmentally appropriate practice is less likely to occur, as children are left to their own devices, and individual attention to their needs, interests and

capabilities is withdrawn in the service of maintaining the overall functioning of the room. Whether with 14 or 30 children, someone has to be watching the whole at all times, alert to activity which requires immediate response.

I have used these two examples, high numbers of children (Donna and Carla's cases) and working alone as sole responsible staff (with Jill as example), to show how these intensify monitoring and reduce interaction possibilities with children. The stress from this intensification is absorbed internally by the teacher, and it may well be that teachers leave, in part, when the stress can no longer be tolerated. This suggests an important area for further research, the examination of how the organizational procedures of the day care contribute to stress in teachers. The hypothesis it suggests is that quite apart from low pay, settings themselves (as they are currently organized) create stress in teachers which may mount to intolerable levels, and a departure of teachers.

Coordination of Work with Institutions Beyond the Centre

So far, I have addressed the impact of organizational procedures <u>within</u> the setting on the practice of teachers. In looking beyond the centre, there are three institutions whose impact on practice is direct and immediate, the public school system, early childhood education programs, and the Department of Day Care Services, in its role as licensor.

Much more could be said about these; their role in shaping practice is but briefly acknowledged here.

The public school system has an immediate impact on teachers of four and five year olds. Because five year olds attend kindergarten (called 'primary' in Nova Scotia) for only a portion of the day, and parent needs are also dictated by their work schedules, children arrive and depart from the day care as this combination of parent and school needs dictates. Noon hours, in-service days for school teachers, afternoon classes -- whatever the school announces, the day care teacher must absorb, for the parents who cannot.

For Donna and Carla, whose programs included four and five year olds, their schedules had to be built around the school schedule as the overall frame for their day. Their programs suffered heightened complexity both from increased transition times (and attendance taking) and from the changing constellations of children, with sudden influxes and outwashes. Only Jill, Nora, and Liz had what I term intact programs, a single group of children with whom they worked for the day. In other words, in day care a teacher handling four year olds can probably expect to handle five year olds and to have her overall time organization determined by the school schedule.

Secondly, all the participants had student teachers. These students arrived from any one of three different education programs in the province and might attend each

morning, or Tuesdays and Thursdays, or for a block of time. While the presence of another adult helps the ratios, especially during teacher breaks, the problem for the day care teacher is that someone not formally a part of the setting needs to adjust to it very quickly, understand its functioning and reproduce its patterns of practice. Because they work directly with children, student teachers need to be able to take on some responsibility, and act as practitioners. This was often a point of considerable tension.

It was particularly difficult for teachers if the student was not very perceptive about what to do or what not to do. Nora found, for instance, that students interfered with children's play or sat doing her 'crafts' like a child [N5.8]. Liz and Donna mentioned that having a student teacher could be like having another child to cope with and this added stress in the room [L2.16, DF6.7]. Liz's most dramatic problem with student teachers was that they often undermined her approach.

> If two of us are doing it one way and two of us are doing it another, then chaos.... Now we're having a problem with that with one of our students [L4.5].

For example, instead of passing snack normally, permitting each child to select several segments of fruit from the tray, a student stopped the difficult child, who had taken

an apple piece and a grape, from taking an orange bit, telling him he had chosen enough. This set off an enormous tantrum with exemplary swearing and the entire fruit tray with everyone's pieces sprayed over the floor.

> He could have had ten of everything, that's okay. That's the point in this classroom is choices, you know you can make a choice [L2.17].

A student who undercut her message to the children that choices were possible was no help to Liz, as in this instance where there was both emotional upset to calm, a physical mess to clear up, and a forfeiting of further snack choices by the other children. Such a student added considerable stress, and was perceived as a burden in the work of the teacher.

Thirdly, the Department of Day Care Services has a direct and immediate impact on practice in that it grants or withholds a license to operate to the centre, and offers guidelines for practice which the licensor expects to see in place in some form (Nova Scotia Department of Community Services 1990). A daily schedule which describes a balance of active and quiet activities, group and individual activities, indoor and outdoor activities, and which includes child-initiated activities must be posted for parents to view. Teachers must keep a plan book, designed in advance, but are free to change the plan or depart from

it. They are required to plan activities for a group (large or small), for art, and a story or planned exposure to books. The guidelines describe a variety of curriculum models which are acceptable, High/Scope, Montessori, Waldorf, curriculum webs, or a thematic approach, and this thesis demonstrates some of that variety.

The Day Care Services staff insist that the guidelines are just that, guidelines, in place to ensure that teachers are offering something substantive to children.[1] The guidelines of course have a direct impact on practice. In addition, day care teachers sometimes perceive things to be present in the guidelines, and treated as mandated practice, when in fact they are not. It is this last instance that occupies the fourth section, myths of practice.

Myths of Practice

A myth of practice is a story about how one should behave, an implicit expectation for performance. Jorde-Bloom (1986) points out that what people believe to be true influences practice, not objective fact, and Hatton (1987) too argues that teacher images of how one should behave shape practice as much as past experience. Seefeldt and Barbour (1988) observe that teachers often perceive a

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1 Greg Gammon, Director of Day Care Services, replied thus to questions about program guidelines in the discussion following my workshop "Program Planning: How about Curriculum Webs?", North Shore Day Care Directors' Conference, Antigonish in 1988.

mandate where none exists. What I wish to depict here is practice kept in place out of a belief, widely shared and openly expressed, that it is required, when it is not in fact required. It becomes teacher theory-in-action because of its weight as expected practice, kept in place, in part, by its perceived authorization from outside the teacher. These myths of practice seem to be "pulled out of the air," that is, they may well be inferences based on accurate but limited information, and the portion of accurate information is enlarged in the teacher's mind to become the whole truth.

Themes as program. The reader has seen that a variety of approaches was used among the five participants as organizers for program, but that themes dominated the practice and planning of three teachers, Jill, Donna and Carla. A particularly strong instance of perceived myth concerns this perception that they "had to do" themes as the format for organizing program. There is also an interesting juxtaposition among the use of themes, use of school-like schedules, and time as a scarce resource. Where one of these was present, so were the other two. Let's explore this perceived myth with Donna as primary example.

Donna, you may recall, had been oriented to her work by a staff member who spent four days with her as she began her job, and told her she needed to plan and prepare a learning circle, craft, and gross motor activity. [D4.1]

> We're told, you know, we have to have learning circle, song circle, gross motor activity.
>
> CA: You're told that? That's not your choice?
>
> Donna: No.
>
> CA: And who tells you?
>
> Donna: Well the director or assistant director I guess have decided that before we come in. Now the times we've put it in is ours alone, ... but the things that we have to put into the structure were given to us.
>
> CA: Was that all right with you?
>
> Donna: I didn't have any big problems with it [D4.1].

She also understands Day Care Services requires a completed plan book and submits it for perusal. She has used themes in a previous job and knows they fit her planning requirements. My inference is that the interweaving of these elements leads her to believe that themes are expected and will fulfill her obligations regarding planning.

At our initial interview, Donna's director told me that her staff seemed so harassed "nowadays", always rushed, that they didn't stop on a walk "to look at the acorns." Donna later reported a compliment from her director:

> she likes the way it's free up here ... and we don't seem to rush them ... so I thought well, then it's okay for us to go away from this [schedule], ... but she did

> mention the fact keeping in the things we're supposed to do every day [D4.2].

The director clearly valued a more relaxed approach, yet also wanted planned elements included every day.

It may well be the exhortation to include each facet daily in a schedule, combined with the myth that themes should change weekly, combined with the tendency to insert themes into school-like time schedules which constructs scarce time. There is a perception that all these things are supposed to be done today, separately. Scarce time is produced, in part, by a fragmentation of activity into disparate bits, not intrinsically connected. What is probable is that a change in one of these elements, say themes, would have an impact on the other two, the time schedule, and the 'artifact' of time as scarce resource. This is suggested by the differences among the five participants, for where curriculum webs and High/Scope were used the routine was more relaxed, the teachers less harassed by time pressures. And perhaps if directors exhorted their teachers to play with children and helped them document this play, the stranglehold of themes on particular teachers could be broken.

The Day Care Services staff repeat that they offer guidelines 2, that a variety of program approaches are acceptable, but the perception among some day care teachers

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2 Jane Grantmyre, Supervisor of Day Care Services, in personal conversation, February, 1991.

is that a thematic approach is a necessity. It may, in fact, have been the case that it was a necessity, at one point, because of the limited vision and training of those who license day cares from time to time, occasionally people without specialized training or much experience in early childhood education or developmentally appropriate practice.

Carla too believed her centre administration required themes as part of program planning [C6.37], and in her case that the centre required them because Day Care Services required them. [This belief was emphatically reiterated to me by other staff in her centre, six months later, when I was asked to speak at a staff development session.] In fact, Carla believed themes not only had to be in her plan book, but announced like a menu on the wall each week for parents. Although Jill thought she should be doing themes for exposure to school-like content, Carla had no further rationale for them beyond the fact they had to be done, or they had always been done [C6.12, C6.37]. Some teachers, then, believe the myth that themes are necessary, when in fact they are not.

Themes as program, thus, are perpetuated because some teachers are convinced they are requirements of Day Care Services, because they are patterns of programming inherited from previous staff and thus legitimized by instantiation as lived practice, and because they are perceived as expected by authority figures, such as directors. It is easy to see that the combined weight of all three of these, where that

is the case, could well render it difficult for a teacher to try something else, even when she has an alternative. If nothing in her training or experience has offered her alternative experiences of programming, it is unlikely that it would occur to her that there are a variety of ways to offer program, and that some of these make it easier to construct developmentally appropriate practice than others.

Apple (1981, 1988) sees considerable social control apparent in curricular form. He refers to the deskilling of elementary teachers resulting from implementation of programmed instruction packages in the United States, but the argument can also be applied to the context of day care, that the theme conception of content offered in a school-like structure imposes expectations of both teacher and child behaviour which profoundly shape practice.

Preparation for school. It is not unreasonable to argue that teacher-directed practice, and the implicit belief of teachers that it is important to prepare children for school, in concert with the implementation of school time in day care has enormous impact on teacher practical knowledge. On the one hand, the teacher accepts this practice as a given, a taken-for-granted constructed meaning about group life with children, and on the other, its institutionalized presence requires that her own practice fit that of the institution: she cannot successfully function in the centre without following the practice inhabited by the day care itself. As well, the organization

of time as a school-like structure, even in the times when the teacher controls her use of time, may be taken for granted as a script for action, a powerful myth which she accepts as legitimate.

I argue that the use of themes in a fixed time schedule makes it difficult for teachers to construct developmentally appropriate practice. This is because themes, as they were used by these three teachers, focus on content taught in teacher-directed ways within a time structure which produces pressure to accomplish the routine. With themes and a fixed schedule as priorities, group activities predominate: uniqueness of individuals and appropriateness of activity are not as priorized and occur only incidentally, if there is time.

Summary

In this chapter I sought to convey the range of organizational procedures and the impact of these on the practice of the five participants. We have seen how, in three settings where time is organized in a school-like design with fixed times for specific activities, time became a scarce resource: this left teachers rushing to accomplish the fixed routine, and interfered with children's play. We saw how pressure to accomplish specific activities at specific times, like Donna doing dishes, worked against teacher flexibility, for teachers tied into scripted

routines have few options for handling events outside the frame, such as, in this case, a parent need.

I examined two types of documenting procedures, for the administration and for teacher program, and described the impact of extensive attendance taking, and the role which forms for documenting program play in turning teacher attention to facets of children's development. Teacher attention is oriented towards the required documentation so that what they notice of children's activities is, in part, shaped by whatever the documentation requires.

Thirdly, I described how stress is increased through intensification of work under two conditions, the accommodation of high numbers of children, and periodic work as sole staff member responsible for a group of children. Both these contexts result from organizational processes established by the centre administration and are absorbed by teachers as normal aspects of work.

Institutions beyond the day care centre also have an impact on teacher practice. The elementary school has an impact on schedules, and student teachers from early childhood programs may disrupt practice. Day Care Services, as licensor, in part shapes practice both through actual requirements and in addition, through perceived expectations which may be inaccurate. These last I have called myths of practice. Particularly important here is the teacher perception that themes are a requirement of Day Care

Services when the latter in fact permit a wide variety of program attempts.

I have argued that developmentally appropriate practice is more difficult to construct when organizational procedures have produced the following conditions: a fixed, school-like time schedule for the entire day; documentation procedures which do not orient teacher attention towards developmentally appropriate practice; an intensification of work resulting from teacher monitoring of too complex a multiple agenda (too high numbers of children, or as sole staff person responsible); and lastly, the myth that weekly themes as a curriculum are a necessity. The attention of the teacher to developmentally appropriate practice is fragmented both during free play when there is a high probability that organizational procedures reduce her involvement with children, and during group times, if she has theme content as her priority.

Chapter Seven

Tensions in the Practical Knowledge of Day Care Teachers

Tensions in the work of teachers arise from many sources: two categories include teacher images of practice and teacher reactions to organizational pressures. It is somewhat artificial to separate them, for they interconnect in practice, and they are separated in Chapter Six and Seven as a way of drawing together, in each case, one set of threads in the argument. This chapter demonstrates tensions arising from images of practice and how this affects the construction of developmentally appropriate practice. In some instances, the tension orients the teacher towards more developmentally appropriate practice, and in other cases, the tension results in stasis.

There is a dynamic quality to any context of choice for a teacher: what route will she take and where will that lead? How will that response affect future options? In contrast, text tends to render events as fixed; it loses the fluidity of the lived stream of experience with its multitude of connecting actions and possibilities. The illustrations used in this chapter need to be remembered as exemplars in a field of choices continuously required in the daily life of teachers.

When Berlak and Berlak described the dilemmas which they observed in teaching, they noted, in accord with Mead's concept of the act, that each dilemma "captures contradictions that are simultaneously in consciousness and in society" (1981, 124). In other words, the dilemma captures the dominant norms and the resisting pressures in society itself. For Berlak and Berlak, the contradictions of society are encapsulated in the contradictions in individual teachers. The tensions which I describe in this chapter, while they incontrovertibly belong to the teacher who displayed them, also reflect broader processes affecting many teachers in day care. What we see here are different ways these tensions are experienced and played out. When the teachers are faced with a moment of choice, the direction taken is not simply individual, but shaped by awareness "of contradictory social experiences and social forces, past and contemporary" (Berlak and Berlak 1981, 128), both within the classroom and in the broader society beyond it. The teacher's experience of a tension needs to be remembered both within the context of her organization and its specific pressures upon her and within this context of broader dilemmas for day care in society.

Why devote a chapter to tensions tolerated by teachers? An examination of these demonstrates one of the ways that developmentally appropriate practice can become difficult to construct. It may be in conflict with another, more dominant image of practice. My argument is that teachers

are frequently ambivalent in practice, tolerating two conflicting images or frameworks of practice which influence how they conduct themselves. If they are ambivalent, they shift back and forth between them in resolving specific moments of choice. This was the case for Jill and Donna, and somewhat for Nora. Liz was not ambivalent, but firm in her allegiance to developmentally appropriate practice, and the tensions she suffered did not show the ambivalence shown by the others. Carla's practice was, from my observations, deeply split too in allegiance to teacher-directed frameworks of action and to developmentally appropriate play times. However, she did not accept my characterization of this in the feedback paper, and this disagreement between us intrigued and puzzled me until I found a resolution.

A tension in the work of a day care teacher is a system of relationships among elements which affect the teacher in a particular way. One type of tension is the interconnection of elements in her work which produce an implicit dilemma, a place where she must choose one course of action over other possibilities. To concretize the notion of this type of tension, think of a spider constructing not one, but two webs. One is constructed perpendicular to the other so that each occupies space in a different direction, each has its own plane, and the two do not interfere with each other except where individual threads abut across a single diagonal in each web. Each occupies its own space and time and the two do not

interconnect except for these specific boundary points where the webs intersect. They do not cross into each other. Metaphors as images of mental frameworks have sudden death limits, but I use the image to introduce the notion of a pivot point. The pivot point is a place where the two webs abut, and the hypothetical spider has to decide whether to continue in the space and time provided by one structure or whether to cross over into the other. It cannot do both, and it must make a move, so what is required is a split second decision to go in one direction or the other.

The Concept of Pivot Points

As I observed several participants, Donna, Jill, Nora, and as I went over the interview transcripts and thought about the videotapes we had shared, I recognized that there were times when I could see the teachers visibly struggling between two different directions at once, not brought about by the conflicting demands of the multiple agenda -- for there were numerous occasions when there were two or more things to be done -- but by her own sense of what to do in the context. These moments in particular, reflected a seesawing back and forth between two conflicting ideas or images about practice. I call these pivot points. A pivot point is a moment in time/space in which the teacher is torn between two ways of acting, each reflecting a different mental image or framework for action. (I see a dilemma for

teachers as any broad, sweeping tension that continues to accompany her work: the pivot point, in contrast, is a particularized moment in practice, that will never happen again in exactly the same fashion.) In watching and talking to the teacher, it was possible to see that sometimes she decided to move in the direction that showed allegiance to one framework, and sometimes in the other. This idea of pivot points emerged through the interaction of several data collection strategies. It was the process of reviewing her own actions, either on videotape or as displayed in my written feedback, and then reacting, which revealed those points which were pivots for a particular teacher. These were places where she could see herself moving in one direction, but wishing she'd done something else, or while in the midst of one approach, suddenly switching to another. These pivot points demonstrate that some participants tolerate two conflicting frameworks for action.

Also confirming this notion is the contrast with Liz, who certainly suffered tensions and some major problems while we were engaged in this project, but for whom the character of the tension was quite different. With a unified coherent framework for action, the tensions which Liz tolerated in her work were tensions between an image of what her practice should be like, how her room should function, and a discordant reality that did not coincide with the image. Many of these tensions were handled in a

very different way than those experienced by teachers who showed themselves pulled in two directions at once.

Nora's situation has to be set aside and shown separately, for while she tolerated two frameworks for action, and recognized that her actions reflected teacher-directed practice at certain points, she was actively rejecting one framework in favour of the other by the end of our project, and tensions for her arose as reflections on past actions which she then saw as inappropriate. Her tensions are inadequacies of action seen in hindsight, and she has pivot points where she can act in a new way and recognize this but I will save her story, which is a story of change, until Chapter Eight.

There are several stories in this chapter. The first shows teachers enduring the tension of acting out two conflicting models of practice, teacher-directed and developmentally appropriate practice. The second shows Carla's situation, not one of obvious tension, but showing a variation which led me to a new argument to check out: that developmentally appropriate practice may be inserted at certain moments within a broader framework of teacher-directed practice. The third story shows a contrasting type of tension as Liz works with a single framework of action, developmental appropriateness. Here then are three stories about tension in the work of day care teachers.

The See Saw Tension: Conflict between Two Frameworks

Of the five participants, there were three for whom pivot points emerged, Donna, Jill, and Nora. I have chosen to describe four pivot points, two each for Donna and Jill. Pivot points were most visible for these two teachers, perhaps because both displayed a strong allegiance to both frameworks. The first example shows Donna caught at a moment in time between pressure to keep the routine and pressure to permit play to continue for the benefit of particular children. She is caught between the dominance of the fixed routine in teacher-directed practice, and the intention to meet individual need highlighted in developmentally appropriate practice.

A First Time in Housekeeping

Donna and I reviewed videotape which included a portion where two three-year old boys played in the housekeeping area. It was the first time I had, in five visits, seen preschool boys in this area.

> Basil uses a cordless telephone to 'call his mom.' Ross watches, then states, "My turn." Basil passes him the phone after he finishes his 'conversation,' and makes gestures of blowing food to cool it over a rack of plastic vegetables. Then he places miniature milk

> bottles in their tray. From across the room, Donna calls tidy up time, and the other children gradually gather at tables for snack. Basil and Ross are oblivious, intent on placing bottles in the tray, and talking on the phone. Donna comes to the entrance and tells them to tidy up and come for snack.
> "You can talk on there another time, cause we're going to have snack. You help Basil tidy up the toys. Cause everyone else has tidied. They're all in washing their hands now."
> Both boys put away all the small objects, phones and green peppers and bottles dropped into containers or cupboards, and leave the area [DV3.3].

When Donna had approached the boys, I had noticed a hesitancy or awkwardness, a nonverbal quality not usually present in her interactions. It puzzled me so that as we watched the video, I asked at this point, "How did you feel about that?"

> I felt kind of badly. I don't think, Basil and Ross, a lot of the young boys haven't been in there very often in the housekeeping. It's hard to take them away from it. And I said you can play with that some other time, or whatever I said, but I couldn't say you can play with that later, because we don't usually have the free time [D5.14].

Here is a pivot point where Donna shows herself in tension between her practice of following a fixed routine under the teacher's direction, and her valuing of an alternative framework where the child's play as voluntary action, spontaneous and child-paced, should be tolerated. She believes their play to be sufficiently important that she found it "hard to take them away from it." She suffered the dilemma here of having to choose between permitting the boys, who have seldom entered this area, to continue their play until they themselves are satisfied, or requiring them to adhere to her fixed schedule which asserts that at this time, all children will eat snack. Hypothetically, Donna could go in either direction in making the decision, but in reality, Donna's decisions usually favoured teacher-directed practice while her talk consistently reflected the values of developmental appropriateness.

The second example shows reflections about a particular episode over time. It becomes a pivot point through hindsight, and shows this same tension between teacher-directed practice and developmentally appropriate practice. Whereas the previous incident concerned the conflict between the pressure to keep the routine and the value of permitting individual play, this episode demonstrates a conflict between teacher-directed and child-centred program. It shows the tension between the child generating his own activity versus the teacher directing his activity.

Musical Shapes

As a gross motor activity one dull morning in November, Donna offered a game of 'musical shapes.' She arranged cut-out paper triangles, rectangles and squares in a loose circle on the floor. When the music stopped, each child sought a shape to sit upon. The plan for the game was that as a child missed out on a shape in the middle, there would be a compensating shape placed along the sidelines where he or she could sit and watch the game continue. When Sebastian was 'out,' he was shown a shape to sit upon at the fringe of activity, but as soon as the music started up again, he crawled off his shape and joined the children in the middle, actively moving to the music, smiling. Donna quickly showed him to his shape on the fringes of the activity. He was not impressed, crying loudly for a moment, and then sat glumly through the remainder of the game [DV1.3].

When Donna and I watched this activity on videotape we discussed this child's upset at his removal from the activity. At the time, Donna said:

> ...he doesn't like to be excluded from anything anyway and he tends to take temper tantrum....but he didn't. He wasn't totally pleased with being left out on the side but I wasn't concerned about it because .....

> he's got to get used to doing it (said very low) sometimes not getting <u>exactly</u> what he wants [D3.13].

Here the child is expected to learn to function within the group, to withhold activity in the service of the game and the development of his self-control, or rather his ability to bend his control to the teacher's agenda, rather than his own. In this case, what he should learn, in Donna's view, overrides his interest in participating. The value of the child learning to take teacher direction in order to learn the rules of the game overrides the value of permitting him to be active as he wishes. I argue that the tacit agenda here is preparation for school.

Four months later, when Donna read my report of this incident in the feedback paper, she had a strong and poignant reaction.

> When I looked at one of the things that you mentioned about --I think it might have been Paul, about playing that musical chairs type game but having those shapes on the floor. And somebody wanting to join back in after they were out. And I sat there and I thought about that for a minute, and I almost didn't go on to read the rest of it. I was sitting there and I was contemplating this -- well why couldn't I have let him get up and march around still? And I could have [D7.18]!

With hindsight, Donna recognizes a pivot point, a place where she could have made the decision to go in another direction. Instead of practice which maintains agency in the hands of the teacher, she sees that she might have permitted him to be active as he wished. But then she quickly realizes this would affect the entire group.

> But yet would it be fair if I didn't and made everybody else do it, or could I keep them all marching around and round, and still marching even though they couldn't sit down [on a shape].
>
> Because the funny thing is that the whole idea about them sitting down on a specific shape or whatever was because before when you were in musical chairs, you go round and round and when one person was out they had to go off, and they felt left out. So the idea of bringing something [shapes] in was that they got to go off and sit on something, they'd have something to do.
>
> But yet he wanted to come and join. Well why couldn't he? Well I don't know, probably cause I was not in a very good mood and couldn't be bothered, you know [D7.18]!

Her comment that she provided the shapes so they would have 'something to do' is evidence of her belief that the child should be active, however minimally. With hindsight, the

child's activity, and desire for it, takes on higher priority than it did in the midst of activity. Her dilemma is clear, and bothered her enough while reading the feedback paper that it stopped her from continuing for some time. Whereas previously in her talk, she favoured the child taking direction from the teacher, at this point, she clearly favours child-generated activity and immediately considers how she could replan the entire activity with everyone continuously active. Clearly she is caught in conflict between two images of desired practice.

Crumpled Tissue Shapes

A visible pivot point for Jill concerned craft time. The dilemma for her was whether child-initiated process or teacher-direction should or would predominate. One craft time, Jill presented the children with collage materials to glue to a background, multi-coloured tissue pieces pre-cut into small geometric shapes. Her expectations for what they should do with these suggested on the one hand an acceptance of child process, and on the other, a thematic concern for teacher-direction in the arena of the child's talk.

> I think they should be noticing the shapes and glueing them on. Not necessarily making anything constructive -- which they did do -- I just thought maybe a collage

> of shapes. Looking at them, and maybe discussing them, and sticking them on [J2.6].

A direction of developmental appropriateness is present here in the lack of concern for specific product and a lack of specification of child process: she suggests the child may 'stick' them on as they wish. Also present is the interest in learning, in awareness of shapes as a specific thematic focus: she wants shape discrimination and talk which reflects this.

> From a jar of tissue shapes, Jill pulls out handfuls and distributes them, sorting through the ones in her hand to provide each child some variety of shapes, finding a triangle for this one, a circle for that. Wanda blows her shapes around the table, flipping them over the paper. The children begin to glue at once. Wanda crumples tissue pieces up in her fists, making little wadded bits. Jill tells her, "You're scrunching them up. I want you to leave them open so you can see the shape." She bends over Wanda helping her smooth out the bits [JF2.3].

When the child-initiated process of crumpling tissue infinged on the integrity of the tissue shape, Jill intervened to correct Wanda in order to preserve her focus on shape. We see in a split second of practice, how the

concern for learning, the focus she has selected takes on more priority for her than the child's process, and she used teacher direction to alter it. In this moment, she is following the web, the mental framework, suggested by teacher-directed practice. However, this same incident recurred with a different child later in the craft time, and she told this child it was "alright to have them crumpled on the paper, sometimes they look nice that way" [J2.3]. In that moment of decision, she stepped into the other web, permitting the child-initiated process of actions on the material.

Clearly this is a pivot point for Jill in craft, and she makes the decision to act sometimes in one direction, sometimes in the other, favouring first teacher-directed practice, then developmentally appropriate practice, or vice versa. The tension for her is evident when she described an unsuccessful activity:

> Or maybe sometimes you're doing craft and you have something in your mind, and they have something totally different in their mind, and it's like -- but it's right, I mean, it's fine. They can do what they're doing. But you kind of wish they'd do it another way, you know [J1.20].

She succinctly states the dilemma of whether her idea (the planned one) or theirs (the result of child-initiated

process) should prevail. She tolerates their ideas with some ambivalence, wishing nevertheless for a better match between her idea and their product. The 'Frosty the Snowman' collages on the bulletin board in December illustrate her dilemma. She had pre-cut three white circles of varying size, red rectangular hat and scarf pieces and provided black background paper: all the pieces (for these were two and three year olds) were randomly placed, yet the idea was communicated --- to other adults.

Throughout our observations and interviews, Jill's decisions around this pivot point would be first in one direction, then the other. The tension seemed balanced, her movement like a see saw, first this side, then the other, with each appearing equally preferred in her talk and actions. However, when we met again three months later, and she read the feedback paper, she wrote beside a description of the incident where she corrected Wanda for crumpling tissue shapes:

> I shouldn't of [sic] done this I should of let them crumple the tissue paper if they chose to [Jper14].

She added verbally, "because that's the way she wanted to do it." She told me then that she had changed, that she was letting them "stretch more, get away with more, do more, I guess, on their own" in craft [J6.4]. She reported that this came about in part from watching the videotape. With

these comments, she showed herself to be leaning in the direction of favouring more child-centred practice, and yet even as she does, the idea of the teacher permitting this longer leash ("letting them get away with more") which she can rein in as she thinks necessary, simultaneously acknowledges the value of teacher control.

Monkeybread

Baking time was an another example of a context in which Jill felt the dilemma of the pull between child-centred process and teacher-directed learning. Here again, as in the previous example, the struggle is between a preference for teacher direction versus a preference for a child-initiated process. One morning I videotaped Jill conducting a baking time with a small group, five children. All the ingredients were neatly assembled on a tray adjacent to the table. Each child was presented with a saucer, a spoon or fork, and a segment of banana to mash up. This was of some challenge and the children worked intently poking and prodding the slippery bananas and eventually subdueing them on the saucer, flattened. Then, each child was offered a turn to pour and stir an ingredient for the bread into the bowl. This resulted in four children watching and waiting as one acted. Walter kept up a continuous barrage of "My turn, when's it my turn!" [J3.2] each time the bowl moved from one child to the next.

When Jill and I watched this on video, she broke in with:

> I don't really enjoy baking that often, ... because they all have to sit there and wait their turn and it's a long time to go around [J3.2].
>
> Oh I get frustrated, and I think they do, waiting for their turn. And to see. They can't really see, and they want to see, they want to be doing things constantly [J3.4].

Here Jill is caught between her belief, consonant with developmental appropriateness, that children need to be continuously active in interacting with materials and people, and a favouring of teacher-directed activity which required waiting and following teacher instructions. She attempted to provide on-going activity by ensuring each child had material to work with, a banana to mash. Then in the teacher-directed segment of preparing the batter for baking, the part which required a sequence, she was frustrated because the children had to wait their turn to be active. Learning to wait to be active was not something Jill wanted children to endure: "...I think they have to be doing something" [J3.8]. Yet, in group activities such as circle, show and tell, and baking, conducted primarily in a teacher-directed fashion, waiting was inevitable. The pivot

point here is activity versus passivity. She does not want them to have to wait, passive, and in this instance, her frustration was exacerbated by the child who constantly repeated that he needed a turn.

As we watched the video, she verbalized a series of reflections on what else she might do to counteract this problem.

> Maybe I could have started with Walter first. I wonder if that would have made a difference. It probably wouldn't have, because he still would have to wait. But if he'd been next to me, it might have made a difference. But he'd still have to wait [J3.6].

> Well I think next time I might do it, I might try standing up.
> CA: How do you think that will change it?
> Well I think they might be able to see better. Possibly. And I might try something where they can all have their own thing. ... I usually do one thing and they all do it [J3.8,9].

As Jill thinks of providing individual materials for each child, as she does in craft, she appears to lean in the direction of preferring developmentally appropriate practice. Her preferred value that children should be active at all times is in tension with her preferred

structure for conducting group activities, which consistently used teacher- directed practice.

However, in watching the video, Jill found it looked quite different than it had felt to her when she was engaged in it.

> I think they enjoyed it....It was really different seeing it. And they were stirring, and really getting into it, and watching everything that was going on. When I did it, waiting for each one to have a turn, to me it seemed like it was long. But watching it, it didn't seem as long [J3.8].

The tension between her belief in teacher direction to wait, take turns, as necessary for the activity, and her belief that children require continuous activity with materials conflicted in this activity (as perhaps it might not, in group activities where there are no materials) creating a pivot point around her decision to bake or not: she would offer a weekly baking occasion for some time and then let it "slide down" [J6.4]. However, at our final interview, she told me she had continued to bake every week, and I infer that it was in part the effect of seeing this segment on video, seeing the children interested and involved even as they merely watched, that increased her confidence in the activity.

The four illustrations offered above, boys in housekeeping, musical shapes, crumpled tissue shapes, and baking monkeybread, display specific points in the daily lives of two teachers where they revealed themselves to be in a dilemma about which direction to take in practice, a direction favouring teacher direction or developmental appropriateness. The sense they convey of being caught in the midst of action, between two directions, both of which they want to take, demonstrates how these teachers tolerate allegiances not to one, but to two conflicting mental frameworks which inform their practice.

Teacher Reactions to this Argument

I wrote about this allegiance to two frameworks, two images of practice, in the feedback paper for Donna and Jill, and I surfaced this with some trepidation, for we had not discussed this earlier: it emerged in analysis. Why, when it is a dilemma that seems so obvious once it is raised, had we not previously seen it? It seemed to me that these two frameworks each offered specific scripts for action implied by their values and understanding of children and that the ways of enacting these in practice become automatic, a substrata of competing forms of tacit knowledge which the teacher believes reflect how the world works. Polanyi (1958, 60) states this well.

> When we accept a certain set of pre-suppositions and use them as our interpretive framework we may be said to dwell in them as we do in our own body. Their uncritical acceptance for the time being consists in a process of assimilation by which we identify ourselves with them. ...[A]s they are themselves our ultimate framework, they are essentially inarticulable.

What happens then, when someone like a researcher brings the presence of not one, but two competing frameworks as prescriptive of teacher action out into the open? Jill reacted to the argument that she operates with two frameworks with recognition. After reading the paper, when I asked how this argument struck her, she said with shining eyes, "That's me!" Her reaction confirmed for me the validity of the argument, in her case at least.

As Donna and I discussed aspects of her paper, it gradually became clear that she was astonished at the discrepancy between how her practice appeared to an outsider and what she thought she was doing, and this was described in part in Chapter Five. She recognized my description as accurate but was appalled because this was not how she thought of herself. In other words, there was uncomfortable tension for her around the revelation of how her work appeared (on the basis of what she said and did) and how she *thought* it appeared. This took several forms. One was the realization that she was highly programmatic in practice

when she valued spontaneity, and to my total surprise in this interview, showed a longing for a spontaneous dynamic approach.

> When I was reading about it, first I thought it sounds so rigid. I sound like this horrible beast who's got this thing, this book [planning book] there, and the kids have to do everything ....
> CA: Have I overstated it?
> No. I guess when I look at it, I seem so much more structured than I want to be or think I am? And yet you've got examples where I look back and I think, well that's how I am! And that's how I do things.
> But that's not how I want to be [D6.14]!

She went on to describe how she would much prefer to be spontaneous, to follow what the child wants to do in a group, for instance, but that she does not know how to do this.

> I'm not spontaneous enough, probably because I don't feel comfortable enough to go off into that area [topic child raises]. Because I don't know what I'm doing! You know, it's foreign. And that's where my plan comes in. At least, the plan, I know what I'm doing. but when you move off, you get scared [D6.14].

> ... But where do you learn to do that? You don't. It's supposed to be spontaneous. ... So how do you make yourself do things that you think should be done? I think I should be going that way, but I don't know how to [D6.14]!

Here she argues for the value of an ability to follow the child's lead, a value that is part of the model of developmental appropriateness, and she sees herself, through the reflection of the paper, as doing the opposite most of the time.

In summary of this first section, I have demonstrated four pivot points in the work of two teachers which show how, in specific moments of practice, they are torn between two conflicting ways of responding, and I have used this as evidence that they tolerate two mutually exclusive mental frameworks for practice. Secondly, I have offered their reactions to this suggestion of two frameworks, and the fact that they both confirmed this in reading the feedback paper. What of the others?

Carla's Resolution of Conflict between the Two Frameworks

Because pivot points revealing a tension between two frameworks for action had not leapt out so readily in Carla's data set -- she always appeared so decisive, to have

such clarity about her actions -- but since from my observations, her practice too seemed divided between teacher-directed acticity and an allegiance to developmentally appropriate play, I made a specific search of her data corpus for pivot points. I found several patterns which will be discussed shortly, and one pivot point that supports the argument here, that some teachers struggle with the conflict of deciding whether practice should tip in the direction of developmentally appropriate or teacher-directed practice. It was a hypothetical pivot point, as she considered something which she might like to do.

> Around 4:30 I always wanted to do something really structured, like reading a book, everybody listen, or storytelling, like maybe I have a record, they can listen to it, like Robert Munsch and all those things --- they always like it, the room will be quiet. But then you think about [it] again --- oh well, those children can play with so many things, why they have to listen? ... I feel guilty when they can play free play [C4.19].

Here we see the clash between two values, the importance of play and of teacher-directed activity. She sees these as mutually exclusive, that is, only one could occur in a specific time frame. This is a pivot point where she

considers another way of acting and rejects it, in favour of play. The possibility that both could be offered at the same time is outside her frame of reference (and I will return to this.) That fact though is interesting, because it is precisely how craft activities were always offered in her setting, with the children free to choose the teacher-directed craft as a choice during free play.

Carla and I disagreed about her practice. She thought the feedback paper made it sound so strict, severe, when she felt it really was not so [CF6.1]. In our interviews, I had been puzzled by contradictions between her talk and her practice. In our first interview, she told me themes weren't obligatory: "we don't force them -- 'You cannot do anything else, this is the time we're doing the theme' -- we don't do that" [C1.14]. She meant, of course, during free play, but it was exactly what was done during long compulsory group times: every time I visited I saw her conduct a whole group activity in teacher-directed fashion for thirty to sixty minutes. Or "We really don't close [play areas] altogether, it's all open" [C1.16] when I frequently saw, as previously described in Chapter Four, areas closed for a variety of reasons. When I described my impression of group activities, as long and focussed on listening skills and following instructions, she countered with examples of circles that were not like that, a theme on tools and machines with a visiting carpenter, a time when they made milk shakes [C6.29, C6.32]. This discrepancy

between her view and my view was bothering me as I sought out pivot points, and I began to see a parallel between how some dilemmas or possible tension points demonstrated patterns of typical and atypical resolution, as suggested by Berlak and Berlak. I found five such instances in her data corpus, and report two here to provide a sense of them.

Carla's normal script for bathroom routines was to take her group of nine to eleven children all at once at specified times. The bathroom was a bit of a walk and she could not monitor it from her room. However, she also occasionally used the practice of permitting children to go one at a time by themselves. Two, she said, would make an enormous mess, squirting water to the ceiling, but one at a time could be trusted [C1.9]. She liked to do this sometimes because, as she said:

> I like to see their freedom, and a little bit responsibilities, and a little bit of trust. Sometimes I make exception, I let them pour their own milk sometimes, ... and go to the washroom, and they really like that [C1.10].

Now the situation becomes clearer. Her typical practice reflects teacher direction, teacher in control. The occasional practice reflected a more developmentally appropriate approach, favouring the child as individual, and values of self-responsibility and trust. She told me she

was the only teacher in her group to offer the children this. We see in this atypical practice a thread of developmentally appropriate practice inserted within an established set of teacher-directed processes and offered as occasional event.

Here is the solution to the contradictions between us. When asked about things, she frequently described the atypical pattern -- whether because she valued it more or thought I valued it more, or some combination of these factors -- and I, in observing, was witnessing the more typical patterns of practice.

Another instance occurred when she provided rocks for the children to paint red at the craft table. Her typical practice in free play was to control access to resources: here she limited the number of rocks for each child to three. However, two children enjoyed this activity so much they asked to paint more. She gave them each one more rock.

> Remember I said I don't give any limitation? [But] if they paint too many I don't have enough space [on the display tray] or I don't have enough rocks for them [afternoon children]. I did not want to stop and say no you cannot do that, because if they want to do some art, I should supply [C2.11].

This instance shows her typical practice, careful control of access to resources during free play, and an exception

(though still controlled) which she made to support further activity. Again we see an atypical pattern inserted within a more frequently used pattern. The atypical pattern is more reflective of developmentally appropriate practice, valuing self-motivation on the part of the children and her obligation as a teacher to provide activity when children seek it.

Although tolerance of two conflicting frameworks for action never surfaced for Carla in the same way as for Donna or Jill (as verbal dilemma), what I saw, nevertheless, through this particular sieving of her data, was the implicit wish, the desire, the will, to be incorporating developmentally appropriate practice, and its appearance in her practice as an atypical solution to dilemmas involving individual children. Her response to George's attempt to gain a water play spot can be seen in this light too: once his need for water play was apparent to her, she invented an individual solution which provided for his need. She sent him to the bathroom with a paint pot to wash out, noting that he gets a bit of responsibility and some water play too [C2.16].

However, this tendency to insert moments of developmental appropriateness as an atypical pattern of practice, fitted to the needs of individual children, within an overall framework of teacher-directed practice, was not restricted to Carla. Seeing how this worked in her case, I re-examined the pivot points in Donna and Jill's data sets.

Three of the four pivot points discussed show moments within a particular time frame -- 'craft' occasion, a baking time, a game time -- and show teachers coping with individual needs and interests in conflict with the direction of group process.

What we see is the tendency for developmental appropriateness to be inserted into other present practice as an atypical pattern. (In Jill's case, it was not atypical: both frameworks seemed equally valued in her case, and moments of practice could go in either direction.) Thus, if the teacher were to be asked whether she uses a particular practice reflecting developmental appropriateness, as happened when we discussed the criteria representing developmentally appropriate practice, she of course honestly replies that she does, and gives examples. The fact this occurs as atypical practice within another framework for action may or may not be problematic for her: it is the outsider who initially may find her talk and practice contradictory, until this broader interpretation is understood.

When these moments of developmentally appropriate practice occur, because they address the needs of the individual child, they do not affect the overall structure or the dominant patterns of practice in the setting. Moreover, the fact that proponents of developmentally appropriate practice think of it as prescriptive of overall structure had not been communicated to four of the

participants. This statement appears highly inferential, but is born out by the practice described for four of the teachers. For instance, this failure to address structures is one reason that, though Donna might want to permit the boys to continue their housekeeping play, it was not considered as a realistic possibility. For her to permit them to remain playing while others had snack would have broken open that more compelling structure of teacher-direction which formed the backbone of her practice.

The ideology of developmentally appropiate practice focusses on individual development and priorizes the individual in the teacher's thinking. Thus, the overall structures which it implies as dominant patterns of practice may not be at all apparent to teachers caught in another framework: I will return to this argument in Chapter Nine.

This tendency for developmentally appropriate practice to be inserted as an atypical pattern within more typical patterns occurred with some frequency in Donna's case as well as Carla's. There were atypical occasions when she followed the child's lead in child-initiated activity. Once Susie wanted to "read" to Donna, and did so with Donna prompting her with questions about the illustrations to help Susie construct a 'text' [DF4.5]. Another time, Rachel sang 'Jingle Bells' continuously while Donna sat and listened, seemingly enraptured, with formidable patience [Dv2]. In the feedback paper I commented that these did not seem to be typical events. Donna added, in comment:

> No! They weren't typical events. Normally I'm not sitting down with the children to interact with them in this way. When I am sitting down, I am often feeling restless because I feel there are other things that 'need' to be done [Dper18].

Even as she sits she feels the pull back into the larger structure of all the things she must consider doing, as if this individual activity, while valuable, cannot be priorized, is not quite fully validated.

Donna followed a similar pattern in group contexts too, in which, very occasionally, a child-initiated direction was followed and her agenda for the group interrupted, as in the instance in which Egbert was upset with the placement of the five snowmen's hats on the flannelgraph and Donna invited him to come up and fix them. Another time in circle, everyone wanted to talk about skates, and it was, as Donna, said:

> way off base. And I was just tired and didn't feel like going off on skates [but she did]. I mean I try my best to go with them, because it's their circle [D6.10].

Here we see a value fitting developmentally appropriate practice overlaid upon a framework of teacher direction.

The sense that the circle is for the children, that it belongs to them and that their agenda matters, is very much present, though in general, Donna's circles were teacher-directed with teacher-selected content. Developmentally appropriate practice was an atypical pattern of resolution to dilemmas of choice within a dominant pattern of teacher-directed practice.

I searched Liz's data set specifically for pivot points such as emerged in Donna and Jill's work. Two things were clear. One was the overwhelming sense throughout her data corpus of a singular, coherent image of practice against which she measures what she does. There was no question of being equally torn between two ways of acting: there might be conflict between how she acts and how she expected herself to act -- but could not -- but there was no sense whatever of trying to choose between two favoured routes to action, as with Donna and Jill. Liz, for instance, chided herself when she was unwell for not being sufficiently involved in the children's activity [L3.11, L4.9], or she chided herself for losing her patience with the special needs child (whose best developed skill was pushing adults to anger) [L2.20,21]. It was quite clear to her how she _wanted_ herself to behave, and there were occasions of tension when she could not match her expectations for herself [L1.23,24; L2.20; L3.11; 3.12].

The second thing is that Liz had actively rejected aspects of her own previous practice, aspects such as

teacher direction of activity, fixed routines, and large group processes, and had been working extensively for a year to rid her practice of these. She did not value these, so there was no question of her being torn between two routes to action where these were concerned, as for Donna or Jill. This active rejection of previous aspects of practice emerged in the context of discussing planning, themes, her definition of successful activities, and discussions of daily routines [L1.15, L1.16, L1.28, L4.2, L4,7] and the quotes below show the flavour of these remarks, which were spontaneously interspersed with her descriptions of her current practice.

While showing me her planning book, which she was reorganizing, she riffled through some pages, saying:

> This is all going. This is all old stuff. This is long before High/Scope. Okay? Very rigid, very teacher-directed [L1.28].

Another example occurred in describing her routines:

> We used to take 15 children to the bathroom! I can't believe we did that, you know. It was a very stressful time of the day, just incredible [L1.16].

These readily show the firm manner in which she rejected her past practice and contrasted it with current practice.

In these first two sections, we have seen tensions arising from conflicting images of practice and how these are played out at particular moments, so that practice may favour teacher-direction at one moment, developmentally appropriate practice the next. We have seen occasions when they seem to be equally weighted and also practice in which teacher direction dominates the overall structure, and developmentally appropriate practice is inserted within it as atypical practice.

The Image Tension: Conflict between Image of Practice and Reality

In this section, I will highlight examples of tension which orient the teacher towards more developmentally appropriate practice. These are tensions between a coherent image and a mismatch in practice. Tensions for Liz were not pivot points where she had to choose between conflicting theoretical frameworks as guides to action, but tensions between her image of what she should be doing, how her room should function, and the reality which she perceived as she worked. The difference with the others is that she was working with one, not two major images of practice. The tensions were no less severe for Liz than for other teachers, but of a different quality. I have pointed out that some teachers tolerated these tensions automatically, as normal aspects of functioning, seesawing back and forth

first in the direction of one set of values, and then another, without much change. In contrast, Liz's reaction to tensions was different, for specific tensions between image and reality quickly became surfaced as problems to be solved.

Let me remind the reader of Schon's (1983, 1987) view of professional practice as reflection-in-action. His conception is pertinent to the examples I am about to describe for he has provided both a name and a description for a category of thinking and action, of practical knowledge, which represents essential aspects of professional practice. Schon (1983, 164) argues that the practitioner has an "overarching theory, an appreciative system" which provides the image of how things are supposed to be. This personal interpretation of the ideology provides a vision out of which the teacher tries to construct or alter daily reality. The appreciative system provides a kind of blueprint for reflection-in-action, which is "on the spot surfacing, criticizing, restructuring and testing of intuitive understandings of experienced phenomena" (Schon 1983, 241).

The tensions which Liz faced were frequently discrepancies between her desired image of practice and its reality and were surfaced as problems to be addressed. Thus change was a continuous aspect of Liz's work as she addressed one tension or another, surfaced a new one, or re-

addressed a solution that no longer worked so well. Problems were challenges to action.

There were two sets of tensions for Liz arising out of her image of practice. One set concerned her use of time. The other set concerned the setting, the physical environment, and her use of it as a source of experiential learning for the children. In the first set, concerning time, there were three major tensions which emerged, and I will show how she surfaced one of these as a problem and her response to it. Then I will describe the major tension for her in the physical setting and her series of problem-solving efforts around this. The latter problem occurred over ten months, and exquisitely demonstrates both the on-going tension for the teacher and the evolution of her practical knowledge. I choose it for its duration as problem, for her tenacity in addressing it, for its demonstration of a series of partial solutions and an eventual denouement of satisfaction. What was particularly interesting about this tension which she surfaced as a problem (or series of them), was that in the process of solving the problems, she also transformed her image of what was necessary in the area to meet the needs of her children.

Planning that "Falls Right Down"

Liz discovered that making plans for activities from one week to the next was insufficient. There was tension

between the children's immediate interest, and planning to meet that interest next week, because by then the interest had evaporated: "Monday morning they might not care less, and that plan could just fall right down" [L4.4]. She had elaborate plans to meet Jane's interest in elephants, for instance. On my next visit, I asked how the elephants worked out.

> Oh awful! What we've discovered is, okay Tuesday is our planning day, planning afternoon, High/Scope time. Now we were planning on this Tuesday for next Monday. And that just wasn't working [L5.7].

This tension between her image of how her planning should work to extend children's interests, and the reality, the fact they were not interested at all, was a powerful discrepancy. What did she do? Liz was already using an observation record on each child which she filled in once or twice a week from on-the-spot notes taken during the day. She also had a daily planning form filled out in conjunction with on-going support for the High/Scope curriculum offered by her administration: her in-service instructors would look this over, and she found both forms "very very helpful" [L5.10]. She also had one afternoon a week set aside as planning time, when she had no classroom duties.

However, after five months of weekly planning and the disappointment of "fallen down" plans, she convinced her co-worker to meet with her for fifteen minutes a day, each giving up a portion of their lunch hour when the times overlapped. They could then produce some quick plans based on the day's observations for the next day. When Liz and I met in February, this process was working well and she was pleased with the results with the children.

Four months later, she had taken this planning process further. After several months, cutting short their lunch hours became a burden, so Liz asked for a meeting with her director, prepared her arguments, and requested a permanent daily planning time for both teachers together; this meant, of course, that the centre had to provide a substitute teacher during nap. Liz was delighted and relieved to find the request granted graciously by the director. The daily meetings, now sanctioned by the administration, continued and Liz was pleased with the speed with which she could then respond to children to catch their interest on the fly and invite its elaboration. This particular tension was greatly reduced.

This is one of those points where individual teacher problem-solving practices and organizational structure intersect. Here was an administration willing to make structural changes in support of developmentally appropriate practice. The combination of these factors, teacher problem-solving (Liz generated a solution) and

administrative support for it, permitted a change in her practice.

The Evolution of Housekeeping

Liz's housekeeping area consisted of a carpeted loft up a child-size stairway. It held a small wooden sink and stove, a cupboard. a box with clothes and purses and shoes, an area of dolls and blankets and baby paraphernalia. Liz had two problems with the area. One was the children's insistence on transporting sand up to housekeeping and the other was her perception that the area contained insufficient material for their play.

At my first visit, Liz explained thay had 'a problem with sand going up to the housekeeping.' The sand area was on the main level. To bring sand up to housekeeping the children crossed the entrance area, went past the book corner and up the stairs. As she tells me this, I am reminded how very much two year olds enjoy moving substances about, filling, carrying, and dumping. Most materials in Liz's room were free to move around the room at the child's will, but the maintenance staff had such difficulty cleaning the sand out of the carpeted loft that it was causing a continuous problem for Liz.

At the same time, she bemoaned the inadequacy of the housekeeping area in general, its lack of organization and of sufficient material. "Now that area is in dire need of

some help" [L1.3]. At our first interview, Liz described how a student teacher was taking on the "enhancement" of housekeeping as a project. Housekeeping in particular, did not have enough materials in it, in her view. The student collected donations from parents for housekeeping and organized the area with labels for pots and pans, milk cartons and dish detergent, "put in new shoes and new purses and some new clothes and we still don't have a crib but we have a box up there that's subbing as a crib which works wonderful" [L4.1]. Liz still "would like to see a lot more things up there" [L4.1], but was permitting the student to take the initiative.

By my third visit, she had found the solution to the problem of sand going up to housekeeping. She had removed all the containers in the sand area and "put things [in] that sand goes right through" [L3.20]. She replaced the bowls and cups with funnels and tubes and sieves: the sand ran through the implement before the children could carry it anywhere, and focussed their attention on a different process. This reduced the problem effectively, for the time.

However, shortly after this visit, paint started to make its way upstairs. "They were taking paint containers and taking them upstairs and pouring them and making soup, and a lot of paint got on the carpet" [L5.5]! Paint was not to go up to the loft either, but how could she prevent this and still meet their need for this type of activity? Liz

set up a "gooey area," "lots of activities with cooking pots and bowls and gooey substances and goop ... pouring and mixing playdough with sand, and they need that obviously ... and the kids are just loving it" [L5.5].

Liz continued to work away at the problem on two fronts, a new messy area to meet this need for malleable cooking-like material, and more house-like materials for housekeeping. "There's not enough materials up there just yet," [L5.1] she tells me, though she "just got our new food," plastic apples and green peppers. She thinks the area needs "more things to manipulate." As we watched a video of children in housekeeping, she documented this need for material. On the video, Dryden called out, "Where's the plates?" Watching this, Liz said:

> Gosh, I don't think I even heard him. He cooked and he needed a plate. We really need to get together on that area ... Isn't that sad? It's sad because he needed that material [L5.4].

At this same interview, I asked what her ideal setting would look like. She provided a vivid and detailed description. As part of this she said:

> Well again it's the housekeeping. More things for the housekeeping. ... And I would move the housekeeping

> downstairs. I really like the loft idea but I think the loft would be nice for a book corner [L5.12].

This was in February. In April I dropped in briefly and Liz told me "housekeeping was coming downstairs, going right next to sand." At our final interview, she reported they had moved it downstairs, as planned, with surprising and satisfying results, and I give her report.

> And you know what? There's hardly any materials in there at all! Remember me? We need more materials, we have to have more of this, more of that.
>
> CA: Yes! So what happened?
>
> Liz: There's three pots, two muffin tins, like you saw the pegboard with them seriated on there? Parents will bring in boxes with food stuffs, all that, just to leave it out for awhile. I like to encourage them to do that. And what else is in there, a stove and a sink.
>
> CA: So are you finding it doesn't need materials like you thought it did? What happened there?
>
> Liz: No, no. Well block play came in and sand play came in and water, so they're representing the things with those and they don't need the stuff I fretted over! There's less in there, less, a lot less, and it works great. It works fine.

> ...Oh the play's more imaginative. They're using, (gestures) 'this is going to be this and this is something else.' A lot of representation.
> When I brought down all the materials that were in the housekeeping, Bess and I brought them down, there wasn't enough room for everything we had there. Like we lost quite a bit of shelf space. And I said let's just take it all out, and leave the basics here. They're using it really really well. You know, beads are popcorn, things are this and things are that, it's great.
> CA: So you didn't need plates after all!
> Liz: No, we didn't need plates. Who needs plates. This block is a plate, and this block standing up this way is a cup [L6.17,18]!

Liz removed housekeeping from the problematic carpet, brought it down into the busiest area of the classroom, adjacent to sand, and permitted children to interchange materials from one area to another. At first she worried because she had provided less material than in the loft, and then she found the area working superbly with less, once the children could readily bring items from other areas. This had the added benefit of generating play that was more imaginative. Lack of material resources for housekeeping, as a tension, dissolved, and the tension over the movement of sand was preempted by bringing the two areas into

proximity, permitting the actions which the carpet had led her to correct. And in the process of meeting their need, saving the carpet, and reducing the tensions from this problem, she had transformed her own image of what it was necessary to provide in this favourite play area of the children. This, I submit, is a series of reflections-in-action, a series of unique solutions to problems that provided major tension for the duration of the period I was working with Liz and a demonstration of Liz's practical knowledge and its evolution.

It is also an example of the degree of change in Liz's room, the sense that there is continuous flux as small adjustments are tried out. I have described only the houskeeping area, but there were continual small changes in other areas. There was a dynamic quality to her room, a sense of alertness to possibility, a tendency to interpret the actions of children as expressing need, and a willingness to search out the intention and meet it, in part, by adjusting the physical environment.

Discussion of Difficulties in Constructing Developmentally Appropriate Practice

What I have demonstrated here oversimplifies tensions in the work of day care teachers. I do not mean to suggest that those tolerating two frameworks for action never problem-solved or that Liz never simply tolerated some of

her tensions. Rather I have attempted to show examples of different kinds of tensions occurring for teachers with different frameworks for practice.

In this chapter we have seen three different levels of use of developmentally appropriate practice. Liz tries to implement it consistently. Jill balances it with another valued framework for action, teacher-directed practice. Donna and Carla insert moments of developmentally appropriate practice as an atypical pattern within an overall structure of teacher-direction, but evidently value it more than this atypical use would suggest. Let's examine the difficulty in each case. In Liz's case, she is limited by constraints within herself and within the day care as an institution which she sees do not match the ideology, but her image of practice is clear, and her practice is one interpretation of the ideology.

How might conflict between images of practice render developmentally appropriate practice more difficult to construct? When this conflict occurs, a problem cannot be addressed within the mental frame of a single image because a contradictory image competes for mental space. Take the problem of George finding a space at water play. From the perspective of developmental appropriateness, possible solutions to the quandary of scarce water play spaces include options such as adding more water play areas (like Liz added a 'gooey' area) to increase popular resources, or increasing the time when water play is available. These

solutions priorize the child's constructive activity over waiting or following instructions. However, a contradictory image which sees learning to wait, to listen and follow instructions as priorities, has no difficulty absorbing a child waiting for a water play space. The image of developmental appropriateness suggests lost opportunities for development whereas the image of teacher direction suggests a child learning to wait his turn, to delay gratification. What is problematic for one image is not for the other and this makes the surfacing of problems to address much more difficult.

As well, in the third instance, when developmentally appropriate practice is inserted as an atypical pattern within practice which is largely teacher-directed, it becomes a useful mode for dealing with problems of individual children, but this use does not impinge upon the overall framework for practice in the setting. The fact that developmentally appropriate practice even offers an overall framework for practice may be missed. Where developmentally appropriate practice is the subdominant practice, it is the weaker of the two frameworks in terms of its impact on the environment and its frequency. And when it is a subdominant pattern within a dominant pattern of teacher-directed practice, as it was for Carla and Donna, the two frameworks may not be experienced as contradictory (as when the two frameworks are equally valued by a teacher like Jill), as in conflict, and thus something to think

about. Without reflection (either from the teacher or the administration) practice remains undisturbed.

The fact that conflicts remain unrecognized, compartmentalized, is not unusual in human activity. Duckworth (1987, 39) notes this in regard to children's intellectual development.

> At certain levels, children do not even see the conflicts in their own thinking. Conflicting notions are simply compartmentalized, and no need is felt to reconcile them. Only if children recognized and were bothered by a conflict did they sometimes manage to construct a more adequate notion to coordinate the two conflicting ones.

The data in this chapter suggests that teachers too compartmentalize conflicts in their practical knowledge.

Another difficulty is this. If a teacher is implementing teacher-directed practice, then time is likely a scarce resource, as was the case for Donna, Jill, and Carla. The teacher is so busy keeping this practice in place that there is little time remaining to think about alternative forms of practice. As Maxine Greene (1978, 18) says:

> No one's self is ready-made; each of us has to create a self by choice of action, action in the world. Such

action, if it is to be meaningful, must be informed by critical reflection, because the one who is submerged, who cannot see, is likely to be caught in stasis, unable to move.

Without surfacing specific aspects of practice as problems worthy of examination, as challenges to action, she will continue established patterns of practice as scripts for action, because of constraints in time use and the persistent demands of the multiple agenda. It is these scripts for action and the possibilities for reflection which are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Eight

Scripts, Reflection and Stories of Change

The purpose of this chapter is to compare scripts for action and reflection-in/on-action in teacher practical knowledge, and how this contributes to difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice. We will see that several participants inherited scripts for action which became tacit, taken-for-granted patterns of functioning. These inherited scripts may be developmentally appropriate or teacher-directed, but whatever was currently in place tended to be adopted as validated practice. I will argue that it is difficult to construct developmentally appropriate practice when teacher-directed scripts have become automatic practice. Because they are closed-ended, teacher-controlled, tacitly understood, and performed at speed, they may undercut reflection. The first section examines teacher-directed scripts. Secondly, I examine examples of reflection as they occurred in this study. What emerged was a difference in the quality of reflection among those following teacher-directed or developmentally appropriate practice. Is there something in teacher-directed practice which renders teachers less able to reflect or raise problems as issues to resolve?

Shank and Abelson (1976, 41) argue that a script "is a structure that describes appropriate sequences of events in

a particular context;" it is a "predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation". The notion of a script for action is broad: it includes not simply conceptual information, but thoughts, feelings, perceptions, images of action, goals and expectations, interacting in space and time. It links events and, like stories, provides "connectivity" (Shank and Abelson, 1976, 41). In any endeavour which requires repeated performance, like day care teaching, scripts for routine events are quickly formed and become automatic: this is because simpler skills are gradually subsumed into larger wholes, as in the example Polanyi (1958) uses, where the skill necessary in using a hammer becomes subordinated in consciousness to a focus on the task of hitting the head of the nail. The subordinated skills are taken for granted. Taking some things for granted, attention can be focussed on key matters.

Eisner (1985, 176) points out the relationship between scripts for action and change possibilities when he says:

> It is through repertoires or routines that the teacher can devote his or her energies and attention to what is emerging in class. ... It is precisely the tension between automaticity and inventiveness that makes teaching, like any other art, so complex an undertaking. Without automaticity and the ability to

> call on stock responses, energies are lost and inventiveness is hampered.

Teaching seems easier, less overwhelming, to the experienced teacher in part because her repertoire of automatic practice is much more developed than that of the beginning teacher: mental space is freed up to think of other things. It is the balancing of automaticity and inventiveness that this chapter considers.

It seems obvious that we could not function without scripts for action. Without them, attention would be forever consumed by the lowest level of functioning to cope with a situation. Scripts also seem incontrovertibly linked to skill levels, for in learning to do something we build up scripts for action which become tacit knowledge, which we perform automatically. Much of lived life is repetition of routine event and any event frequently repeated will soon have its script for action by the perpetuator. To learn something new, the automaticity of scripts for action has to be broken, reconstructed.

What should also be clear from the outset is that any form of practice has automatic scripts. Whether a day care teacher follows teacher-directed or developmentally appropriate practice, she constructs or adopts some scripts as a foundation for performance skills. Where actions or interactions are repeated frequently, this is bound to occur. I will shortly argue that the character of the

scripts is different in teacher-directed and developmentally appropriate practice. What I want to do first is demonstrate some examples of scripts in developmentally appropriate practice to show their presence there. Three examples should suffice. Liz noted in discussing her provision of a running commentary to children on their actions that this was terribly important for their language development and that she now does this running commentary automatically: "I just do it now, I don't even realize [I'm doing it]"[L2.9]. She performed this kind of descriptive talk so continuously and repeatedly for children it was clear that doing so had become an automatic script for action. Another example is Nora's newly acquired script for observing a child's actions, rather than jumping in with a correction; watch for the example later in this chapter where she permits a child to paint the skin of her own hand. A third example is the class of sentences which Liz [L6.21] used to begin a problem-solving situation: "What could we do about that?" or " Where can we find another _____?" Although my attention to scripts in this chapter concerns scripts for teacher-directed activity and the effect of this as automatic practice on day care teachers, developmentally appropriate practice has automatic scripts for action too, and this should be recognized.

Scripts for Teacher-directed Practice

The argument I wish to make is that among the participants, automatic scripts for teacher-directed activity were in place, quickly adopted by teachers and perpetuated without reflection. This is not a criticism of teachers: it is the nature of a script to be done automatically. Lack of reflection is normal in automatic activity. However, the fact this automatic practice is in place and so easily acquired through lived experience makes develomentally appropriate practice more difficult to construct.

Eisner (1985, 91) points out that "schools prepare most people for positions and contexts that in many respects are quite similar to what they experienced in school as students: hierarchical organization, one-way communication, routine; in short, compliance to purposes set by another." Where the teacher steps into this set of scripts in day care, the implicit expectation is that now it is her turn to set the purposes, to prepare the agenda for action. Grant and Sleeter (1985), in a three year study of a midwestern American school, noted the tendency for teachers to perpetuate traditional teaching practice, suggesting a failure of imagination on the teachers part to produce innovative practice. Hatton (1987) counters their argument with the suggestion that practice is circumscribed more by context (use of time in particular) than they recognized,

and by teacher images of practice, of the teacher as arbiter of social control. 1

The notion that teachers "mindsets" or conceptions of knowledge are derived from teachers work situations and experience, that is from practical contexts rather than theory or training is frequently acknowledged (Clandinin and Connelly 1986; Nias 1986; Sachs 1987). Meaning is derived from lived experience and the script for action provides predictability for the actor; it reduces uncertainty.

How do scripts for teacher-directed practice become a part of a particular teacher's repertoire? Data for two powerful routes to the adoption of scripts will be presented and discussed. Scripts for teacher-directed activity may be inherited by teachers as patterns that define day care work. Secondly, teacher planning of themes is closely connected to the construction of scripts, for the teacher prepares a personal script for action to fit into a situational script in the setting. With a fixed schedule marking a time for circle, craft, and play, personal patterns quickly become entrenched. Inheriting scripts from others and constructing scripts as teacher plans are two routes to acquiring scripts for teacher-directed practice in day care. Each type can be

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1 This tendency to site failings in teachers, a 'blame the teacher syndrome,' rather than seeing beyond the individual teacher to the surrounding social pressures which affect her work, is a common failing among researchers. Hatton (1987) and Apple (1987) note this, and it was part of my experience too, as I at first saw a lack of adequate practice as centred in teachers. I am indebted to Ann Manicom for leading me to the point where I could see that the limits of the individual are not simply individual but constituted in the work processes that surround her in the work context.

called up and enacted when triggered by action rules (Halkes 1988) which connect teacher theory with presently lived experience. I will discuss each of these routes into scripts separately.

Scripts as Inherited Routines

When a day care teacher begins work in the setting, unless the centre is brand new, she inherits a package of routine uses for time and space. For the day care teacher, patterns of handling groups of children, of organizing the day into time frames, of moving the children through space and time, are passed on to her in the midst of their enactment in the present, with the implicit expectation that she will continue them. It is necessary for the functioning of the institution. Since two of my participants, Donna and Nora, were new to the job as my research began, this process was apparent. Nora absorbed scripts for action which were new to her and which she showed a disposition to value over the ones in place in the job she had left. This emerged several times, as in in this instance where we discuss the content and handling of circles. (In her previous job she used themes as program content.)

CA: When you said, 'Here you do the stories and the songs at circle,' were you asked then? Or told to do

> that at circle times, rather than what you've previously done?
> Nora: Well I asked them what their circle times were, and they said it's stories, songs, games.
> CA: So it wasn't that you were instructed to do this?
> Nora: No, that was their routine already, which I like a lot better. I find it's more interesting than talking about trucks or dinosaurs [N3.9].

She indicates here that she has slipped into an established process for conducting circles with children, a script for circle which includes specific kinds of content, and that she prefers this to the theme scripts which she had previously used. We see the power of an inherited script, enacted in the setting, as a determinant of practice: in this case, it was an agent of change.

Jill too, demonstrated the impact of inherited patterns on her practice. For instance Jill has always used themes and has never questioned this. It is part of her history.

> That was the way it was when I came and I guess I think that's the way it should be done, so that's the way I do it. I don't know any different way to do it [J1.17,18].

I had asked her what provides the structure for her program: I knew she knew this intimately, because she successfully

performed it daily. However, she could not articulate it for me, because it was, as Polanyi would say, automatic or tacit knowledge.

> Jill: I just follow the footsteps.
>
> CA: What footsteps?
>
> Jill: Well the day care, that's the way they do it. They have circle and they have craft, and I mean I've changed a few things. But that's, when I started, that's the way the person I worked with did it and I just keep doing it. All these years [J2.5].

Here we see the power of the scripts in place in the setting to suggest their own continuation. They are followed automatically, since they are in place and seem to be expected practice.

Liz too, said that she had used teacher-directed practice for seven years, until the intervention of the High/Scope in-service. If nothing else, such statements demonstrate the critical importance of the initial patterns or scripts for action undertaken in a setting: they have the power to prescribe the future, simply because they are in place.

Scripts in place in a setting, whether teacher-directed or developmentally appropriate, can become part of a teacher's practice without conscious reflection or judgment on the part of either teacher or administration. In Nora's

case, for instance, it became clear in our final interview that the practice of closing play areas for misuse (such as closing housekeeping when it was not adequately tidied), was a pattern inherited by Nora's colleague. Neither teacher was comfortable with it, yet both followed it as accepted practice. At this interview Nora described how she had changed, how for instance, she and her co-worker have tried "to work out a way where you don't close anything" [N6.1].

> Instead of closing something we might redirect the child to something else, or sit with them [sic], and try, you know, to work the problem out ... 'cause this [closing areas] is the way it was when she went in the room [N6.1,2].

Both had followed a practice neither liked, for months in one case and years in the other. One of the most interesting questions to me at this point is what happens to permit a teacher to surface an automatic script as a problem? What permits her, after months or years, to tip her attention so that the script is called up out of the background of automatic response and becomes a situation she wishes to address differently?

However, inherited scripts to handle transitions and time frames for program content were not the only events around which teachers adopted scripts for action in day care.

Teacher Plans as a Source of Scripts

Goffin (1989, 191, 192), who also cites Shavelson on this point, notes that plans become scripts.

> During planning, teachers formulate a course of action for carrying out instruction. Plans become scripts for carrying out teaching, and they change intentions into actions.

Scripts for action are embedded in the conventional content of day care and are apparent as the teacher plans what to do. Theme planning, for example, as it was done by Donna, Carla and Jill, was basically the construction of scripts for teacher-directed activity into which children's responses would fit in prescribed ways. Donna's shape circle and Carla's smelling jar circle demonstrate this. As well, scripts for action are present in every song and fingerplay which a teacher selects, in crafts in which the teacher plans a specific product and how it is to be accomplished, in dittos and colouring book pages which announce to the child a program for colouring. Games in music, board and card games, all announce a particular script, a prescribed sequence of actions, or rules, which follow from selection of the script. When the teacher chooses any of these as part of her planned activities she

is choosing specific scripts, which she already knows (or memorizes or reminds herself of with notes close by [JF1.10, DF5.3]). The action plan is set and the activity consists in carrying out the prescribed sequence to accomplish the event. In experiencing these, the child lives out a given script with prescribed social content. In fact, these games, crafts, songs, stories, fingerplays, and theme content that form the bulk of a day care teacher's curriculum in some settings, are scripted vehicles for transmission of social knowledge.2

The Intersection of Teacher-directed Script and Child-initiated Activity

These scripts for transmitting social knowledge in teacher-directed activities are a one-way communication. The difficulty with such scripts for action, from the perspective of developmentally appropriate practice, is that they omit the possibility of child participation in controlling or directing the agenda for action. Where, in such scripted events, is there room for the child's idea, the child's song, the child's invention or discovery about

2 Kamii and deVries (1979) distinguish three sources of knowledge about the world. They argue that there are physical, logico-mathematical, and social sources. They omit emotional sources and the importance of affect in the construction of meaning, but that does not affect the point here. Physical and social sources exist outside the child. These scripted activities, vehicles for the transmission of artifacts of the culture considered suitable for children, are social sources of knowledge.

the world? Where is there even any expectation that such might be forthcoming from the child? If the teacher has filled all the time with previously constructed scripts, what chance to participate in the construction of her own knowledge does the child retain? Yet, from the perspective of developmentally appropriate practice, this is precisely how the child learns, by attempting to make sense of her own experiences with materials and people, not someone else's experience, not rote rules or action patterns (Duckworth, 1987).

A situation that occurred with Donna will illustrate this point. During the musical shapes game, Sebastian wanted to rejoin the children crawling around the remaining paper shapes on the floor. He was returned to his shape on the sidelines, because he was 'out'. At the end of the game, he was upset and crying, and Donna held him on her lap on the floor. As we watched this on video, Donna reported what he was saying: "Something about being an elephant, he wants to be an elephant, he wants to crawl around" [D3.13]. On the video, we hear Donna suggest "sleeping elephants," and she tells me in an aside, "That's our 'sleeping bunnies' song." She played this action song, in which the children pretend to sleep and then wake up and hop, and Sebastian joined happily. She inserted his elephant idea into a script which she already possessed, substituting the word elephant for bunnies when singing. She set his idea within a predictable script which could be shared with the group.

But Sebastian had more ideas. During the song, he said, "I want to be a sleeping dog," and Donna, watching the video, said, "I was surprised here that he didn't get up and hop with everybody. He still was the dog [crawling] on the floor."

Here we see the child attempting to generate action scripts himself. In this second instance, his script which differs from the group script, is tolerated, when in contrast, his attempt to rejoin the group during the musical shape game was frustrated.

Donna wanted to be spontaneous. It was not that she could not adjust her plan occasionally to absorb children's interests; it was more that she always called up a previously constructed teacher-directed script, culturally shared -- something where the form was already given -- and perhaps had no alternative for situations in which children generate their own scripts (as in play), make up their own songs or games. All she was missing, from the perspective of developmentally appropriate practice, was a frame, or script, for handing control back to the child. When Sebastian wants to be an elephant, for instance, she could say "How could you be an elephant?" or "What does your elephant do? Do you want to show me?"

We live by scripts; they are essential for getting through the day. However, the scripts described above, and used especially in the construction of themes, are closed to change or alteration or participation by the child, because

they are conducted as teacher-directed activities in which the teacher's purposes are paramount. The teacher is in control, and the children's participation is predesigned, the answers known, the response closed-ended. There are few free moves and, without the chance of a free move, the child has no opportunity for choice, for decision-making. Sebastian constantly attempted free moves, which were sometimes accepted and frequently corrected (he sat on the bench a lot). Does it really make a difference to the child whether practice is developmentally appropriate or teacher-directed? In Sebastian's case, after several months he stopped wanting to come to day care and his mother withdrew him.

The Role of Reflection in Generating New Scripts

A key difference between developmentally appropriate practice and teacher-directed activity is the source of teacher evaluation of activity. In teacher-directed practice the source is the teacher's image of the preplanned activity: if Jill plans a craft with a face for her toddlers, she is pleased when their product approximates a face. In a sense, the external activity in the real world serves the internal image; at least the image is the reference point. In contrast, in developmentally appropriate practice, the teacher serves not the concept of curriculum, but the child. She does not see herself as the

dominant source of learning but rather assigns that role to the child's activity itself. Thus the source of evaluation of her own actions lies outside herself, in the response of the child and this is why observation is the foundation of the practice. The teacher observes in order to decide what to do. This requires that she think, weigh her potential responses, before acting. If she is attending to the child, then it follows logically that since individuals are unique, the automaticity of responses can be broken. There are still automatic scripts for action but they are of a different order, not so dependent on exact repetition and not dependent upon following her agenda alone. In her minutely calibrated adjustments of situations to children, there is complexity, variety, individual difference and personalization. Reflection is a critial aspect of developmentally appropriate practice.

The sense which I make of the notion of reflection in professional practice is derived from Schon's (1983, 1987) conception of reflection-in-action as problem-solving. In conducting a data search for evidence of reflection, I devised a criteria for determining if an event was reflective, using his sense of the term. He talks of "surfacing" problems, bringing to bear all one's experience and beliefs crystallized around some "overarching theory" and, out of this, devising/generating potential solutions, which are enacted in action and evaluated according to the "backtalk" of the situation (Schon 1987, 158). The

reflection has to be in terms of some principles, some theory of action, and it is either reflection (or a script!) which connects theory and action. A new idea to try out in action is theory enacted, and forms part of a teacher's practical knowledge.

To illustrate this point, here is Liz's reaction to the first time she provided laminated cutout cardboard telephones for the children as a support device when planning and reviewing activity. Each teacher sat at her snack table with five children, and the telephones invited a game of reviewing with the teacher the activities which each child engaged in during the morning. Watching the video, Liz immediately said she would make more telephones: she "had enough for every teacher to have one, and one or two children [at the snack table] ... but they all wanted one to hold" [L3.15]. Here we see the general principle of the High/Scope model, that children require their own materials in order to interact, implicitly inferred in her observation that each child at her table wanted material and she is thus obligated to provide it. It is when the principle or value is seen to be unmet that she is mobilized to act.

However, evaluation of activity -- the surfacing of a problem -- is insufficient as a criteria demonstrating reflection when using Schon's conception. Also present must be some idea for addressing the problem, and some evidence of enacting this in practice. When Liz tells me she will make more phones, and I later observe a basket of these, I

can see she has used reflection-in-(and on) action to affect her practice.

I searched each teacher's data for such instances, using as a criteria for reflection-in/on-action, the surfacing of a problem, generating a potential solution, trying this out in the setting, and further assessing how this worked. For each participant there were at least three to six such situations. Then I wanted to know where such reflection-in/on-action occurred in relation to perpetuated scripts for action in the setting. For Donna, Carla, and Jill, the examples of reflection-in/on-action which emerged occurred, without exception, within the process of carrying out teacher-directed scripts. They concerned either the content of the script and how to accomplish it, or the fitting together of routine and content. Here are several examples.

When Donna played the musical shapes game, a modification of musical chairs, she realized in the midst of laying out her cutout shapes on the floor (for the children to sit upon when the music stopped) that the children would probably jump or dive for the shapes, colliding into each other. Thus, she altered the action of the game, in the process of describing it to the children, from walking around the shapes to crawling on the floor [D3.12, DV1].

Carla, in the midst of a craft to construct pumpkin masks, decided to permit her group of eleven to go to the bathroom individually as they finished their masks, rather

than her normal practice of taking them en masse before group activity began [C1.10]. She did this because they had already started their masks and she did not want to interrupt their activity to go to the bathroom.

Jill altered her normal script for show and tell when she observed Jason's interest in the pearl necklace, taking it up and inviting each child to handle it, because she thought they wanted more interaction with the material [J5.10].

With Nora and Liz the contexts in which reflection-in/on-action occurred were of a different character, and addressed issues of format, of the structure of how to do things. The fact there was this difference between them and the other teachers is interesting and I will return to it later. In the work of these two teachers old scripts were broken open and new ones generated. In each case, I have selected one major instance of change in the teacher and her setting, that is, a change in teacher practical knowledge, and in the construction of the framework surrounding child action in the setting. These are stories of change arising out of a series of reflections-in or on- action, a series of attempts to address in action terms a problem. In Nora's case, the problem was her crafts, a preselected product to produce by pasting precut bits to a background: the boys (the majority of her group) simply were not interested. In Liz's case, we have already seen one such instance in Chapter Seven in the description of changes to her

housekeeping area. Her use of the gym was equally problematic and underwent a similar degree of change and I will use that here. For both cases, the teacher was in conflict, and a demonstrably uncomfortable conflict, with her perception of what should happen contradicting the reality before her. Let's examine Liz's situation first, then Nora's.

The Process of Change in Liz's Use of Gym Space

Liz liked the fact that the gym space, shared with others in the location and booked for a particular time of the day, offered her children gross motor activities which were unavailable in her classroom. However, during my work with her, she found the space itself close to intolerable, telling me "the gym is a mess right now," and that she has "a really hard time going in the gym right now" [L1.7]. She found its disorder dangerous to her children and chaotic, a block area in total disarray and half covered with supplies belonging to the administration, movable equipment stored randomly so she never knew where to find it, some old shelves on which one of her children "got a bad spinter" [L2.14], ugliness from chipped paint on floor and walls.

> I think it's really important for things to look nice. You know, when people walk in, they feel nice about a place. ... I'd like it to be a place where things are

> happening, and not just a place where teachers go [gestures a great sigh of relief], okay we're here, [implied, let's rest][L1.8].

The result of its physical unattractiveness, disorder, and potential lack of safety is an increase in monitoring: "For us it's a lot of policing of areas"[L2.14]. The state of the room and the increased possibilities for physicality produced, she thought, a "kind of running free for all, and it's not structured, ... so I make the best of that craziness as I can" [L4.17]. Here is an example from fieldnotes of some of that craziness.

> There are loose sticks in the gym, wooden dowels about two feet in length, which the children swing around or bang in an unfocused way on the floor. The gym is small. Bertram is running a trike in and out of the doorway at a mad pace. One trike squeals like a soprano saxophone, and garbage lids bang. It is cacophonous and there is enormous movement. Suddenly Bertram is lifting and dropping a loose painted 2x4 about six feet long. He drops it on Min's toes. She cries and Bess attends her. Max drives his trike over my feet -- ouch -- on its way out the door. Liz is removing all the tricycles. Marcel coughs a huge splat of mucus on the floor. Bess takes him out. Liz sets up climbing equipment, a maze of horizontal and angled

> ladders and the children crowd around her. Bess returns with a cleaned up Marcel, sprays and wipes the floor with disinfectant. The student teacher asks her why. I hear a fall, a thud, and turn to see Min on the concrete floor, her head back. It's her elbow, she says, and within a few moments in Bess' arms she is off into the fray again. The lids bang furiously and Liz sings 'Clang, clang rattle bing bang, going to make my noise all day' [LF2.4,5,6].

In discussing this, although there was a lot of activity and several minor incidents requiring extra monitoring and care, Liz was pleased because there were no conflicts between the children. Liz told me she hoped the teachers could get together on a Saturday to revitalize the area, painting it and organizing it to make it work better.

Liz read this account of the gym in the feedback paper and wrote in beside it, "Bess and I use the gym less and less now, even though it has had some work" [Liz per21]. She reported that her participation in the research and seeing the gym on the video "got me really thinking about that area" [L6.1]. Her first change was to take one or two pieces of equipment out of the gym and set them up in a hallway or her classroom for use there. She found the children's use of the equipment, whether bikes that they rode in a figure eight in the hall, or climbing material, much more calm and focused. Her first change, thus, was a

withdrawal from the space, a reduction in using it, while still attempting to provide some of the same range of activities which the gym permitted.

However, this change of location of equipment drew the attention of others.

> And then, the other teachers noticed that I wasn't using the gym. We got to talking about it and yeah, it was a problem for them too [L6.1].

Because her absence from the gym at the booked time and the removal of equipment temporarily to another space was so visible, the gym space as a shared problem for the entire group was surfaced. As a result, the head teacher organized a work schedule in which the teachers gave up breaks for two days (preferring that to a Saturday) "and went in there in shifts and tore everything out of the gym, ... so now the space is very inviting as you go in" [L6.1,2]. This reorganization and discarding of unused material had an impact on the children.

> Even the children's play is so much different. There's more planning, doing, and reviewing as far as gym time, and that came as soon as it was put into more order [L6.2].

In this instance the review which the research provided (video, conversation) in concert with her own discontent with the area produced an initial change in her normal script for using the space. This change then was the catalyst which sparked a major reorganization of the space, undertaken as a shared responsibility by the social group. Even so, Liz said at the time of our final interview, that she still was using the gym less, that she did not rely on it as she previously had to provide the gross motor activity which she felt was so important for her children [L6.2]. Once the script was broken open, and other possibilities for action developed, she did not return to it.

The Process of Change in Nora's Practical Knowledge about Crafts

Nora was one of four teachers who was drawn alternately between two frameworks for action, teacher-directed practice and developmental appropriateness. However, while Jill, Carla and Donna tolerated the conflicts and the tensions which arose from these, Nora, by the time of our final interview, indicated she had clearly made an allegiance to one framework. She was thus conscious of points of change in her work at that time, compared to when I first observed her and videotaped her.

These were pivot points for Nora, at our final interview, in that they were places where Nora herself saw

that she could take a different direction from the one she had previously used. Again and again throughout the interview she remarked as we talked, "that's where I've changed a lot." I have selected one of these changes, the development of her concept of craft, to show in detail the evolution of one particular change. The reader will want to know how this momentous change in a teacher's image of practice occurred, and I conclude the section with a discussion of this, as Nora explained it to me.

In analyzing the final interview transcript, there were eight points of change which Nora consciously raised, and two of these were general or 'sweeping' changes which would clearly affect everything else she did. These two major shifts in mental set included a new awareness of a professional attitude, expressed as a conscious attempt to remain consistently positive with children.

> I'm trying to be positive, and ..... trying to be positive in like trying to be consistent; every day being positive and not being negative or grouchy or down, because it does affect the children [N6.7].

Secondly, she was conscious of a change in her thinking, a shift from a teacher-directed approach towards a more child-centred approach.

> And thinking more about the children than worrying about if they're learning their colours or their shapes. But worrying about if the children are having fun playing, or what <u>they</u> want to do, instead of what I want. So that's the biggest change I've found in myself was worrying about what <u>they</u> want instead of what I want [N6.10].

The following section outlines this process as it occurred for the craft area. At our first interview, Nora spontaneously offered me information on crafts while we discussed her daily routine.

> Nora: So now we're up to five girls.
>
> CA: And nine boys, that's interesting, okay so
>
> Nora: But a lot harder, because they're not interested in craft time. The boys just aren't interested. It's harder to get something that they're interested in. It has to be something that's messy and quick.

She began with something the teacher prepared for children to glue together. Basically, she considered two parts, such as a paper plate and tissue, or cut-out feathers and crayons, and she began with the idea that the children were going to produce a specific object such as turkey feathers or pumpkins. And at this point in time, there was

considerable tension, for the small boys did not want to do these crafts.

Now Nora's definition of a successful activity was as follows:

> If the children are happy with it. If they are laughing and enjoy it and say, can I do another one, can I do another one, then it's successful. If no one shows up, like I've had, then I call it unsuccessful and try again [N1.18].

At our second interview a month later, she was seeking explanations for the children's lack of interest in her crafts.

> But that's what I've found so far, anything that's going to take them more than a minute or two, they're not interested. I don't know if it's because of the age. We only have four that are four year olds, the rest are younger. Some of them are just going to turn three this month, next month, so I don't know if it's the age with them, or if it's because they're boys [N2.9].

She was looking for external explanations for the lack of success, explanations outside the crafts themselves, which she saw as exemplary. Yet she was troubled, and had found

herself changing the crafts slightly to accommodate the children.

> I found I'm doing these quick activities because other activities they don't want to do? They only want to do something that's quick. ...
> Like there's some Christmas crafts that you could do that might take a little bit of time. They're not interested. They want to do something that's quick and they can go. Something that's quick, put it on the [Christmas] tree, and go play something else [N2.8].

> I said to my co-worker, I've never been so disappointed in my crafts in all my life. And I think it's just because they're different children. We have more boys and they're definitely not interested ... they just want to play in the sand, [and] blocks [N2.19].

Her disappointment was exacerbated perhaps by the fact that she spent considerable time, by her account, in preparing these crafts.

There was thus enormous tension between her personal criteria for success and the children's reaction to her crafts. At this point, it bothered her, and her sole change to the activities had been to reduce their scope, to make them shorter, quicker, so that they required less investment of energy, concentration, or commitment from children. This

withdrawal or reduction of the activity was the first step in the change process.

A month later, she had discovered, perhaps by chance, that teacher participation in an activity drew children's notice.

> I set up ice cubes and paint and we were painting with ice cubes so I sat down at the table and did it. Three people came over to me. Now if I had just set it up and left, no one would have came [sic]. That's the <u>only</u> way we can get them involved is to do it [with them], and let them come on their own [N3.12].

Because she generally was not involved in the activity of the children, either to participate or converse about it with a child, this occasion marked a change in her normal pattern of actions, a change toward more interaction with material herself, and then she saw how it draws the children, this watching of the action possibilities which devolve from her hands. This may be a serendipitous discovery, arrived at by chance, or by the willingness of her co-worker to try out Nora's idea.

At the next interview, Nora discussed changes which she and her co-worker were making to the room. There was enthusiasm, vigour, and excitement in her voice:

> ..move the easel back down where the sandbox is?

> ...and put the art things back and see if that will attract them again to go and take what they want to do. And how can we change it [the environment] to make it more exciting. Which is really hard because where I worked before we never changed a thing: the shelves were the same for the five years I was there [N4.16].

Suddenly, in the fifth month of work in a new setting, she saw herself as starting to think more about ideas to try out in the room, changes to materials, to areas of play. In her former workplace, she felt she could not do this. Here she has discovered that she has a chance to be active, to have ideas and to try them out, to suggest for instance, a music corner, an idea which her co-worker liked and supported.

> Your mind is constantly going thinking about different things [to do]. ... Like before I would not even bother to think about it, and now it's [her brain] really starting to think [N4.16].

Nora experienced for the first time, apparently, what it is like to have ideas of her own that she can try out on the environment. She was excited and moved by her activity as a teacher for, on this job, she has permission from her colleague to have ideas and to try them out. She was becoming more active as an agent interacting with materials herself.

Changes to the environment became a frequent topic of conversation for us. Within a few weeks, the art area was all reorganized and there were plans for a new shelf.

> Like you know, you look at it, and I said to Kim, I said, 'they play with the same toys. Can't we make it a little bit more exciting, you know, and maybe we'll get some different people doing different things' [N5.5].

Now she wanted to pass on the excitement she is feeling about her own work in the environment to the children, wants to see them doing some different things that they didn't do before. Suddenly she was interested in novelty and variety. (Thus far, she has not thought in terms of what she could do in interaction with the children, but of what she could do to the room. One might argue she does not see herself as a potential source of knowledge for the children, in spite of her use of teacher-directed activities.)

A few weeks later, it was Valentine's and Nora was disturbed that her new student teacher had used most of the two hundred wallpaper hearts Nora had prepared for craft. But it was the effect on the children which bothered her the most.

> I find it's a turn off. I find the children don't use their own thinking. They copy what the other students

> are doing.
>
> So yesterday, the student showed Brie, well we'll do it this way, and put them [tissue bits] on the end of the pencil and showed her how. That was fine for Brie but the other little ones couldn't do it, so they got frustrated ....[Alexa] just walked away. That upset me because I worked hard cutting out my part [N5.7,8].

Here she expressed her positive view of children's own thinking, their own way of doing something, and her dislike of the student demonstrating something which children then copy. She wanted children to use their own ideas. This was a major shift away from the point she made in our first interview about tolerating children doing a craft their own way. This was the first time she expressed the sense that the ideas of the children were more important than her ideas or the student's ideas.

Perhaps after the very positive experience of being able to generate ideas herself in making changes to the room, her disposition towards children's ideas has shifted. She views them more positively. She has experienced what it is like to have one's own ideas accepted (not simply tolerated) and even encouraged. Thus the student's behaviour annoyed her, because it imposed on children, rather than leaving children free to participate in the activity, but she did not quite know what to do about it,

except to ask her to refrain from doing the activity in front of the children.

As well, when I asked Nora what she was thinking about as we see her on the video sitting apart from the children's activity, seemingly uninvolved, she told me, among other things:

> When I'm sitting there I'm wondering why Rose is putting on her hearts and taking them off. And rubbing the glue with tissue paper. She said she was cleaning it [N5.8].

Here she showed awareness of the child's process with the materials, certainly a process she did not plan for or think of, but she noted it, wondered about it, and let it happen undisturbed. She was thinking more about what the child was doing, than about what _she_ wanted her to do.

When we met four months later to review my feedback paper, Nora had undergone further change.

> If they're not going to do it my way,
> then that's fine. That's the way they want to do it.
> I think that's where I've changed a lot.
>
> This little girl painted her hand, and I just let her. Normally I would have said 'no, please paint the paper.' And I just let her paint her hand. She painted her hand and she painted the other side of her hand and

> I was watching her and she painted between her fingers and then she said, I'm finished, and she put her hand print on the paper and went and washed her hand.
>
> Before I would have jumped in. I've learned to sit back and relax! And see what's going to happen. And if it's going to affect another child, then I would step in. But she was hurting no one [N6.14].

This is a remarkable shift to permit child-initiated activity which formerly would have been vigorously corrected.

By June, the general shift toward tolerance of child-initiated process of which she speaks extended to her planning for crafts. She told me how appalled she now was at some of the things she formerly did as crafts.

> I stopped with the precut stuff. I stopped that. I was looking at some of their art work on the wall, like after you're out of the room you go back in, you think, did I really do that?

> When you're outside the room and you look in, you think, oh I couldn't have done that (in a whisper). So I've stopped. ... You can use twigs to glue and stuff like that other than precut things.
>
> Or put paper out and let them cut. The wallpaper and let them cut out what they want. That way I've

changed a lot. ...

> Yeah, I've changed a lot. ... Thinking I had to put the children first, instead of what I want out of an activity, I have to put the children first. And before I wasn't. I was thinking what I wanted out of the activity. What the finished product should have been [N6.19].

Not only could she describe concretely how she has changed, giving me examples such as the child whom she permitted to paint the skin of her hand, but she can see her previous beliefs in the context of this change, and tell me the difference. The difference is that now she is watching children, observing them for the process which interests them, whereas formerly, she was embedded in a process that focussed on mastery of teacher-prescribed content in a teacher-directed way. Once she could see the difference in these approaches, particularly in the context of crafts, she wondered aloud why she had been like that.

> And then I stopped and I was looking at the room thinking, I didn't do those things. And it was like, why? Was it the easy way out [N6.18]?

With this comment, 'was it the easy way out,' Nora acknowledges tacitly a major difficulty for those wishing to

construct developmentally appropriate practice: it must be done <u>against</u> the inclination to perpetuate the scripts in place in the setting, against the tendency, present in many day cares, to follow teacher-directed activity.

How did Nora herself account for these changes in mental framework, her conscious shift from practice strongly modelled on teacher direction towards more child-centred, developmentally appropriate practice? I extracted half a dozen reasons from our interview. Their accumulation operated as a salient intervention which disturbed her previous understanding of practice and allowed her to construct a different image. Firstly, she had switched jobs from a position where she felt she had been kept static to a centre where teachers used less teacher-directed practice than her previous job [N4.16]. She found her new co-worker a valuable model, and saw how her positive approach to children worked. As well, in the three months between my last visit and our final interview, she had been temporarily moved to another group, and she had also substituted in other locations for some weeks. As a result of these shifts in locations, she saw various other approaches and broadened her awareness of possibilities for practice. This particularly effected her view of her previous crafts, as just described.

The above mentioned aspects were an external impetus to change. Change cannot occur without internal impetus as well. Nora attributed some change to reflection.

> Just stopping to think about what I was doing, you know. Like I would never go home stressed out or frustrated but I would go home and think, why did I do that? You know, you go home and you think about the day and why did I do that? No wonder that child's having a hard time with me, or said that to me. Things like that. Just going home and thinking about the day and thinking oooh, I've got to stop jumping in [N6.15].

Reflection then, is one way that this change occurred for Nora, as she describes the normal process of reviewing what she has done, after it happened, and critically examines what she has done that she did not like.

She also attributed some of the change to her participation in this research project, saying it had helped her considerably. Nora said that the questions which I asked increased her reflection: "It was just like a guideline to think" [N6.23].

What was abundantly clear was that Nora had surfaced the presence of teacher-directed practice in her work as a problem, and was consciously attempting to change her image and her practice. This she clearly told me as she identified herself as having followed teacher-directed practice, but saw herself as shifting to emphasize play.

> I found I was this way for a long time (using teacher-direction) ... like when I first started work in September, but I find my way has gone a lot to the play group models.
>
> I find well like I was shapes, colours and stuff like that, because it was drilled in my mind for five years.
>
> [With play] I've seen it working in the rooms and that's what I've been turning to, because I find I'm more comfortable with it [N6.9].
>
> I've been trying to get out of the school model thing [N6.10].
>
> And thinking more about the children than worrying about if they're learning their colours or their shapes. But worrying about if the children are having fun playing, or what <u>they</u> want to do, instead of what I want. So that's the biggest change I've found in myself was worrying about what <u>they</u> want instead of what I want [N6.10].

This general shift to think more in terms of what the children are doing and wanting to do, than what the teacher might want, is a significant step in the direction of a child-centred approach.

In Nora's case, the change in her scripts for craft, away from specific predesigned products towards an interest in child-initiated processes with materials, is set within a broader spectrum of change affecting all aspects of her practical knowledge.

The Relation of Scripts, Reflection and Practical Knowledge

Reflection-in or on-action occurs in situations when there is something (whether just at the moment or long term) which the teacher anticipates or decides does not work quite as she might wish. There is some conflict facing her. In other words, at least two things have to be present for reflection to occur; some consciously articulated segment of theory or value or way of doing something, on the one hand, and a mismatch with the current situation in reality on the other. Nora's boys did not like her crafts. Liz's children went crazy in an unorganized gym. Without the image in her head, if you will accept the phrase, there can be no evaluation of the lived experience before her. She cannot reflect unless she holds some image in consciousness which mirrors something in experience. It is when they do not match that the teacher is irritated, bothered, mobilized to generate something new in the situation.

Put in Schon's terms, she needs an overarching theory or appreciation system with which to compare lived reality.

Clearly, the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice provides one such appreciation system for teachers, for it articulates a coherent set of values, beliefs, images and procedures for constructing such practice. Liz was the only teacher to say she was attempting to implement developmentally appropriate practice, when asked to choose a model of practice like her own [L6.15]. The other teachers tended to chose two models, schooling practice and developmentally appropriate practice, or schooling or play group models, [N6.9, J6.3, C6.17, D7.7] and by these choices, demonstrated the presence of at least two conflicting appreciation systems which oriented their work.

But there is another problem here and that is the previously described distinction between conscious purposeful knowing (the focus on the head of the nail, in Polanyi's example) and tacit or inarticulate knowledge (all the subsidiary skills necessary in holding, lifting, and successfuly hitting that nail on its head). I am going to make the argument that the teacher cannot reflect upon the knowledge she uses in performance which she has not made articulate, that tacit knowledge is not accessible to reflection-on-action until something occurs to bring it up as something to consider. Let me explain using the analogy of figure-ground relations. Nelson (1977), for instance, in examining acquisition of concepts in children, sees scripts for action as offering a frame or ground, and the concept as a figure which fits it. What the teacher consciously

reflects upon has to be lifted out as the figure, and all the knowing-that and knowing-how which the figure subsumes is ground or background.

The way that Carla, Donna, and Jill used teacher-directed activity (including themes, large group process, and fixed time schedules) can be interpreted using this analogy of figure-ground relations. Themes have a spatial and temporal script adapted from conventional schooling and this forms a kind of ground of expectations, a frame for the activity. The concepts which the teacher selects out and consciously thinks about as her program material becomes the figure. When I gave the examples of reflection-in-action for Donna, Carla, and Jill, I noted that they occurred within teacher-directed scripts. They did not think about the frame or ground in which they were offered. The teacher thinks about the figure, the part she can distinguish.

To make clear the analogy of the figure-ground distinction to conscious and tacit knowing, think back to the theme planning of Donna, Carla, and Jill. Carla answered all questions about what she was trying to do, about the structure of her program, in terms of the specific content which she wished to convey around a theme -- different smells or tools, a description of objects, a focus on red. She could not understand my questions about how it was done: that was beyond the figure consciously planned and held in her mind. Yet, tacitly, she knew how to conduct

theme content in a teacher-directed structure for she performed it daily.

Another example of this taken-for-granted ground around theme and time was Jill's comment on something offered by a parent which she felt she could not use because the time was gone. When themes were scripts for program the use of time was so automatic that the ways in which this use constricted activity did not surface. One of Jill's themes was a week devoted to pretending to visit Africa. A parent brought in a book of African games which Jill told me could not be used, because the week was almost over. "She didn't bring that until Thursday, I think, so we really couldn't use that" [J5.9]. With this conception of how time and content intersect, carrying African games (or the entire Safari) over into the next week was inconceivable; the time segment was gone and another succeeeded it, different and at odds with it. Content is inserted in time, which is conceived as a kind of train which one catches or misses, and this conception was part of the 'ground' which informed how Jill constructed her work.

However, Liz and Nora could also think about the ground, or to put it better, they had somehow surfaced the ground (the scripts or frames for action) as something to reflect about. In other words, the knowledge which was tacit for the others became articulable and conscious for Nora and Liz. How might this be so? Clearly one of the values of the High/Scope in-service for Liz was that it

taught her different scripts, such as a script for planning and reviewing the activity of children, and a script for conducting small group activities in a non-teacher-directed fashion. The process of learning two possibilities, two formats or frames could be responsible for permitting the teacher to see that the frame exists to be thought about.

But then what of the other teachers who were caught between two frameworks for action in day care, tolerating these without appearing to resolve or even notice the tensions which were surfaced by Nora. Jill, Carla, and Donna slid back and forth between scripts for teacher direction and for developmental appropriateness in a kind of balancing act or stasis, without much change, beyond the decision to tip one way or the other in a specific instance. Somehow the tension had not surfaced as problematic. It was taken for granted, part of the practical knowledge the teacher brought to her work. This was the unreflective portion, while her energy was absorbed with the content for these respective teacher-directed or play scripts.

Part of what was missing, I submit, was a sufficiently powerful image or appreciation system which would permit her to lift out scripts or patterns of action as problematic. Where does such an appreciation system come from? There are several possible sources. It can come from the teacher or it can come from the institution, as it did in both Nora and Liz's cases. The adoption by centres of a unifying theory or ideology, such as High/Scope or curriculum webs, in these

cases appeared to free teachers who had previously used teacher-directed processes to think in new ways. Alternatively if a teacher knows two ways of doing something, she has the opportunity to make a choice, and to reflect upon why that choice is appropriate.

Reflection-in/on-action can only occur within the parameters of what one knows. It is of necessity bounded by a teacher's theories-of-action, whether these are conscious, intentional and perhaps planned, or whether they are tacit and automatic, occasioned in taken-for-granted scripts. What a teacher knows provides the horizon of her vision, in Greene's (1988) metaphor, her sense of the possibilities. What she does not know is beyond the horizon and cannot be thought about.

Now here is the paradox in my thinking at this moment. Schon insists that reflection-in-action is full of tacit knowledge, knowing that is taken for granted, and while I understand his sense of that, I notice something else occurring with the participants in this research. If we examine the place where reflection <u>on</u> action occurs (for instance, words communicated to a researcher), it can only occur around something which has been lifted out of the stream of experience to become figure. What is tacit, automatic, cannot be openly reflected upon, for that would clearly change its status from ground to figure. Yet this is precisely what must be done for teachers to reflect fully upon their work. In order for reflection-on-action to occur

concerning largely tacit, taken-for-granted scripts, the figure-ground relationship has to be broadened or reversed to bring into relief those taken-for-granted scripts as something which can be thought about.

How can this be done? There are two examples in this chapter illuminating how this occurred for Liz and Nora. In both cases, it was a tension or conflict experienced by the teacher which set in motion a process whereby the script which she tacitly used became a forum for conscious reflection. For Liz it was initially an image-reality conflict, in that what she wanted from the gym space was not occurring. In an earlier chapter we saw how a discrepancy in children's use of housekeeping, their need to tote materials around, conflicted with conventional use of the room and this set in motion a series of problem-solving attempts. For Nora, the conflict was an image-reality one too, for her previously successful crafts were disdained and she was disappointed. Internal conflict is not easy for teachers to tolerate: it comes with heavy emotional baggage. But what these examples suggest is that conflict perceived by the teacher is one route to making evident an arena where she has the power to change something so it suits her better. It suggests that teachers should not fear points of conflict but accept them as arenas where interesting events can occur. The conflict is like a signpost, a literal 'figure' in her personal landscape, which she can use as a

mobilizer. At the points of conflict lie the routes to change.

I speculate that as teachers move towards more developmentally appropriate practice reflection-in/on-action increases. This is possible for several reasons. First, the emphasis on observation and problem-solving skills, and on individual uniqueness, may assist the construction of a disposition towards a richer, more varied and flexible practice. Secondly, a more relaxed use of time and the permission of considerable child-initiated activity, offer possibilities for evaluating events outside the teacher: she has given up control of content, and so has mental space to think about what children are doing.

Summary

This chapter highlights two processes in teacher practical knowledge, scripts for action and reflection-in/on-action. I discussed two powerful routes in the acquisition of teacher scripts for action in day care, the pressure of inherited patterns of functioning which soon become a taken-for-granted repertoire, and the generation of scripts as teacher plans, particularly when programs use teacher-directed themes. Using Schon's conception of reflection-in-action as problem-solving, examples were provided from each teacher's data corpus.

The process of change as it was described in two major instances began with a tension, a conflict for the teacher which had the effect of lifting some tacit scripts for action into the realm of conscious deliberation or reflection. This occurred gradually over a period of time, and in both cases, the period of generating potential solutions (Liz's redesigning the gym space as a project of the centre staff, Nora's revising her concept of crafts) was preceded by a period of withdrawal from the activity. This was followed by a period of generating new ideas as solutions to test out in the environment.

The notion of scripts applies to the tacit, taken-for-granted knowledge which the teacher brings to her work, the 'ground'. Deliberation applies to the conscious intentional action taken in the setting. Reflection-in-action may be either tacit or deliberate, but communicated reflection-on-action is conscious deliberation. Reflection on action as conscious deliberation requires the lifting of figures from ground. If what is tacit can be made explicit, conscious, the scope for reflection is greatly increased.

Chapter Nine

Summary and Implications regarding Difficulties in Constructing Developmentally Appropriate Practice

The purpose of this research was to provide a forum for thinking about difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice. While widely accepted as the most significant practice for effective development and care of young children, it does not occur in many settings, although occasionally it is present full-blown. This research explored the practice that is in place as it was constructed by five teachers and their administrations, and the practical knowledge of those teachers. Each of the last four chapters has explicated one thread of the argument concerning what makes it so difficult to construct the desired practice. Here I will briefly summarize the findings of this research, consider limitations of the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice, and suggest further research questions and recommendations arising from the study.

Summary of Findings

I began this research with four questions. The first two questions were: what is the personal theory of several individual day care teachers about children's play, routine,

and teacher-provided program, and what is the actual practice of these teachers in the contexts of children's play, routine and teacher-provided program? Understanding this, I wanted to know how it compared with the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice. From this exploration and comparison, what could be said about difficulties in constructing developmentally appropriate practice?

Before summarizing the findings for the first two questions, I acknowledge that the process of research led me to understand that these questions falsely separate teacher action/thought into theory and practice, treating these as objects, rather than interactive processes. The notion of practical knowledge described by Elbaz (1983) preserves the unity of thought/action, encompassing the fact that tacit (as well as conscious) theory is present in practice so that practice reveals theory. As well, I discovered that teachers talked about theory in terms of specific instances of practice. It is only formal theory, which teachers sometimes offer as slogans ("children learn through play," for example) that remains separate, and often unintegrated with practice. With hindsight, the question which I prefer is: what is teachers' practical knowledge about children's play and program?

To summarize the findings for this question, in one of five cases, the teacher's practical knowledge was comprehensively informed by the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice. In the four other cases, teacher-

directed activity (with the accompanying characteristics of teacher set purposes for activity, a prescribed range of responses permitted to children, fixed time schedules, and large group processes in simultaneous, compulsory activity) was the dominant form of practice which provided the overall framework for the routine. In these contexts, "free play" was a specified time during which teacher direction was removed, except when teachers intervened to correct or control use of resources. In such cases, teachers tended not to play with children, although there were exceptions in specific contexts for two teachers.

Nevertheless, although teacher-directed practice was dominant in four of the five cases, by the end of the research process one teacher had shifted from teacher-directed activity towards a child-centred program. As well, another teacher incorporated a strong concern for developmentally appropriate practice within an overall framework of teacher-directed activity. Two others strongly favoured teacher-direction as their dominant practice, but inserted moments of appropriate practice with individual children as a form of atypical practice, and revealed a desire to favour developmental appropriateness more than my feedback paper indicated was their practice. Thus, whether the teacher's dominant practice was teacher-directed or developmentally appropriate, all five teachers valued developmentally appropriate practice.

The third research question asked how the practical knowledge of the teachers compared with the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice? One teacher's practical knowledge bore a close resemblance to the ideology of developmentally appropriate practice. One other teacher was very familiar with developmentally appropriate practice, using this knowledge within a structure of teacher-directed practice. A third was making rapid progress in understanding a basic tenet of developmentally appropriate practice, child-centredness.

Nevertheless, there were six critical aspects of developmentally appropriate practice which were not well understood or were unfamiliar to four of the five teachers. The key aspects of developmentally appropriate practice which were most unfamiliar to teachers were: observation of individual children to assess needs and interests; a focus on process as children take action in interacting with the environment; an understanding of the importance of children's play and teacher roles in supporting it; an understanding of the importance of child-initiated activity and teacher roles in supporting it; the provision of frequent opportunities for choice; and understanding of and support for problem-solving opportunities.

The fourth research question asked what the exploration and comparison resulting from the above questions would reveal about difficulties which teachers have in constructing developmentally appropriate practice? There

were four major areas of difficulty. One was the lack of familiarity with the model. Another was the past construction in the setting of teacher-directed scripts for action which teachers inherited: there is some evidence that these became automatic practice. A third arena of difficulty was the tension for teachers coping with two frameworks for practice: they struggled with how they should act, in accord with one framework or the other. A fourth arena of difficulty was the impact of some organizational procedures which impeded or reduced opportunities for developmentally appropriate practice. A little more about each area follows.

Lack of familiarity. Some teachers did not have a sufficiently comprehensive image of developmentally appropriate practice because they were unfamiliar with critical aspects of it. Practice is difficult to construct without a clear image of what is to be attempted. Teachers with strong ties to teacher direction also missed the fact that developmentally appropriate practice offers an overall structure for organizing the setting. This was in spite of fact that they gave every impression in conversation of valuing developmentally appropriate practice, and wished to be seen to be implementing it.

Teacher-directed practice as inherited scripts. While an account delving into teacher biographies or the cultural history of teacher-directed practice is beyond the scope of this study, some data indicated that teachers inherit

scripts or patterns for action as they enter work and tend to adopt those already present in the setting as their practice. This suggests that the scripts for action in the setting (whether developmentally appropriate or teacher-directed) tend to become automatic aspects in the new teacher's practice. Since teacher-directed practice is currently in place in many settings, teachers will tend to continue to adopt teacher-directed practice unconsciously. The argument is that teacher-directed practice offers scripts for action which become part of the teacher's tacit knowledge, often inarticulate and unavailable to conscious reflection. Where teacher-directed practice is in place, program planning of themes further perpetuated this practice because new scripts for teacher-directed practice continued to be generated. This makes the construction of developmentally appropriate practice more difficult.

Tensions from tolerating two frameworks for action. Four of the five teachers tolerated a conflict between two frameworks for action, teacher-directed activity and developmentally appropriate practice. This toleration was tacit, with the frameworks compartmentalized, each used at a different time. The tension between frameworks emerged in moments of practice or reflection as pivot points, places where the teacher could choose to follow either form of practice. She might shift from one to the other within the same activity or from one child to another, or she might

comment on something she did, wishing she had done it the other way.

In contrast, tensions for the teacher firmly grounded in developmentally appropriate practice were more likely to be mismatches between a strong image of ideal practice, and the sometimes disappointing reality before her. In her case, such conflicts resulted in problem-solving to alter the situation, whereas the other teachers, with one exception, continued without seeing the conflicts in their practice. Whereas the teacher practicing developmentally appropriate practice used problem spots as the focus of change in her program, those adhering most closely to teacher-directed activity used planned themes as the focus of change. Tensions for the teachers caught between two frameworks for action pulled them in one direction or the other, leaving their practice basically static, and this renders the construction of more developmentally appropriate practice difficult.

It was apparent in examining the data that these three arguments, unfamiliarity with the model of developmentally appropriate practice, inheriting scripts for teacher-directed practice, and tensions from coping with two directions for practice, were not the only factors which suggested difficulties in constructing effective practice. A new question arose during the research process concerning the extent to which the organizational procedures in place had an impact on teacher practice.

Some organizational procedures impede developmentally appropriate practice. In spite of the generally supportive treatment of teachers by administrators, many organizational procedures contributed to making developmentally appropriate practice less likely. Where school children were included, teachers suffered from the demands upon their attention of a multiple agenda so expanded and intense that their functioning was reduced to general monitoring (for safety and conflicts) and taking attendance. This occurred because of high numbers in a single space and the fragmented arrival and departure of their children. (Teacher-child ratios were met, but there were simply too many people in a single space.) Nevertheless, a reduction of practice to the simplest level, monitoring for physical safety, also occurred among other teachers when they were required to care for children alone, in order to accommodate staff breaks. All the participants preferred two teachers in the room at all times during peak hours.

The forms required to document program plans and children's progress supported attention to developmentally appropriate practice in one case, but in the other four the required documentation did not direct teacher attention towards it. In the case of documentation, an opportunity to support developmentally appropriate practice had been missed by administrators. As well, adequate time for planning and preparing materials was not built into every teacher's work

schedule: this surely contributes to a repetition of past patterns of practice, for there is no time to reflect.

As well, it was a perceived myth of practice for some teachers that teacher-directed themes were required both by their administration and by the Nova Scotia Department of Community Services which licenses day care. Themes are not, in fact, required by the Department: a variety of program possibilities are acceptable.

A second area of perceived myth may be teachers implicit notions that preparation for schooling is required and necessary, and that this includes teacher-directed structures of organization and content. The salience of school as an idea shows up in the practice of day care teachers in unintentioned ways, such as the preference for school-like tasks or the spatial frame of school when teachers manage resources during free play. The salience of school as an idea shows up in the dominance of school-like content in the construction of themes by day care teachers and in the selection of program elements that are primarily pre-scripted, closed-ended. The school program which the child enters may not in fact replicate this practice, given the development of whole language and child-centred approaches in early elementary education, but the perception that this is so remains strong, pervasive perhaps as myth.

Limitations of the Ideology of Developmentally Appropriate Practice

The focus of the ideology of developmental appropriateness is the individual child and his or her unique development, not the social group. The ideology favours individual rights and does not priorize group rights because of its concern with development. In priorizing the development of the individual child, the ideology reduces the importance of social organization, the handling of life in the group. It is narrow in scope, then. A tight focus is of course, a strength, for it gives clear direction, but it also leaves teachers to fend for themselves in developing ways of tolerating so much individualism within group life.

From the perspective of the ideology, the rationale for teacher practice is that it is developmentally appropriate for the child. However, in listening to teachers, there were many other types of factors which they in fact needed to take into account in carrying out program. Lived life is much richer, more varied, more complex than the ideology suggests, with its focus on one child at a time. For example, in discussing practices with teachers, it was evident that several types of rationales would be taken into account. There were pragmatic rationales which had a managerial purpose, such as moving children from one place to another in a comfortable fashion. There were social rationales, thinking of the effects of action on others, and

there were also conceptual rationales. All of these might be present in the justification of a single script for action, as was the case with one teacher's explanation of why children were asked to choose where to play after circle.

Another teacher spent considerable energy figuring out little manoeuvres to keep the group functioning smoothly. These had nothing to do with a focus on individual development but much to do with a climate of psychological safety, harmony, and spaciousness. For instance, she spread materials out on tables as children were leaving group activity and invited children to use them. She told me that this aided in spreading the children evenly over the space. She also told children where to sit in group contexts, seating quiet ones interspersed with noisy ones, to prevent disruption. She closed the slide during handwashing after craft to avoid children crossing paths and bumping: this was a 'traffic flow' problem and the only instance of closing off of material in her setting.

My point here is that the focus of the ideology is insufficient as a descriptor of practice for day care teachers because it does not address the totality of what the teacher must deal with in the setting. Realistically, of course it cannot address that totality, but like a language, it provides a set of rules, a grammar, by which situations can be recognized and a corresponding response

offered. The ideology is narrow in scope in that it does not address the social group.

It is perhaps also narrow in its focus entirely on the child. Should the opportunity for development of all participants in a setting not also be part of the ideology in order that it fulfill its humanistic intent? The development of teachers, of parents, of the cook and caretaker, of administrators -- if these are part of the social fabric which affects the development of children, should not also their development be of concern in the ideology? Jorde-Bloom (1986, 180) draws on Lightfoot's reminder to us "that schools need to be thought of as environments that not only inspire the learning and socialization of young children but also encourage the optimum development of adults." The rights of any single group such as children, are always held in check, counterbalanced by the rights of other groups and the ideology does not adequately address this complexity.

Because of its focus on the development of the individual child and the centrality of its advocacy of the individual, the ideology does not explicitly clarify the ways in which a group of children are to exist in the same place, each one having unique development fully supported by one or two teachers assigned to care for the entire group. Such practice may be implicit in the ideology, but is not clearly evident, as is the focus on the individual and understanding her development. However, constructing group

life using developmentally appropriate practice requires very different scripts for action than teacher-directed practice because the latter sacrifices uniqueness to group process, child-initiated activity to compliance.

I speculate that a related limitation of the focus on individual development may be that the tacit knowledge of how this model works concerns the specific scripts for handling groups, and that this knowledge is not easily articulated or conveyed to teachers. It is harder to absorb because it is available most readily only through direct experience or images and is not, in my experience, a major focus of teacher education.

Implications for Practice and Research

Each argument addresses, in part, a different segment of the early childhood community. Implications regarding unfamiliarity of developmentally appropriate practice affect teacher educators in particular. Implications regarding the inheriting of teacher-directed scripts for action and tensions between two frameworks for practice concern day care teachers most directly. Those concerning the reduction of opportunities to construct desired practice resulting from organizational procedures concern day care administrators. The inclusion of an implication as something particularly pertinent to teacher edcuators, administrators, or teachers is not intended to suggest that

the others should not be concerned with it: it denotes the most logical arena for constructing change and prevents the tedious repetition of items in each category. What is impressive is the realization that teachers themselves cannot construct this practice without support from others in the early childhood community: it is a joint responsibility.

Implications For Teacher Educators

The lack of familiarity with developmentally appropriate practice suggests that it requires a higher profile so that teachers can discover it for themselves and decide whether they wish to attempt it more fully. How might this higher profile be attained? What else might we want to know in order to provide this?

Three questions for further research arise. First, do early childhood training/education programs in Nova Scotia adequately expose student teachers to the aspects of this practice found to be unfamiliar to teachers? Do these programs adequately convey that this practice offers a comprehensive structure for organizing programs for young children? A second question for future research is to what extent practicum settings are offering developmentally appropriate practice, something which could possibly be assessed using an instrument such as the Classroom Practices Inventory (Hyson, Hirsh-Pasek, and Rescorla, 1990).

Thirdly, are there adequate workshops, short courses, internship programs and consultation options for teachers in the field to gain access to presentations of developmentally appropriate practice and how it works? Concrete answers to these questions would tell us what is missing so that teacher educators could at least try to fill the gap.

Studies based on case studies are indications, rather than representative of populations. Nevertheless, my research suggests teachers need to see and experience developmentally appropriate practice first hand in order to gain familiarity with aspects of it which are not part of the common culture, specifically understanding problem-solving, offering choice, supporting child-initiated activity and play, and learning as a teacher to observe individual children with a focus on process, their actions as ideas and intentions. They need to experience a different model of teacher planning based on observation and see examples of the comprehensive organization which it offers as a structure for programs.

Lay-Dopyera (1988, 54) argues, in suggesting seven hypotheses for improving practice, that

> if we want teachers-to-be to incorporate developmentally appropriate practice into their developing images, we must allow them at least to see (through use of technology such as videotape and

interactive video and telecommunications) and preferably to participate in appropriate settings.

Participation is preferable because seeing alone is insufficient: teachers also need lived experience to understand the model. Polanyi (1958, 53) argued that performance skills are not learned by precept, but by example:

> An art which cannot be specified in detail cannot be transmitted by prescription, since no prescription for it exists. It can be passed on only by example from master to apprentice.
> Connoisseurship, like skill, can be communicated only by example, not precept.

Polanyi referred to the artful aspect of research, but his meaning applies to the learning of all performance skills. Performance aspects must be learned in action, by watching another and trying out the skill, so that tacit learning, those aspects inaccessible to verbalization, can be absorbed. Any art or performance skill requires a period of apprenticeship to absorb the tacit learnings which the instructor cannot easily discuss, but which are communicated in action.

As Schon (1987) added, what apprentices need too is coaching, by learning to articulate and develop their own

purposes, by demonstration or imitation, by mirroring processes so these become more apparent. Turnbull (1986, 119) described teachers' reliance on "exemplars," using the term in much the sense that I use the term script; she suggested that new situations are recognized as similar to former ones and past responses are called into action.

> If we accept this concept of exemplar, teachers should not be criticized for relying heavily on their own experiences to interpret and react to new situations. The act of relying on exemplars is not in question. What must be questioned is the quality of the exemplars used, the skill with which comparisons between exemplars and new situations is made.

She noted that many exemplars are necessary so that the most productive action can be chosen. Teachers need to see and experience these exemplars in order to gain a rich repertoire of options. Schon (1983), as Turnbull too points out, suggested that unreflective practitioners soon respond automatically and Turnbull added (1986, 121): "They will perceive most situations as similar since their limited theories-in-use, unelaborated exemplars, will blind them to the complexity of the situations they encounter." I argue too that if they work or are educated in settings where time feels scarce it will be exceedingly difficult for them to move beyond automatic scripts, because time is so short, and

their orientation is to the next routine, rather than present action.

What might teacher educators do to make developmentally appropriate practice more accessible, vivid and understandable to teachers?

1. Examine the content of their programs to assess whether they adequately address the six areas of unfamiliarity revealed in this study. Are these aspects of practice conscientiously conveyed and is attention given to how the student develops adequate performance skills in these areas?

2. Provide opportunities within training/education, separate from practicum, for students to see and experience developmentally appropriate practice. Videotapes of effective practice offer one route. A demonstration resource centre is another.

3. Model developmentally appropriate practice as part of the structure of the training/education program: teach using the practice which students are intended to construct. While such a redesign of professional training is virtually impossible in University settings based on teacher-directed practice, programs unconnected to such institutions should have some control over their own functioning. (As an aside, I note that one of the education programs in the province, the Early Childhood Education Program at St. Joseph's Children's Centre has attempted this with increasing comprehensiveness over the past few years: of the

participants in this research, those who understood developmentally appropriate practice most had all received their training in this program.)

4. Provide a model classroom set up for use by teacher educators and students of early childhood. This is not a demonstration class for children, but an environment for teachers designed to demonstrate developmentally appropriate practice through personal experience. This practice is based upon a different use of the environment than teacher-directed practice; in developmentally appropriate practice, the environment itself, not the teacher, is used as a primary source of learning, and thus is carefully designed and constructed to permit this. A rich environment allowing individual choice of content and pace would demonstrate to teachers how this can be constructed for a social group. An education program that truly reflected developmentally appropriate practice for its students has some hope of communicating, through life experience, the structure of this practice, for to live it as part of one's experience allows the absorption of its tacit, automatic scripts for functioning. These are as complex and multifaceted as those for teacher-directed practice, but the student cannot be expected to overcome the latter out of the sheer force of her imagination.

An unequivocal adherence to a model of practice such as developmental appropriateness, with a careful thinking through of the match between structure of program and

content to be presented, should assist in conveying a more vivid understanding of this practice. At the least, if a program existed which attempted this, the question of whether this more adequately conveys the model could be tested.

5. Provide positive support to practicum settings by offering descriptions and images of practice which students are intended to construct, and coaching/consultation to teachers who wish this service.

Overall, this study suggests that the model of developmentally appropriate practice requires a much higher degree of visibility to day care teachers, if they are to consider its implementation seriously, and teachers themselves cannot be expected to provide this.

Implications for Day Care Administrators

If administrators wish their centres to offer developmentally appropriate practice and their teachers to be able to construct this practice, the findings of this research lead to the following recommendations. These are specific things which administrators could do, in concert with teachers, to encourage this practice in their centres.

1. Develop a mission statement which outlines what the centre wants to offer children and others who inhabit it, and how the centre tries to go about providing this. I recommend giving teachers specific permission to attempt to

construct developmentally appropriate practice and adopting a disposition to support their efforts. Putting this up front as an initial agenda for action allows more discussion and reflection than if it is kept tacit, a matter taken for granted.

2. Re-evaluate and re-design as necessary forms for program planning and for documentation of program to incorporate essential aspects of developmentally appropriate practice, such as teacher observation of individual children, a focus on unique child processes in interacting with material, providing choices in all contexts, opportunities for problem-solving, for child-initiated activity in all contexts, and active support for children's play. Such forms are beginning to be available either through specific education programs, such as the High/Scope Child Assessment Records, or the broader guidelines set out by the Accreditation Program of NAEYC (1984), or the more recent Classroom Practices Inventory (Hyson, Hirsh-Pasek, and Rescorla 1990), an observation instrument to assess developmentally appropriate practice based on the 1984 NAEYC guidelines. Although the inventory is a research instrument, it is a starting point which might usefully be adapted to teacher use.

While in themselves insufficient to enable the construction of effective practice, such forms support an orientation towards this practice in the teacher, and help the administration bring the practice into the realm of

conscious reflection and deliberate effort. A form is only part of what is required, but serves as ongoing reminder, like a road sign, of the direction in which the centre wishes the teacher to head. Forms are legitimized as what should be done, because they originate in the administration, the leadership of the centre.

3. Provide shared planning time consistently, for planning, preparation of materials, and reflection. Support teachers in their planning attempts by providing consulting/coaching to assist them in observing and focussing on what is of interest and concern to individual children. This support is required because observation requires attentiveness to what is there, rather than imposition of a teacher's agenda. As well, teachers need to meet together to plan adequately for the children in their care.

4. Encourage teachers to set aside a considerable expanse of time per day when they have explicit permission to observe, participate in and support children's play, in order to further their understanding of children. Clearly two teachers must be present to do this, so that one monitors overall while the other concentrates upon specific interactions with children. (This encouragement might include cutting back on field trips or long walks in which children's opportunities for interacting with anyone or anything are greatly reduced by the requirement of staying in line.)

5. Encourage the development of more flexible schedules by permitting a variety of activities simultaneously (small group during play, some gross motor activity always available, a snack table, and so forth). In other words, the availability of these events is organized in space rather than across time.

6. Model problem-solving in situations where non-teaching staff complain about effects of children upon their work. If directors can model negotiation of solutions acceptable to teachers and non-teaching staff alike, this demonstrates in one more context how problem-solving works to everyone's benefit.

7. Build into expectations for teachers the opportunity to visit other centres and programs, to permit teachers to explore a range of possibilities in constructing practice, to witness other people's attempts, to gain new ideas or a fresh outlook. New images may give them something else to try out their own practice against and encourage reflection.

8. Offer content to teachers in areas of unfamiliarity with developmentally appropriate practice (workshops, consultations, resources, videos).

9. Reduce the size of after-school groups to manageable size. Thirty such children in spaces designed for preschoolers are simply too many and I suggest that teachers should not be expected to absorb the unreasonable stress resulting from their extensive activity without some other supports.

10. Permit teachers increased participation, and perhaps, the right of refusal in decisions to accept student teachers.

In summary of this section on implications for administrators, it is clear that teachers require leadership from administration, that is that administrators not function simply to perpetuate established routines, but that teachers be given a mandate to construct developmentally appropriate practice and that their efforts to do so be supported by institutional change. I remarked earlier that we need teacher stories of efforts to construct developmentally appropriate practice. We also need institutional narratives (the phrase is Clandinin's 1), stories of how institutions adapt and change in the interests of constructing more appropriate practice for those in their care.

Several future research projects are suggested by the findings regarding the impact of organizational procedures on teacher practice. This research suggests that settings themselves create situations of considerable stress for some teachers. In my judgment, two teachers in this research suffered stress from their specific work conditions. The research question becomes then, to what extent do organizational procedures themselves contribute to the stress which day care teachers absorb? Is this, quite apart

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1 Clandinin, Jean, "Seeing New Possibilities through Telling our Stories," workshop presentation for the Department of Education, Mount Saint Vincent University, March 1991.

from low pay and status, contributing to high turnover in staff? The arena of stress resulting from work conditions deserves careful attention, and it would be helpful to administrators in particular to have some answers to this concern.

Another implication of this research is that student teachers frequently add undue stress for teachers. It would be helpful to examine the impact of their presence on the work processes and well-being of teachers. What communication skills, for instance, are required for teachers to support student teachers adequately and what support in constructing these do day care teachers actually receive? What, beyond the earlier recommendations here, could administrators and teacher educators do to ease the burden of demonstrating practice adequately which befalls the practicum teacher?

Implications For Day Care Teachers

I have only one recommendation for day care teachers, the development of increasingly reflective practice. What is needed is an ability to reflect on practice in order to surface and deal with dilemmas, to take control of practice so it not simply slide into automatic routine. If, for instance, the scripts for action inherited as teacher-directed practice are not surfaced as problems to encounter or work with, the day care teacher will presumably implement

them as part of the tacit, taken-for-granted knowledge about the past performance of day care work. If she cannot see herself as an active agent with a vision to impart to the environment, then she will follow the script in place for teacher direction.

Perhaps it is necessary that teachers acknowledge through reflection that parts of their practice are not developmentally appropriate and therefore not the practice which they wish to implement. What is required is a form of consciousness-raising, a broadening of conceptual boundaries, so that different models of practice can be identified and their own practice analyzed in this light. (This was precisely the stage with which one teacher was coping, inhibiting her frequent corrections to children during play and welcoming the child-initiated process of a storm in water play or the tactile exploration of paint on skin.) In order to reach this consciousness, teachers must grasp that the two frameworks for action, teacher-directed practice and developmentally appropriate practice are mutually exclusive because they are founded upon different conceptions of how children learn and develop. They cannot believe both conceptions simultaneously, which is why they slip back and forth between them.

Can we increase teachers' awareness of the scripts for action in their practice so that they can surface them from a level of automatic performance to the point where they can be consiously inspected, perhaps altered? Let teachers

explore their own practice for locations of teacher-directed and developmentally appropriate practice and ask what children gain from each experience. Is this consistent with what they most want for children in their care? How could they construct more of what they hope children to experience? The teacher must own this sense of examination of practice, must care passionately, for things imposed by outsiders meet resistance, even outright rejection.

> The crucial point is that we, as conscious beings constitute the world we inhabit through the interpretations we adopt or make for ourselves. To take that world for granted as predefined or objectively there is to be uncritical, submissive and submerged.
>
> Maxine Greene (1978, 17)

What might assist the construction of more reflective practice? Tools originally developed for research have occasionally proved efficacious as tools for professional development. Kagan (1990, 460) in a recent review of literature on teacher knowledge, mentions several researchers whose tasks become vehicles for growth, and describes Lattner's notion of "catalytic validity" as "the degree to which a research process reorients, focusses, or changes participants, furthering their self-understanding and self-determination." This research demonstrated that

videotaping practice and reviewing it with personal expectations in mind is a powerful tool for surfacing problems and increasing reflection. The video review process, as it was used in this thesis, led four of the five participants to say they were consciously aware of an increase in their reflectiveness. With regard to this, I think of one teacher's comment that the questions I asked, the verbal frame around the video review, were "just like a guideline to think," and the extraordinary degree of change which she underwent in the several months between our fifth and sixth interview. I think of another's determination to do something about her gym space after seeing it on video, or her reflectiveness about her body language with children, and of still another's continuation of baking times when she saw for herself on video the children's interest and involvement.

Through this process of review of practice the teacher discloses for herself her purposes and expectations. She makes these explicit, and this process can help bring up to awareness those areas of taken-for-granted functioning. It can permit her, as those promoting critical inquiry would argue (Apple 1983; Berlak and Berlak 1981; Grumet 1981; Pinar 1981), heightened awareness of her actions and shift her, through reflection, from merely following previously produced scripts for action in the setting to becoming a producer of structures, of new scripts. Pinar (1981) argued that self-disclosure is political in that it has a potential

impact on action which the individual may take. Berlak and Berlak argued that teachers should examine their patterns of resolution to dilemmas, to conflict, to see their dominant and atypical patterns. Videotape captures practice for such review. Videotape may be a powerful tool for increased reflectiveness and a tool for professional development, because it is self-motivating and interesting to use. As teachers reported, they "could watch that anytime" and one went so far as to say she thought it was "necessary."

The questions which arise as possibilities for further research surprise me in that they seem not to extend beyond this study, but to back up before it, as if this work started at some mid-point with assumptions that could be explored much more fully. At the end point I find myself asking four closely related questions.

1. Does the construction of developmentally appropriate practice itself increase reflection-in/on-action? There are two inferences from this research suggesting this. One is that developmentally appropriate practice requires reflection-in/on-action as a basic skill. This arises out of the observation and judgment about response necessary before action is taken. Teachers who develop more reflective skills will problem-solve more frequently and effectively because observation to note discrepancies, surprises, interesting things becomes a script for their own action. Reflection too then becomes a script. The corollory hypothesis is that teachers who follow teacher-

directed scripts for action are less likely to surface events as points for reflection and less likely to see problems as challenges to solutions. Why might this be so? The most parsimonious factors could simply be available time for reflection and lack of an observation base.

2. How is the teacher led to reflection-in/on-action about some issue or problem which now troubles her but formerly was something she did not notice?

3. How can a teacher break out of inherited scripts for teacher direction to respond to the uniqueness of children and events? How can teachers caught in teacher-directed scripts see that this is in contradiction to developmentally appropriate practice?

4. How does a teacher construct for herself and the children in her care a moment of developmentally appropriate practice that was not there before, and how does she recognize it?

Put more broadly, these last three questions can be summarized in the general question of how we encourage teachers to devlop more reflective rather than automatic practice.

Now that I am finished this project, I marvel that day care teachers are able to construct developmentally appropriate practice at all. Given the difficulties, its tenuous appearance in centres with no formal support for it built into procedures is all the more remarkable, and speaks to a ready commitment on the part of day care teachers

themselves. What drives teachers towards it, when they inherit teacher-directed patterns of practice? Would the two teachers shifting towards it have done so without their participation in the research?

How does a day care teacher manage to construct a new moment of practice which she recognizes as developmentally appropriate, given the difficulties? If teachers frequently tolerate compartmentalized conflicts between frameworks for action, shifting from one to the other without recognition, what happens to break this stasis open so that a teacher changes her practice? This research suggested that irritating events, conflicts about how they should work, led to the surfacing of a problem that challenged the teacher to take action. Once a problem was surfaced, solutions were generated, attempted, reflected upon, revised. But what leads to surfacing the problem? Reflection, particularly an ability to make the tacit, the automatic, a figure for examination, is one route. Surely there are many dynamics, many routes. It would be helpful to teachers to have access to other teachers' accounts of their struggles, their agonies and joys, in attempting to construct developmentally appropriate practice, to share and humanize the difficulty of their task. I hope the voices of the five teachers in this research begin to provide this.

In the end, what I see is that the construction of developmentally appropriate practice is both a struggle and a joint responsibility which must be shouldered not simply

by day care teachers, but by administrators and teacher educators. Surely it is the obligation of administrators to do everything in their power to support teachers efforts to construct this practice, for the sake of children. Surely it is the obligation of teacher educators in Nova Scotia to provide a more powerful image of developmentally appropriate practice for teachers, permitting teachers to star in taking control of their own efforts to construct it. Milos Forman (Chapter One, 1) spoke of the "intimate and harsher reality" that challenges a person's ideal, but without a clear and potent vision, the challenge of constructing the ideal out of imperfect experience can hardly begin.

Appendix A

Consent Forms

Consent Form 1: Directors

Consent Form 2: Participants

Consent Form 3: Parent Permission to Video

Consent Form 1: Directors

Dear Director:

As a teacher educator, I struggle with my awareness of the tension between theory and practice in day care, and the difficulties of constructing the practice we want to construct. I want to understand this better, from the perspective of day care teachers. For the duration of my dissertation research, I want to step outside my work role as a teacher educator and become a learner again, to understand what teachers' think. The subject of my research is "The Dilemma of Theory and Practice in the Work of Day Care Teachers". I am interested in exploring teachers' thinking about their work as it concerns children's play, teacher-provided program, and routine. It may, or may not, be difficult for teachers to create the kind of practice they wish to provide, and I am interested in exploring why that might be so.

My goal is to construct a portrayal of individual teacher's personal theory, from observations and discussions about practice, and to explore how this matches or does not match models of practice such as developmental appropriateness or schooling, and to explore what accounts for this.

The research involves six to eight morning-long observations in the teacher's program at two to three week intervals, four of these to include a 45 minute segment which is videotaped, and six to eight interview sessions to discuss the teacher's work and the videotapes. We may also discuss forms and documentation kept by the teacher and I may require access to these. I will prepare brief portrayals of each teacher's personal theory which I will ask her to revise, as part of an interview.

Because I am using qualitative methods, the number of visits is an estimate; I might require some additional visits.

The videotapes are for research purposes only and remain confidential to each participant. Interviews will be audiotaped. All tapes will be erased when the project is completed. Participants names, names of children and of co-workers, and of the setting will not be used in field notes, transcripts, or the final paper. I will use pseudonyms, and alter details of the setting, if necessary, to preserve anonymity.

Participants are free to stop participating in the research process at any time, should they not wish to continue.

I will give each participant a copy of the final paper.

I ask you to provide me with names of teachers whom I might approach. The teachers should meet the following criteria: 1) they work full-time in day care,
2) they are reliable,

3) they are interested in thinking about and discussing their work and in having it visually documented,

4) they have one year's experience.

For teachers who fit this criteria, I need to know how many years they have worked in day care. I am seeking four participants, each from a different program, two who are highly experienced and two who are in the early stages of their work life.

I ask your permission to carry out this research with one of your teachers, if one is interested in participating. Copies of the consent form for participants and a letter of information to parents requesting permission to include their child in videotaping are enclosed for your information.

_______________________________ Signature of Director

____________________ Date

Consent Form 2: Participants

Dear Participant:

The subject of my doctoral research is 'The Dilemma of Theory and Practice in the Work of Day Care Teachers.' I am interested in exploring teachers' thinking about their work in day care as it concerns children's play, teacher-provided program, and routine. I want to know what it is actually like for teachers in day care. I want to discuss how teachers think about and carry out practice in the setting. It may, or may not, be difficult for teachers to create the kind of practice they wish to provide, and I am interested in exploring why that might be so.

My goal is to construct a portrayal of individual teacher's personal theory, from observations and discussions about practice, and to explore how this matches or does not match models of practice such as developmental appropriateness or schooling, and to explore what accounts for this.

As a participating teacher, I ask you to permit me to observe in your program on six to eight occasions (once every two to three weeks), and to video your program for a 45 minute segment on four occasions. I ask you to meet with me for an interview after each visit, in which we will discuss day care teaching in the areas mentioned above (play, routine, program), and we will watch videotape together and talk about it. We may also need to have access to and discuss forms and documents which you keep. Interviews generally take about an hour to an hour-and-a-half on each occasion. Because I am using qualitative methods, the number of visits is an estimate. I may need to make some additional visits.

I will show you my tentative portayal of teacher theory in the process of constructing it, and invite you to alter or revise it, to be certain you find it accurate. I will tape the interviews and make transcripts to help with this.

The videotapes are for research purposes only and remain confidential to participants. All tapes (audio and video) will be erased when the project is completed.

Your name and the names of your co-workers and children and of your setting will not be used in field notes or in the final paper. I will use pseudonyms, and alter details of the setting if necessary, so that your anonymity is preserved.

You are free to stop participating in the research process at any time, should you not wish to continue.

I will give you a copy of the final paper.

__________________________ Signature of Participant

__________________________ Signature of Researcher

Consent Form 3: Parent Permission to Video

Dear Parents:

I write to inform you of my research project, a doctoral dissertation in Education at Dalhousie University, in which one of your child's teachers is a participant. The subject of my study is 'The Dilemma of Theory and Practice in the Work of Day Care Teachers.' It involves three things: 1) interviews with teachers about their handling of children's play, teacher-directed program, and routine in day care,

2) observations of the setting

3) four short (45 minute) videotaped segments of program.

The purpose of the observations and videotapes is to provide examples of practice to discuss in the interviews. Videotape provides teachers with a very interesting and informative reflection of their program. My study is an exploratory case study of teacher beliefs and perceptions, of actual practice, and an examination of these in light of the theory of developmentally appropriate practice.

My focus is teachers and their work with children. The videotapes are for research purposes only and are confidential to each participant (ie. only the teacher and I will see them) and are erased when the project is completed. Pseudonyms for all teachers and children are used in field notes, transcripts, and in the dissertation itself to assure confidentiality of participants and of those around them.

However, because children will appear in the videotapes, I ask your permission to include your child in the videotaping.

________________________________ Signature of Parent

_________________ Date

Appendix B
Sample Fieldnotes

Carla
Third Visit, Second Video: Free Play, Afternoon
Tuesday, December __, 3:00-5:00 pm

I enter feeling it's a long time since I've been here: will she be expecting me? Someone is sitting in 'her' chair at her table. I ask if she is away today. No, there she is on a chair in a circle of children sitting on the floor way across the room. I say hello to others, the director, exchange a few words here and there, remove my coat and boots, park equipment, all of which seems to take a long time. There is much movement; they seem to be getting settled too. Denise is with Bertram in the hallway. He has a cast on his wrist. She tells me he broke it yesterday. [It doesn't appear to phase him. He seems oblivious to it, tearing around as usual.]

There's Carla coming across the room, boots on, hair flying, looking a little tired to me. She greets me, tells me they are late, just having snack. They just got back from MicMac Mall where they saw Santa and the talking Christmas tree.

They are eating tomatoes rolled in parmesan cheese for snack. The children eagerly ask for more. She tells me they love it, she hates it, that these children are not fussy about food, they will eat anything. Maybe one or two are fussy but no more. The children sit in two groups, one of 9 at Carla's table with the part-time staff person Jan, the other group of 19 or so on the rug across the room. Fran is with them. A parent is crouching behind the group, having come and now waiting for the child to finish snack.

Carla removes a boy -- Sean, I will call him -- from the group on the rug. He has to put his shoes on (shoes are necessary in case there's a fire drill, she later tells me). He doesn't want to put them on, whines, cries, his face and body crumpling up. He looks very tired, as if he can hardly hold himself upright, is sinking part by part, eyebrow, chin, leg. She tells me he fell asleep on the van on the way back from the trip. He is unquestionably cranky, negative about the shoes. She insists.
"You put that on or go in the office." She says she will help him.
"Here, lie down. Push, push. You're not pushing. I want you to push this way."
The sneakers, it seems, are too small, and do not easily go on [no wonder he doesn't want to put them on] and he lies on his back on the floor and she forces them onto his feet and ties them. (Later, she tells me they are too small, that she must speak to his mother about them.)

She sounds short with him, emphatic, tired, as if she's on the verge of getting angry (to me). He is still whiny, crossing his arms and frowning. For a moment he is back

with the group, then back out of it, Carla bending over him trying to pull him up. He flails on the floor, won't stand. She is pointing to the group, trying to get him to sit with the others. He is crying and she has her arm around him.

No one pays any attention to Carla and Sean. I can smell vomit. A prepared craft is laid out at the art table, small squares of green tissue, paper plates with the centre cutout (like a wreath), pine cones, tiny glittering bulbs, trays of bondfast.

Carla takes the snack tray over to Sean, still apart from the others. "Do you want some?" He is crying, holding onto the edge of the sandbox and it looks from his body posture as if it's the only way he can hold himself up. Carla goes out of the room for a moment. She returns to him, lifts him up with considerable difficulty under the arms. He resists, lots of bare stomach flailing like a fish. She carries him out, drags him out, he crying "I want my space." He looks about six years old.

She has taken him to the office. Wails of "I want my space" are louder, harder. He is crying fully now. All the others are oblivious to this.

3:30 The table of children has gone somewhere, to the bathroom, I suppose. They are back, and immediately a child asks Jan, "Can I go into housekeeping?"

Denise says to Carla, as she comes back from the office, "I'll take nine, Carla," -- to the bathroom, I presume.

Child to Carla: "Are we allowed in blocks?"

"Yes, it's open." Carla goes over to them as they begin to play, and I hear, "If you play smashing game ...."and "take it easy."

I begin to set up the video equipment. This requires Carla helping me find a plug when I discover the batteries aren't charged up and I have to go back to the car for the electrical charger and cord. George and Bertram have been very interested in the equipment, I explaining it to them, and they agree to watch it for me while I go to the car. [I have no qualms about this and am confident they will make sure no one touches it.] When I return, George is still there by the chair, watching. I get it set up, relieved that I can get it to work. Bertram had remembered as soon as he saw me that I had promised last time that he could look through the eyepiece. George goes to tell him and he comes immediately from the listening centre.

There is an immediate thrust of small bodies around me, as five or six want to look through. I tell them it's only big enough for one eye at a time. Carla sits at her craft table, several children making wreaths. I probably spend five minutes anyway letting them see themselves before the press of bodies moves off and there are only two or three who want to keep on interminably, while another mugs before the camera. I don't check the clock, but it's probably 3:50 or 4:00 before I start taping, telling them, "I have to do my work now."

I videotape free play, the block area, doctor's office, the housekeeping area, beauty parlour interest table, a puzzle table, the listening centre, trying to record the range of activity. Carla spends most of her time with her craft activity or in general monitoring, attendance board in hand.

At 4:30, there are about ten children left and I felt I had caught pretty much what was there to catch, so I put the equipment away, with help from a little girl. I sat and rested a few minutes, chatting with the kids, not thinking about the work. I find I have to do this, for I get very tired. The room felt relaxed, comfortable -- fewer children suddenly, less noise and cafuffle -- and when the director came in for a moment I conveyed my tiredness at this time of day to her. She said it makes quite a difference having fewer children in the room, ie. she took my comment to be about the number of children, not the time of day.

I sat at the craft table. George asked, "Can I sit on your lap?" He snuggled right in, chatting and working away to get off the traces of tissue stuck with glue to the ends of the pencils which they were using to roll up the tissue. Carla is by the door talking to a parent, attendance board in hand. George persists, asking "Can I use my teeth?" I ask what else he could use. "Scissors, but I won't be allowed to use them." There is a large pair of adult silver scissors on the table. [These then clearly belong to the teacher.] "How about kid scissors?" I ask. He hops off and retrieves a pair from the art shelves, and moments later, was very pleased to show me he had managed to cut the stubborn tuft off the end of the pencil. Back to work. 4:50 Carla is closing curtains. It is dusk, darker outside than in. She says if there are just a few children left she and Jan permit each other to leave. Yesterday Jan left at 5:00 so today it would be Carla's turn, but there are too many children left, she won't go. As she closes the curtains, she says, "Oh I have to move the van too! It's on the street." As she walks hurriedly off, she says to the air, "Too many things to do."

I note there is quiet activity, George following me (he loves adults, follows any new adult in the room). Seven children remain at 4:57. George is writing, showing me G, G. I feel very relaxed, who wants to work.

Jan is sitting with two girls in the beauty parlour, they fussing with her long hair, pulling it back, brushing it. George stays with me. Two boys play with lego, two boys do the tissue wreath craft. One little girl walks to the doctor's office and calls out, "Anybody wanna come here and play with me?" No one pays any attention, either adults or children. I remember that she made a similar request when I was videotaping her alone at the beauty parlour. There was no response then either. Do they hear her? I think, on balance, probably not. Each is busy with something else. It is only the observer who catches it, feels for her. [She does not go and ask anyone directly. I

meant to ask Carla about this last night in the interview, but forgot.] Carla is not back yet.

The child puts on the doctor's coat, the nurse's hat. It is too big, a paper hat with empty crown, that slips over her head to her neck. She pushes it up. She opens the kit and examines the contents, alone.

Again, I note I felt so tired. A boy to Jan: "Oh, Jan, can I go visiting in the little kids [room]?" "No, 'cause Winston is there."

I left at 5:00. It was hard to stay longer, for the feeling in the room is of departures, of endings. It feels for me like, at this point, activity is continuing as a fill-in but really we want to go, like all the others.

[Impressions: Resource management and the children's understanding of this strikes me again, but not as negatively as it did in the second visit. There is a range of options available, sometimes available and sometimes the space is taken up, the time wrong, and the children seem very accustomed to checking this out. The adult is the resource manager, the channel through which these options are accessed.]

Appendix C
List of Contents of Videotaped Episodes

Donna

1. sponge painting craft
   group circle: shapes theme
   gross motor activity: musical shapes game
2. free play: dolls house furniture and figures, sandbox
3. free play: blocks, housekeeping, tidy up
   group circle: flannelgraph of 5 snowmen and verse
4. free play: (primary age group) barbies, legos, house
   group circle: children's work theme

Carla

1. string painting craft
2. free play: 'smashing' cars, water play, beauty parlour
3. group circle: story, zoo theme
   group circle: show and tell
4. group circle: theme of senses, smelling game
   free play: blocks and housekeeping
   tissue flower craft

Nora

1. free play: sand, water, vehicle play, tidy up
2. group circle: nursery rhymes
   free play: police and firefighters
3. group circle: songs
   free play: housekeeping
4. free play: blocks, Brie's house

Liz

1. small group during free play: cornmeal and chick peas
2. free play: 'telephones,' umbrella, making soup in sandbox
3. small group: baking cake
   play in the gym
4. free play: housekeeping
   informal stories

Jill

1. shape collage craft
   free play: singing and dancing to records
2. small group: baking 'monkeybread'
3. free play: dressup, dancing and monkey song, birdwatching
   group activity: story circle
   music
4. small group: 'show and tell'
   small group free play with 'show and tells'

Appendix D

Interview Guides

Interview Guide 1: Guide for Interviews 1-5

Interview Guide 2: Final Interview Questions, and Preamble to Feedback Paper

Interview Guide 1: Guide for Interviews 1-5

This is a bare bones outline of descriptive questions. In the style of the ethnographic interview (Spradley 1979) I expect to repeat questions, enlarge on them, and encourage the participant to talk. Her responses will be followed up, if need be, and the order of questions is not important. They move in general from a 'grand tour' orientation towards more and more detail about specific activities and times. It should feel like a conversation to them and they should do most of the talking. They should feel at ease and free to talk about things within the frame of the study.

Outline of the Day

Tell me about your job here, the major parts of your day and what is going on during them. Maybe you could describe what you do on a regular day. Walk me through the day with you.

(I am expecting to hear when she starts and finishes, which groups she works with, at what times, who she works with, what she does with each group. I will ask follow-up questions to get this.)

What are the major time frames in your work. From ___ to ____, you are doing X, from ____ to ____ you are doing Y, etcetera.

This question is intended to provide me with a detailed description of her work day in the words she chooses to describe it.

Breaks and Interruptions

What breaks in contact with the children do you have during the work day? What do you do on your breaks? Where do you go? What sorts of things might you like to do on your breaks that you cannot do?

Are there any other sorts of interruptions during the day that take you away from your work with the children?

(I expect some discussion of planning meetings or visits from adults who require attention like prospective parents, forms to fill out, telephone calls to take.)

What sorts of demands are there from other adults to spend time with them? (students, parents, practicum supervisors, observers, administration visitors, etcetera)

Documentation

What sorts of forms do you have to make or fill out? (attendance records, medical slips, permission slips, supply lists, etc.)

How do you and your co-workers organize that part of you work? (Who does what? When? How do you know it's done?)

Can you tell me about any notes or records you keep on the children? Are you required to keep any records? What? By whom?

Teacher-provided Program

Tell me about all the different kinds of things you do that you think of as your program for the children.

What are you as teacher doing during each of the major time frames? [These will be determined by what she sees as her program, the titles she gives differing segments.]

Are there any things you would like to do as part of your program that you find yourself unable to do? What sorts of things? What makes it impossible to do them?

Which activities do you like to do the most? What are the best parts of those, for you?

Purposes of Activities

What do you think ________ provides for the children in your program? [Craft, housekeeping, small group -- I will ask about whatever divisions of program she gives me.] Why do you like to have this as part of your program?

Planning

When you are planning for your program or setting, what do you plan? How do you go about this?

What is your definition of a successful activity for your children?

Can you give me some examples of activities that don't work well with this group, or that you wouldn't use with them? Tell me what's happening there.

What provides the structure in your program?

If you have a problem, something you notice as a little problem, how do you deal with it? How do you approach finding a solution?

Routine

How do you decide what the routine is going to be?[The answers to this came out, in all cases, without my asking it.]

Is it possible to have too much going on in the program? What would be happening if there was too much for the children to do? What would that look like?
What about 'too little' to do? Is that possible? What would that look like and feel like? How do you decide if you have enough program for the children?

Children's Play

What do you usually do when the children are playing in free play?

Is what you usually do the same as what you think you should be doing when children are playing? Probe.

When do you as a teacher come into play areas? What situations would draw your intervention? Or participation?

What do you think children gain from playing in free play? What does it do for them? Does it make any difference to them? To you?
What are all the places where children could play in your setting?

What problems does children's play create for you in the setting?

Does anything in the day care interfere with children's play?

Do you think children should be encouraged to play or do you think it's better if they are left to their own devices?
(If a) What are all the things you can think of that you could do to encourage children's play? Which of these do you like to do?

(If b) In what ways are they better off on their own, without an adult involved?

How do you know if you have enough play?

In what ways is children's play different from the program offered by the teachers?

Interview Guide 2: Final Interview Questions

Are you conscious of trying to follow any specific model of practice in your work as a day care teacher?

If yes, could you describe this model?
What do you see as its key characteristics?

If no.
How would you describe what you are trying to do?

What guides your practice, allows you to judge whether you're 'doing it right' or not?

If you had to give a name to what you do, what would you call it?

Do you think your theory and practice is close to one of the following and in what ways?

- schooling models of practice
- developmental appropriateness models
- custodial models
- play group models
- cognitive interactionist models
- other

Has anything we have done -- talk, watch video, be filmed -- changed how you act or think about some aspect of your work?

In what ways do you think you have changed over the several months that I have been visiting you?

What do you think stops teachers from playing with children in housekeeping?

Can you tell me something about the most significant experiences (training, workshops, a person, an incident) in your own background which most affected your work?

Interview Guide 2: Preamble to Feedback Paper

The portrayal of your theory and practice which I'm about to show you is not a fixed portrait, even though it is written down. It represents specific moments in time: you may feel differently about some things now. And I may not have seen some aspects of your work or thinking clearly or in their full complexity. Since in this portion of my project I have been trying to come as close as I can to describing with authenticity your practice and theory about play and program, your contribution in revising my words is both helpful and invaluable. You are the one who knows. I will revise this draft using your comments.

There may be an element of shock in seeing oneself on paper, as with the first occasion in watching video. All names have been altered and details which might suggest too specific a location omitted, but if something strikes you as inappropriate, do tell me. I tried to write it neutrally, that is without judgment and with no attempt to flatter or please: it is descriptive. Nevertheless, to write -- to choose words at all -- is to interpret, as I have discovered.

Some questions to keep in mind as you go through it.

Does it seem true, accurate? (Please correct any errors of fact.)
Things that seem right, on target, you might give a check.
Things not quite as you think they are, an X or ?

Please feel free to add ideas or thoughts or comments on the page opposite the text, and also to mark up the text.

Does it seem to fit as a description of what you do and think about play and program? Feel free to revise comments, add where I oversimplify or omit something you think is important.

If something makes you think 'no, it's not quite like that,' please elaborate on the opposite page.

How do you feel about it?

Appendix E
Categories for Sorting Data

The following list describes the categories which emerged in each teacher's data set when using the data corpus in preparation for writing the feedback paper. In these, I am accounting for all data generated, thus there is both overlap from teacher to teacher, and some categories unique to a particular teacher. The criteria for establishing a criteria followed that suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984). A concern or practice became a category if it was frequently mentioned or present, or if it was emotionally loaded or particularly significant. For instance, if a teacher was very emphatic about something, or if she kept referring to something in the midst of talking of other things, this was likely to become a category.

Major Categories for Teacher Practical Knowledge

Jill

- Resource Management
- Corrections
- Monitoring
- Program as Focus on Content (Curriculum)
- Program as Focus on Process (Child Control)
- Time Management (Fixed Schedules)
- Planning Content
- Play

Nora

- Resource Management (10 subcategories)
- Program as Changes to Room
- Craft as Planned Program
- Parents as a Problem
- Student Teachers as a Problem
- Supportive Administration
- Corrections
- Play
- Flexibility as a Value

Liz

- Program as Choices
- Observation of Individuals
- Observation of Difficult Behaviours
- Inclusion of Parents
- Support for Child-Initiated Activity
- Teacher Talk (feedback to child) as Value
- Corrections
- Routines as Contexts for Choices
- Small Group as Value
- Gym as Valued Context
- Constraints on Work
- Student Teachers as Problem
- Special Needs Child as Problem

Carla
- Program as Routines, Themes, Outings
- Play as Value
- Monitoring
- Corrections
- Resource Management
- Constraints as Staff Conflict
- Routines/Transitions
- Freedom and Responsibility as Value

Donna
- Program as Curriculum Content
- Teacher Planning
- Play
- Monitoring
- Constraints
- Sensitivity to Authority
- Inability to Play
- Sharing Control as Value
- Language/Focus on Talk as Value
- Corrections
- Resource Management

Appendix F

Sample Confirmation and Disconfirmation of Assertions

From Process of Research Journal
Wednesday, March 7, 1990.

Yesterday I read through Carla's binder, all fieldnotes and transcripts, in preparation for attempting the analytic exercise of generating an assertion, selecting a key instance to write up as a narrative vignette with interpretation, and making the search through the data corpus for evidence a) that supports it, and b) that disconfirms it.

I tried a very general assertion, that children's activity is either free play or teacher-directed group activity, but after a one page brief summary, felt it was too high a level of assertion to work with -- though it still describes a key tension in contrasting activity (perhaps because each is done roughly 50% of the time?) in her teaching.

I next tried a Carla as gatekeeper to resources assertion which I worked through satisfactorily. Going through the entire data corpus, I found 24 examples of one kind or another where she regulated/controlled gain or loss of materials which children wanted. I chose one, George trying to get a spot at water play, to write up and it worked well.

Then with the list of 24 items forming this data set, I could see that there were several types of incidents, three types in fact. I could categorize them as:

Resource gating: controlling access to play area or materials (ie. granting or withholding access to particular children),

Correcting: corrections for perceived misbehaviour in which the child loses access to material in play (eg. has to leave play area, does not get a turn in group, timeout), and

Fielding: fielding or staggering children's use of material or access to it (eg. one by one to bathroom, or to get show and tell item from box, or to put paint papers on shelf to dry).

The process of adding materials in play now does not seem to fit, but seems to belong to a different assertion, one concerning provision of ideas/materials. In gatekeeping, there is a binary decision -- yes, no -- to gaining (or keeping) access to material. In adding things, it's an unasked for bonus, additional provisions.

Then I examined the data corpus for disconfirming evidence. That was much harder. What was the range of things that should be considered? There are 3-4 things that

are differently operated, and 2 instances that I am unsure belong or not. The strongest disconfirming evidence is the range of choices in free play, but that does not negate the problems for access to housekeeping or blocks, or anything else that more children than are permitted in an area want to do.
[Note added in August: Mornings when she plays bingo or cards and does no gatekeeping as she plays on the rug with four or five children, others joining or leaving as they wish, is a good example to disconfirm.]

It is an interesting process, generating the idea and checking it out. Tomorrow, I should try it for another key aspect of her work, finding and adding items for children's interest, and try the confirming and disconfirming search both at the same time. It took 4.5 hours to do the search yesterday.

Friday, March 9, 1990.

I did try the second assertion on Carla's data corpus, that of her "everlasting bag of tricks," that she always has one more idea for activity to add to the room. This was much more complicated: it turned out very differently. I tried looking for confirming and disconfirming instances simultaneously and found

1) some difficulty in defining/judging the class of things to be considered disconfirmatory (ie. the confirming things jump out; the disconfirming do not, and must be actively sought). As disconfirming instances, I chose first instances where she seemed to be without ideas, resourceless. This turned out to be the class of things, in a sense, that I had done the day before -- all the resource management. It can be seen as the arena where she does not add further activity. I see how the pieces fit together -- are connected -- but it still feels confused to me.

At any rate, I pulled out anything that could remotely be seen to have a disconfirming point on the "everlasting bag of tricks" idea and found 14 examples that confirm the notion and 10 examples that disconfirmed it. As much evidence to refute almost, as to support. Interesting. I don't think I've come to the bottom of this one yet, though I do think my assertion does describe an important aspect of her theory/practice.

But there's more to it -- this sense of conflicted values -- offering them more play materials on the one hand, believing it important, and controlling access to resources, and sometimes process, on the other.

Appendix G

Description of Analysis Process for feedback paper

The intention of the following was to describe as explicitly as possible the process I was following to analyze the data corpus for each teacher. The format used is adapted from Miles and Huberman (1984, 245).

Process of Research Journal
May 3, 1990.

Sample Documentation
Research Issue: Teacher's personal practical knowledge about play and program.
Purpose of Analysis: From data sets, construct an authentic portrayal in narrative prose of Jill's personal theory (beliefs, attitudes, values, reflections) and practice about play and program in her work.
Specific Data Sets in Use: Fieldnotes from Visits 1-5, Interview Transcripts 1-5, Video segments (if needed as a check on action or talk).

Description of Procedures

Step 1. With second copy of data set, partition into units by context (each data bit mounted on single page). Examine each for teacher's agenda, what is she trying to do, and summarize in 1-2 lines on the page what was of concern to her.

Remove 'chaff' and keep separately, with a covering list of contents of 'chaff.'

Decision rules used. A change in context, in topic of conversation, eg. a different question, an event that was not an illustration of present talk, bringing in a new concern or issue. 'Chaff' was anything not showing theory or practice about play and program, eg. technical talk about video, my comments, some running commentary as we watched video.

Findings. Bits fell easily into issues/talk/actions, eg. monitoring, programming, correcting, managing resources, and then within these were other subcategories and tensions across them. Programming held three categories linked -- content as curriculum, child-centred process, and giving up control. Monitoring and playing were held in tension.

Step 2. Cluster or sort data bits according to what seems to go together. This resulted in piles all over the living room floor. At first it seemed ridiculous, and then it made sense as I could spatially see both items that belonged together because of similar properties and the relation to another pile on the floor.

Decision rules. Re double filing, if content fits two categories, choose the broader one, and cross reference to the other category. In practice, the wish to double file frequently led me to see that partitioning was incomplete, that a bit belonging to something else was embedded within another discussion. These were removed, reducing double filing.

Findings. The tendency to double file shows up the intermixing of different sets of categories, eg. teachers' actions picks up all data, (but sensitivity to authority in Donna is separate). Is this a process, a theme? I don't know yet. Reflection-in-action is also separate, a process, and seems to come from another system for categorizing. Stick to teacher action and talk, your research question.

Step 3. Shuffle and shift pieces, examine contents of piles for themes, threads, what is each about, what does it connect to. Move pieces that do not fit to where they do fit, or hold them apart. Add bits that fit.
List main point of each bit. Look for common elements, the property that holds them together and group these within the category.
Place piles physically so that those close in content proximate. Map this.
Give try-out name to piles, naming category.
Keep shuffling until some coherence is reached. Diagram.
Try a write-up for a category, then look for its links with other categories.

Decision rules used. Does this bit fit with what is already there? Is is about the same thing? It fits nowhere? Then hold it apart, see if it gathers other bits.

Findings. By the second sort, some stability among items is ovbious, and some are still causing troubles: it isn't clear where they belong. Ideas about theory and practice start to kick in as pieces are shuffled about, as I become deeply absorbed in the entire content of a teacher's data corpus. Once the bits stabilize in a category, then I list each item in the set. Looking at the list, ideas for subcategories, how the bits fit together further would leap out, so that further similarities were obvious.

Appendix H
Criteria Representing Developmentally
Appropriate Practice

The criteria was developed to describe the quintessence of developmentally appropriate models of practice where play and program are concerned. The criteria is, however, clearly limited in several ways. It is not an exhaustive compilation of criteria for each of the four issues addressed, for I kept in mind time limits and individual resources -- how much I could reasonably expect a teacher to talk or write. I chose the criteria which most closely represent teacher response to play and program as conceived by this model of practice. Many other aspects of practice, such as general communication skills for instance, are not dealt with in a comprehensive way, although they are represented in some criteria. Thus, the issues are restricted in scope to the focus of the study, and the criteria too are restricted to several of the most salient features of models of developmental appropriateness. The criteria summarize the core features which I wished to address.

The criteria are organized under four headings which I called teacher agenda, teacher planning, resource management, and corrections. These issues emerged out of an interaction of the totality of my personal knowledge and what I was observing and hearing in interviews with participants. Although in the following rationale I occasionally offer support from the literature as example of underpinning for a criterion, I did not begin with this theory and extrapolate principles for practice. I began with my overall sense of the ideology and derived criteria from the interaction between this interpretation of the ideology and the practice which I witnessed. It is not my intention to offer a lengthy rationale for each criterion to justify its presence (this was but a small portion of the total research project) but to tell briefly why it was important to include it.

Teacher's Agenda

This issue addressed the content in the setting. What is there to do in all that space through the long day care day, and how does the teacher organize this? It addressed the context of control. Who decides what is accepted or permitted as content, and what is the balance of power among teacher and children? What power do children have to affect the content in the setting and how is this worked out with the teacher?

Models of developmental appropriateness articulate a child-centred agenda supported by the teacher, with her decisions about what to do based on interests and needs evident in the children. It suggests a responsive stance on the part of the teacher, allowing children to be themselves

rather than to be submissive and under direction. It suggests a liveliness and constant expectation of considerable activity. The five criteria which I believed to be critical follow.

Criterion 1: Play (as both exploration and representation) is accepted as it occurs.

Pretending that one thing is something else, (calling a wedge of apple a gun or a rocking chair) and investigating materials with inerest (such as exploring a visitor's video equipment) are spontaneous attempts by children to understand the world as they encounter it and to espress that understanding in their own terms. The ideas which they generate as actions, bodily gestures, or talk, and the explorations which lead to these ideas are crucial for development because they are the bedrock of interactive experience from which thought and feeling and volition develop (Piaget in Piers 1972; Vygotsky 1976; Sutton-Smith 1969; Gould 1972). Models of developmental appropriateness presume an acceptance by teachers of this natural activity. If this activity is fully accepted, not simply tolerated, but acknowledged and recognized, then it follows that sitting and listening to someone else talk or demonstrate materials for lengths of time, as in schooling models of practice, is less helpful to the development of young children. The two approaches are thus mutually exclusive because they are founded on different conceptions of how children learn. Adopting one approach suggests a rejection of the other.

Criterion 2: Children's ideas are welcomed, become part of program and are extended.

Criterion 3: Child-initiated activity is noticed, planned for, and encouraged.

Accepting children's ideas, extending them (by for instance offering further activities based upon them), and encouraging constructive actions which children try out in interaction with materials or people are teacher actions logically linked to a definition of child-centred program. They are fundamental to beginning with the child's intentions and to the concept of trust in and respect for children upon which child-centredness is founded.

(The two criteria above are very similar conceptions, given slightly different form, almost, but not quite, redundant. The term 'idea' suggests talk, ideas communicated in language or text. 'Activity' suggests actions carried out by children. The fact that the ideas of very young children will often take the form of action rather than words, (drawings and dance and playing with objects), actions generated by the child and not imposed from without, is captured by the phrase 'child-initiated

activity.' I kept both criteria, in part to see the difference between responses to each and in part to have an alternative, if the term 'child-initiated activity' was unknown to a participant, since I had seen that teachers did not always think of children's activities as a location of their ideas.)

Criterion 4: Focus of most activity is the child's interaction with material and people, that is, the child has her own materials and uses her own language.

This criteria describes a teacher focus on process. It reflects the emphasis in the ideology on development of the whole child and the constructivist view of how the child learns. Learning is not segmented into either subjects for mastery, nor restricted use of body parts, from the child's perspective, but involves the entire self, alert and concentrating. Since the young child learns concretely, in interaction with the social and material world, and only gradually over a period of years understands symbolic systems, then logically, interactions with people and with physical material, and a focus on the child's actions in so doing is the starting point for teacher action. The fact the child is active and not passive, initiating and not simply receiving, generating rather than reproducing someone else's words and actions, reflects the value of the constructivist view of social and intellectual development.

Criterion 5: Teacher actively supports children's play with appropriate interventions and extensions.

A teacher intervention in children's play is any occasion, any communication, by which the teacher intrudes on the play, whether positive or negative in effect. The range of types of intervention is from the very subtle -- an exchanged glance, a smile, setting a new play prop in the area and leaving -- to the more intrusive, such as providing and introducing new materials to children, taking on a role within play, using questioning techniques to extend play, stepping in to correct or to assist in a situation of conflict or difficulty among children.

An extension is a particular type of intervention which works to sustain the play, to make it last longer or recur, something which picks up on the content or form of children's play, an idea or pattern or similarity, and draws the child's attention to it again. It is a combination both of recall of previous activity (because of the relation to something the child has already done) and of stretching the child to do something more or something new. In order to do this, the teacher needs to observe the process of interaction with materials or people or she will tend to follow her own agenda rather than that of the children.

The teacher, by modelling, conversing, offering props, by willingly supporting children's imaginative play encourages this play to become more elaborate, complex, and sustained: this is profoundly associated with healthy child development, as outlined in Chapter Three, and this view provides the rationale for active support of children's play by the teacher, rather than mere toleration of play.

Teacher Planning

What the teacher thinks should be part of her planning will indicate the boundaries to her concept of plans and will confirm her concept of program. It will show whether she thinks in terms of interests and activities for individual children or whether she thinks in terms of groups of children. It will confirm or disconfirm her agenda and whether following up on child-initiated activity is part of her planning.

Teacher planning is a form of anticipation. I was interested in whether teacher's anticipation of what they would be doing was related or connected to the actions and interests of children, and if not, what it was in fact linked to. Where did it come from? Why was it chosen or seen as important by the teacher?

Criterion 6: Observation of children, to assess needs and interests, is the starting point for teacher decisions about program.

Models of developmental appropriateness focus on individual development, individual needs and interests, and without attention to what the individual child is doing, or wanting to do, or fascinated by, the teacher cannot respond with appropriate materials or questions or suggestions or even limits. Observation of individual children's minute processes in using material and being with others is part of the foundation of the ideology of developmental appropriateness (Hohmann, Banet and Weikart 1978.) The paradox is that while monitoring the entire group, the teacher is alert to individual processes. This detailed observation is the foundation for the teacher action previously described in the criteria for teacher agenda, and for the remaining criteria subsumed under teacher planning.

Criterion 7: Children's Needs and Interests are used in preparing activities.

Criterion 8: Teacher observes children at play to assess resources and to add to or change them.

Teachers with a well-developed knowledge of child decelopment understand what it is appropriate to expect from a two, three, or four year old. They can see the world from the child's perspective and design materials, activities,

arrangements of people and space that most allow the development of the child to progress. Preparing activities based upon an assessment of individual children's needs and interests is necessary to ensure both the focus on individual development specified by the ideology, and the focus on a child-centred approach. It presumes observation, seeing these needs and interests in the first place, and an ability to use this information in devising a program for children so that it is directly connected to the particular meanings with which children are engrossed.

Criterion 8 asks whether the teacher attends carefully to children's play, utilizing her observations from it to decide what to do in the environment, what props to add, or materials to remove. It requires a particularized and personal observation of individual children at play as well as in group times and is also necessary to fulfill the goals of a child-centred program and of individual development.

Criterion 9: Teacher permits activity to change on the basis of actions or ideas which children bring to it.

If the teacher can share control of the direction of activity with the children then both adults and children share the power to affect what happens. The child can initiate ideas and actions, know that they are accepted, and the teacher can initiate too. The lead in activity is shared, not always held by the teacher. This criteria refers implicitly to group activity, in which the teacher may be particularly tempted to direct or instruct, and in part, seeks the degree of teacher flexibility in sharing power, a necessity for the non-authoritarian interactions promoted by developmental appropriateness.

Resource Management

Criteria 10: Materials are accessible to children.
Criteria 11: Areas are open.
Criteria 12: There are enough materials for each child, (thus sharing and waiting are not frequently required.)
Criteria 13: There is child selection of material, child choice, and decision-making, with alternatives available at all times.

If a program is child-centred, then it follows that children have choice about what to do and when to do it, about the pace of activity and its duration. In developmentally appropriate practice, a broad range of choices is permitted, and some choice is permitted even during group time, because it acnowledges the child's right to initiate action, always to retain some control over action. That children not have to share or wait unduly for use of materials is a logical outcome of the belief that

development only occurs when interaction with materials and people is permitted.

Corrections

Criterion 14: Directions are offered, often with choices.

Choice permits the child to re-enter activity, to take control of himself within suggested limits, and direction announces what is considered appropriate. It is much easier for the child to take constructive action if he knows what it includes: the teacher's words act as a plan. (In contrast, a correction that says 'no' gives no hints as to what is expected, gives the child no further scripts or images, and halts his activity without helping him generate or restore it.) The concept of scaffolding (Bruner 1983), supporting the child's activity, drawing it towards further development by surrounding it with a 'scaffold' (of action and talk) which the child cannot yet perform, is one example of theoretical underpinning for this notion.

Criterion 15: Explanations are offered, so the child knows why something is to be done.

Psychologists from Dreikurs (1968) to Coopersmith (in Minden 1982) suggest that explaining the reasons for doing things is among the most helpful strategies in persuading children to action for it helps them understand their world. Coopersmith in fact argues that explanations in conjunction with affection for the child, are the most essential elements in encouraging the development of the child's conscience. Because of such arguments, explanations as part of corrections are believed to be an essential aspect of developmentally appropriate practice.

Criterion 16: Problem-solving with children is offered.
Criterion 17: The teacher helps children solve problems among themselves.
Criterion 18: Verbal strategies the child may try are offered.
Criterion 19: Teacher support for child's appropriate action is offered.

The first technique here (criterion 16) referred to situations in which the teacher supported individual children in finding solutions to problems which they encountered, and the second (criterion 17) referred to situations in which the teacher acted as a facilitator among several children in conflict. The third is specific technique when children do not yet have the language that could solve a problem. The fourth refers to helping the child slip back into activity after generating a solution.

Shure and Spivak (1978) argue there are two key aspects of problem-solving, being able to acticipate consequences

and to generate solutions. The ability to generate solutions, to think up different things to do when facing a problem, and the ability to anticipate consequences, are considered fundamental to healthy adjustment (Shure and Spivak 1978). They prevent frustration and build competence.

The concept of scaffolding is useful here too, for adults surround the child with the kind of question which leads the child to be able to think up a solution. Offering verbal strategies is a particular type of scaffolding, useful in situations where the child seems resourceless and lacks language. When the wheels of two bikes lock, and a teacher says, "Instead of screaming, maybe you could say, 'Careful Max, your wheel's on my bike,'' she offers a child specific arrangements of words to try out in a situation, arrangements with which the young child in the process of acquiring language may not yet be entirely familiar. It offers the child a verbal script. Although we want children to be thinking up their own patterns, a demonstration of possibilities often makes what to do more explicit. Having heard a possible sentence, the child may express its meaning in his own words or be able to use it on another occasion.

Teachers who support children's efforts to problem solve as a correction technique are helping them develop both confidence and competence, for a child who can generate several ideas to solve a problem situation has some sense of control, of being able to do something to affect her environment. Taking the initiative is the opposite of passivity; trying to solve a problem is the opposite of helplessness. The rationale in models of developmentally appropriate practice is that problem-solving builds confidence and competence and a sense of ability in handling the world: ability to manage small problems is sound preparation for handling larger ones, as well as making life more comfortable at the moment.

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