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PROFESSIONALISM AND INTENSIFICATION: AN ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS' WORK IN THE PRESENT NOVA SCOTIA CONTEXT

by

Dawn Daly Harvey

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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at

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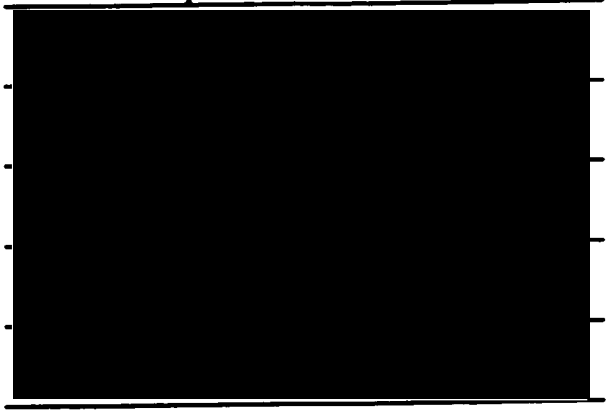

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To my precious family—Andy, Kathryn, and Heidi—without whose
love and support this graduate program would have been an unfulfilled dream

and

To my supervisor and committee, without whose patience
and tireless efforts this project would never
have reached completion

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Abstract

The hypothesis of this dissertation, as seen through the lens of philosophy of education, is that governments' bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, resulting in the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context. A theoretical discussion of the nature and function of liberal education, the changing role of the teacher, teachers' work in relation to time and to labour-process theory—and the growing separation between teachers and bureaucrats/ administrators—followed by a theoretical analysis of professionalism and intensification of teachers' work, culminate in an application of this theoretical framework to a practical Nova Scotia context. If economic rationalism—a term erroneously used to imply more efficient use of resources—appears to succeed in education, it is largely because it has been added to the professional ideology already in place. Teachers' work has thus intensified—in the sense of chronic work overload—as teachers face competing demands to be both professional teachers and efficient managers, in an era when the economy has become central to education. Hence, educational change in Nova Scotia has generated a problematic environment: teachers are time-poor, stressed, and frustrated with the drastic changes to their profession, while students are no better off. By mutually recognizing each other's problems and possibilities, however, teachers and governments could create a workable environment to enhance students' learning.

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Chapter One

Introduction

> Given the profound transformations through which public education is now moving, the increasing permeability of its borders that once separated it from the world beyond, and the gathering storm of corporate, community, and commercial influences that are changing its character . . ., it is vital that educators everywhere take their heads out of their classrooms and become more engaged with and literate about the changing world in which their work [emphasis added] is performed. (Hargreaves, Nov. 1998, pp. 55-56)

Background

The focus is upon teachers when Robertson and Smaller (1996) analyze who benefits from certain educational policies. They suggest that much of the rhetoric of educational reform in the last twenty years has advanced a largely conservative agenda that seeks to tie educational policy and practice closely to economic restructuring in the larger political economy, and they argue that teachers have been blamed for much that is outside their control. Concerning economic restructuring, if "economic rationalism"—a term erroneously used to imply more efficient use of resources (Harvey & Spinney, 2001, p. 2)—appears to succeed in education, it is largely because it has been added to the professional ideology already in place. Teachers' work has thus intensified—referring to chronic work overload (Larson, 1980; Osborn & Broadfoot, 1992)—both in "absolute" terms—through more of the same kind of tasks and a greater variety of tasks—and in "ideological" terms—as teachers face competing

demands to be both professional teachers and efficient managers. In essence, the requirements of economic rationalism are superimposed upon the professional culture of teaching (C. Easthope & G. Easthope, 2000, p. 10) in an era when the economy is becoming increasingly central to education (Seddon, 1996). In general, the combination of low job control, high job demand, and low work-related support point to less than ideal working conditions for teachers and the potential for diminished results for students, culminating in complex reactions from teachers. Based upon these concepts, a review of the literature, and a Nova Scotia-based teachers' time-use study with which I was involved, I offer the following:

> The hypothesis of this dissertation, as seen through the lens of philosophy of education, is that governments' bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, resulting in the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context.

Framework and Literature Review

This dissertation—Professionalism and Intensification: An Analysis of Teachers' Work in the Present Nova Scotia Context—is organized into six chapters: (1) the "Introduction"; (2) "Education and the Teacher," which is sub-divided into (a) The Nature of Liberal Education and (b) The Changing Role of the Teacher; (3) "Teachers' Work," subdivided into (a) Time and Teachers' Work and (b) The Labour-Process Theory of Teachers' Work; (4) "Professionalism,"

subdivided into (a) Functionalist Analysis versus the Foucauldian Account, (b) Professionalism and Power, (c) Teachers' Professional Ideology of Liberal Education and Caring, (d) Teacher Professionalism: Traits and Phases, (e) Professional Paradoxes, and (f) Metaphors Used to Describe Professional Lives; (5) "Intensification," subdivided into (a) Fiscal Pressure, (b) Characterization of Intensification, (c) Claims of Intensification, (d) Support for the Intensification Thesis, (e) Qualifications to the Intensification Thesis, (f) Opportunities and Constraints, and (g) Teachers' Reactions to Intensification; and (6) "The Present Nova Scotia Context," subdivided into (a) The Nova Scotia Teachers Union, (b) The Nova Scotia Time-Use Study of Teachers' Work, (c) Nova Scotia Teachers' Voices, and (d) Reflections, followed by two appendices and the reference section.

Following the introduction, the second chapter discusses education and the teacher in relation, first, to the function of liberal education. Pring (1985) stresses that liberal education is about "the development of persons." We can train people in certain skills without affecting them as persons. "In educating [emphasis added] people, we have in mind a transformation of how they see and understand the world and themselves within that world" (p. 130). A holistic change is involved here, helping pupils become persons, aiding in conceptual and moral development, promoting both self-determined action and relations with others, enabling them to "transcend their own self-interest" and acquire "a sense of justice that enables young persons to look critically at conventional

morality and to establish a set of more universal principles which they are able to make their own" (Pring, 1987, p. 16), in addition to the gradual accumulation of learning and the development that takes place over time. This view of education contrasts with training for the job market—training viewed essentially according to economically productive terms—in relation to those who are taught, those who are teaching, and the governments that are paying the bills.

Concerning the role of liberal education, some of the most prominent early twentieth century philosophers of education were Dewey, Russell, and Whitehead. Some of the most notable philosophers of education in the analytic era (roughly the first two decades of the second half of the century) were Peters, Scheffler, and Passmore. Chapter two will explore the ideas and analyze the contributions these six men and others have made with a view toward preparing us, in later chapters, to consider the present situation. Chapter five, with its emphasis upon the intensification of teachers' work, and chapter six, with an analysis of the present Nova Scotia context, should seem more problematic and disturbing if we have a clear idea of the contrast between what the provincial government is now imposing and the views toward education expressed by respected philosophers of education within the last one hundred or so years. It is also important to maintain an active dialogue among philosophers of education and other scholars concerning contested issues—such as the balance between the imparting of information and the promotion of critical thinking, and the ideal function and existing flaws of liberal education. A lack of

consensus at the theoretical as well as the practical level has led to the pursuit of a variety of educational initiatives that are often at cross-purposes.

The education enterprise has an intensely political nature. Public education in the United States, for instance, has been subject to contestation over American values and priorities as a nation and what vision of the nation will or should be passed on to the next generation. Since the school curriculum is a major conveyance of cultural definition and transmission, one goal of these battles has been control over curriculum knowledge (Reid, 1997). Apple (1993) contends there are powerful groups or stakeholders interested in the nature of the capacities developed. For example, employers have a vested interest in ensuring that public schools produce workers who have a suitable work ethic and appropriate skills. Employers, hence, argue for a work-oriented curriculum, often against teachers who may want a broader curriculum designed to foster the development of the whole child. Universities and the professions may want to promote a competitive academic curriculum in public schools, perhaps contrary to the demands of minority groups for a more inclusive curriculum. Apple indicates that curriculum decisions about what is taught, to whom, and how result from these struggles.

Chapter two continues with a consideration of the changing role of the teacher. If one conceives of the teacher as a purveyor of knowledge to passive students who do not challenge expert authority (Hare, 1995b), then one's view will differ remarkably from the conception of the teacher as a provisional

authority who guides students, interactively, to become autonomous adults through critical inquiry (Hare, 1989). Krieger (1998) argues that the most dramatic changes in our conceptions of teachers' work may emerge from the effort to respond to social changes. My experience leads me to conclude that teachers' job descriptions now include not only intellectual, social, and emotional components, but also the expectation that they will prepare future workers for their place in a technologically advancing society. We will later see these aspects manifested in Nova Scotia, as part of a wider global trend, in the context of increased role expectations for teachers under conditions of escalating fiscal restraint.

The third chapter discusses the way teachers' work is described, conceptualized, organized, and controlled by the state. A theoretical analysis of the different dimensions of time and their implications for teachers' work identifies and discusses five dimensions: technical-rational time, micropolitical time, phenomenological time, physical time, and sociopolitical time (Hargreaves, 1990). Hargreaves argues that subjective senses of time differ in important ways between teachers and administrators, but administrators/bureaucrats have greater power to impose their perspective: "Driven by linear, technical-rational time perspectives, administrators seek to speed the pace of change. Teachers operate in a phenomenological time-frame where they seek to slow down change" (p. 303). As the gap widens between teachers and bureaucrats, so do the differences in time perspectives. Many current changes in teachers' work

are thus impositions of administrative and bureaucratic time perspectives on the working lives of teachers, resulting in a "colonization" of teachers' time and space, where "monochronic, technical-rational time is becoming hegemonic time" (p. 318), in the sense of dominant conceptions of time. Most Western educational systems are currently experiencing increasing bureaucratic control and standardization in the development and delivery of their services. With few exceptions, control over curriculum, assessment, and increasingly over the teaching force is becoming more detailed, creating a widening breach between the broad process of curriculum development and the technical details of program implementation, between policy and practice, and between administration and teaching. Hargreaves and Dawe (1989) quip it is ironic that teachers are being not only urged but sometimes required to collaborate more, just when there is less for them to collaborate about! Driven by concerns for productivity, accountability, and control, the bureaucratic, administrative, governmental tendency is to exert tighter control over teachers' work and teachers' time, to regulate and rationalize it. Hargreaves (1990) maintains that preparation time, planning time, group time, and individual time are all substitutes for what used to be considered "free time," "release time," or "non-contact time" (p.319), which is a symbolic indicator of the shift in thinking about teachers' work and teachers' time use.

Chapter three continues the discussion of teachers' work with an exploration of the labour-process theory applied to teaching. Foley (1999)

argues that political economy and labour process theory are essential to a proper understanding of workplace change and learning. At present there is a struggle for comparative advantage as enterprises and nations compete to see which can most successfully exploit new technologies and human capital, which Foley says is the latest manifestation of the logic of capitalism. That process creates an unwinnable competition among producers and generates periodic crises, massive inequalities within and among nations, and what seem to be radical changes in the organization of production. The way work is organized in capitalism, however, does not fundamentally change: "It still rests on the attempts of capital to control the work process and extract the labour surplus" (p. 181). Foley contends that change management literature is basically ideological rather than theoretical. It tends to speak from and for the interests of one party involved in workplace change: the managers and owners of enterprises. It assumes that both the structure of the contemporary workplace and the way it is changing and being changed are natural and inevitable. There is no real questioning of why the workplace is changing or of the outcomes of these changes. Fortunately, other bodies of literature—such as labour process theory—look more deeply into the causes, processes, and outcomes of workplace change.

Although there is not unequivocal agreement among education theorists—or in all countries—concerning the importance of labour process theory (which should not be surprising), Kitay (1997) maintains that many researchers interested in critical perspectives on work and organizations have been

influenced by the labour process debates and analysis, which question managerial ideologies. It is not a coincidence that so many academics in Britain (perhaps also because the extent of control in the U.K. is greater) and Australia, where labour-process theory has wide recognition, are interested in the ways in which human resource management (HRM) practices constitute a new form of control, while in the United States, researchers are generally more concerned with whether HRM is positively associated with higher levels of productivity.

Braverman's (1974) work was the seminal contribution to the contemporary labour process debates. His focus is upon the processes allegedly leading to the degradation of work, particularly scientific management as espoused by Frederick Taylor. Braverman enables us to develop a clearer idea of what work is and what is meant by workplace change. He depicts work as both a technical and social activity, maintains that it requires coordination or management, and says that there are struggles over the management of work and connections between changes in the political economy and changes in the workplace. Above all, Braverman explains the nature of work in capitalism (Foley, 1999).

Foley (1999) asserts that in the competitive global economy, a great deal of energy now goes into developing human resources. There is a strong emphasis on vocational and professional education and on-the-job training. The theory and practice of organizational learning, lifelong learning, and public education recognize that people must continually learn from experience in

workplaces and careers. Hence, "Education and learning, long seen to be of great intrinsic value and of some economic use, now become central to production" (p. 191). This new situation creates both opportunities and dilemmas for educators. For the first time, capital takes education and learning very seriously. Educators potentially have never before had such an opportunity to influence society, but that situation also creates problems for educators. Business, governments, and trade unions often make unrealistic demands upon education and training. Resources for public education have contracted at the same time that educators are supposed to be more productive and innovative. Organizational innovations are often means of attempting to shed existing staff and to squeeze more out of those who remain. As one can easily see, there are extensive social costs to the transformation of the world economy and the organizational change that accompanies it (Foley, 1999).

Chisholm (1999) uses labour process theory to examine teachers' work in South Africa. She comments upon the reduction of public expenditure for education and the consequent intensification of teachers' work, accompanied by "changing teachers' roles such that they become simply the producers of human capital for an increasingly competitive global market, rather than citizens concerned with the democratization of society" (p. 10). Similarly, C. Easthope and G. Easthope (2000) claim that in England, teaching is now primarily related to productivity rather than to liberal notions of education. Administrators are becoming more prescriptive in the function that syllabuses are expected to

perform to satisfy the needs of employers, who are assumed to want skills that can be transferred to the workplace. It is, however, the teaching of higher-level cognitive knowledge that is more important to teachers committed to a professional ideology. This conflict increases the complexity of the teachers' situation and means that "teachers are often exhausted trying to maintain their professional ideology, while at the same time dealing with some aspects of the ideology of economic rationalism" (p. 10), which—as hypothesized earlier—is also occurring in Nova Scotia.

C. Easthope and G. Easthope (2000) state that extensive literature on the changing nature of teachers' work from 1985 onward is conceptualized using labour-process theory, which see changes in education as part of a post-Fordist shift in capitalism. Fordism refers to mass production characterized by a high degree of job specialization, as typified by the Ford Motor Company's early use of assembly lines: "A key implication of post-Fordism [emphasis added] for education is the attempt to relate education more closely to industry" (p. 1). This tendency has particular implications for the curriculum in that there is a move toward teaching competencies rather than providing liberal education. For teachers, the move to link education directly to corporate industrial goals has meant a massive shift in the nature of their work.

Reid (1997) comments upon the situation in Australia:

> . . . increasing [s]tate and [f]ederal government intervention into schools . . . imposed curriculum "reforms," the establishment and implementation of mechanisms of appraisal and accountability, the installation of

> corporate management as the prevailing form of educational governance with its . . . mission statements and corporate goals, industrial restructuring, and the increasing marketisation of education are all examples of the various ways in which the state has attempted to re-shape education over the past decade. (p. 1)

Harris (1994) comments that numerous accounts from many countries have detailed meddling with teachers' roles in attempts "to commodify education and make schools instrumental agents of types of market-driven and market-managed social arrangements . . . [in which teachers] are losing power and control over the basic conditions of their work" (p. 108). Reid describes the work of the five million teachers in Europe as being routinized and proletarian-ized and claims that the conditions of their service are deteriorating. He claims that "Control [emphasis added] is a constant in these accounts: control which operates at the level of the labour process of teachers' work" (p. 2). He says an understanding of how control functions and with what effects is crucial if educators are to develop and implement political strategies designed to wrest back a greater degree of control over their work.

By the early 1980s, a number of education scholars (e.g., Apple, 1986; Harris, 1982; Ozga & Lawn, 1981) began applying a labour-process perspective to the work of state teachers. They argued that teachers were becoming proletarianized, which Reid (1997) characterizes as becoming more like industrial workers than professionals as their work is deskilled and intensified by contemporary education policy and practice. Not only is their work deskilled, but it is also so arranged that opportunities for the exercise of judgment are

eliminated. Larson (1980) describes deskilling as "organizational and technical alienation in the workplace" (p. 147). He depicts the classic proletarian condition as constituted by "the fusion of the three dimensions of alienation [emphasis added]—economic, organizational, [and] technical" (p. 139). He says the proletarianization of the industrial working class proceeds "by adding new dimensions of alienation to the proletarian condition and by cumulating their intertwined effects" (pp. 138-139). Beginning with the sale of labour power, proletarianization evolves through the various modes of organizing labour and extracting surplus value. Foley (1999) identifies the surplus of workers' labour as the profit remaining after the costs of production have been met. Larson indicates that the sale of labour power implies that a "countable connection" (p. 139) is established between time and task, even if the sellers do their own monitoring. However external it is to the execution of work, the countable connection introduces a quantitative aspect to the notion of skill: speed, or the ability to perform under time pressure, becomes part of the ordinary conception of both discipline and self-discipline at work. Larson says in Marxist theory, proletarianism is the complex historical process that produces a working class, locking it into subordination to and conflict with the capitalist class. Forms of subjugating the labour force and extracting surplus value from its labour power coexist with modern industry, which changes not only the nature and composition of the labour force and the mode of control over its labour, but also the nature of exploitation and the function of production.

Reid (1997) emphasizes the intensely political nature of the education enterprise. He says if the capacity for social practice is the object of education production, it is vastly different from the production of physical objects. There is a continuing and intense struggle over the meaning and relative importance of each of the capacities for practice and the purposes to which they should be put. The state does not play a neutral role in this struggle. Reid (1997) stipulates that public education is one example of social practice that has only a limited degree of autonomy, since it is "strongly influenced by the prevailing provisional settlements within the economic, political, and cultural arenas" (p. 14). Thus, public schools, as apparatuses of the state, are under intense pressure to act in certain ways. Since education plays a key role in the state's often contradictory roles of establishing the conditions for capital accumulation and for democratic practice, the production and maintenance of provisional educational settlements are characterized by contestation and struggle. Sometimes the process represents at least partial victories for less powerful groups, but usually the balance of an educational settlement is tilted in favour of dominant groups. Thus, an <u>educational settlement</u>:

> . . . incorporates the dominant discourse, legitimates particular . . . social relations and the ways . . . [they] are organized—including the sanctioned forms of educational governance[,] and establishes a hegemonic view of the purposes of education. All these components are embedded in the curriculum, which is the centre-piece of any educational settlement. (Reid, 1997, p. 14)

Reid says that the curriculum is not static: it is a social construction over which

there can be fierce contestation; and he adds that the curriculum "lies at the heart of the labour process of teaching" (p. 16).

Since the curriculum is the specification of the labour process of teaching, then teachers are crucial to the successful implementation of any educational settlement. If the settlement is to be followed, the state must ensure that teachers work toward specific ends. Hence, teachers must be controlled, and so embedded in each educational settlement are systems and strategies of control. First, curriculum specifications tell teachers what to teach; second, strategies of evaluation and supervision check that the curriculum is being implemented faithfully; and third, teachers' compliance and consent are achieved through subtle and not-so-subtle means. The methods of control change to meet the new demands, which is necessary because teachers find their way around policies they believe are not in the best interests of their students. Reid (1997) says the history of state education systems is thus littered with a variety of measures designed to control the work of teachers.

One of the main interests of labour-process theorists in education has been the issue of proletarianization, which Ozga and Lawn (1981) broadly characterize as "the process whereby the worker is forced into a closer relationship with capital, which removes the skill (the conception and execution of work) and therefore the relative autonomy of the worker" (p. 124). Proletarianization may thus be seen as the objective and subjective opposite of professionalization or as "two antinomic faces of the same process, one which

eliminates [some of the need for] intelligence and judgment at the base of the labour hierarchy, in order to concentrate them at the top" (Larson, 1980, p. 138). Larson adds that the success of modern professionalization and of the imitative strategies that followed the movements of the older professions consists of establishing effective defences against proletarianization.

Chapter four, an interpretation of the essential nature of professions and professionalism, focuses partially upon a sociological perspective of the characteristics that professions display but is directed more toward a philosophical concern for the evaluative question of what enables professions to perform a unique and socially valuable function. Downie (1990) says the concept of a profession is still developing and must not be solidified around the characteristics of law and medicine. Rather than a strict set of necessary and sufficient conditions, he discusses five "family resemblances" (p. 147). He says the professional (1) has skills or expertise that proceeds from a broad knowledge base, (2) provides a service to clients, (3) has the social function of speaking out on matters of public policy and justice, (4) must be relatively independent of the influence of the state or commerce, and (5) must be educated as distinct from merely trained in a narrow sense, as discussed by R. S. Peters (1966). To this list I would add a sixth characteristic: that to be morally legitimate, the professional must be committed to the central ideals of the profession and must manifest integrity with respect to them. Hargreaves and Lo (2000) believe that professionalism in teaching should be developed from "clearly agreed [upon]

moral and ethical principles, with caring concerns at [the] core, and exemplification of the collaborative cultures for which teachers should strive" (emphasis added, p. 7).

Insofar as these criteria are satisfied, a profession is legally and morally legitimate. If a member of a profession possesses some accredited expertise, he or she can be recognized as having legitimacy with respect to the exercise of that expertise and can be "an authority" on some aspect of the law, medicine, or education, for instance. To be "in authority" is to be authorized by the official professional body and legitimized by it. The professional body is itself legitimized by the law, yet legal legitimacy does not fully explain the social status of a profession, which also requires moral legitimacy. If a profession is to have credibility with the general public, it must be widely recognized as being independent, disciplined by its professional association (although there are often shortcomings in education in this respect), actively expanding its knowledge base, and concerned with the education and moral rectitude of its members. If it satisfies these conditions, then it will possess moral as well as legal legitimacy, and its pronouncements may be listened to with respect; it will have legitimized authority (Downie, 1990). These criteria give the professions their social importance: they aspire to be the ideal aspects of a profession, rather than neutral defining characteristics. There will be borderline and controversial cases that have some but not all the characteristics, and some professionals may not live up to these ideals.

Alexander (1989) says the wise person, according to Socrates, is to be distinguished not by how much he or she understands, but rather by an awareness of how little the person really knows. The professional teacher could thus be characterized not so much by what he or she understands as by his or her ability to reflect critically upon what others—students, colleagues, textbook authors, and educational scholars—claim to know. According to this view, the teachers' responsibility is not only transmission but also empowerment. A teacher not only interprets texts but also enables students to do the same. Alexander says perhaps it is not enough for professionals to offer service on the basis of what they claim to know. Perhaps they should also help clients look at options critically to make intelligent choices. He says this Socratic stance is in keeping with a critical conception of teaching and suggests that teachers should lead others in developing democratic conceptions of professionalism and social authority.

Much of the most thoughtful recent literature on teaching argues for enhanced professionalism that includes more autonomy for teachers than they have enjoyed in the past (Bull, 1990). The demand for teacher empowerment comes both from teachers who resent their minor role in planning and decision-making and from school reformers who see teacher empowerment as necessary to school improvement (Ross, 1993). In many instances teachers have been granted power in the ways recommended by some teacher empowerment advocates. Why is it, then, that teachers often remain basically powerless in an

important sense? I believe that an inadequate conception of power with respect to the professionalization of teaching leads not to empowerment of teachers as critical thinkers but to a diminution of teacher autonomy. It is thus necessary that teachers adopt a critical stance toward norms established through education research which place constraints on teachers' autonomy, leading them to bow to the controlling power of "expert wisdom," often without recognizing their own intellectual servitude. Hare (1993) says that "uncritically received expert wisdom . . ., the uncritical acceptance of educational research and theory, and the uncritical reading of school textbooks" leads to an "unwelcome docility and conformity among teachers and students." He advises that teachers and students attain a critical stance to resist "the slide towards unreflective submission to prevailing ideas" and the controlling power of "expert wisdom" (pp. 4-5). Unreflective submission hence lessens rather than enhances the professionalism many teachers and school reformers profess to support in their efforts toward improving schools autonomously—with changes coming from the inside out—rather than heteronomously—with directions mandated from the outside in.

Ross (1993) notes that school improvement and reform have been a dominant theme in educational policy debates since the 1970s. Educational research has focused on the need to make schools and teachers more effective. The resulting achievement tests, standardized teaching practices, and increasing authority of supervisors and administrators have led to a diminution of teacher

autonomy. Ross challenges the view of empowerment which "rests on an unproblematic relation between power and knowledge, and which sees power as something that can be formally granted once the right to exercise it has been earned" (p. 201). He refers to Foucault and Kant, who both stress that it is not so much knowledge that empowers and makes one autonomous, but the critical stance one takes toward knowledge claims. One needs knowledge too, of course. He then charges that the empowerment envisioned in many recent education reports will severely limit teachers' ability to make their own reasoned decisions, hence actually disempowering them. His conclusion is that teachers' lack of power thus stems from "the procedures of normalization, distinct from the control of laws and regulations" (p. 211). If this diagnosis is accurate, then, the solution to the problem of disempowerment lies not so much in legal recourse as in teachers taking a critical stance toward generalizations concerning the best way to teach and learn. Teachers who conform to expert wisdom and hence fail to take a critical stance toward those knowledge claims become partners in their own co-dependency on the system that thwarts any significant measure of professional autonomy. If Larson (1980) is correct—that the success of professionalization consists of establishing an effective defence against proletarianization—then it is vital that teachers become, as Hargreaves (1998, Nov.) has said, "more engaged with and literate about the changing world in which their work is performed" (p. 56). Any attempt to minimize the unique and individual in favour of the normal and the collective undermines the autonomy of

both teachers and students—in an educational environment that purports to promote individual growth and development toward independence.

Chapter five is an analysis of intensification. A theoretical exploration of this phenomenon will pave the way for a practical application to the present Nova Scotia context, which is the focus of the final chapter. Hargreaves (1991) argues that while there is general agreement about the extent of the change in teachers' work, the meaning and significance of the change are contested. He indicates that two of the most prominent contending explanations are professionalization and intensification.

Arguments favouring professionalization have emphasized the struggle for and sometimes the realization of greater teacher professionalism through extensions of the teacher's role. Especially in elementary schools, teachers are often depicted as having more experience of "whole school curriculum development," involvement in collaborative cultures of support and professional growth, experience in teacher leadership, commitment to continuous improvement, and "engagement with processes of extensive, school-wide change" (Hargreaves, 1991, p. 1). In these accounts, teaching is becoming not only more complex but also more skilled.

Theorists have used various terms to describe differing degrees of professionalism: (1) Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) call the thirty years following World War II the age of the autonomous professional; (2) Hoyle (1975) speaks of extended teacher professionalism; (3) Nias (1989) refers to bounded

professionality; (4) Furlong (1992) discusses the competent practitioner and restricted professionality; (5) Mac an Ghaill (1992) recognizes the new entrepreneur; (6) Hatcher (1994) describes incorporated professionalism, based on a market-driven, technical-rationalist ideology; (7) Fullan (1992) depicts interactive professionalism; (8) Hargreaves (1995) identifies professional collaboration; (9) Fournier (1999) mentions professional competence; (10) Miles et al. (1993) focus upon the reflective practitioner; (11) Goodson (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000) characterizes principled professionalism; and (12) Woods et al. (1997) contend that teachers are neither technicians nor bundles of competences, but moral, thinking, feeling beings who define and pursue their work in the face of sometimes overwhelming and often unreasonable contextual demands.

Conversely, arguments favouring the intensification hypothesis concerning the meaning and significance of the change in teachers' work are derived from Marxist theories of the labour process, which focus upon major trends toward deterioration and deprofessionalization of teachers' work (Hargreaves, 1991). These accounts depict teachers' work as becoming more routinized and deskilled—more like that of manual labourers and less like that of autonomous professionals. Teachers are portrayed as increasingly controlled by "prescribed programs, mandated curricula, and step-by-step methods of instruction" (p. 2). This line of reasoning claims that teaching has become increasingly intensified, with teachers expected to respond to greater pressures and to comply with multiplying innovations. In this view, so-called extended professionalism is only

a strategy to get teachers to collaborate willingly in their own exploitation as more and more is expected of and extracted from them (Hargreaves, 1991).

The concept of intensification is drawn from general theories of the labour process, particularly as expressed by Larson (1980), who says: "Intensification . . . represents one of the most tangible ways in which the work privileges of educated workers are eroded. . . . The most common source of intensification in mental labour is chronic work overload" (p. 166). He adds that intensification appears to be the most frequent non-economic grievance of professional unions. It reduces the quality but not the quantity of service to clients. If intensification becomes habitual and seems irreversible, Larson says the public should not be surprised if workers who consider themselves professionals become accustomed to "cutting corners" (p. 168), which in turn causes consternation to human service professionals who consider quality to be in the best interests of their clients.

Helsby (1996) argues that an apparent lessening of autonomy and control over their working lives and a significant increase in demands made upon them have adversely affected teachers' capacity to perform their occupational tasks in a way commensurate with their own conceptions of professional behaviour. The terms "pressure," "low morale," "stress," and "burnout" (p. 138) are frequently used to describe teachers' current working lives. Helsby indicates that two aspects particularly relevant to intensification are teachers' need to adapt to constant change and the increase in bureaucratic tasks associated with a

growing emphasis upon accountability. She says for many teachers, the core tasks of teaching, marking, and preparation are being so constrained by other more urgent and more visible demands that their approach has become more perfunctory, a conclusion also reached by Sizer (1984).

Like Larson (1980), Osborn and Broadfoot (1992) characterize the intensification of teachers' work as "chronic work overload," with teachers either having to work longer hours or having to work in a more concentrated, less relaxed way to deal with their workload, with a general feeling of "being swamped by change" when "too much has happened too quickly" (p. 144), resulting in "teacher stress" (p. 147). Butt, Townsend, and Raymond (1990) describe intensification as not just intermittent crises and problems that a teacher can solve, learn, and grow from, but a constant stream that forces teachers into survival mode. Hargreaves (1994) explores the guilt traps of teaching and perceived failure by teachers to meet the needs of children. He mentions teachers' commitment to goals of care and nurturance, the frantic pace of imposed change, the pressure of accountability, and the persona of perfectionism.

The meaning and significance of the changes in teachers' work are broadly conceptualized in two ways in recent educational literature. Hargreaves (1991) calls these contending explanations "professionalization" and "intensification" (p. 1). Mander (1997) uses the terms "autonomous professional" (p. 290) and "considerable personal autonomy" (p. 281), which

enable a teacher to direct and develop his or her own practice, and "structural constraints" (p. 281), which shape and limit a teacher's practice. Hargreaves and Mander arrive at similar conclusions: because of the complexity of teachers' work, no single theory fully explains what is happening. Both personal and structural aspects interact to influence what occurs. Thus, an adequate understanding of teachers' work must capture this dual influence, especially when implications are drawn about changing teachers' work. Dewey would undoubtedly have approved of the avoidance of an either/or approach.

In commenting further upon the meaning and significance of the change in teachers' work, Hargreaves (1998, Sept.) critiques a book by Woods, Jeffrey, Troman, and Boyle (1997) in which the authors identify three broad modes of response that teachers exhibit to external and internal pressures on their work. Before the 1988 Education Reform Act, primary teachers in Britain worked within a framework of dilemmas. When they faced pressing, evenly balanced alternatives and felt compelled to make a choice, they were often left with feelings of guilt and regret about choices made or forgone. After the Reform Act, the authors contend that the dominant teaching imperative was characterized by tensions, which stretched people in competing directions, were political, and intruded into the self, eliciting responses of greater emotional intensity. Although collaboration offered benefits, many teachers considered it increasingly contrived. The third teaching imperative, experienced since the inquisition of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), has been outright constraint,

leading to loss of professional confidence, frustration, overload, stress, and even despair.

Hargreaves (1998, Sept.) takes issue with Woods et al. (1997) in their attempt to depict dilemmas as situational, tensions as personal, and constraints as structural, which Hargreaves believes oversimplifies situation, self, and structure as being compartmentalized and separate from each other rather than relationally connected. Hargreaves believes what really matters is "how structures exert their effects and with what consequences . . . for the self, in different places and times [situations]" (p. 3). He adds, however, that the fundamental idea of teacher imperatives could still account for the variations without forcing a false separation, which reminds one of the position Hargreaves (1991) takes concerning the relationship between professionalization and intensification.

Menter (1998), when commenting upon teachers' responses to pressures on their work, refers to the "restless, dynamic nature of teachers' work" (p. 8), eliciting the reactions of "contestation, resistance, and accommodation" (p. 8). Woods et al. (1997) praise teachers who resist, circumvent, exploit, or triumph over top-down educational reform (Hargreaves, Sept. 1998) which—may I add—imposes significantly upon their use of time.

An analysis of intensification in chapter five leads into the present Nova Scotia context, which is the focus of chapter six. Following the preceding chapters' theoretical discussions, the last chapter attempts to present an

application of this theoretical framework to a practical context. An analysis of the present Nova Scotia setting consists of an examination of the function and contribution of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union (NSTU), the findings and significance of a recent Nova Scotia time-use study of teachers's work, and a selection of representative Nova Scotia teachers' voices—to cement into reality what has previously been theorized.

Teachers' unions are at a critical stage in their evolution, and the NSTU is no exception. With increased governmental control over teachers and education systems, the rapidity of government reform, the introduction of massive curricular reform, systems of accountability and evaluation, and the intrusion into public schooling of market goals, the NSTU's role to represent, promote, and protect their membership—along with their role to be an advocate for high quality public education—is complex. The duality of trade unionism and professional association creates a shifting dynamic tension. Employers (in education, the provincial government) and unions approach professionalism and its subsidiary theme of the relationship of power and control differently. Employers use it to control teachers, and unions use it to resist change. In a climate of downsizing and fiscal restraint, the NSTU is in a battle with the provincial government for the hearts and minds of Nova Scotians. One of the tools teachers' unions use to speak out in defence of public education is research—to document changes in teachers' work, to survey attitudes, to prepare position statements, to support membership demands concerning

collective bargaining, to empower teachers and their unions, and to challenge the initiatives of government. The NSTU has realized within the last several years that research is necessary to respond professionally to increasingly complex issues.

The NSTU's recent activities have had three main focal points: the use of research to frame and support public pronouncements and media releases, the establishment of the NSTU as a credible professional voice for public education, and the creation of strategic alliances to unify and expand their professional voice. Within a seven-month period, the NSTU was involved in seven separate research endeavours, one of which was to commission a time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers' work, which we will consider shortly. A retrospective examination of those efforts suggests success: the provincial government modified its original position. The number of teaching positions cut was reduced from 922 to about 200, most of which were lost to attrition; and supplementary funding was provided to school boards so that education budgets did not have to be drastically cut. The establishment of credibility with the public, the strategic deployment of union resources in the political arena, and the use of mechanisms of collective bargaining are some of the strategies the NSTU has used to reclaim professional voice, which obliges unions to define the labour of teaching, propose alternatives to the status quo, identify the resources necessary for a high quality public education system, and create alliances with strategic partners (Rodrigue, 2001).

Chapter six extends the discussion of the present Nova Scotia context with a focus upon the time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers: It is 10:30 A.M. on Tuesday, March 16, 1999. The location is the Halifax headquarters of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union (NSTU). A meeting has been called by Mary Jane Cadegan, then Coordinator of Staff Development Services, to set in motion an effort to bring to the attention of the provincial government the plight of public school teachers in Nova Scotia. Ms. Cadegan has summoned some academics and professional researchers to discuss with them the possibility of doing a time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers, to provide data the provincial executive of the NSTU can use at the bargaining table when they next negotiate teachers' contracts. I am fortunate to be included in what, over the next several months, proves to be an exciting project: Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers, commissioned by the NSTU "to explore the temporal realities of teaching activities and the way they interface with personal and family life" (A. S. Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. v), and carried out by the Time-Use Research Program at Saint Mary's University. The study was motivated by the need "to understand the implications of increasing demands made on teachers by multiple and uncoordinated changes, including increased accountability, a policy of inclusion, centralised curriculum development, and downsizing being imposed on the system, resulting in job intensification" (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. v).

At a meeting of NSTU officials and time-use researchers before the final

survey was carried out, Donnie MacIntyre, then NSTU president, said that if we are to improve education, we need to address the working conditions of teachers: "We need to make visible what is really happening with respect to job intensification . . . [which] in Nova Scotia . . . [has resulted from] the cumulative effect of . . . accountability requirements, the policy of inclusion, centralized curriculum, fiscal restraint, system downsizing, and school advisory councils" (meeting, May 10, 1999). He said teacher stress and burn-out are at an all-time high. The teachers' union needs to gather data that paint a clear picture of the growing complexity of public school teaching, and the most efficient and effective way of doing that is through a time-use study. "Anecdotal and personal reporting does not deliver the hard punch of valid research" (meeting, May 10, 1999). That statement was quoted in The Teacher (Sept. 1999, p. 3) to promote participation in the time-use study, at which time MacIntyre said the results of the study are crucial to the teachers' union and will likely influence NSTU policy and planning for years to come. When the study results were released, MacIntyre said, "The study verifies and validates a lot of what we've been hearing on an anecdotal basis" (press conference, March 20, 2000; The Daily News, March 21, 2000; The Teacher, April 2000). One of the most significant findings of the study was that time demands generated by a changing work environment have left teachers time-poor and stressed and students with no improvement in individual attention, which suggests that rapid educational change in Nova Scotia has generated a lose-lose environment, both for teachers

and for students.

Chapter six continues with a discussion of Nova Scotia teachers' voices, which shed some light on the attitudes, coping strategies, and adaptations to practice of teachers as they respond to demands for change. Webb (1998) speaks of macro-level government policy, which puts pressure on schools at the meso-level, a process that interacts with teachers' personalities and experiences to cause change at the micro-level of teachers' work; and Nias (1998) emphasizes the difficulty of predicting how teachers will react to change. Woods et al. (1997) discuss teachers' reactions to change by describing five categories of teachers: enhanced teachers, compliant teachers, disturbed conformists, non-compliant teachers, and disturbed teachers. It seems somewhat artificial, however, to slot teachers into clearly defined stereotypes, considering the complexity of contemporary teachers' lives.

Considering the scope of teachers' work-storied accounts, the importance they deserve, and the limits of this dissertation, my focus is confined to the voices of Nova Scotia teachers, both teachers whose articles have appeared in print and teachers responding to the time-use study commissioned by the Nova Scotia Teachers Union and carried out, in 2000, by the Time-Use Research Program at Saint Mary's University (SMU). I have had no access to these teachers' names or diaries but have gleaned the voices from 65 pages of case summaries, compiled by SMU researchers, from 822 completed diaries (see Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. 6; Spinney, 2000, pp. 1-65).

Hargreaves (1996) argues that although advocacy for the value of "a teacher's voice" (p. 13) is admirable in trying to balance teachers' lack of power in policy making, it has become a selective discourse. He indicates that many studies have been constructed in ways that depict teachers positively by "selectively appropriating particular empirical voices of predominantly humanistic, child-centered teachers, then condensing them into a singular voice, the teacher's voice, which becomes representative of all teachers" (p. 13). In an effort to avoid this pitfall, I attempt to present a variety of responses to portray the complexity of teachers and their work.

Concluding Remarks

> Issues of large class sizes, cuts to specialists, mainstreaming special needs children, increasing numbers of children in public schools who do not speak or understand English, reduction or elimination of art and music, inappropriate measures of "learning outcomes," bureaucratic disarray, institutional impotence, systemic inequities, teacher stress, . . . seldom create any discernible disturbance on the near flat-lined monitor of public interest unless [they affect] us or our children directly. (Neilsen, 1999, p. 13)

Boyd (1993) and Ball (1993) point out that the demand for extensive and rapid change in educational policy and provision has a global dimension. Barton et al. (1994) indicate a remorseless pressure by governments to impose changes on schools and teachers. Numerous policies and innovations have covered virtually all aspects of education. They argue that legislation has been used, for example, to alter the method of school governance, to enhance parental voice

and choice, to disempower trade unions, to change the conditions of employment of teachers, and to determine the nature of the school curriculum and forms of assessment. They say that the number, speed, and cumulative effect of the changes within schools have been dramatic; and they, like Hargreaves (1991), emphasize that teaching is not what it used to be. Hargreaves (1994) believes that the challenges teachers face need to be understood in the socio-economic setting in which schools exist. Teachers face difficult and contradictory pressures, including the expectation to contribute to economic regeneration and the rebuilding of national identities—all in the context of serious financial restraint. Add to this the fact that, as Menter (1998) says, teachers have experienced an enormous increase in administrative duties, many of which they believe do little or nothing to contribute to the education of their students. These beliefs thus underscore my hypothesis, as seen through the lens of philosophy of education, that governments' bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, resulting in the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context. Rather than trying to fit what is happening to teachers' work into prevailing theories of professionalization or proletarianization or intensification, I believe it is more accurate to conclude that these processes may occur simultaneously rather than be mutually exclusive.

Chapter Two

Education and the Teacher

> If we want to change the schools, we must first ask, "What are we educating our students for?" . . . . We can either prepare our young people for unrewarding jobs in an unequal and undemocratic society, or we can prepare them to understand their world and to change it. The first is education to meet the needs of the corporate economy. The second is education for democracy. (Stratman, 1998, p. 1)

Neilsen (1999) argues that for much of the twentieth century in North America, the public has viewed education as a process of transferring to children the cultural and scientific information they need to become responsible, productive citizens; and teachers have been viewed, basically, as "technocrats and managers" (p. 12). He says such a perspective of teaching and teachers has been shaped by a mechanistic world view that equates knowledge with information and learning with memorizing, and by the values of industrial mass production that prize the virtues of "precision, replication, and economies of scale" (p. 12). Such notions have often limited public understanding of education and teachers, despite many persuasive accounts of how people learn and how teachers can effectively foster children's learning. I believe the aims of education are of paramount importance in this situation.

This chapter on education and the teacher, thus, focuses upon the nature and function of liberal education and the changing role of the teacher with a historical review of liberal philosophers of education on what education should

be and an empirical review of the current role of the teacher as viewed from a variety of perspectives. The critical thinking/open-mindedness/autonomy account of liberal education, however, is threatened from within by some recent philosophers who reject these ideals, at least as far as the public schools are concerned. In addition, the current demands placed upon teachers make it difficult for them to live up to the ideals of liberal education, as discussed earlier, even if teachers continue to believe in them. The detailed discussion of liberal education and critical thinking, and the changing role of the teacher thus relate to the hypothesis of this dissertation by providing a theoretical, philosophical framework within which we can anticipate some of the practical problems concerning the intensification of teachers' work, specifically in Nova Scotia, that we will discuss in later chapters.

The Nature of Liberal Education

The nature and function of education and the role of the teacher are contested. Hare (1995a) indicates that a number of influential scholars—including McPeck, Hirsch, and Rorty—have recently urged that early schooling focus upon learners' acquisition of information but not upon fostering critical thinking in students, leaving the latter function until the teenage years. McPeck argues that age 16 is soon enough, after a significant amount of information has already been imparted. Hirsch chooses the age of 13; he sees the teaching of shared information as under attack by the critical thinking

movement, revealing a dichotomy between cultural literacy and critical thinking. Rorty says age 19 is about the right time, since he believes it is the responsibility for public schools to provide "socialisation" and for post-secondary institutions to provide "individuation." His argument presupposes that students not only will graduate from high school but also will continue their formal education, which does not always occur. All three of these scholars view content and criticism as sequential rather than integrated, simultaneous processes, and each chooses a different arbitrary age at which critical thought is appropriate. Hare says this shift in thinking from what had, until recently, been held as a central aim throughout schooling—to foster such attributes as critical thought, autonomy, and open-mindedness—should cause us to contemplate why these ideals have been valued and defended from the time of Dewey on.

Some Early 20th Century Philosophers of Education: Dewey, Russell, and Whitehead

Dewey's deep and abiding interest in personal growth and social transformation shape his criteria for educational relevance. Dewey portrays learners as problem solvers who must be taught the skills and attitudes for living, accommodating to each other, and flourishing in the social order. He believes a relevant education helps learners understand and appreciate the healthy elements of their culture, while providing them with the critical skills and attitudes to overcome political and economic obstacles in their attempt to realize

personal as well as social well-being (Prakash, 1990). Dewey (1938/1963) says: ". . . problems are a stimulus to thinking. . . . growth depends upon the presence of difficulty to be overcome by the exercise of intelligence" (p. 79). He adds: "We are told that our schools, old and new, are failing in the main task. They do not develop, it is said, the capacity for critical discrimination and the ability to reason" (p. 85). Dewey's (1938/1963) advice to avoid an either/or approach cautions us also that in focusing upon the individual, we do not have to slight the subject matter. In fact, Dewey (1933) emphasizes that thinking cannot proceed in a vacuum; thoughts can only occur to a mind that possesses information, not as an end in itself and disconnected from use, but used in the context of thought and judgment. Dewey (1897) believes, "Education . . . is a process of living and not a preparation for future living" (p. 430). In other words, we should not use the present simply to get ready for the future. He adds that "Education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience; that the process and the goal of education are one and the same thing" (p. 434), which is now termed "life-long learning." Dewey (1938/1963) contends: "The ideal aim of education is [the] creation of [the] power of self-control . . . through an individual's own reflection and judgment. . . . Stop and think is sound psychology" (p. 64).

Dewey is a pragmatic philosopher who turned the classroom into a place where children learn by experience. If pragmatism is taken to mean that we can understand concepts if we see their consequences—thus illustrating the relationship between thought and action—then Dewey's Laboratory School at the

University of Chicago did for education what pragmatism did for philosophy: it redefined the function of the school from promoting mere memorizing to learning about the world through practical experience. Hendley (1986) indicates that in Dewey's school, the ideal student learned systematically how to use knowledge to solve problems. He specifically wanted teachers to establish conditions in school that were conducive to critical, problem-solving thinking. Although Dewey believes both are important, he says the process of learning (learning how to learn) is more important than the products learned. Hence, he focuses more upon the child than upon the subject matter. However, he wanted his school to be neither child-centered nor curriculum-centered but to be community-centered, believing that the ideal goal of education is social effectiveness in a modern democracy. Dewey (1938/1963) argues that "All human experience is ultimately social: . . . it involves contact and communication" (p. 38). He (1897) observes that "Education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform" (p. 437). Dewey's philosophy thus revolves around inquiry, shared experience, and democracy.

Soltis (1990) observes that Dewey develops a theory of education to foster meaningful, direct, experiential learning and to instill the ways of a democratic society. Dewey believes that we learn by, from, and through experience and that it is the connections from present experience which we carry forward to new experiences that help us to understand and learn. Dewey believes that education is not just about the growth of individuals; the social

function of school is to pass on the way of life of the social group to help society grow and deal with new and unforeseen problems. Dewey believes democracy, especially in a pluralistic society, should provide for a mixing of experience across class and group lines to develop a sense of community; for him, democracy is shared social problem solving. Dewey argues that education is not an either/or affair of a progressive or traditional, child-centered or subject-oriented curriculum; for him education has to be meaningful or worthwhile, no matter what it is called. Soltis comments that Dewey's belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean all experiences are genuinely or equally educative; experience and education cannot be directly equated because some experiences are mis-educative if they arrest or distort the growth of future experiences. Everything depends upon the quality of experience since meaningful learning is necessary. Dewey's theory of democracy as a way of life speaks meaningfully even now to countries trying to increase individual freedom without diminishing the bonds of community.

Hare (1995a) indicates that where Dewey criticizes the schools' lack of attention to the development of students' independent judgment, Russell tends to see the active suppression of criticism, independence, and open-mindedness. He regrets that students are made to show deference to authority, including that of the teacher. Russell (1935) advises cooperation among students, with the teacher providing guidance. He says, however, that the effort expended by the teacher can be so tiring and the process so exasperating that he recommends it

be done for no more than two hours a day by teachers who can then spend the rest of the day away from children! In the same vein, Russell (1940) later stresses that teachers are overworked; too many demands are placed upon them, and they do not have enough freedom to decide what to teach or how to do it. He says teachers need more independence from interfering bureaucrats since teachers should act from inner drives, not outside authority. (These latter statements concerning teachers being overworked could have been uttered by almost any Nova Scotia teacher in the last few years!) Russell (1935) even goes so far as to say: "Unfortunately, it is utterly impossible for overworked teachers to preserve an instinctive liking for children; they are bound to come to feel towards them as the proverbial confectioner's apprentice does towards macaroons" (p. 209)! Such comments not withstanding, however, Russell believes the educator must truly care for his or her students as ends in themselves, not as inert material to be fashioned at the teacher's will, but as unique individuals with their own desires and interests, potentially capable of intelligent reflection and independent choice (Hare, 1990).

Of major importance to Russell, Hare (1995a) contends, is the spirit in which instruction is given. For example, Hare (1989) says Russell draws a sharp contrast between a person who is rational and a person who is dogmatic, based upon the grounds of the beliefs and the way they are held. Not everyone who believes that something is true refuses to consider counter-evidence. Hare also emphasizes Russell's concern to articulate and define a conception of education

distinct from socialization, propaganda, and indoctrination. Russell (1939) describes various "creeds" (p. 529) that autocratic governments, for example, attempt to instill into the minds of the young. Concerning independence, Russell (1926/1976) says, "The bulk of our ordinary activities must be co-operative . . .; nevertheless, we should all learn to be able to think for ourselves about matters that are particularly well known to us" (p. 45). Concerning open-mindedness, Russell says, "Open-mindedness should . . . be one of the qualities that education aims at producing" (p. 43).

Hare (1990) says Russell's philosophical contribution to education can be seen in his concern for showing what the aim of education is and why it matters. For example, Russell holds that the evil of fanaticism in political affairs is matched by the evil of dogmatism in education; thus, he stresses the value of open-mindedness, an attitude that he calls inward readiness. Judgment, and not an outward mechanical application of a checklist, is needed to assess an inward readiness, which differs from credulity and neutrality. Open-mindedness, lacking absolute certainty, thus preserves the spirit of free inquiry and enables us to go on thinking and learning. A basic aim of education, therefore, should be to teach children to think for themselves, through critical and independent reflection. Such a conception of education challenges assumptions that in Russell's time and sometimes now govern educational practice. A student who thinks is apt to think something his or her teacher does not think; Russell's approach thus abandons authoritarianism. He wants teaching to emphasize discussion and

controversy. Russell makes the depressing observation that the teacher is often expected to be a civil servant with a mechanistic outlook, conveying approved beliefs for uncritical consumption (or, as Scheffler says, a "minor technician"). Russell, hence, illustrates a specific conception of teaching and education that rejects dogmatism, censorship, and bias and emphasizes truth, reason, criticism, and open-mindedness.

Hare (paraphrased from 1979, 1982, 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1987, 1988, 1989, & 1993) goes into greater detail and characterizes open-mindedness as the critical attitude, which can be brought to bear on any subject concerning the views one holds, that involves being able and willing to form an opinion but also to reconsider and revise one's views, as impartially and objectively as possible, in the light of convincing evidence and argument brought against a defence to one's claims to knowledge. Open-mindedness cannot be reduced to a formula, but it has several distinctive attributes: (1) it is an educational ideal; (2) appropriate practice of it demands sound theory; (3) it involves a critical attitude; (4) it does not necessarily imply doubt or skepticism; (5) it does not require neutrality; (6) the ideal of objectivity does not imply absolutism, dogmatism, or indoctrination; (7) it is not empty-mindedness (which requires no critical skills) nor permissiveness; (8) it does not imply relativism, if that is understood to involve the claim that there is no way of rationally deciding between or among conflicting claims; (9) it does involve flexibility (which avoids not only rigidity but also the "weather-vane mentality") and a willingness to

amend one's views; (10) it involves taking a stand and defending a position by supporting one's ideas with reason and evidence, and making a commitment (conviction without prejudice) but maintaining a willingness to amend one's views if there is a good reason to do so; (11) it can be brought to bear on any subject; and (12) it cannot guarantee that one will arrive at true beliefs, but a concern to discover truth must favour open-mindedness. The relationship between open-mindedness and teaching involves at least four additional aspects: (1) a teacher should ask if what is being learned is of educational value; (2) one should not use an a priori approach to decision-making; (3) rather than pre-determined models or methods, teachers need to use good judgment; and (4) open-mindedness should not be postponed until upper levels of schooling but is an attitude that can and should be fostered early so that it becomes part of one's general approach to study.

Concerning the relationship between open/closed-mindedness and the value of philosophy, Russell (1912) states:

> Philosophy is to be studied, not for the sake of any definite answers to its questions, since no definite answers can, as a rule, be known to be true, but rather for the sake of the questions themselves; because these questions enlarge our conception of what is possible, enrich our intellectual imagination, and diminish the dogmatic assurance which closes the mind against speculation. (pp. 93-94)

In addition to open-mindedness in education, Russell (1950) emphasizes compassion (which provides a motive for action and, he says, is better than religion!); happiness; hope; science (which, he believes, offers hope for the

human race, unless dictators and missionaries interfere!); intellectual honesty; democracy; and the dangers of fanaticism (since all fanatical creeds stifle inquiry). Russell (1926/1976) makes no distinction between male and female excellence and believes the harm done by the subjection of women has been incalculable, an advanced idea for his era. Like Dewey, he supports academic freedom, and Russell would not be in favour of removing books from the library because they offend someone. Again like Dewey, he indicates students should be regarded as ends, not means. Concerning individualism, Russell (1923/1959) believes the individual should not be sacrificed to the state; he (1932/1967) says the rights of the individual must be balanced with the rights of the community. Russell (1926/1976) advocates patience, industry, concentration, and stimulating the desire to learn; he does not justify the traditional teacher who believes that learning may be boring but that it is good for students. Neither does he present a romantic view that all learning is fun; he does believe curiosity must be stimulated. He asserts that learning is not always easy: persistence is necessary.

Whitehead is also part of the philosophical movement in the early 1900s attempting to make schooling more critical and reflective. He believes that being aware of opposing ideas causes one to rethink conventional views. He stresses the necessity of avoiding "inert ideas" (Whitehead, 1929a/1967, p. 1), used to signify "the passive reception of disconnected information" (Hare, 1995a, p. 49), ideas that are only received into the mind without being used. He says,

"It must never be forgotten that education is not a process of packing articles in a trunk" (Whitehead, 1929c/1967, p. 33). This description is in keeping with his depiction of education as "the acquisition of the art of the utilisation of knowledge" (Whitehead, 1929a/1967, p. 4), indicating that knowledge is useful, not so much for itself as for understanding and solving problems. Knowledge, however, can only be used if one has it. Whitehead believes the overall aim of education is to establish a connection between the subject matter of the curriculum and life: the marriage of thought and action (Hendley, 1986). He also believes in the integration of headwork and handiwork: when children are young, one cannot know what specialty they will later choose. In any case, both kinds of work are useful; each complements the other. He favours integration of subjects: "After all, our pupils are alive, and cannot be chopped into separate bits, like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle" (Whitehead, 1929c/1967, p. 38). That sounds like what we now call holistic education, which does not separate learning into segments of subject matter but rather integrates it. Whitehead, however, supports teacher-directed learning but says it should not be dictatorial. He thinks a teacher should stimulate and guide.

One of Whitehead's (1929b & c/1967) most important contributions to educational thought is his portrayal of the rhythms of education: (1) romance is the initial period of freedom, awakening, and ferment; (2) precision is the intermediate period of discipline; and (3) generalization is the final period of freedom and fruition. He cautions his readers, however, that these three stages

are cyclical and repeat themselves throughout one's education. He says the real point is to discover in practice the balance between freedom and discipline that will provide the best rate of progress concerning what is to be known. He believes both memory and imagination are important but says traditional education has often focused exclusively upon precision. However, one has to have both: to use one's imagination, one also has to have a certain knowledge base.

Whitehead (1965) contends, "The function of the study of a subject is not so much to produce knowledge as to form habits" (p. 46). He says many scholars assume that education consists of training people in the abstract power of thought; however, "What is important is the welding of thought to observation" (p. 46). Like Dewey, Whitehead (1929c/1967) draws a distinction between wisdom and knowledge: one cannot be wise without knowledge, but one may acquire knowledge yet have no wisdom. He remarks, "The only avenue towards wisdom is by freedom in the presence of knowledge" (p. 30). Whitehead (1929a/1967) observes: "There is no royal road to learning through an airy path of brilliant generalizations" (p. 6). In advising that we should banish a mythical, far-off end of education, he both reminds us of Dewey and foreshadows R. S. Peters. He believes we should reap the benefits of our education all through life; he also believes, as Hare (1995a) reminds us, that we should not postpone critical reflection until we have mastered all the details. Whitehead argues that logical reasoning and critical thought do not exist in the

mind ready-made; they must be developed gradually (Hendley, 1986).

Philosophers of Education in the Analytic Era: Peters, Scheffler, and Passmore

Just as Dewey, Russell, and Whitehead defended a judicious balance of information and criticism in schoolwork in the early 1900s, so too did Peters, Scheffler, and Passmore from the 1950s through to the 1970s at the height of the analytic period in philosophy of education. Like Dewey, Peters emphasizes that critical thinking does not come easily or naturally, and Peters says its promotion must be a gradual process. He believes the teacher is an agent of change and challenge as well as cultural conservation (Hare, 1995a). Peters (1973) emphasizes that the role of the teacher is not "to stuff the minds" (p. 47) of the students with knowledge; it is a concern to teach others how to think, not just to tell them what to think. Teachers should introduce others to the critical procedures by means of which knowledge has gradually been established and can be challenged and transformed. That is what makes the teacher's authority only provisional: nothing is true or right just because someone who is an authority says so. The teacher introduces others to a critical process that he or she hopes will enable students to manage without the teacher.

Peters (1973) says whatever else education involves, at least it concerns the development of knowledge and understanding in people. Peters (1965) believes children start out in the position of ". . . the barbarian[s] outside the gates. The problem is to get them inside the citadel of civilization so that they

will understand and love what they see when they get there" (p. 107). This image is reminiscent of Whitehead's (1917/1974) comparison of the schoolmaster to a missionary who must deal with the "savages," which are "the ideas of the child's mind" (p. 102)! Peters contends education consists of initiating others into activities, modes of conduct, and thoughts which have implicit within them standards that indicate it is possible to act, think, and feel with varying degrees of skill, relevance, and taste. Peters advises, "To be educated is not to have arrived at a destination; it is to travel with a different view" (p. 110). He says, "What is required is not feverish preparation for something that lies ahead, but to work with precision, passion and taste at worth-while things that lie to hand" (p. 110). This depiction reminds one of Dewey's (1897) description of education as a process of living, not as a preparation for future living. Peters (1988) continues: "Democracy is concerned more with principles for proceeding than with a determinate destination, and aims of education in a democracy should emphasize the qualities of mind essential for such a shared journey" (p. 356). This approach to learning indicates a sharp contrast between training, in a narrow sense, and education.

Barrow (1990) says Peters conceives of liberal education as the unimpeded and unconstrained development of the mind, not harnessed to utilitarian or vocational ends. Peters believes the task of education is to initiate students into a public body of shared understanding and awareness—an initiation that presupposes impersonal standards to which both learner and teacher must

give their allegiance. He indicates education implies for the learner a change for the better. Peters maintains education has three criteria. First, education implies a commitment to the transmission of worthwhile knowledge. Second, education must involve knowledge, understanding, and some kind of cognitive perspective, none of which is inert; and he draws a distinction between the acquisition of information and true understanding. Knowledge must include breadth as well as depth and transform the outlook of the learner. These two criteria involve the content of what is transmitted. The third criterion involves how knowledge is to be transmitted: education entails the moral obligation to bring about learning in a fashion consistent with the rights of individuals; it is to be distinguished from indoctrination, brain-washing, and conditioning (Barrow, 1990).

Like Peters, Scheffler also addresses the tension between content and criticism. Hare (1995a) contends that in Scheffler's work there is no implication that acquiring information is unimportant or incompatible with fostering a critical outlook. Scheffler considers content to include not only factual information but also skills, dispositions, attitudes, and appreciation, which are all subject to critical review. Scheffler is concerned, however, that an over-emphasis on the transmission of information, to the exclusion of critical thought, could result in the teacher being considered a minor technician. Scheffler does not conceive of critical thinking coming after acquisition of information but together with it in the very way information is conveyed.

One of Scheffler's major contributions has been to defend a way of teaching and promoting learning in which teachers recognize an obligation both to offer reasons for their beliefs and to accept questions and objections raised by their students (Hare, 1997). In this way, Scheffler distinguishes teaching from propaganda, indoctrination, force, and suggestion—all designed to prevent critical reflection (Hare, 1995a). Siegel (1990) examines Scheffler's view that teaching has a fundamental moral component: teaching focuses upon reasons and rationality in a way that respects the independent judgment of the student. Scheffler (1967) says: "In teaching, we do not impose our wills on the student, but introduce him [sic] to the many mansions of the heritage in which we ourselves strive to live, and to the improvement of which we are ourselves dedicated" (p. 134). Siegel says Scheffler believes the teacher's broad task is to enhance and enrich the student's sense of what constitutes a good reason. The educational ideal of rationality is at the heart of Scheffler's philosophy of education, and he believes critical thought is of the utmost importance in the conception and organization of educational activities. He also stresses methods of logical analysis, attention to language, clarity, objectivity of method, careful argumentation, and the pursuit of issues of value.

Scheffler (1973) has a particular interest in educational relevance. He emphasizes that the responsibility of education is not only to serve but also to criticize, enlighten, and create. A primary task is to help form a society in which the ideals of free inquiry and rationality will be of supreme relevance. He

mentions problem-directed learning and learning based upon the relationship between independent inquiry and practical problems, which remind me of the current emphasis upon problem-based learning and co-op education. Scheffler's work thus illustrates his belief in maintaining a strong connection between philosophical theory and practical concerns.

Perhaps the best discussion of the nature, value, and teaching of critical reasoning to be found in the main analytic period occurs in Passmore's work (Hare, 1995a). Dewey speaks often about the kinds of inquiry that deliberately challenge the desire for certainty. His influence can perhaps be seen in Passmore's (1967) call for "critico-creative thinking" (p. 201), which joins imagination and criticism. Passmore explains that in this form of thinking, "The educator is interested in encouraging critical discussion, as distinct from the mere raising of objections; and discussion is an exercise of the imagination" (p. 201). He indicates that authoritarian systems of education commonly produce pupils who are very critical, but only of those who do not fully support the accepted beliefs, rules, and modes of action, whereas critico-creative thinking is consciously norm-governed but willing to challenge rules that become irrelevant, inconsistent, or useless. Passmore believes that nothing should be kept beyond the reach of rational criticism, not even beliefs and values that seem settled. Passmore (1980), however, is quick to point out the need for both critical reasoning and information, which can be pursued simultaneously. He (1967) advises that fostering critical thought is appropriate, even in the early

stages of schooling, as part of the teaching of any subject: a great deal depends upon how the subject is taught. He says if any teacher gives up the idea of teaching pupils to be critical and eases his or her conscience by training students only in skills, that is not at all surprising; however, he or she ". . . should at least be clear about what he [sic] is doing, and even more important, what he is not doing" (p. 209).

Hare (1995a) contends that, contrary to what is often held to be true, the general philosophical position throughout most of the twentieth century has argued for a reasonable balance between content and criticism concerning the aims of schooling. Before Dewey, it was common for educational theorists to believe that critical thinking should be postponed at least until adolescence. From the time of Dewey until the mid-1990s, however, philosophers of education strongly supported the need for both a strong knowledge base and the goal of critical thinking, to occur simultaneously rather than sequentially. Recently McPeck, Hirsch, Rorty, and a few others have reintroduced a dualism that earlier generations of philosophers worked to change. Hare (1995a) believes such a reaction threatens to revive a justification for authoritarian approaches to teaching. He contends that "these negative views rest on misconceptions about critical thinking, and that the arguments . . . [from] the general tradition of philosophy of education from Dewey through to Scheffler form the basis of a much more adequate view" (p. 57). The evolving discussion in twentieth century philosophy of education concerning critical thinking as an

educational aim illustrates one important aspect of the contested notion of the school's task. I believe it is critical for those involved with education not to let any concept become such that further reflection is excluded. A healthy exchange of views remains important.

Liberal Education

In assessing the function of education in North America, it will be helpful to examine the notion of liberal education, some aspects of which are implicit in the preceding discussion. In contrast with authoritarianism, which prescribes for all a particular vision of the good life, and with an extreme laissez-faire conception, which denies the existence of common, enforceable moral obligations, liberalism, on the other hand, is simultaneously a doctrine of freedom and responsibility—the freedom for each to choose and pursue a personal vision of the good and the responsibility to enable others to do likewise. The place of individual freedom within liberal political theory provides support for the claim that teachers have a special sort of responsibility in exercising their duty to enable their students to exercise the citizens' basic freedoms responsibly, with a sense of justice and within a scheme of cooperation (Bull, 1990). The emphasis on critical reflection, in the tradition from Dewey, serves to liberate students from authoritarianism and indoctrination. These preceding ideas are thus directly relevant to the matter of liberal education. If many liberal educators hold that a primary goal of education

is for children to become autonomous, then effectiveness in teaching the young requires that teachers' methods of teaching be consistent with students' becoming their own persons. Pedagogical skill cannot be considered apart from the knowledge of subject matter, nor is it appropriate to separate the content or method of teaching from its ethical purpose when one is concerned with the nature of teaching in a liberal society. One question that should be central to education is what is the relationship between what we do in the classroom and our effort to build a better society? The conflict is not just between the innovators and the defenders of the status quo; the fence-sitters, the teachers, even principals, and others who do not take positions have a profoundly negative effect. Sizer (1992) says, "The burden carried by the apostles of change is heavy" (p. 213).

Goldstein (1976) indicates that although teachers' professional preparation and experience may give them special competency in pedagogical methodology, often curricular decisions involve important value judgments concerning the proper allocation of societal resources or the aims to be accomplished by public education, which are ultimately political questions that the expertise of teachers may not provide any special competency in answering. Goldstein's view is significant in that it signals the emerging challenge concerning the changing role of the teacher, which we will soon consider. Perhaps, however, teachers' expertise is in creating a forum for discussion, in school, through which the students will acquire the skills and disposition to seek

answers to these questions for themselves—now and as future citizens. In a democratic society, Goldstein asserts, it would seem desirable that politically responsive groups have the power to affect the public will concerning the structure and content of public education. Traditionally, parental participation in the educational process has been favoured; the norm of the elected school board reflects this view. Allowing parents and community groups, as well as teachers, to have input into educational decisions comports more closely with the societal desire for lay control of education than does the more autocratic teacher control theory. In reality, the teachers' daily presence in their classrooms, augmented by the process of collective bargaining, gives teachers significant power in the decision-making process.

Bull (1990) indicates teachers' responsibility in a liberal society consists of teaching the young to be their own persons in accordance with the principles of integrity, competent practice, informed decision making, and fair distribution of services; and the ethical responsibilities implied by these principles are shared by teachers and members of the democratic polity. Teachers' basic responsibility is to achieve the morally legitimate purpose of their position—to help to develop children's capacities to choose, hold, and pursue their own visions of the good. Liberal integrity requires teachers, first, to develop in children the characteristics, abilities, and understandings that the democratic polity determines necessary for their moral independence and, second, to resist the polity's directives that cannot plausibly be construed as relevant to this central purpose of liberal

education. Bull believes that school teaching in a liberal society is a special and limited form of enculturation. Such teaching involves developing in students particular modes of judgment and critical thinking, introducing them to cultural alternatives available within civilization, and inducting them into the political morality and conventions of a liberal society. The purpose of this enculturation is to enable students to be their own persons and live their own lives within that society; it is specifically not to promote one conception of the good life that the authoritarian might prescribe.

Bull (1990) believes the primary duty of liberal integrity requires that teachers recognize the basic purpose of teaching is to facilitate the development of children's capacities for moral independence. Smith (1990) says teaching can be characterized as "an intentional activity requiring choices built into any attempt to change, redirect, or influence in specific ways patterns of growth and development toward mature human personhood" (p. 119); and Smith (1990, p. 119) and Boyd (1990, p. 103) both speak of teachers as "moral mediators." Boyd asserts that education itself is a moral claim and that teachers are those who express it for us. He adds that the moral stance of the teacher is not incidental to the teacher's role, but essential to it.

This use of the term "moral" includes not just matters of the "right," but also perspectives in pursuit of the "good," and dispositional states that describe praiseworthy persons. Keeping in mind that "Educational aims are not accounts of something that is, but of something we want to be" (Boyd, 1990, p. 110),

teachers—as moral mediators—should strive to be responsible, caring, honest, objective, open-minded, critically self-aware, authentic, just, benevolent, sensitive to the needs of others—and aware that measuring up to all these attributes, among many other unnamed admirable qualities, may be humanly impossible, but understood as goals. In the role of moral "mediators," teachers must mediate between or among claims or interests presented by their understanding of the following: students' current desires and their long-range interests, parents' and society's interest in what students learn, students' present autonomy and its further development, students' autonomy and the constraints of the culture, the instructional needs of the gifted and the plodders, the cultural ties of the past and the projected problems of the future, competing visions of the good life, different and sometimes incompatible moral traditions, individual competition and communal cooperation, the teacher's own positive influence on the students and avoidable bias, and a variety of other claims (Boyd, 1990). Hence, in formulating teaching intentions in terms of the betterment of students, teachers are in the role of moral mediators among an incredibly complex variety of positions.

There are some signs that the moral nature of teaching is beginning to be taken more seriously by educational researchers. For example, John Goodlad (1988), in his large-scale study of teacher education conducted at the Center for Educational Renewal at the University of Washington, asserts that teaching must take into account moral intention. Theodore Sizer (1992), chairman of the

Coalition of Essential Schools at Brown University and involved in the "Re:Learning" effort, has had a leading role in a project for school reform that now involves several thousand people, from teachers to governors and from principals to legislators. He stresses the significance of the moral aspects of teaching and working with students. Boyd (1990) believes some form of general social recognition of this view of teaching must exist for successful maintenance of the "educational enterprise." He says, "If we speak to each other through education, we must take teachers seriously. And if we are to take teachers seriously, they must be accepted and supported as moral agents in their teaching activities" (p. 117). Smith (1990) says while there are many varied and powerful influences that contribute to the formation of beliefs, values, and habits, the role of teaching is distinctive since by its very nature it involves creating or affirming moral meanings.

Prakash (1990) believes that to achieve educational relevance, liberal educators must resist three miseducative forces pervading the contemporary educational system: (1) illiberalism, attempting to silence those who speak "in a different voice" (p. 131): feminists, people representing a multiplicity of races, cultures, and religions, those on welfare, and the homeless; (2) the mass-production of learning—reducing the learner to "a passive, unmotivated recipient of a well-processed and mass-marketed package" (p. 131); and (3) the design of curricula and pedagogies that separate theory from practice, school problems from the pressing problems of society, and academic obligations from civic

duties. She reminds us that Dewey, as does Freire, recommends curricula and pedagogies for bridging the chasm between theory and practice.

Clive Beck (1990) speaks of the relationship between school and society concerning a values perspective. His defence of schools is that they contribute in major ways to the well being of students and other members of society, but his criticism is that they do not accomplish the task as well as they could, especially for certain racial, ethnic, gender, and other sub-groups. His argument has five main components: (1) school and society are closely linked; (2) to reform both school and society, a vision to promote human well being equitably is required; (3) in promoting personal and social education, schools should pay more attention to values, culture, religion, politics, economics, and ecology; (4) schools should not adopt a neutral stance; the teaching method should be interactive, with teachers and students gaining insights from each other; and (5) the school should practice what it preaches: its organization and atmosphere should embody the approaches to personal and societal life being advocated.

Factors that Threaten the Ideal of Liberal Education

Concerning the ideal of liberal education over the past few decades in North America, several voices have been noteworthy. An active dialogue among philosophers of education and other scholars has revealed many contested issues—such as the balance between the imparting of information and the promotion of critical thinking, as we saw earlier in relation to McPeck, Hirsch,

and Rorty (Hare, 1995a). Also at issue are the ideal function and existing flaws of liberal education in Canada and the United States. The lack of consensus at the theoretical as well as at the practical level has led to the pursuit of a variety of educational efforts, which are often at cross-purposes. Sizer (1984) notes seven major trends in recent task force and commission reports. The first, "back to the basics," stresses intellectual skills, but often at the expense of the emotions. The second emphasizes the relationship between education, work, and the economy; but the direction schools should take remains unclear because of the rapidly changing economy. The third trend, "authority," is primarily a reaction to the permissive attitudes of the 1960s, but the calls for greater discipline are incongruous with recent studies of the adverse effects of too much pressure on adolescents. The fourth trend calls for district policy, which is contradicted in part by the fifth trend toward greater citizen choice and school variety. The sixth trend is toward measurable results and accountability, while the seventh is toward cost-effectiveness because of the economic crunch. While these are the dominant themes, there is no overall consensus on what needs to be done about schooling. There is, however, agreement that the school structure is flawed and that the remedies will be long-term.

The Changing Role of the Teacher

As previously discussed, the ideal of liberal education is in danger, and it is not generally agreed what the role of the teacher should be. If one

conceptualizes the teacher as a "minor technician" (in Scheffler's words but not in his view) dispensing information by means of a "teacher-proof" curriculum (Hare, 1995b, p. 1) to passively receptive students who do not challenge expert authority, then one's view will differ considerably from the perception of the teacher as a provisional authority who guides his or her student, interactively, "to develop into an autonomous adult through a process of critical inquiry" (Hare, 1989, p. 54).

As Rescher (1987) reminds us, our more specific aims give us a sense of achievement, but our ideals give us a sense of direction. Intelligent teachers need to confront issues and disputes that are relevant to their practice. Philosophy of education can provide pre-service teachers and experienced practitioners an opportunity to explore critically the concepts, theories, principles, and research findings that will enable them to reflect upon their role and formulate ideals to guide their practice (Hare, 1995b). As Dewey (1893/ 1971) cautions us, "There have been philosophers before us, and the only way to avoid being imposed upon by them is to turn philosophers ourselves" (p. 62). Dewey advises that one of the chief uses philosophy is to enable us consciously to examine assumptions that control us and reconstruct them into tools of inquiry and action. As an individual teacher contemplates his or her own practice, the temptation to adopt simplistic solutions is strong; reflective judgment is needed.

Selman (1993) identifies critical thought as a social practice that is

valuable not only for the teacher to foster in students but also for the teacher to adopt in his or her own practice. He says the nurturing of that virtue enables teachers to assess arguments and evidence and helps them to distinguish between and among conceptual, empirical, and value claims. Among the ideal traits of critical thinkers, Selman discusses care, sensitivity, imagination, open-mindedness, fairness, good judgment, values reasoning, and appreciation. He says critical thinking has both instrumental (useful, extrinsic) value and internal (intrinsic) value.

With respect to the preparation of teachers, William Hare (1993b) says, "The dominant tendency has always been to reduce teaching to a set of trainable skills and measurable competencies" (p. iii), but he draws a basic distinction between mechanical learning and genuine education: he argues that individuals need to learn to think. He says critical thinking, based upon sound and relevant knowledge and understanding, involves certain attitudes one needs to accompany the skills one learns. Judgment is required in the application of skills, and teachers should have desirable intellectual, moral, and personal virtues, which Callan (1993) speaks of as excellent features of character in the Aristotelian sense. Hare (1993b) says it is an "impoverished concept" (p. iv) that sees education as the mere acquisition of information and skills. Perhaps too much emphasis in teacher education has been placed upon efficient and effective techniques and too little emphasis upon highly desirable qualities that ought to characterize the teacher, such as "humility, courage, impartiality, open-

mindedness, empathy, enthusiasm, judgment and imagination" (p. v). Hare believes teachers should think about these virtues in a rationally reflective manner so that they do not misunderstand or neglect their importance. He believes it is also necessary for teachers regularly to take university courses both in the subjects they teach and in educational theory. Since particular teaching strategies periodically drop in and out of fashion, teachers must be able intelligently to review new ideas that surface. "Our notion of the 'good teacher' needs to shift from superficial, behavioural criteria to more fundamental human excellences . . . and stepping outside the boundaries set by present realities" (Hare, 1993b, p. 162).

An analysis of the changes in teachers' work might usefully take into account what work is considered to be. Terkel (1974) sees work not only as a source of livelihood but also as a search for meaning that helps us to make sense of the world and our place in it. For many seasoned teachers in Nova Scotia, their present work world has changed dramatically since they entered the profession. Aalders-St. Clair (1999), writing in Aviso, the magazine for Nova Scotia's teaching profession, offers a description of today's teacher: "a friend, leader, counsellor, learner, participator, director of learning, . . . fundraiser, nurse, social worker, and psychologist . . . [:] a functionary with almost every kind of responsibility but that of a teacher" (p. 23).

In commenting upon the changing role of teachers, Kit Krieger (1998), then president of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, says education now,

as always, involves a search for meaning and understanding, and the teacher is charged with helping the students to ascribe meaning and make sense of a complex and sometimes chaotic world. Teachers face the challenge to foster students' capacities "to understand, question, manipulate, accept, interact, and reflect" and to negotiate between "the individual and the group, thought and action, the concrete and the abstract, the certain and the speculative, the arts and the sciences, order and chaos" (p. 1).

Krieger (1998) maintains that the most profound changes in teachers' work have emerged from the effort to respond to social changes, among the most recent of which are changing family structures, technological change, the impact of mass media, and the blurring of public and private roles in institutions previously considered exclusively public. Neilsen (1999) asserts that recent funding cuts to health, education, and social services—combined with technology-instigated unemployment—have transformed public schools in North America into social agencies where teachers are expected to serve not only as "intellectual and moral mentors but also as surrogate parents, social workers, counsellors, security guards, cultural ambassadors, paramedics, and psych-ologists" (p. 14).

The demands placed upon teachers today make it difficult for them to live up to the ideals of liberal education, as set out earlier. Krieger (1998) discusses four recent demands or contextual influences on the work of teachers: (1) the growing diversity of the student population, (2) tensions between the needs of

students and the needs of the system, (3) the conflict between professional and bureaucratic cultures in schools, and (4) the intensification of teachers' work.

First, concerning unprecedented diversity, English is no longer the first language of many students. Children may come from two-parent, single-parent, same-sex parent, and blended families. A single class can include the gifted, the learning disabled, and the physically challenged. This growing diversity has also been accomplished by a shift in the purpose of schooling. Forty years ago, schools separated university-bound students from those destined for trades and clerical work, and class and gender helped to pre-determine children's prospects. By contrast, teachers now see their role to ameliorate—not to institutionalize—class, gender, and other disparities. Teachers deal with their classes both as intact communities and as autonomous learners, individualistic in their cultures, interests, and capacities. Krieger (1998) believes it is somewhat unrealistic to expect teachers to respond to each student in ways that truly recognize their differences. He comments, "Sometimes I think we delude ourselves and others with regard to the possibility of being so responsive to individual needs in integrated classes of thirty students and more!" (p. 2).

Second, the tension between the needs of the system and the needs of students can be seen in growing demands for system-wide accountability, which are evident in the expanded use of a standardized curriculum, standardized testing, performance indicators, and outcome-based criteria for assessment. Such accountability demands often collide with what the teachers know is best

for students. "Teachers know that much of what students learn is best reported in anecdotal comment, the portfolio of class work, and in the context of students' daily lives—their attitudes and behaviour vis-à-vis family and community responsibilities" (Krieger, 1998, p. 3), whereas system-wide accountability is statistical and decontextualized.

The third recent contextual influence on the changing work of teachers concerns the increasing conflict between professional and bureaucratic cultures in schools. Krieger (1998) maintains that educators today know more about teaching and learning than any other generation of teachers in Canada's history, yet paradoxically many more external controls are exerted upon their work than upon the work of their predecessors, who had less formal education and less exposure to continuing professional development. The role of administrator has now been transformed from principal educator to administrative officer, a recognition of "the ascendent value of management and the descendent value of pedagogy in administration" (p. 3), and the trend is even more established in the U.K.

The fourth contextual issue is the intensification of teachers' work, which Krieger (1998) believes is the consequence of many factors:

- the rapid pace of curriculum change
- the advent of new technologies
- increased reporting expectations
- the integration of special needs students . . .
- the evolution of school-based management
- the increased value placed on collaboration
- the need for teachers to address an array of social issues. (p. 3)

He says in the past, such problems as poverty, child abuse, violence, homophobia, sexism, and racism were either ignored by schools and society at large or were dealt with by other institutions; by contrast, today schools are at the forefront in attending to these issues on a daily basis. What used to be private matters have become public issues. These demands or contextual influences that Krieger discusses anticipate some problems we will discuss in later chapters.

Despite all these urgent demands, Krieger (1998) says a recent British Columbia Teachers' Federation survey indicates that 98% of BCTF members are proud to be teachers. He says the teachers he knows love their work, do an important job well, and are deeply committed to their students and to public education. However, the responsibilities placed upon public educators within recent years are "unrealistic and onerous" (p. 4).

Hargreaves and Lo (2000) maintain that teaching is a paradoxical profession. Of all the jobs that are professions or aspire to be, teaching is the only one now faced with the challenging task of developing the human skills and capacities to enable society not only to survive but also to succeed in the "age of information" (p. 1). Everywhere, but particularly in developing countries, it is teachers who are expected to build learning communities, create the knowledge society, and develop the capacities for innovation, flexibility, and commitment to change needed for economic prosperity in the twenty-first century. At the same

time, however, public expenditure, public welfare, and public education are among the first "expendable casualties of the slimmed-down state that informational societies and their economies . . . require" (p. 1). On a global basis, when the most is expected from them, teachers seem to be given less support, less respect, and less opportunity to be innovative and flexible than ever before. Teachers, hence, face a dilemma: at a time when teachers are expected to be leading catalysts of the information society, they are among its prime casualties, which creates a policy challenge for those who want to reform and improve teaching.

Hargreaves and Lo (2000) indicate that since the spread of mass schooling across the world, public education has been expected to save society: to save children from poverty, to rebuild nations after war, to develop universal literacy as a means to economic survival, to create skilled workers even if there are no jobs for them, to develop tolerance in children when the adults in society are divided by religious and ethnic conflict, to keep developed nations economically competitive and to help developing nations become so, to eliminate drug dependency, to end violence in schools—and on and on. Hargreaves and Lo observe that in the thirty years following World War II, education was viewed as an investment in "human capital" (p. 2). There existed a call for more teachers, optimism concerning the power of education, greater status for teachers, and often flexibility and discretion concerning the way teachers performed their work. Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) call that golden era "the

age of the autonomous professional" (p. 50), when many teachers benefited from expanding populations and prosperous economies.

According to Hargreaves and Lo (2000), the oil crisis of 1973 and the collapse of Keynesian economics signaled the end of optimistic assumptions about education in many developed Western countries. Abruptly, education was deemed to be the problem, not the solution. In the shadow of the rising Asian economies, Western nations experienced economic reversals, shifting demographics, and shrinking student populations. Debt-burdened economies reduced allocations to education, teachers lost their market attraction and bargaining power, and governments tried to link education more closely to business, science, and technology. Change became urgent: control over the curriculum was often tightened, and teachers were blamed for everything by everybody! Again, threats to the ideal of liberal education surfaced.

The result was intense pressure on teachers; stress, morale problems, and burnout increased. Many teachers began to feel deprofessionalized as reform and restructuring of education escalated. There was an increased focus on the work of teaching. Teachers experienced heavier workloads, more regulation of their work, and more distractions from teaching children because of the bureaucratic burdens of administrative decentralization. The rising Asian economies led Western policymakers to attribute such success to these societies' education systems. Unfavourable international test scores in mathematics and science provoked public anxiety and provided the rationale for Western

governments to reform their educational systems. This tactic often led to greater standardization, whereas emerging information economies actually needed greater flexibility, as unexpected downturns in Asian economies in the 1990s led some Western nations to realize. Hargreaves and Lo (2000) contend, "Such have been the dubious educational legacies of the dying industrial and imperial era of modernization in the final quarter of the twentieth century" (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000, p. 4).

At the turn of the century, Hargreaves and Lo (2000) depict a new economy and society emerging: the age of information "is rooted in and driven by the development, expansion[,] and circulation of globalized electronic, computer-based[,] and digital information and entertainment" (p. 4). They indicate that whereas industrialism was oriented toward economic growth and maximizing output, informationalism is oriented toward technological development and the accumulation of knowledge. In the constantly changing informational society, knowledge is not just a support for work and production; it is the key form of work and production. New ways of generating, processing, and circulating knowledge are central to what many experts call the learning society or the knowledge society, and the role of education and teaching in such a society is absolutely vital.

Castells (1998) predicts that nations which are not involved in the informational society will become increasingly marginalized by it. He indicates that education has become the key quality of labour: "The new producers of

informational capitalism are those knowledge generators and information processors whose contribution is most valuable to the firm, the region [,] and the national economy" (p. 345). In this respect, teachers bear an additional burden: they must learn to teach in ways they were not taught themselves. At the same time, they are expected to ameliorate the worst effects of the new informational society: the widening gaps between the rich and the poor, the tendency for people to consume as individuals rather than produce society together for a common good, and the "risks of conflict and violence posed by cultural diversity and the defensive postures resulting from ethnic, religious[,] and nationalistic rivalry" (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000, p. 5). Of course, teachers' dedication to caring for children's best interests is not new; it is ideally one of their qualities that led them into teaching in the first place. Now, however, their "job description" essentially includes not only increasing intellectual, social, and emotional aspects but a rapidly escalating technical component as well. (For the Nova Scotia Public School Programs, 1999-2000, "Goals of Public Education," see Appendix A.)

All these facets of teachers' work lead us to see, in the next chapter, that the traditional ideals of liberal education and the conception of teaching as an autonomous activity based upon judgment and imagination are threatened by certain assumptions about time and teachers' work and the control of teachers' work.

Chapter Three

Teachers' Work

> Teachers' work perspective does more than simply capture the range and character of what teachers do . . .[;] it constantly stresses the politics and ideology of teachers' work. (Seddon, 1990, p. 5)

Extensive literature on teaching discusses the way teachers' work is conceptualized, organized, controlled, and changed. Many educational theorists point to increasing demands made upon teachers. Bruno (1997) says the "currency" (pp. 1, 159) used to purchase change in schools is time. Understanding and appreciating the complex nature of time as a currency of exchange between the classroom teacher and the school organization is an important step for educational leaders in an era of time scarcity. Many educational researchers analyze educational change using labour-process theory, which sees changes in education as part of a post-Fordist shift in capitalism: an attempt to relate education more closely to industry by leaning toward teaching competencies rather than, instead of in addition to, providing liberal education. This tendency has meant a massive shift in the nature of teachers' work. This chapter on teachers' work, hence, focuses upon time with respect to teachers' work and labour-process theory applied to teachers' work.

There appears to be a large gap between stated goals and actual practices. The threats to and move away from liberal education, which we discussed in chapter two, and the shift toward teaching competencies have had

a profound effect upon teachers' work. Teachers cannot promote liberal education if they themselves are not permitted to act autonomously as liberally educated people would act. Thus, the state's control of teachers' work shows that stated, official goals of schooling in terms of liberal education (see Appendix A) are mere rhetoric.

Time and Teachers' Work

> Because nearly every report, research article, and book written about the American experience with school reform has underscored the problem of time as being the major obstacle to the change process, the concept of time takes on immense applied as well as theoretical significance for school leaders and educational researchers. (Bruno, 1977, p. vi)

The same can be said of the Canadian experience; the perception of time greatly affects our professional and personal lives and thus observed behaviours in schools as workplaces. Hargreaves (1990) argues that the subjective sense of time differs in significant ways between teachers and administrators (for a distinction between the two, see Appendix B), but administrators have greater power to ingrain their time perspectives and procedures into administrative structures and routines. Hence, their approach can come to be considered the only rational way of organizing time: it becomes hegemonic time—so taken for granted that to challenge it can appear to threaten administrative efficiency. Hargreaves contends that, in Canada, what we are witnessing in many educational reforms and related changes in teachers' work are impositions of administrative time perspectives, with all their practical implications for the

working lives of teachers.

Most Western educational systems are currently experiencing an expansion of bureaucratic control and standardization, creating an increasing breach between administration and teaching. The administrative tendency in the definition and control of time is rooted in a monochronic world of market relations, which is often in direct conflict with the polychronic perspective of most teachers (Hargreaves, 1990). An exploration of the differences in perspectives between monochronic (M-time) and polychronic (P-time) time-frames might thus prove enlightening. (For a chart showing seventeen contrasting points, which are general descriptions and do not hold in all cases, see Appendix B.)

According to Hall (1984), Hargreaves (1990), and Levine (1997), clock-time people tend to be less flexible in the way they schedule activities: they are M-time individuals who prefer to focus on one activity at a time, in series. Event-time people, on the other hand, are flexible P-time schedulers involved with multiple tasks and interpersonal relationships, in combination. M-timers like to work from start to finish, in linear sequence; P-timers have an intermittent, revolving focus, spend a little time at many tasks, spontaneously shifting attention and making connections, in non-linear progression. Clock-timers focus upon and have control over the completion of schedules and procedures, whereas event-timers focus upon the completion of interpersonal transactions. Monochronic people tend to be task-oriented, with a low sensitivity to context.

By contrast, polychronic people are more oriented to people and relationships and have a high sensitivity to context. Clock time often relates to the official sphere of business and large, bureaucratic organizations, organized and managed from a typically male perspective. Event time often relates to an unofficial sphere with less formality, including an emphasis on home or domestic life and smaller organizations or settings, often seen from a female perspective. M-people tend to fare better in achievement-oriented settings, may be more interested in monetary success, and may appear to be more productive. P-people tend to be interested in traditional commitments in social settings and are usually concerned for the welfare of individuals. They may seem less productive but tend to be involved in situations that are not only more people-oriented but also more liberating and thus often productive in a different way.

Some cultures tend to have an affinity for either M-time or P-time. Clock-time thinking tends to be concentrated in achievement-oriented, industrial, Western societies, whereas event-time thinking is more common in Third World countries, traditional Eastern cultures, and in Native, Latin, and Mediterranean cultures, which, I believe, can be unsettling for some immigrants to North America and for some minority or marginalized individuals. M-time people are usually happier and more productive in M-time positions; likewise, P-time people tend to fare better in P-time positions. The most fruitful approach of all, however, is to move flexibly between monochronic and polychronic time, as suits the situation, so that people can take control of their time rather than being

controlled by it (Levine, 1997). As mentioned previously, these are general descriptions and do not hold in all cases.

In addition to the distinction between monochronic and polychronic subjective senses of time, Hargreaves (1990) draws attention to five dimensions of time with features that exemplify the distinction: (1) technical-rational, (2) micropolitical, (3) phenomenological, (4) physical, and (5) sociopolitical time, which have implications for teachers' work. "These dimensions are not just competing or complementary theoretical perspectives. . . . They also constitute different facets of how time itself is constructed and interpreted in the social world at large and within teachers' work in particular" (Hargreaves, 1990, pp. 303-304).

Within the technical-rational dimension, time is a finite resource that can be increased, decreased, managed, manipulated, organized, or reorganized to accommodate selected educational purposes. This dimension is dominant in administrative action organized around technical-rational forms of thought and action involving a clear separation between means and ends. In this conception, ends belong to the value-based domains of philosophical, moral, or political choice. It is believed that after ends have been chosen elsewhere, the most efficient means to achieve them can be identified instrumentally and then implemented managerially and administratively. In this view, time is an objective variable, an instrumental condition that can be manipulated to foster implementation of educational changes, for example, whose purpose and

desirability have been determined elsewhere. In this view, the purpose of educational research and administration is to identify and institute uses of teachers' time that facilitate the implementation of the desired educational objectives. If implementation problems arise, objective time can be adjusted or reallocated administratively (Hargreaves, 1990). Hargreaves points out, however, that such attempts may lead to unexpected or undesired consequences. For example, in his own study of an Ontario area, when preparation time was granted with a view to increasing collaborative planning, teachers in one location predominantly used the time for individual rather than collaborative purposes. In another location committed to collaborative planning, not all teachers planned with their colleagues, and among those who did, many engaged in collaborative planning at some time other than scheduled preparation periods. Hargreaves found that in this administrative attempt at trying to change teachers' work practices, granting additional time was not a guarantor of educational change. Thus, from an innovator's standpoint, there is and ought to be more to teachers' time than its technically efficient allocation, planning, and scheduling.

In addition to the technical-rational conception of time—technically efficient and rationally calculated, ordered, linear schedules of objective time of administrators—there exists micropolitical time. Hargreaves (1990) points out that once they are instituted in schools and have thus acquired a measure of external objectivity, scheduled time distributions among different grades,

teachers, and subjects become more than rational, efficient ways of distributing time according to educational needs, within the bounds of available resources. The distributions of time also reflect "dominant configurations of power and status" (p. 306) within schools and school systems: the time distributions acquire micropolitical significance, which becomes apparent in many ways. For example, within the curriculum the higher status subjects, usually the academic subjects, receive more generous time allocations, receive more favourable scheduling slots, and are more likely to be made compulsory than are the lower status practical subjects. Also related to status is the fact that as one moves up the hierarchy of power and prestige into educational administration, one also moves further away from the classroom, from the conventional definition of what a teacher is. Such status discrepancies as exist between administration and teachers are also present among non-administrative staff: secondary school teachers generally are accorded higher status than are elementary teachers.

Time granted in certain areas of the curriculum affects time available for all subjects and teachers. In particular, elementary teachers have most of their scheduled time allocated to the classroom, reflecting that the dominant conception of teachers' work is classroom work. Relatively speaking, all other activities are seen as peripheral or supplementary. Time spent apart from this core commitment—to plan, prepare, evaluate, and consult—is considered time "away," which is also as much an indicator of status and power as it is an educational need: elementary teachers have less time away from their classes

than do their upper-level counterparts. This practice does not reflect substantial differences in planning and preparation needs so much as it reflects "historically grounded and sex-related" (Hargreaves, 1990, p. 307) differences between two very different teaching traditions. One of these is the elite, male-dominated tradition devoted to educating able students for university, business, and the professions; the other is the largely female-dominated elementary tradition devoted to compulsory education and socializing the young. Hargreaves thus says that arguments for increased planning and preparation time for elementary teachers are only partly related either to actual rational need or to a technical issue of administrative adjustment or improved resourcing. "It is an issue awash with micropolitical implications" (p. 307).

The third dimension of time Hargreaves (1990) discusses is phenomenological time, which can be thought of as the subjective time of teachers with an inner duration that varies from person to person. Schedules and timetables that we may experience as external, constraining, and unalterable are actually the result of subjective decision-making, the outcome of the human structuring of time. Running alongside but at variance with the ordered, linear schedules of the "objective" time of administrators is the subjective, lived time of teachers, which has an inner duration that may vary not only among individuals but also from clock time. The occupations, preoccupations, and related time senses of administrators and innovators often vary considerably from those of classroom teachers, which has implications for

curriculum implementation. In the context of innovation, teachers feel not only pressure and anxiety but also guilt and frustration as a result of excessive time demands if they are implementing a new program less quickly than the administrative timelines specify. From the teachers' perspective, new programs are often imposed with little consideration for the teachers' existing pressures and with little guidance concerning how the new requirements can be integrated into existing routines. If the time expectations appear excessive to teachers, a conflict concerning time perspectives emerges between teachers and administrators, which has ramifications concerning the management of educational change.

A useful way to conceptualize some of these differences is in terms of the distinction previously drawn between monochronic and polychronic time-frames. Monochronic perspectives and the technical-rational conception of time, to which they give rise, ensure that business gets done in large organizations where many separate activities require coordination and integration. Their proponents plough through changes and impose timelines that are often insensitive to the circumstances and to the people who must adapt to the changes. They put more emphasis upon the appearance of achieved change than upon the quality and character of the change itself. In fact, they tend to de-humanize the organization, alienating its members—the teachers, in the case of education—from themselves. This is true especially where a dominant, monochronic, male, administrative culture comes into contact with a

polychronically-inclined, predominantly female membership (teachers) (Hargreaves, 1990). McLaren (1986) has applied the distinction between monochronic and polychronic time-frames to explanations of resistance to schooling among working-class youth. He has shown how working-class adolescents, within their street culture, are immersed in polychronic perspectives where many things happen at once in a complicated, fast-paced set of interpersonal relationships. Such students resist the bureaucratically-controlled, monochronic world of education. Differences in time-frames between teachers and administrators may be just as illuminating as the time-related differences between teachers and students.

Hargreaves (1990) says that elementary school teaching, in particular, has been considered "women's work" (but I would interpolate only since the advent of public schooling), where supervising men predominantly manage the working lives of women. Conflicts and misunderstandings are likely to occur in such a context. Hargreaves' own study of teachers' preparation time in Ontario, he says, illustrates dramatically how teachers' needs may collide with, obstruct, undermine, or redefine the purposes and time allocations of new administrative procedures. A large share of the apparent failure of administratively imposed reform in education can be traced back to the strained juxtaposition of monochronic and polychronic time-frames. A question that program developers should ask is: What does the planned change assume about and imply for teachers' time? As well, once a change has been instituted, there should be a

willingness on the part of the innovators continuously to re-consider timelines and be open to criticism concerning the purposes for re-allocation of teachers' time. Hargreaves challenges the assumption that the fixed, "objective," technical-rational, administrative conception of time is superior to the lived, subjective, phenomenological, teachers' time-frame. He says such an approach begs the question about the validity, relevance, and practicality of time perspectives grounded in one frame of reference for organizing the details of teachers' work, grounded in another frame of reference.

The fourth dimension of time Hargreaves (1990) analyzes is physical time. He refers to Einstein's widely accepted principle that even physical time is relative: there are no absolute, fixed points in either space or time. In this view, objective time as such has no independent physical existence; it is a human construction. Stephen Hawking, through his explanation of theories of relativity, shows how time is related to the speed of light. For example, time slows down as one approaches the speed of light; also, time appears to run more slowly when it approaches a massive body like the earth. I will return shortly to this principle in relation to the fifth dimension of time: the sociopolitical. For now, let us concentrate upon the physical relativity of time. Given that physical time is truly relative, defenders of objective, monochronic, or technical-rational time cannot logically appeal to the natural laws of the physical world to justify the worth and superiority of their particular time perspective. Claims presented for or against the monochronic time-frames of administrators, therefore, must be

evaluated on other grounds, including social and political grounds.

The fifth dimension Hargreaves (1990) discusses is sociopolitical time. He indicates monochronic time-frames prevail administratively in education not because they are more in keeping with the laws of the natural world or because they are more effective educationally or because they are more efficient administratively: they prevail because they are the "prerogative of the powerful" (p. 313). He refers to Berger and Luckmann's principle that those who carry the biggest sticks have the best chance of imposing their definitions of reality. In this respect, the sociopolitical dimension of time—the way particular forms of time have come to be administratively dominant—is central to administrative control of teachers' work and of curriculum implementation. Within this time dimension, two complementary aspects are particularly important: separation and colonization.

An important aspect within the sociopolitical dimension of time is not only the differences in time perspectives between teachers and administrators but also the separation between interest and responsibility. For illustrative purposes, Hargreaves (1990) embarks upon a self-admitted, somewhat risky foray in transposing propositions from the physical to the social world, which he attempts because of the possibility of potentially fruitful insights into education. Let us return to Stephen Hawking, who describes experiments conducted with clocks mounted at the tops and bottoms of water towers, which resulted in the clocks nearer a massive body—the earth—running more slowly. Hargreaves draws an

analogy—concerning the perception of time—between the physical situation of the clocks and water towers, and the social situation of the administrators and teachers. He makes an observation about the process of change and implementation: the further away from the classroom one is, the slower time will seem to pass there. This illustration may help to explain the widely documented impatience administrators have concerning the pace of change in their schools. From the point of view of a single change they are promoting and upon which their professional reputations may in part depend, administrators and innovators perceive change as occurring too slowly. By contrast, teachers perceive a single innovation not as standing apart from all other occurrences in the classroom but as part of a myriad of activities; for them, the pace of change seems much too quick. Individual teachers may have this single change heaped upon multiple other changes—perhaps a new grade assignment, a change in textbooks, a new focus within a subject specialty, and a new collaborative planning initiative, all at once—while coping with the continuing broad spectrum of classroom demands. There actually is a curious relationship: the more unrealistic the implementation timeline is, the more the teachers try to stretch it out to make it manageable; then administrators tend to impose a more rigid timeline or add new imperatives, and a vicious circle ensues.

The result is what Apple (1982, 1986) calls the <u>intensification</u> of teachers' work, which Hargreaves (1990) explains as:

> . . . a bureaucratically driven escalation of pressures, expectations, and

> controls concerning what teachers do and how much they should do within the school day. Much of that somewhat self-defeating process of intensification comes from the discrepant time perspectives and understandings that are embodied in the sharp and widening divisions between administration and teaching, planning and execution, development and implementation. (p. 314)

This process of separation does not cause minor misunderstandings between administrators and teachers concerning time and work; rather, it creates deep-seated differences between two sets of people whose perceptions of daily classroom demands differ remarkably. In addition, administrators do not have to do the work of teachers themselves and probably will never have to do it again. A sympathetic understanding of the problems teachers face is that much more unlikely. Hargreaves suggests the problem is not limited to a lack of meaningful communication: it far surpasses that. He believes the key policy question hinges upon the boundary between administration and teaching. How sharp should the separation be between administrators and teachers? How great should the demarcation be between the planning and actual execution of those plans in the classroom? Why should the development of the curriculum be the sole prerogative of administrators and only the implementation of what has been developed elsewhere be the responsibility of the teachers? If teachers were given not sole responsibility but simply a greater role, for example, in curriculum development and time scheduling, would that lead to more realistic, polychronically sensitive timelines for implementation and improvement?

In addition to separation between interest and responsibility, within the

sociopolitical dimension of time, there also exists colonization. If separation drives the worlds of administration and teaching apart, colonization brings them back together—through a process in which administrators take or colonize teachers' time for their own purposes in the informal, private "back regions" of teachers' working lives, converting them into formal, public "front regions." Hargreaves (1990) indicates it was Erving Goffman (1959) who pointed out and named these two aspects of social life and described their role in occupations which deal with the public. For teachers, backstage regions serve at least three useful functions: they allow for the relief of stress, they foster informal relations that build trust, and they give teachers a measure of personally controlled flexibility (Hargreaves). For example, in a scheduled preparation period, a teacher could go to the staff room, have a cup of coffee, call the garage to see if his car will be ready after school, phone a parent to see why a student has not been doing her homework lately, photocopy a test to avoid the queue at lunch time, chat with a colleague who also has a prep period about a student's recent problem behaviour, share a joke with a colleague to relieve stress—instead of using the prep period to prepare for tomorrow's classes, which the teacher may prefer to do after school. For preparation time, in particular, a key issue is whether teachers will have the discretion and flexibility to use the time in back-region ways, according to present needs, or whether such time will be colonized by administration for its own purposes—such as contrived collegiality or mandated collaboration. Such colonization erodes not only the backstage

characteristics of the staff room, for example, but also teachers' discretion in their use of time and space within it.

Hargreaves (1990) comments that in his study of the use of preparation time in Ontario, evidence being gathered shows that teachers' non-contact time with students is increasingly being colonized by administrators, converting private back regions into public front regions and subjecting teachers to increasing administrative surveillance and control. He admits that the trend is not universal, and some principals are especially understanding and protective of their teachers. There is pressure on principals, however, from their superiors, and the general trend is upon increasing control over teachers through administrative colonization and compartmentalization of teachers' time and space.

Such developments are driven by concerns for productivity and control of workers' use of time, concerns that have surfaced since the growth of time-related management strategies in early industrial capitalism. In that process, time was to be regulated, controlled, compartmentalized, and broken down to ensure it would be used productively rather than squandered. In recent years, the administrative colonization of time and space has become more sophisticated, entailing surveillance over back-region activity to prevent unproductive use of time. Not to seem paranoid, we should at least be on guard concerning any newly scheduled non-contact time for teachers. The key issue for teachers and their federations, in this respect, should be not how much non-

contact time is provided, but how that time is to be used as well as who is to control its use. The issue of control figures prominently in labour-process theory, which is the focus on the following discussion.

Labour-Process Theory Applied to Teachers' Work

> Over the past decade there has been a developing interest in workplace change, stimulated by a desire to make enterprises and economies more productive, efficient and competitive. . . . The mantra of neo-liberal economics is endlessly repeated—economies must become lean, mean and internationally competitive, . . . [which] puts the burden of change on . . . workers. (Foley, 1999, pp. 181-182)

Twenty years ago a number of education theorists began using labour-process theory to explain the changes in teachers' work. They argued that teachers were becoming proletarianized, which Reid (1997) describes as becoming more like industrial workers than professionals. Not only was their work deskilled; it was so arranged that opportunities for the exercise of judgment were eliminated.

According to Larson (1980), in Marxist theory, proletarianization is the complex historical process that produces a working class, locking it into subordination to and conflict with a capitalist class. Increasing numbers of workers, as they sell their labour power, come to work under bureaucratic types of control, which they tend to see ideologically as the embodiment of their alienation. No matter how willingly professional workers may accept their subordination, they are subordinate. They have no control over key financial

resources, and the organizational authority they have is only delegated. Although all their activities are not prescribed, the organizational outcome to which they contribute is predetermined, and rarely can they change it. Of course, the same is also true of managers, even if they have access to high-level decision making; with economic pressure, managers may have to institute cost-reduction, of which their own positions could potentially be the target. Under financial pressure, the focus of managerial policy is clear, however unpredictable its strategies may be: costs must be reduced or productivity must be increased or both. Such a move threatens the prerogatives of privileged workers, if only through the reduction of support facilities and auxiliary lower-level personnel. The next move is to aim cost-effective controls at the work activities of higher-level employees. In public sector human service organizations, where under-financing and overload are compounded by the fiscal crises of the state, attempts to reorganize and rationalize a professional-intensive labour force are commonplace (Larson, 1980).

Larson (1980) identifies, in addition to outright layoffs, three major interrelated tendencies at the level of the labour process of educated and even highly trained workers: the tendency to increase and rigidify the division of labour, the tendency toward intensification of labour, and the tendency toward routinization of high-level tasks. (1) The division of labour leads to the involuntary, narrow specialization of educated workers, which closely parallels the development of the organizational dimension of proletarianization in

manufacturing. Some professionals do have the option of moving into management, but generally "promotion" is horizontal rather than vertical. The widening breech between workers and managers may not be the onset of complete proletarianization, but it signals a growing and potentially irreversible divergence. (2) Of particular interest in relation to teachers is the intensification of their work. Obviously parallel to the speed-ups in manufacturing industries, this process reduces the periods of inactivity or preparation between tasks. Vigilant supervision limits the breaks allowed to lower-level workers; for higher-level employees, the volume of work increases. Heavy workloads often necessitate synchronization and reduce the alternate periods of intense labour and idleness, characteristic of independent producers, to more uniform rhythms. (3) The third tendency of the labour process is the routinization of high-level tasks, resulting in the codifying of operations that are often repeated. Managers who are not experts at those tasks can then use the results of codification to break down operations and reassign tasks to less expensive and less educated workers or even to machines or technology.

Labour-process theory is a social construction. It is not a single theory but has several strands and has been used by a variety of theorists for diverse purposes. A perfect fit, thus, does not exist between it and teaching. For example, the alienation of workers is generally taken to include technical, economic, organizational, and political dimensions. Because of the methods of acquisition of knowledge and because of the hierarchy of unevenly distributed

knowledge in our society, teachers' high-level training constitutes a fairly secure barrier against technical alienation, although teachers do have to exert extra effort to keep up with, let alone advance in, their subject specialties. Larson (1980) indicates, however, that for many, if not most, educated workers, the economic and organizational dimensions of alienation are real, but their sense of loss is relative: it is a loss of power in the labour market and workers' subjection to bureaucratic modes of work organization. Many educated workers may experience organizational alienation, though, with unconscious reference to an image of the autonomous professional, entitled to privilege by his or her education and contributions to social welfare. The failure to secure expected rewards is significant. Its effects depend upon a complex relationship between a worker's sense of entitlement, his or her actual work life, and the compensations of life outside work (as will later be seen, for example, in chapter six, in the discussion of Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers). When a society promises advancement through education but withholds its rewards, cynicism and anger come easily; but what people do depends upon ideological constructions and the possibilities of action that have historically been available. Even more privileged educated workers can experience political alienation in their work lives. It is significant that so many of them are directly or indirectly dependent upon government budgets and programs and that the government's priorities affect not only their work but also their chances to find work for which they have been educated. Especially in the public sector, there

may be challenges to the present definition of social needs and the present allocation of resources. The immediate political potential of work-related action lies in the direct relation of public service workers to the government, a relationship that distinguishes them from educated labourers and industrial workers in capitalist employment and requires the discovery of new collective strategies that deliberately become political (Larson, 1980).

Foley (1999) argues that an understanding of labour-process theory is essential to a proper understanding of workplace change. Reid (1997) maintains that if we ignore labour-process theory in education, we are forfeiting the use of a potentially powerful lens through which to understand what is happening to the work of teachers. He asserts that an emphasis on control of teachers is a constant in recent accounts—control that operates at the level of the labour process of teachers' work. He says if political strategies are to be developed by and on behalf of educators to regain a greater degree of control over their work, then it is important to analyze and understand why, how, and with what effects control operates.

For the first time since Marx made it central to his understanding of class struggle a century before, Braverman (1974) reopened the labour process as a serious enquiry. According to Reid (1997), Braverman accepted the main components of Marx's understanding of the labour process: that the harnessing of labour power to the accumulation of capital creates a basic conflict of interests between workers and capitalists. Like Marx, he argued that since

workers cannot be relied upon to work in the best interests of capital, then control is necessary for capital to reap the full potential of the labour it employs. It is this need for coercive control that determines the structure and experience of work in a capitalist society and that produces class struggle.

An analysis of why control is central to an understanding of the labour process might begin with an illustration of factory workers in an industry. The production process requires labour to work attentively on raw materials using instruments of production, such as the industrial plant and equipment, to make goods or produce services. In a capitalist system, the capitalist "owns" all three factors of production, and the purpose of production is to make a profit. Thus, when a worker enters the labour market, he or she must find an employer willing to pay a wage or salary in return for the disposal of his or her skill, knowledge, or physical capacities. In essence, labour power has the status of a commodity, and in market relationships, the interests of buyers and sellers are antagonistic. In the labour market, the employee will try to obtain the best possible wages and working conditions, while the employer views labour power as a cost to be minimized. Once labour power is purchased, the capitalist organizes the labour process. Then labour power is brought into a relationship with the instruments of production and the raw materials to produce useful products or services. At the conclusion of this process, the products of labour are sold, and the capitalist converts his or her property back into money. If capital gets back more than was initially invested, then the capitalist has made a

profit.

Reid (1997) says the labour process can be understood as an aspect of the cycle of capital. When employers hire workers, there is no guarantee that workers will fulfil the employer's production goals, since workers obtain employment to receive wages and may provide only the minimum effort to ensure their continued employment. The employer has thus purchased labour potential. It is the function of management, through its hierarchy of control, not only to turn the workers' capacity to work into actual productive activity but also to extract surplus value to realize a profit. The central question of labour-process analysis is <u>how</u> management transforms the potential for work (labour power) into actual work effort (labour). There is, therefore, a control imperative in capitalist employment relations. In this context, a distinction must be drawn between control and coordination, which is required in all social production. Coordination involves organizing the elements of production so they mesh efficiently. The role of coordination is given to management, a group that normally receives more pay and greater privileges than direct producers. As the scale of production and work become more specialized in capitalist production systems, management not only coordinates but now also acts on behalf of capital to maximize accumulation by extracting labour from the labour power "owned" by the company. Now management and workers are placed in a hierarchy, with the former seeking to control the latter to extract the maximum surplus from them. Control thus becomes the ability of capitalists or their

managers to obtain the desired work behaviour from their workers. The question here is not whether control exists in capitalist production but how it is exercised and with what effect.

Reid (1997) claims that although the labour process of state teachers is defined by the state rather than by competition in the market, the result is similar. With teaching, there are also three factors of production: the instruments of production, the raw materials, and labour power. The instruments of production include the education resources that exist in any school, such as the building, equipment, and teaching resources; these are owned by the state and provided from taxes. The raw materials are the students, who are not "owned" by anyone but are cared for by their parents or care-givers, and by the state in the sense that they are present and future citizens; the raw materials also include the knowledge or "cultural capital" (Reid, 1997, p. 9) that the education system seeks to impart. The state owns the labour power of its teachers in the sense of purchasing it in the labour market. Then the employer, the state, organizes these three factors into relationships of production; this organization thus constitutes the labour process of teaching. The purpose of the production process is to fuse the raw materials—students and knowledge—to produce skilled labour power and enculturated citizens. Hence, formal education is a process of value-adding to students, who become citizens and potential workers (Reid, 1997). Concerning what value is added to students, Connell (1995) argues that the object of teachers' work is the

development of the "capacity for social practice" (p. 97), which involves helping students to acquire learning strategies that will benefit not only those students but, in the long run, society as well. The capacity for social practice has economic, ideological, and political dimensions. It includes the ability to labour; the capacity for social interaction, involving identity formation, communication, and culture; and the ability to engage responsibly in political life.

Reid (1997) maintains that the labour process of state teachers has two aspects: relational and practical. The relational aspect involves social relationships between teachers and others in the education community—including students, parents or care-givers, non-teaching staff, administrators, and bureaucrats. The practical aspect involves the employer—the state—bringing the three factors of production into a workable relationship, which means ensuring that teachers use their skills and the educational resources available to them to facilitate the development of their students' capacity for social practice.

To achieve this end, I personally have engaged in or have witnessed other teachers engaged in (but not limited to) the following activities: in-class teaching, tutoring/time with individual students, class preparation, preparation of individual or individual-modified program plans (IPPs and IMPs), marking/ grading, preparing report cards, other paperwork, supervision (in-school, school yard, class trips), collaboration with other teachers, committee work, work-related meetings, parent communication, work-related telephone calls, student

discipline, administration (telephoning, organizing), extra-curricular activities, professional development, other teaching-related activities (shopping for project materials, work-related travel, etc.), and coping with changing job demands.

As numerous and disparate as these tasks are, there is a pattern. Reid (1997) says teachers' work is organized to produce the outcome required by the state. Common features of this organizational pattern currently include dividing students according to age, assigning classrooms for groups of students to work with individual teachers, carving knowledge into subject or curriculum areas, separating teachers in secondary schools according to subject specialties or in primary schools according to more general expertise, and so on. The glue holding all these activities together is the curriculum. The formal curriculum—including not just the content of subject specialties but also aims, methods, sequence, and assessment—builds upon the hidden curriculum—including the organizational arrangements and practices that establish the accepted way to function in classrooms, schools, and educational systems. Together the formal and hidden curricula prescribe the capacities for social practice and define the task of teaching. Reid thus concludes the curriculum is "the main specification of the labour process of teaching" (p. 11).

So far I have argued that control is central to labour-process theory, that public school teachers have a labour process, and that the labour process of teachers is defined by the curriculum; but <u>why</u> should the government need to control the work of teachers? There are at least three possible reasons. First, if

schools are to function, certain work activities must be undertaken; however, there is less need for supervisory control here. Teachers are generally sufficiently motivated and socialized through their own schooling and pre-service training already to have a well developed work ethic. The second reason for control relates to economic rationalism. The government is under constant pressure to reduce the cost of public sector activities, while still meeting the needs of communities. One option is for the state to expect its workers to do more with the same or fewer resources. Reid (1997) says that can be accomplished by reorganizing work practices or wringing out more effort from teachers or both. Since most teachers truly care about the quality of the education they are helping provide, they may challenge or try to work around new imperatives in an effort to resist the intensification of their work. For that reason, attempts to reduce government expenditure on education may be accompanied by control strategies. The third reason to control teachers differs from that of other government workers: it refers to the school curriculum. An object of education concerns fostering in students the capacity for social practice, but the relative importance and meaning of each of the capacities for practice and the purposes to which they should be put are contested. Since the school curriculum is a major conveyance of cultural definition and transmission, a goal of these battles has been to control curriculum knowledge (Reid, 1997)—and, in this way, to control citizens, as Russell was never tired of pointing out. Hence, a need exists to keep alive the spirit of liberal education

outlined in chapter two.

As mentioned in chapter one, at least four groups may have competing priorities: (1) employers have a vested interest in ensuring that the public school system produces workers who have appropriate work skills, so they may argue for a work-oriented curriculum; (2) teachers may be committed to promoting liberal education to foster the development of the whole child; (3) post-secondary institutions may want to maintain a competitive academic curriculum to weed out weaker students; and (4) marginalized groups may agitate for a more inclusive curriculum. Apple (1993) argues that curriculum decisions about what is taught, to whom, when, and how result from these struggles. From the foregoing, it is possible to conclude that a bureaucratic ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education, resulting—among other things—in the intensification of teachers' work, as a (likely) unintended side-effect of the government's attempts to control costs and thus curry favour with the public.

In the curriculum struggle, the state does not play a neutral role; it helps to broker compromises among the contending parties. Then it encounters the task of ensuring that its employees, the teachers, implement the preferred curriculum. A complex process unfolds, however, before that point is reached. Ball (1994) maintains that the capitalist state has core functions to perform that involve three kinds of problems: "(a) the problem of capital accumulation and economic efficiency; (b) the problem of social order, social authority and

stability; and (c) the technical and managerial problems of the state itself—governance and control (legal and administrative procedures), costs (public spending) and planning" (p. 5). These problems can and often do produce contradictory demands, and thus ensue struggles between more powerful and less powerful groups. State policy, however, is constituted to serve the public interest, not just the interests of dominant groups. Reid (1997) refers to Gramsci, who argues that hegemony is never complete; counterhegemonic alliances manoeuvre for leadership. To prevent such forces from mobilizing, hegemonic power blocs take account of some interests of slightly less powerful groups by organizing compromises, which are sometimes referred to as settlements or accords. Such provisional social settlements establish an agreed-upon framework that sets the parameters for social practice and for ongoing debate for a specified time. Thus, there is agreement concerning a range of issues over which there might be disagreement and the structures for the resolution of conflict. It is through such compromises that minority and marginalized groups can exert some influence on government policy, and discontent is kept within parameters that do not threaten more privileged groups.

These settlements, however, often embody contradictions that produce outcomes at odds with each other. Such contradictions, combined with changes in social and political contexts, over time lead to an unsettling of accords. After the breakdown of a settlement, social forces struggle to redefine the social

order. Eventually new settlements are forged, which may either advance or diminish any gains made by marginal groups. Reid (1997) contends that at any given time there may be a number of provisional settlements, some of which are more crucial than others for the maintenance of overall social structures and processes. Provisional settlements in pivotal arenas such as economic and political practice can establish agendas and parameters for debate not only in their own but also in other areas. Education, for example, is one aspect of social practice that is strongly influenced by the prevailing provisional settlements within the economic, political, and cultural sectors, which means that public schools, as apparatuses of the state, are under intense pressure. Since education plays a major role in the state's often contradictory roles of establishing the conditions both for capital accumulation and for democratic practice, the creation and continuance of provisional educational accords is often characterized by contestation and struggle. The resulting educational compromise becomes embedded in the public school curriculum. It follows that teachers are crucial to the successful implementation of any educational settlement, and they must be <u>controlled</u> to ensure that they respond appropriately. Of course, teachers do resist, and they sometimes make demands to which the state acquiesces. Reid argues, however, that such changes are rarely evidence of a significant empowerment of teachers; rather, they are more likely indicative of shifts in the way control is operating.

For example, the bureaucratic promotion of collegiality might superficially

appear to be empowering to teachers in their plea for more control over their work. Smyth (1991), however, questions whether it might just be another way of sedimenting control into the labour process of teaching. Broadly characterized as "teachers conferring and collaborating with other teachers" or expressed as a form of "on-the-job professional development" (Smyth, 1991, p. 323), collegiality is becoming something of a new orthodoxy as far as educational policy makers are concerned. Smyth says the collegial approach may appear to offer a challenging counter-discourse to technicist views, but he believes the presumption behind the team concept is that it will have the power to unleash the kind of teacher creativity necessary to produce the educated labour required for economic recovery. He proposes that "The widespread rekindled interest in teacher collaboration is neither incidental nor accidental, but . . . it is part of a broader strategy . . . to harness teachers more effectively to the work of economic reconstruction" (p. 325). The irony is that while teachers and schools are being told they should be more responsive to local needs, they are also being told in no uncertain terms what the outcomes must be and how they must strive to meet national priorities and enhance international competitiveness. Teachers, thus, are supposedly being given more autonomy at the school level at the same time that the parameters within which they are expected to work and against which they will be evaluated are being tightened. Hargreaves and Dawe (1989) describe this paradox as peculiar since teachers "are apparently being urged to collaborate more, just at the moment when there

is less for them to collaborate about" (p. 3).

Smyth (1991) speaks of forces that operate from a distance and cautions that, in an era of increased centralism, we must be mindful of external forces that would institutionalize collegiality but use it to serve their own ends, not those of teachers or students, which he describes as "hanging on while letting go" (p. 326). He refers to "lead teacher" programs in the United States and "the advanced skills teacher" (p. 325) in Australia as examples of mandated collegiality. Speaking from a Canadian perspective, Grimmett (1990) says this approach places the emphasis upon ". . . fulfilling the form of collegiality without regard for the spirit . . . of interdependence. It is as if it has become mandatory that practitioners collaborate voluntarily" (p. 1). This description fits well with Hargreaves and Dawe's (1989) characterization not of spontaneously occurring but of "contrived collegiality" as:

> . . . a set of formal, specific bureaucratic procedures to increase the attention being given to joint teacher planning and consultation. It can be seen in initiatives such as peer coaching, mentor teaching, joint planning in specially provided rooms, formally scheduled meetings[,] and clear job descriptions and planning programs for those in consultative roles. These sorts of initiatives are administrative contrivances [emphasis added] designed to get collegiality going in schools where little has existed before. . . . Contrived collegiality is also meant to assist the successful implementation of new approaches and techniques from the outside [emphasis added] into a more responsive and supportive school culture. (p. 19)

Hargreaves and Dawe's evaluation may be somewhat cynical; more positively, it might be seen as providing space, opportunity, and encouragement for collegial behaviour.

Smyth (1991) refers to the dual crisis of "capital accumulation and democratic legitimation" (p. 326) currently afflicting Western capitalist economies: on one hand, their desire to produce the right kind of labour power to serve the requirements of capital (and thus the strong move toward centralization of the curriculum to ensure conformity), while on the other hand devising ways to maximize the understanding teachers have concerning how learning occurs (hence the move to acknowledge teachers' practical knowledge and to promote their working collaboratively). Smyth says one of the reasons the educational reform movement of the 1970s was so tremendously unsuccessful was that its leaders believed educational change could successfully be driven from outside without the knowledge, consent, or active participation of teachers as insiders. In labour-process terms what this means is that in the capitalistic system, there is on-going tension between treating workers as commodities to be hired and fired or trying to harness their ingenuity and cooperation. Smyth says, "Management has always been caught on a cleft stick" (p. 327), wanting simultaneously to control the work process by prescribing knowledge and action, but at the same time realizing they are unable to maximize output unless they successfully appropriate workers' knowledge. Connell (1985) notes the difference between thinking of "teachers as key actors in the social processes affecting education" (p. 3) or of assuming them to be "hardly a problem at all . . . [but] . . . more or less well-controlled agents of the capitalist system" (p. 2). Hartley (1986), speaking of the situation in Scotland,

says the collaborative model of staff development being mandated there was regarded by policy makers as being preferable to the directive model, but consultation occurred only within various levels of the educational bureaucracy. He says, in the end, "The needs of officialdom will prevail over those of teachers" (p. 233). I believe a paternalistic attitude is rather obvious among those bureaucrats. Smyth maintains that while the outward appearance is of teachers being sold a collaborative model, the reality is that through the management of consent, teachers continue to be servants of the state. He says there is a non-directive management strategy at work which may seem modern but which really amounts to eliciting teachers' compliance to old, underlying forms of authoritarianism.

Smyth (1991) argues that educational reform—through such efforts as the promotion of collegiality—is far more complex than looking for evidence of legislative mandates, the imposition of standardized curricula, or the use of particular learning modules. Hargreaves and Reynolds (1989) say reform even involves policies of structuring day-to-day business that discourages deviance even before it occurs! The power relationships that become important do not necessarily seem overtly oppressive but rather reside in the nature and changing texture of the work of teaching itself.

Smyth (1991) asserts that while it may have served short-term interests to scapegoat schools for the alleged ills of the economy, schools have not proven capable of providing the kind of economic revitalization necessary, mainly

because the problem goes far beyond school systems: it stems from the Western system of capitalism itself. Lauder (1987) says the recent crisis has been triggered by falling rates of profit, leading to declining capital accumulation. He adds that the chronic tendency of capitalism to produce crises also creates a legitimation crisis because when capitalism fails, its proponents require some ideology that can obscure the central fact that its crises are triggered by its own exploitative processes. It is a vicious circle: the gains made by the working class in increasing its social wage—wages plus such state benefits as health care and education—cause profitability to decline, which produces a crisis in capital accumulation, and on and on.

While it is unlikely that many people, teachers or others, are likely to be upset by spontaneously occurring collegiality, when the technique is force-fed internationally, it merits a closer look. The strategy may give the outward appearance of a collaborative way of working, but closer inspection may reveal a policy that co-opts teachers and gives them little more than control over the implementation aspects of teaching in a context of rigidly formulated and centrally prescribed educational directives. It has been argued that the contradictory responses of capitalist economic systems to crises of accumulation and legitimation may be at the root of the problem. Smyth (1991) argues that if contrived collegiality is being used as a managerial tool in the guise of a professional development process to coerce teachers to do the work of economic reconstruction, then no one should be surprised if teachers find a way

to work around it. That is not to say, however, that teachers could not find a way to use collaboration for their own purposes!

L. Chisholm (1999) maintains that labour-process theory, with respect to the relationships and forms of organization that characterize teachers' work, is based upon at least four assumptions: that education is a social process, that schools are conflictual workplaces, that teachers are involved in the social production of capacities for labour, and that the labour process is a strategic component of any large-scale process of social change. She mentions that in advanced capitalist contexts, in particular, the market promotes commercial purposes and forms of work organization at the expense of those of public service and social welfare. Recently attracting a great deal of attention in relation to labour-process debates is human capital theory, in which the role of teachers is reconceptualized in narrow terms as producers of human capital— people with necessary skills and knowledge—for economic growth and competitiveness. New practices centred on marketing and management have emerged to ensure the restructuring of controls over teachers, for example, concerning the content, pace, and volume of their work, often resulting in considerable overload and stress. Chisholm argues that education policies are increasingly being influenced by the global conjuncture and impact of new ideologies concerned on the one hand with the reduction of public expenditure on education and the resulting intensification of teachers' work, and on the other hand with modifying teachers' roles so that they become producers of human capital for an increasingly competitive global

market rather than citizens who work to democratize society.

Human capital theory is also of interest to Thurow (1996). He explains that in the new global economy, some industries decline in importance (such as coal and steel), while others increase in importance (such as microelectronics, biotechnology, telecommunications, and computers). Comparative advantage now depends upon the capacity of nations and corporations effectively to exploit new technologies and human capital, and governments and companies are under pressure to develop workers' skills. Within corporations more functional forms of organization emerge as companies downsize—shedding large numbers of workers, squeezing more from those who remain, and eliminating layers of management in an effort to become more productive and competitive. Two major changes that have resulted are a massive cultural change as human values are shaped by profit-maximizing electronic media and a massive increase in inequality. Thurow speaks of a low wage, low social welfare strategy spreading as country after country scrambles to compete in the global market.

Brenner (1998) discusses the downturn in the world economy beginning in the early 1970s, characterized by low rates of growth in output, productivity, profitability, investment, and real wages, combined with increasing social inequality and high rates of unemployment and poverty. This combination constitutes an ongoing economic and political crisis, one indicator of which includes a massive reduction of the primary (permanent, unionized) labour force and a sharp increase in the secondary (temporary, casual) labour force. Brenner

adds that the recent tentative economic recovery of the U.S. has been won at the direct expense of its main economic rivals and especially its working class.

As one can see, significant social costs have accompanied the transformation of the world economy and the organizational changes that have gone along with it. An examination of teachers' work—from the perspectives of time and teachers' work and labour-process theory applied to teachers' work—has revealed significant expectations for the process of education and increased pressures upon teachers to perform. An analysis of workplace change has shown that work is both a technical and social activity, that it requires coordination or management, that there are struggles over the management of teachers' work, and that there are connections between changes in the political economy and changes in the workplace. Thus, a relationship exists between the nature of teachers' work and its connection with broader social processes. If teachers are to seek changes in their working conditions, I believe it is necessary that they and those who work on their behalf, such as teachers' unions, be as well informed as possible about the nature of government control of teachers: why, how, and with what effects controls are imposed. Labour process theory is central to such an understanding.

When we look back to the discussion of liberal education in chapter two, it now becomes obvious that a threat to liberal education exists if teachers' work takes the direction sketched out in chapter three. Teachers themselves are being controlled and not treated as liberally educated, and they cannot

effectively pursue the goals of liberal education in this climate. When we look ahead to the discussion of professionalism in chapter four, it is apparent that teachers who are controlled in the way described are not being treated as professionals, which explains why it is important for us to think about the concept of professionalism in the context of teaching. Perhaps this notion will help us to appreciate why the controls being imposed are problematic.

Chapter Four

Professionalism

> The profession of teaching must be open to general social changes but must maintain a professional identity through these changes. (Downie, 1990, p. 159)

Among the strongest influences impacting upon teachers' conception of their work and their identities as workers are ideologies of professionalism, especially at a time when teachers' work is rapidly changing and controls are being imposed, as we saw in the last chapter. One aspect of professionalism is autonomy, and autonomy is one goal of liberal education, as discussed in chapter two. If teachers are not treated as professionals, with a degree of autonomy, they can hardly serve as exemplars of this ideal of liberal education. Before analyzing teachers' professionalism, this chapter will examine competing accounts of professionalism (functionalist analysis—a largely universalist and ahistorical view—and the Foucauldian account—portraying professionalism as varying culturally and historically) and consider the relationship between professionalism and power. Following that we will discuss traits and phases of teacher professionalism and teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring (which, as indicated in my hypothesis, is often in direct conflict with the bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism). Then we will consider some professional paradoxes and metaphors teachers use to describe their professional lives. We will see that the nature of professionalism

is socially constructed, malleable, and contested. Those who are seeking to find ways to reconcile professional responsibility and democratic accountability thus need to take into account and reflect upon different aspects and views of professionalism.

Functionalist Analysis vs. the Foucauldian Account

The constructed nature of professionalism allows for more than one analytical account of the professions. Functionalist analysis portrays professional specialization divided into distinct areas of expertise as the inevitable product of the division of labour. On this view, professionalism is the outcome of a process of rationalization that provides for the most efficient way of organizing and applying increasingly complex knowledge to the regulation and maintenance of the social order. By linking the development and function of the professions to so-called objective notions of truth, knowledge, and rationalization, functional analysis presents a largely universalist and ahistorical account of the professions (Fournier, 1999), even though such broad notions as truth, for example, can—on occasion—be interpreted in context.

By contrast, the Foucauldian account suggests that what comes to count as professional expertise or competence is not the simple reflection and organization of truth. Rather, competence has to be established and continuously re-negotiated with stakeholders and in terms of criteria, varying historically and culturally—for example, clients versus customers, public good

versus efficiency. According to Foucauldian analysis, the possession of truth or expertise is not sufficient for establishing the professions because truth is indeterminate and contestable. It is the construction of truth and of its legitimacy in the eyes of other stakeholders that constitutes the professions. Thus the development, power, and status of the professions may be understood within the historical context of liberal forms of government typical of modern Western societies, rather than as the outcome of a universal and inevitable process of rationalization. In addition, the move toward advanced liberalism suggests that the professions may need to re-construct their practice and legitimacy in terms of market-related criteria rather than just truth-related criteria (Fournier, 1999).

The Foucauldian emphasis on the historical and contingent nature of the professions suggests that the meaning of professionalism is contestable because it can be constructed around various alignments and connections—for example, between professional competence and the public good or professional competence and efficiency. That problematizes the functionalist analysis of the role of the professions in maintaining social cohesion. Since the meaning of professionalism is not fixed but negotiated and contestable, the disciplinary logic of professionalism can never be total but is fragmented and subject to various forms of resistance or re-articulation. For example, invoking the forces of globalization has been a favourite image in managerial discourse, and it has served to legitimize various programs of organizational restructuring. Once the

discourse of professionalism pervades organizational life, it becomes difficult for employees not to align themselves with it or not to think of themselves as professional because not doing so could mean being marked as unprofessional. However, there is still space for resistance: adopting the discourse of professionalism does not necessitate accepting the way professionalism is articulated by a particular organization (Fournier, 1999).

Fournier (1999) analyzes professionalism as a disciplinary logic that inscribes "autonomous" professional practice within a network of accountability and that controls professionalism "at a distance" (p. 280) through the construction of appropriate work identities and conduct. An important aspect here is the self-regulation or autonomy the professions have enjoyed in setting the standards governing their training, practice, and conduct. The appeal to professionalism as a device of control needs to be understood in the context of a shift in the practices of work organization toward flexible strategies of capitalist accumulation. The introduction of flexible working practices associated with advanced capitalism creates a discretionary gap that needs to be regulated through new methods of control: the appeal to professionalism is one of the strategies deployed to control work through the articulation of competence. Fournier is not saying that professionalism is a myth, but she contends that it can be manipulated to persuade workers to collaborate in their own exploitation, a thought echoed by Hargreaves (1991).

Fournier (1999) discusses the role of expertise and the professions in the

liberal art of government. She says for Foucault, liberalism is not only a political ideology but a rationality for governing everyday conduct. A distinctive aspect about liberalism is its attempt to reconcile freedom (of individuals, of the market) and control. Hence, liberalism contrasts with earlier forms of government rationality, such as the police state, in that it is critical of sovereign power. Liberalism governs through freedom: the government requires of the governed that they freely conduct themselves in a rational, appropriate way. Central to the constitution of appropriate selves is expertise, which can govern individual conduct at a distance rather than through domination over oppressed subjects. Liberal government thus depends upon intellectual technologies, practical activities and the social authority associated with expertise, and the self-regulating capacities of subjects. Expertise acquires its authority partly through professionalization; the professions, however, cannot govern from a position of independence, since this is never established once and for all but is continuously contested and re-negotiated. Thus, the professions need to establish and continuously work at maintaining their legitimacy. The prime mechanism of legitimation is the articulation of competence, which inscribes professional conduct within a network of accountability to clients and to the profession itself. Being a professional is not only about absorbing a body of knowledge and gaining a recognized credential but is also about constituting and conducting oneself appropriately. Through the notion of competence, truth and knowledge are translated into a code of appropriate conduct. These codes,

however, can also be contested by the membership, so it is not the same as being indoctrinated into a fixed and final body of doctrine (an unchangeable code). Thus, truth governs not by controlling directly the acts or even the knowledge of the professional, but by ensuring the professional is the sort of person who can be trusted with truth, for example, through careful selection and socialization. Thus, an important characteristic of professional competence is its reliance on technologies of the self rather than on technologies of domination.

Fournier (1999) analyzes the notion of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism that governs conduct at a distance. The disciplinary logic refers to the network of accountability within which the professions have to inscribe their practice and expertise to establish and maintain their place in liberal government. This disciplinary logic operates through forging connections among various actors (for example, the state, the client, the sovereign customer), criteria of legitimacy (for example, truth, efficiency, public good), professional competence, and personal conduct. Over the last fifty years, the multiple agents and forces that form the network of liberal government have changed dramatically from what could be termed welfare liberalism to advanced liberalism. Although expertise and the professions are central to both forms, advanced liberalism involves a change in the rules by which the professions can establish their legitimacy. Advanced liberalism inscribes the professions in the market and broadens the accountability to include market criteria. This diversity in the way professions can establish their legitimacy and be made accountable is

important because it highlights the constructed and political nature of the professions. The negotiable nature of professionalism is apparent in the way the professions have remodeled themselves in the face of managerialism: while some have aligned themselves with commercialism, others have sought to protect their professionalism by distancing themselves from managerialism. I believe the teaching profession belongs in the latter category.

As we saw in chapter three, in relation to labour-process theory, the problem of control and consent within the labour process has always been a dilemma for capitalist production; however, the way the dilemma is managed is subject to historical and cultural shifts as economic, political, and social conditions change. The globalization of competition and the proliferation of information technology at present contribute to the increased uncertainty and pace of change, which result in new ways of organizing capitalist production and governing employees. For example, granting workers more independence to allow for innovation and ultimately more productive behaviour calls for a move away from direct techniques of control and toward the appropriation of control by employees themselves (Fournier, 1999). The appeal of professionalism is obvious. Fournier suggests a viable and meaningful form of professionalism is possible, albeit difficult.

Professionalism and Power

As we saw previously, a discussion of professionalism necessarily involves the notion of power. "Power, as it is conceived in many calls for teacher empowerment, only represents the most visible aspect of its functioning . . . the traditional power of political and legal theory which sees power as . . . a right which is granted or taken away" (Ross, 1993, p. 210). Foucault calls such power juridical to stress its legal/contractual nature. He says juridical power operates by means of laws and rights, concerning what is permitted and forbidden (Ross, 1993). Teacher empowerment arguments that recommend granting new powers to teachers are based on such a view of power. If, however, the power concerned with teaching is not held as in this juridical model, Ross believes it is unrealistic that teachers can be empowered in the ways generally suggested in the literature. Foucault argues that in addition to juridical, sovereign power, there exists disciplinary power, which operates largely undetected (Ross, 1993), perhaps somewhat like the hidden curriculum in schools. It is such disciplinary power or coercion, which operates beyond the effective reach of the law, that dominates the teacher's world. This form of power concerns not rights but norms. Its function is to create useful subjects who conform to a standard—not critical thinkers who have the ability and inclination to reason for themselves without external direction, which of course means that teachers are not empowered.

Such norms may result from the dominant research tradition of process-product research, also known as teacher effectiveness research, which assesses the relationship between what teachers do when teaching (the process) and what students achieve, apparently as a result of this teaching (the product). The emphasis is upon the teacher's transmission of basic facts and skills by having students memorize facts, rules, concepts, or procedures. Teachers who follow the advice of process-product researchers are not encouraged to appeal to the reasoning or critical thinking of students but more to keep them "on task" and provide direct instruction. Teacher effectiveness research is thus an attempt to standardize the way teachers teach by establishing pedagogical norms of effectiveness which, in turn, define good practice and provide the means to identify poor teaching—and, in this way, turn teachers into competent technicians rather than reflective professionals.

Pedagogical norms are politically powerful in that once they have been accepted, they discipline individuals into conformity with them. Teachers are then pressured to standardize their teaching practices, and students are "homogenized," as it were, to exhibit a narrow range of competencies, to permit the making of comparisons, and to rank both teachers and students. Thus teachers are governed heteronomously rather than encouraged to act independently. The authority of such educational research or "expert wisdom" may bully teachers into teaching as they are told or, as Foucault says, cause teachers to accept someone else's authority when their own reason is called for.

Erickson says this process places external limits on a teacher's capacity to reflect critically on his or her own practice (Ross, 1993).

Norms provide a standard against which individuals can be judged. Hence, the disciplinary power of such educational research disempowers both teachers and students by placing them in an environment of subtle coercions. "Though it is most often to some notion of sovereign power that we appeal, it is against the effects of disciplinary power that we make these appeals" (Ross, 1993, p. 211). Thus, teacher empowerment advocates appeal to those they believe hold power and can grant it, while failing to realize they may be "looking in the wrong place and talking to the wrong people" (p. 211)! Foucault notes that although modern society seems to set legal limits on the exercise of power, a force exists on the underside of the law that supports the asymmetry of power and undermines these legal limits (Ross). I believe one way to combat disciplinary power, in the form of research findings, is to question the legitimacy of the norms used to govern education by teachers taking a critical stance toward "expert knowledge" used to develop generalizations regarding the best way to teach and learn. However, it is not so much the generalizations per se that are the problem but the way they are held, as Russell might have said. Here critical thinking and open-mindedness are of great importance when considering the relationship between power and professionalism in teaching. Skeptics, of course, would say that teachers cannot challenge these subtle coercions, but I believe they can.

Teacher Professionalism: Traits and Phases

Rather than attempt to present a definition of professionalism or a strict set of necessary and sufficient conditions, it might be more useful to discuss some traits that give the profession of teaching its social significance. Since the concept of professions and professionalism, as has been mentioned, is not only malleable but still evolving, it should also be helpful to consider the phases it has already undergone.

One characteristic that gives teaching social importance is that, ideally, the professional teacher has skills and expertise that proceed from a broad knowledge base. It is necessary, however, that teachers adopt a critical stance toward prevailing ideas, expert wisdom, educational research, government policies, and established school practices in order to work in the best interests of their students. A second trait of a professional teacher is that he or she provides a service to clients by means of a special relationship consisting of an attitude (a desire to help plus a sense of integrity) and a bond (constituted by the role relationship he or she has with the student). The relationship, consisting of legal and ethical rights and duties, is authorized by an institutional body and legitimized by public esteem. Third, to the extent that the public does recognize the authority of the professional, teachers have the social function of speaking out, both individually and collectively, on broad maters of public policy and justice, going beyond their duties to specific clients. Fourth, in order to discharge these functions, the professional teacher must be relatively

independent of the influence of the state or commerce. A profession can still have a degree of independence within certain constraints set by the cashier—for example, in education, the views of the public, including parents. To reject this requirement in the name of independence is to be unduly paternalistic. Fifth, a professional teacher must be educated as distinct from merely trained in a narrow sense, as discussed by R. S. Peters (1966). The educated person has a wide cognitive perspective and can see the place of his or her skills within that perspective, and the educated person continues to develop his or her knowledge and skills within a framework of values (Downie, 1990). Sixth, to be morally legitimate, I believe the professional must be committed to the central ideals of the profession and must manifest integrity with respect to them. Seventh, teachers' professionalism should be based upon both moral and ethical principles stemming from caring concerns and striving for collaborative cultures (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000).

Proudford (1998), in a study conducted in Australia, attempted to gain a grounded practitioner sense of professionalism by asking teachers how they conceptualized professionalism in their work. There are some similarities to the foregoing list but also additional noteworthy traits. Although each of the teachers characterized the notion in a distinctive way, some pervasive themes are apparent: (1) professional knowledge and expertise, (2) awareness of individual students' needs, (3) commitment to improving student outcomes, (4) willingness to engage in ongoing professional development, (5) preparedness

to be held professionally accountable, and (6) willingness to work as a member of a team. Teachers reported that their sense of professionalism stemmed from such practices as engagement in classroom activities, collaboration in the development of worthwhile work programs, and school-wide involvement in decision-making—which demonstrates a link between whole-school involvement, improved classroom practice, and a sense of professionalism.

In contrast to a school climate and culture which provided opportunities for participatory decision making, promoted collaborative working relations, and enabled teachers to respond to the needs of their particular students, however, teachers in the schools Proudford (1998) studied believed that policy makers worked against teachers' professionalism because policy development provided little opportunity for teachers' voice, involvement, or ownership. Of particular concern to teachers were the scope and pace of educational policy change, its fragmentary and transitory nature, and policy makers' lack of understanding of the day-to-day realities of teaching. Thus, while those teachers generally saw their school leaders as promoting teachers' professionalism, they regarded the Department of Education, through its top-down approach to policy implementation, as deprofessionalizing the work of teaching. Notwithstanding school administrators' regard for the well-being of their staff, their approach was regarded as problematic insofar as it acted as a buffer between the broader educational policy context and school practice and denied teachers the opportunity to critique policy or deliberate on the purposes and directions of

education as expressed in policy documents. Proudford discovered it was not only difficult for teachers to respond to rapid change but also difficult for them to understand why change was necessary. From our discussion of teachers' work in chapter three and our analysis of professionalism so far, it is obvious that the changing nature of teachers' work is putting pressure on the traditional ideals of professionalism in teaching.

Over the years, several suggestions have surfaced concerning how teachers can take a more active role in helping to shape policy; however, the crux of the problem appears to be that policy makers generally do not really want to listen to teachers' voices. Even if they do not, however, teachers can still exercise some control through their approach to policy change: they can challenge and mediate policy at the school level to make it work in their interests and the interests of their students. Helsby (1995) recommends an emancipatory approach to the implementation of educational policy, a central feature of which is professional confidence: "a belief both in one's authority and in one's capacity to make important decisions about the conduct of one's work" (p. 324). Helsby argues that where confidence is high, teachers are more likely to impose their own professional interpretations of government policy, to balance its demands against other professional priorities, and to exploit to the maximum what remains of their independence. Where confidence is low, however, teachers are likely to take a more passive role and be amenable to manipulation and being told what to do. Thus, a second dimension of the emancipatory approach is

professional interpretation, whereby teachers deconstruct or critically analyze the policy text and interpret it so that the policy can work in the interests of teacher professionalism and transformative educational change. Appropriate responses to policy will be supported by a defensible philosophy of education and guided by professional consciousness, a third facet of the emancipatory approach, which involves teachers distancing themselves from their approach—by individually and collectively calling into question their taken-for-granted assumptions and values that underpin their policy response and professional practice—and by asking whose interests are being served, who benefits, and who is disadvantaged. It may well be that teachers need to extend their understandings and capacities in this regard, which in turn implies an agenda for professional development.

So far we have examined teaching to determine the traits that enable the profession to provide a socially valuable function, have considered a practitioner sense of professionalism, and have discussed how an emancipatory approach to the implementation of educational policy can work to further teachers' professionalism. Let us now consider the phases the profession has undergone.

Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) present an evolutionary model of professionalism in teaching that they call the four ages of professionalism. In the pre-professional age, public education began as a factory-like system of mass education. Common teaching methods included lecturing, note taking, recitation, question and answer periods, and seat work. Teaching was seen as

managerially demanding but technically simple. One learned to be a teacher through apprenticeship and improved by trial-and-error. Teachers needed, or were thought to need, little training or ongoing professional learning. Mentoring consisted of management tips and encouragement in the staff room; otherwise, new teachers were on their own. Good teachers could keep order in their classrooms and provided loyal service.

Beginning in the 1960s, in the age of the autonomous professional, the status of teachers in many countries improved significantly. One of the main characteristics of teaching was its individualism. By the 1970s and 1980s, individualism and isolation were dominant, widespread features. Professional autonomy enhanced the status of teaching as the time of preparation was lengthened and salaries rose. Seldom did the benefits of in-service education become integrated into classroom practice, since individual course-takers returned to schools of unenthusiastic colleagues who had not shared the learning with them. Although mentoring programs were being introduced to a profession now acknowledged as difficult, mentoring was confined to novices and those deemed to be incompetent.

By the mid-1980s, professional autonomy was becoming an unsustainable response to the increased complexities of schooling. The age of the collegial professional resulted from pressure to create collaborative cultures to deal more effectively with the knowledge explosion, widening curriculum demands, the increasing range of special needs students in ordinary classes, and the

accelerating pace of change. Ongoing learning cultures replaced individualized, episodic patterns of staff development. Teachers learned to teach in new ways, and professional development was seen as a continuous process of both individual responsibility and institutional obligation. Professional learning came to be seen as an active integration of school-based and course-based up-grading. Collegial professionalism involved working with, learning from, and teaching colleagues.

Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) call the fourth era the age of postmodern professionalism. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the world is experiencing profound social, economic, political, and cultural transformations; teaching requires learning to work with more diverse communities and perceiving parents as sources of learning and support. As we saw in chapter three on teachers' work, immense changes are occurring in the midst of intense pressure and such contradictory trends as centralization and school-based management. Teachers must deal with diverse populations and escalating moral uncertainty, and increasing numbers of groups exert an influence. Questions abound: will positive new partnerships be created with groups and institutions beyond the school, and will teachers learn to work openly, authoritatively, and professionally with those partners; or will teachers be deprofessionalized and succumb to multiple pressures, intensified work demands, and reduced opportunities to learn from colleagues? Hargreaves and Fullan suggest that a new approach to mentoring could provide a potentially powerful intervention if it

is integrated into the evolving nature of society and the teaching profession within it. Having considered some professional traits and an evolutionary model of professionalism, let us now turn to professional ideology.

Teachers' Professional Ideology of Liberal Education and Caring

Teachers' professional ideology stems from many sources, two of which concern the notion of liberal education (as we saw in chapter two) and the attitude of caring. Liberalism—simultaneously a doctrine of freedom and of responsibility—encompasses the concepts of the freedom for each to choose and pursue a personal vision of the good and the responsibility to enable others to do likewise. The place of individual freedom within liberal political theory provides support for the claim that teachers deserve a special sort of freedom—a measure of professional independence, as we discussed in chapter two—in exercising their duty to enable their students to exercise the citizens' basic freedoms responsibly, with a sense of justice and within a scheme of cooperation (Bull, 1990).

Teachers' independence in a liberal society consists of the freedom to teach the young to be their own persons in accordance with the principles of integrity, competent practice, informed decision making, and fair access; and the ethical responsibilities implied by these principles are shared by teachers and members of the democratic polity. Teachers' basic responsibility is to achieve the morally legitimate purpose of their office—to develop children's capacities to

choose, hold, and pursue their own visions of the good. Liberal integrity requires teachers, first, to help develop in children the characteristics, abilities, and understandings that the democratic polity determines necessary for their moral independence and, second, to resist the polity's directives that cannot plausibly be construed as relevant to this central purpose of liberal education (Bull, 1990).

School teaching in a liberal society is a special and limited form of enculturation. Such teaching involves helping to develop in children particular modes of judgment and critical thinking, introducing them to cultural alternatives available within civilization, and inducting them into the political morality and conventions of a liberal society (Bull, 1990). The purpose of this enculturation is to enable students to be their own persons and live their own lives within that society. It is not to promote the conception that an authoritarian might prescribe; rather, it involves the conception that choosing for oneself is part of the good life.

Bull (1990) believes the primary duty of liberal integrity requires that teachers recognize as the basic purpose of teaching "the development of children's capacities for moral independence" (p. 122). Smith (1990) says teaching, by definition, is "an intentional activity requiring choices built into any attempt to change, redirect, or influence in specific ways patterns of growth and development toward mature human personhood" (p. 119); and Smith (1990, p. 119) and Boyd (1990, p. 103) both speak of teachers as "moral mediators."

Boyd asserts "that education itself is a moral claim and that teachers are those who express it for us" (p. 103). He adds that the moral stance of the teacher is not incidental to the teacher's role, but essential to it, and thus something that professionalization must accommodate.

This use of the term "moral" includes not just matters of the "right" but also perspectives on pursuit of the "good" and dispositional states that describe praiseworthy persons. In the role of moral "mediators," teachers must mediate between or among claims or interests presented by their understanding of the following: students' current desires and their long-range interests, parents' and society's interest in what students learn, students' present autonomy and its further development, students' autonomy and the constraints of the culture, the instructional needs of the gifted and the plodders, the cultural ties of the past and the projected problems of the future, competing visions of the good life, different and sometimes incompatible moral traditions, individual competition and communal cooperation, the teacher's own positive influence on the students and avoidable bias, and a variety of other claims (paraphrased from Boyd, 1990, pp. 107-108). Thus, in formulating teaching intentions in terms of the betterment of students, teachers are in the role of moral mediators among an incredibly complex variety of positions, which calls for critical and reflective thinking on their part.

If this view is correct, then it is crucial that broad social movements supporting the professionalization of teaching keep clearly in mind <u>what</u> is being

professionalized. Boyd (1990) believes some form of general social recognition of the moral nature of teaching must exist for successful maintenance of the "education enterprise." He says, "If we speak to each other through education, we must take teachers seriously. And if we are to take teachers seriously, they must be accepted and supported as moral agents in their teaching activities" (p. 117). Smith (1990) says while there are many varied and powerful influences that contribute to the formation of beliefs, values, and habits, the role of teaching is distinctive since by its very nature it involves creating or affirming moral meanings. Thus, it would follow that any adequate concept of the professionalization of teachers must incorporate this moral dimension.

Included in the moral dimension of teaching is teachers' commitment to work in the best interests of students: caring is fundamental to such a relationship. Caring encompasses looking after, providing for, attending to, protecting, having charge of, being concerned about, and being responsible for others. Nias (1989) speaks of the "feel" of being a teacher: the caring and conflict, the convictions and contradictions, the tensions and contentments, the hopes and fears, the exhilaration and exhaustion embodied in teaching (p. 181); but she speaks first about caring. Noddings (1992) identifies three main forms of caring: natural, aesthetic, and ethical; the latter form is particularly relevant to teachers' work because it places an ethical ideal self as central to the generation of an obligation that is manifested in a commitment to care. Noddings' theoretical development of an ethic of care, "a needs- and response-based ethic"

(p. 21), built upon an obligation by the care-giver for keeping an attitude of care and the development of a caring relationship, is grounded in a feminist understanding of moral judgment. It must be remembered, however, that caring concerns are shown by both genders. Noddings asserts that moral decision-making is informed by an ethic of care. Because caring actions are not based upon set principles, they may be difficult to identify; however, they are established and preserved by a broad ethic that has a proper regard for human affections, weaknesses, and anxieties (Noddings, 1984). In its simplest sense, an attitude of care in the classroom sees all teaching moments as caring occasions. Lost opportunities for moral education and mutual growth result, however, from the overuse of lecture without discussion, impersonal grading only in quantitative form, and modes of discipline that respond merely to students' behaviour without due consideration for the person or circumstances involved (Noddings, 1988).

The professional ethic of care, sometimes termed "pastoral care" (Shacklock, 1998, p. 181), refers to caring concern beyond society's norm, often including after-hours work with students or preparing work for students. It can also include a supportive relationship or interaction with colleagues. It can involve respect—for students, colleagues, and the knowledge teachers have to offer—plus support, encouragement, affirmation, and reinforcement in meeting the needs of others. Such an expanded notion of support impacts significantly upon morale when it is at the centre of the education enterprise and is

collectively understood as a professional way of working with students and colleagues. Hargreaves and Tucker (1991) affirm that care is central to elementary teaching, and Nias' (1989) study of primary school teachers indicates that "Caring [is] not a soft occupational option" (p. 41) but is part of a moral commitment to teaching, where to care means to teach well. Caring, of course, is not limited to elementary school teaching but extends throughout the public school system.

Shacklock's (1998) portrayal of teaching at Appleton College, in Australia, situates professionalism within an ethic of relational care that meets the collective interests of both students and colleagues. There an ethic of care informs an ideal of professionalism presenting itself as a strong moral imperative in the pedagogical and organizational choices made by teachers. However, there is, as is the case with any notion of professionalism in teaching, a potential for contested and contradictory meanings if or when the ethic of professionalism is commandeered by those seeking control over teachers' work. For example, there exists the possibility that care may be identified as a classed or gendered category, or both (Skeggs, 1997). In fact, the rapid feminization of teaching (Apple, 1988) (I would add since the introduction of public schooling) and the persistence of male management in schools invites the appropriation of ideologies of care as gendered controls in the politics of teachers' work.

Professionalism as care is often at the core of struggles over teachers' identity, structures of control in teachers' work, and power relations between

teachers and their employers. C. Easthope and G. Easthope (2000) indicate that pastoral care demands not only are increasing but also are becoming a control mechanism rather than just a form of interaction. For instance, previously, informal help and guidance were available to students from their teachers if sought, whereas now many schools (not merely elementary schools) have increased teachers' duties to include monitoring students between classes and at lunch time. Some teachers feel overwhelmed by the demands of their caring roles, which are also moving more and more into family and social welfare. In addition, professionalism as care is often appropriated as an expandable commodity (which, in labour-process terms that we discussed in chapter two, would be thought of as a source of surplus educational value), with extended demands placed upon teachers. The direct result of requiring teachers to do more is that they inevitably face the workplace burden of too little time. The pressure on time and the expectation to do more work lead to teachers cutting corners with their classroom tasks, such as preparation and correction, which they see as less visible administratively. They may also cut back on contact with students whose work is not done or not submitted on time, and teachers may fail to provide timely feedback to students.

While cutting corners is an immediate solution to a pressing need for more time, it does not reduce the workload and can present problems at a later time. For many teachers, it means a great deal more work is taken home to do in the evening or early morning hours and on weekends. The result is often

chronic work overload and accompanying stress, as witnessed in such responses as anger, guilt, and fatigue. Of course, it can also affect family and personal life. Being regularly confronted with the perception of not getting all their work done, many teachers feel unhappy about their performance, which can lead to guilt at having let other people down—students or colleagues. An ethic of care creates a feeling of obligation, which can result in a sense of failure for not living up to an ethical ideal. In this way, as we will see in chapter five, teachers may contribute to the intensification of their work. Hargreaves and Tucker (1991) indicate, "The more important that care is to a teacher, the more emotionally devastating is the experience of failing to provide it" (p. 496).

Teachers—in addition to feeling rushed, anxious, and upset concerning extra work they are increasingly being asked to do—may easily become annoyed and even resentful. Occasionally teachers can refuse new duties or not volunteer for extra jobs, but that often has a rebound effect, leading them to the conclusion that taking the easy way out is not really professional. Thus, professionalism as care plays a contradictory role in many teachers' working lives, at the same time providing the motivation, commitment, and conditions that result in the intensification and control of their work (Shacklock, 1998).

Professional Paradoxes

Whatever one chooses to call the present stage of professionalism, a number of challenges, paradoxes, and dilemmas currently face the profession of

teaching. The first dilemma is that teachers, through their professionalism, are expected to ameliorate the worst effects of the new informational society; yet while teachers and schools are deemed to be the catalysts of change, they are also its casualties: of the weakening of the welfare safety net, of reduced expenditure on the public good, of students' families caught in social upheaval, and of the growing lack of commitment to public life. In many ways, the forces of deprofessionalization—declining support, limited pay, restricted opportunities to learn from colleagues, work overload, and standardization—have continued to intensify for teachers, severely limiting them in their efforts to be more effective and more professional. Second, new professionalism bears not only intellectual and technical components but social and emotional features as well: to establish emotional bonds with and among children and to foster empathy, tolerance, and commitment to the public good; and these components exist in some tension. Caring has always been central to teaching, but caring in a restricted sense can sometimes be too controlling, placing poor children in a welfare trap, trying to protect them from poverty without providing them the skills to escape from it. When learners are more diverse and demanding, caring must become less controlling, more inclusive of varied cultures and students' own perceptions, and more ready to involve and not just compensate for students' families and communities. Successful school improvement, capable of making a difference in children's lives and prospects, depends upon teachers working within a strong professional community and building links with the community beyond the

school. A third paradox in the professional lives of teachers is the existence of two contradictory trends: on one hand, the standardization of teaching and lack of concern for teachers' professionalization and, on the other hand, higher professional standards and greater concern for professionalism. Fourth, over time, the relationship between parents and teachers has, by necessity, changed. Formerly, parents often maintained a polite distance from teachers but provided support for them at home. Now schools and teachers need to be open to parents and the public so that learning can run in both directions. Fifth is the challenge for teacher education programs to be responsive to dramatic changes in the public schools. Issues to be dealt with include changes in our understanding of the teaching-learning process, in curriculum and subject integration, in the nature of teachers' work, as we saw in chapter three, and in the role of technology in teaching. A sixth paradox concerns school reform and teachers' professional development, both of which often appear chaotic and at cross-purposes, without practical connections. What is needed are reform policies that can support rather than frustrate sustained teacher learning and growth. Seventh, when the educational context rapidly changes (as we saw in chapter two and will see in chapter five on intensification), teachers' attention is repeatedly drawn to such matters as status, salaries, and benefits; and the direction of teacher development is dominated by policy mandates and bureaucratic control—drawing attention away from what really matters in education (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000). An eighth issue, previously mentioned,

concerns the contradictory trends of centralization and school-based management.

Hargreaves (1995), in drawing attention to several additional paradoxes, asks how teachers can be interdisciplinary and specialized, standardized and variegated, local and global, autonomous and accountable, embracing change and continuity. First, he indicates that many parents have relinquished responsibility for the very aspects they want schools to emphasize. For example, parents increasingly demand that schools turn out more literate graduates, yet they allow children to watch television at home far too many hours each week. Second, business often fails to use the skills it insists schools produce. The economy is becoming pear-shaped, with highly skilled workers at the top and a far larger underclass of unemployed, underemployed, or employed people in undemanding jobs at the bottom. Third, more globalism creates more tribalism. While the economic sector is dominated by transnational corporations, national education systems encourage national curricula and standards. Fourth, more diversity and integration are accompanied by more emphasis upon common standards and specialization. For instance, while society calls for schools to respond to individual differences, the obsession with national strength and competition is resulting in standardized tests and international comparisons. Fifth, stronger orientation to the future is creating greater nostalgia for the past. Complexity is causing many people to long for traditional subjects, basic skills, and singular values.

The many contradictions and paradoxes just discussed have direct implications for educators: they provide a significant challenge to teachers' sense of professionalism. Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) indicate that times of rapid change can create great anxiety and insecurity among teachers as the challenge of learning new strategies calls their competence and confidence into question. Handy (1994) goes so far as to call this era an age of paradox. Hargreaves (1995) remarks, "No wonder many teachers are perplexed" (p. 15)! Hargreaves and Fullan (2000) caution against restructuring (adding formal roles) without reculturing (altering the capacity of teachers); and—as mentioned earlier—their suggestion is a new approach to mentoring. Just as emotional support for students should be the responsibility of all teachers and not just the guidance counsellor, support for teachers—new, new to a particular school, or seasoned teachers—should not be left to a few designated mentors but should include the entire teaching staff. As tempting as it might be to launch into a discussion of approaches to mentoring, that might be best left to an effort other than this dissertation.

Metaphors Used to Describe Professional Lives

Teachers' perceptions of what they do are often reflected in the metaphors they use to describe their work. In a study he carried out in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Goddard (2000) supplied several metaphors and asked teachers to indicate how often they consider them to apply to teaching.

Teachers identified seven metaphors they report using often or all the time to describe their professional lives: "social worker, guide, facilitator, knowledge dispenser, leader, friend, and disciplinarian" (p. 300). Teachers' self-image in that region appears to be strongly associated with the teaching-learning process, especially the idea that the role of the teacher is to be a transmitter of knowledge. Although disciplinarian is also a common metaphor, teachers stress that they do not use the more negative image of "prison guard." Four other metaphors found in the popular media do not reflect Cape Breton teachers' self-image: "parent, police officer, babysitter, or television substitute" (p. 299). One interesting finding is that one-third of respondents indicate they never or rarely use the metaphor of "truant officer" (p. 300), whereas another third report using it often or all the time. Perhaps there is some ambiguity in the responses between what teachers should be and what in fact they are.

In addition to the metaphors presented on the questionnaire (Goddard, 2000), respondents were asked to suggest others they use to describe their professional lives. These tend to reflect the caring and organizational aspects of teaching. The human and intellectual caring role is exemplified in the following metaphors: "nurse, dietician, counsellor, advisor, listener, confidante, go-between, doctor, mentor, role model, and coach" (p. 300). The organizational detail required of contemporary teachers is evident in metaphors such as the following: "secretary, record-keeper, fundraiser, bank teller, and organizer" (p. 300). The darker side of professional life is revealed through the use of such

metaphors as "juggler, circus performer, humourist, and third-class passenger on the Titanic" (p. 300). Of interest in future studies could be the prevalence of these metaphors among the wider teaching population and longitudinal studies to explore how teachers' metaphors might change over time.

Jane Aalders-St. Clair (1999), a resource teacher with the Annapolis Valley Regional School Board, offers several other metaphors that seem particularly apt, based upon her own experience: "friend, leader, counsellor, learner, participator, director of learning, . . . fundraiser, nurse, social worker, and psychologist" (p. 23). Allan Neilsen (1999), from Mount Saint Vincent University, adds a few more descriptors of the professional role of teachers: "intellectual and moral mentors, . . . surrogate parents, social workers, counsellors, security guards, cultural ambassadors, paramedics, and psychologists" (p. 14). The metaphors teachers use reflect the frustrations, weariness, insights, hope, care, and even humour they experience as they try to find meaning in their work with children, parents, colleagues, administrators, and bureaucrats.

As we discussed earlier, Hargreaves (1991) has argued that while there is general agreement about the extent of change in teachers' work, the meaning and significance of recent change are more contested. He indicates that two of the most common contending explanations are professionalization and intensification. Our examination of professionalism in this chapter has led us to reflect upon different aspects and views of that concept: a functionalist analysis versus the Foucauldian account, professionalism and power, traits and phases of

teacher professionalism, teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring, professional paradoxes, and metaphors that teachers use to describe their professional lives. The question remains: which is more significant, professionalization or intensification; should the response be an either/or choice; or does a more adequate explanation of the changes in teachers' work take into account both professionalization and intensification? For a further exploration of the issue, let us now turn to an analysis of intensification.

Chapter 5

Intensification

> Whatever else might be said about teaching, few would disagree that the nature and demands of the job have changed profoundly over the years. For better or worse, teaching is not what it was. There are the needs of special education students in ordinary classes to be met. Curriculum programs are constantly changing as innovations multiply and the pressures for reform increase. Assessment strategies are more diverse. There is increasing consultation with parents and more communication with colleagues. Teachers' responsibilities are more extensive. Their roles are more diffuse. What do these changes mean? (Hargreaves, 1991, p. 1)

Although, as previously stated, there is general agreement about the extent of change in teachers' work, the meaning and significance of this change are broadly conceptualized in two different ways in recent educational literature. Hargreaves (1991) calls these contending explanations "professionalization" and "intensification" (p. 1), while Mander (1997) uses the terms "considerable personal autonomy" and "structural constraints" (p. 281); however, both theorists draw similar conclusions: since teachers' work is so complex, neither theory by itself adequately explains what is happening. As we saw in the last chapter, the ideology of professionalism is intricately interwoven into conceptions of teachers' work. As well, in many places—including Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada—intensification is an unavoidable, ever-present feature of teachers' work. As we will see later in this chapter, evidence of both professionalism and intensification currently exists in

Nova Scotia, lending credence to my hypothesis that the bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, culminating in the intensification of teachers' work, as exhibited in the present Nova Scotia context. From that, subtract what teachers believe is adequate service to students, and the result is teachers' stress and feelings of guilt.

Fiscal Pressure

Under financial pressure, the focus of managerial policy is clear, no matter how unpredictable its strategies may be: costs must be reduced or productivity must be increased or both. Such an imperative inevitably threatens privileged workers through the reduction of support facilities and the leveling of efficiency measures and cost-effective controls aimed at their work activities. In human service organizations of the public sector, where underfinancing and overload are exacerbated by fiscal crises of the state, attempts to reorganize and rationalize a professional-intensive labour force are commonplace (Larson, 1980).

For managers, professionalism and credentialism offer at least limited guarantees that high-level employees will use their discretion predictably. Professionalism, however, also becomes a resource that can be manipulated. Insofar as controls and regulations respect professional prerogatives and are coupled with some advantages, professional workers are not likely to resent

them. The support structure, the security, and the release from fiscal and administrative worries offered by bureaucratic organizations seem attractive, even to professionals who are not interested in becoming part of management. Yet in the support structure offered by bureaucratic organizations, educated workers may experience organizational alienation. As specialized workers become integrated into large-scale organizations, their work becomes dependent upon organizations' infrastructure and the complex divisions of labour it supports. No matter how gladly professional workers accept their subordination, they are subordinate. Pressures at the level of the labour process originate in the work situation and respond to pressures to which the employer is subjected (Larson, 1980). A market adverse to the sellers of labour power (for example, teachers) facilitates the application of pressure upon their performance (for example, by management, administration, bureaucracy, the state), since it reduces the workers' (teachers') options to leave the system and their ability to resist the unwanted consequences of heteronomous authority imposed upon them.

Aside from outright layoffs, three major interrelated tendencies exist at the level of the labour process of educated workers: the tendency to increase and rigidify the division of labour, the tendency toward routinization of high level tasks, and the tendency toward the intensification of labour. It is this third tendency with which we will be concerned. In large-scale bureaucracies (such as schools), management institutionalizes, systematizes, and inscribes

intensification of work into the organizations' method of operation (Larson, 1980).

Characterization of Intensification

The concept of intensification is drawn from general theories of the labour process, especially as expressed by Larson (1980), who maintains that the intensification of labour of educated workers (such as teachers) is parallel to the speed-ups in manufacturing industries: it reduces the periods of inactivity or preparation between tasks. Regulations and intensified supervision directly limit the breaks allowed to lower-level workers, but for higher-level employees, it is the volume of work that increases, reducing alternate bouts of intense labour and idleness to more uniform rhythms. Spurts of intensity to meet deadlines are not intensification; the most common source of intensification in mental labour is "chronic work overload" (Larson, 1980, p. 166). It is one of the most obvious ways the work privileges of educated workers are eroded. Its symptoms range from no time at all for lunch to no time at all to keep up with one's field.

One may draw an analogy between teachers and journalists. Financially hard-pressed newspapers normally increase the story quotas assigned to reporters and understaff their operations. The speed-ups that result reduce the journalists' possibilities of writing non-routine investigative stories; that also increases their dependence upon pre-scheduled, pre-formulated events and expands their reliance upon accounts provided by network news services. In

schools, where declining enrolments should be reducing class size and the number of preparations, the layoffs and cutbacks induced by fiscal crises of the state have often had the opposite effect: large classes have become common as has the displacement of specialized high school teachers to subjects in which they have not been trained. As a result, increasing numbers of teachers are relying upon pre-packaged curricular material instead of developing their own approaches. What is happening to teachers is not novel, but it is disappointing.

Intensification appears to be the most frequent non-economic grievance of professional unions. It compels the reduction of time within the working day when no surplus is produced and helps to destroy the sociability of workers (such as teachers) with their peers. For workers whose labour activity is so often individual, the risk of isolation grows. Most professional workers, however, still have the option of taking time for sociability, but at the price of prolonging their working day. If intensification seems habitual, observers may notice that professional workers become accustomed to cutting corners, which is a familiar symptom of labour alienation. They may eliminate the most routine aspects of their work, concentrating instead on what seems to be critical or what will be noticed the most. Intensification may thus reduce the quality but not the quantity of service provided; hence, intensification contradicts the traditional crafts person's interest in work well done, which human service professionals equate with the best interests of their clients (Larson, 1980). The expectation that teachers respond to greater pressures and comply with multiplying

innovations may even cause teachers to collaborate willingly in their own exploitation (Hargreaves, 1991) in an effort to avoid short-changing their students, thus attempting to maintain their own professional ethos, also known as the "dedicated teacher" phenomenon. Hargreaves (1998, Sept.) comments upon teachers being "swamped by meetings, interminable planning, and cost-cutting exercises" (p. 3). Nias (1989) remarks that some people may give up teaching because the pressures and demands of maintaining the level of work required induce overwhelming stress and fatigue.

Claims of Intensification

Hargreaves (1991) argues that intensification of teachers' work contains several claims. (1) Intensification creates chronic, persistent overload, compared to temporary overload sometimes experienced in meeting deadlines. (2) Intensification reduces areas of personal discretion, limits control over long-term planning, and promotes dependency upon externally-produced materials and expertise. (3) It leads to enforced diversification of expertise and responsibility to cover personnel shortages. (4) It leads to reductions in the quality of service since corners are cut to save time. (5) Intensification leads to reduced time for relaxation during the working day, including no time for lunch and no time to relax with colleagues. (6) It leads to a lack of time to keep up with one's field. (7) It leads to a reduction of time and opportunity for elementary teachers, in particular, to show care for and connectedness with their

students because of mandated administrative and assessment tasks. (8) Intensification limits opportunities for planning creative and imaginative work, which—if done—lengthen the teacher's working day, resulting in complaints among teachers. (9) It creates and reinforces scarcities of preparation time. Often, rather than changing the conditions causing scarcity of preparation time, teachers are instead compensated with pre-packaged curricular material. (10) Intensification may be voluntarily supported by many teachers and misrecognized as professionalism. Desmore (1987) observes that professional dedication often prompts teachers to volunteer for additional responsibilities, including after-school and evening activities. He maintains that for many teachers, the ideology of professionalism legitimates and reinforces intensification. (11) Hargreaves (1995) claims that teachers are, paradoxically, expected to be interdisciplinary yet specialized, autonomous but accountable, both standardized and variegated, local and global, and mindful of both change and continuity.

Support for the Intensification Thesis

Support for the claim of the intensification of teachers' work within the last few years stems from at least three sources: (1) recent changes to teachers' work, (2) escalating pressures and increased demands placed upon teachers from outside sources, and (3) increased expectations from within.

Changes in teachers' work emanate from many directions. Students'

increasing behavioural and social problems lead to broader demands and more social work responsibilities for teachers. The need for diversified programs (including, in Nova Scotia, individual program plans—IPP's—and individual modified plans—IMPs) results from the mainstreaming of special education students in regular classes, increasing numbers of English-as-a-second language (ESL) students, and enrichment programs. Larger classes and heavier workloads result in fewer breaks for teachers. Declining in-class specialist support means that teachers often use preparation time to give extra help to special needs students. Thus, the changing composition of classes has implications not only for discipline and stress but for the complexity of programming and preparation (Hargreaves, 1991). Add to the foregoing changes the multiple innovations that continue to occur—rapidly expanding technology and ever-changing curricula—and it is no wonder teachers feel swamped. In these circumstances, it is particularly important for teachers to maintain a sense of what is central to their work—hence the need to think philosophically about the aims of education.

Obligations to students and increased accountability to parents, administrators, and other stakeholders in education result in increased external pressures upon teachers. Accountability results in more paper work and more administrative work, plus more meetings, workshops, and conferences (Hargreaves, 1991)—which do not necessarily result in direct improvement to students' work.

Pressures result, however, not only from "externally imposed" but also

from "internally driven" (Hargreaves, 1991, p. 17) expectations. Many teachers "drive themselves with almost merciless enthusiasm and commitment in an attempt to meet the virtually unattainable standards of pedagogical perfection they set themselves" (p. 10). They appear not to need external pressure: they may be their own most demanding taskmasters! In this way, teachers contribute to their own exploitation. One of the reasons for this phenomenon—separate from the dedication to children's best interests, which ideally led them into teaching—may stem from the wide-ranging definitions of and expectations attached to teaching. For example, Broadfoot and Osborn (1988), in comparative studies of the teacher's role, have indicated that in France, teaching is mainly concerned with academic learning and performance in school, whereas in North America and Great Britain, the teacher's role is seen to encompass social and emotional as well as academic goals. Osborn and Broadfoot (1992) later mention, however, that many educational systems are facing rapid change, one consequence of which is an international trend toward a balance between centralized control and professional autonomy. Thus, previously centralized systems, such as that of France, are currently initiating major policy changes to encourage teachers to engage more actively in responding to local need, while previously decentralized educational systems, such as that of England, have introduced major centralizing measures. This apparent trend toward greater international commonality appears to reflect a widely felt need for education systems to be made both as responsive as

possible to changing national, social, and economic pressures and as effective as possible in achieving those goals "by capitalizing on the creativity and professional commitment of individual teachers" (Osborn & Broadfoot, 1992, p. 138, emphasis added). It would seem that professional commitment, with all the internal pressures that entails, is widely recognized as a driving force motivating teachers—a force that, I may add, can easily be depended upon and even manipulated, which is incompatible with autonomy.

Qualifications to the Intensification Thesis

Some qualifications, of course, exist concerning the intensification thesis. First, most studies that have been done on intensification have covered a timescale of only five or ten years (Hargreaves, 1991). However, evidence may be inferred from other historical accounts. For example, studies of teaching in the nineteenth century often indicate that, in quantitative terms, teaching then may have been as difficult as it is now, even if for somewhat different reasons; and Russell (1940) spoke of the "overworked" teacher (p. 135). In qualitative terms, however, teaching then was undoubtedly less skilled than now (Tomkins, 1986).

Second, much of the evidence concerning intensification is reported and retrospective rather than evidence collected longitudinally. Hence, it may be difficult to disentangle historical changes in the labour process of teaching from biographical changes in the life and career cycles of teachers (Hargreaves,

1991). However, collecting evidence from teachers across wide age ranges, as was done in the study of teachers' time use in Nova Scotia (Harvey & Spinney, 2000), should help to compensate for that.

Third, intensification may not have the same impact on all teachers: some may be more work-oriented than others (Hargreaves, 1991). This qualification, however, may be counteracted in studies involving large numbers of teachers. For example, the Nova Scotia study just referred to was distributed to a stratified random sample of 1800 teachers in 154 schools in the province, based upon the then latest (1998-1999) official Nova Scotia Teachers Union database of 10,228 "valid" teachers at 511 public schools (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. 3). The distribution was deemed properly to reflect the profession—based upon gender, age, and geography (McLaughlin, 2000).

Fourth, evidence suggests that not all examples of teachers' professional commitment can be explained by intensification of the labour process or as misrecognition of that process. Although many requirements are designed to "extract" increased productivity from teachers, their commitment cannot be reduced exclusively to labour process factors (Hargreaves, 1991). As previously mentioned, however, the combination of three forces—recent changes to teachers' work, pressures from external sources, and teachers' own internal professional motivation—have escalated teachers' problems such that the total is greater than the sum of the parts.

These four qualifications do not negate the intensification thesis, but they

do suggest that intensification of the labour process may not be the sole explanation for the change in teachers' work. That brings us back to the previous conclusion reached independently by Hargreaves (1991) and in Australia by Mander (1997) that because of the complexity of teachers' work, no one theory by itself adequately explains what is happening. Thus, the question does not involve a choice between two alternatives as the explanation for the meaning and significance of the change in teachers' work; a more adequate explanation must take into account both intensification and professionalization.

Opportunities and Constraints

Woods (1990) suggests a model of teaching on an opportunities-constraints continuum. At the hypothetical pure end, where opportunities are unlimited, teachers are free to put their ideas into practice without restraint. At the opposite, totally constrained end, teachers do as directed or suffer unbearable stress or burn-out. Somewhere in between, where the majority of teachers fall, there is a mixture of opportunities and constraints, with teachers pursuing their interests through a range of strategies. Later Woods et al. (1997) refer to the interrelationships among teachers, schools, and situations at any given historical time when they discuss the way structures exert their effects and with what consequences for the self in varying situations. Thus, a range of opportunities and constraints exert an effect and account for variations at different times and in different places to explain teachers' contemporary

academic imperatives.

From my personal experience of having taught in a regional junior-senior high school and from the literature I have read, I suggest the following meaningful influences upon self, structure, and situation:

Self:

- professional background, values, and priorities
- experience/length of service
- relationship with the school board, school administration, other staff members, parents, and students
- age
- gender
- domestic circumstances/other preoccupations and responsibilities
- health
- personal degree of independence and commitment
- personal defence mechanisms

Structure:

- present and past government policy
- school board
- school's administration and its policies
- type of school
- teacher's post

- class size and composition
- extra-curricular responsibilities

Situation:

- community the school serves
- history of the school
- degree of imposition of top-down, mandated, government policies
- pace of change
- degree of manipulation by the school's administration
- extent of culture of collaboration, other than "contrived collaboration," within the school
- extent of support services within the school
- extent of chronic work overload
- amount of pressure upon teachers' time.

As Hargreaves (1998, Sept.) stresses, there is a relational connection, not a separation, among self, structure, and situation. Earlier, Hargreaves (1996) noted the effect of different contexts upon teachers' working lives, stating that "Some contexts create knowledge and experience that is liberating . . . [whereas] other contexts create knowledge and experience that is limiting" (p. 16). Concerning opportunities and constraints, Webb (1998) refers to the effects of macro-level government policy (structure) in bringing pressure to bear at the meso-level on schools (situation), which interacts with teachers'

personalities and experiences to cause change at the micro-level of teachers' work (self). When teachers experience a significant limitation upon their choices and sense a reduction of alternative possibilities for the resolution of problems, they may be demotivated and made to feel inadequate and may perceive their knowledge and experience as devalued, which places them closer to the constraints end of the continuum. By contrast, when old or new challenges are experienced but, for whatever reason, are able to be solved creatively, teachers' professionalism is enhanced, which causes them to feel closer to the opportunities end of the continuum. Hargreaves (1998, Sept.) refers to teachers as being, generally speaking, "oriented to survival within quite definite and pervasive yet alterable contexts of organizational constraint" (p. 422).

There appears to be an international tendency for the goals of education increasingly to be defined by the central government and for the responsibility for achieving those goals to be placed upon local schools and individual teachers. This policy trend, however, is based upon at least one under-examined assumption: that teachers, whenever and wherever necessary, will be both willing and able to adapt their practices appropriately. Considerable evidence, however, suggests that teachers are not mere puppets pulled by the strings of policy makers: teachers mediate the external pressures upon them through the filter of their own professionalism to create what amounts to a blend of external constraints and personal ideology (Osborn & Broadfoot, 1992). Thus, if policymaking (referring to structure) is to be effective, it must be based upon a

sound conceptual understanding of the components of teachers' practice (referring to self) and upon empirically generated insights concerning teachers' perspectives at a particular time and place (referring to situation). Osborn and Broadfoot indicate that the data they have collected in their study on the impact of changes on British primary teachers' professionalism after the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) suggest that educational change does not occur simply by manipulating institutional structures or by issuing policy directives. To be successful, change must involve teachers from the start and take into account the real influences on teachers' professional motivation and practice.

After more than fifteen years of attempted reform in U. S. schools, the Rand Studies, carried out in 1978, revealed that only 5% of efforts at change had been successful. The common link that characterized the small collection of successful projects was the process of mutual adaptation, in which the interests of both reformers and teachers were taken into account concerning the substance and process of planned change. From that evidence, Butt, Townsend, and Raymond (1990) conclude that one of the main problems with most approaches to educational change is the nature of the relationship between outsiders (reformers) and insiders (teachers). They contend that this relationship parallels a corresponding problem in the nature of and relationship between theory and practice since, traditionally, reformers have associated themselves with theory and teachers with practice.

Related to this concept, McKeon (1952) identifies three kinds of practical

sciences: the logistic, the dialectic, and the problematic—distinguished from each other by the relationship of theory to practice each embodies. In the logistic, theory and practice are viewed as separate; theory is deemed superior to practice since it can transform practice through direct application. For example, in education, reformers who possess theory are considered experts who will prescribe actions for practitioners. The dialectic treats theory and practice as different but equal, with each capable of informing the other. Thus, outsiders and insiders are equal partners who possess valuable expertise, knowledge, and perspectives related to theory and practice. Theoretical notions are examined in relation to practitioners' particular situations and contexts, and practical action agreeable to both parties is negotiated. This approach takes into account both general and specific aspects of school culture and teachers' worklives. In the problematic, a practical problem in a specific context is the focus for deriving both situation-specific theory and practical action. All who have a stake in the solution to the problem, including outsiders and insiders, are involved. Whereas the dialectic takes into consideration school culture and teachers' worklives, in the problematic, theoretical understandings and practical actions must stem from the school context and the lived realities of teachers.

Most early failed attempts at reform were logistic. They caused resentment, retrenchment, and resistance from teachers. The focus on mutual interests in the dialectic and the problematic, however, has a better potential for success. Butt et al. (1990) say that contemporary approaches to reform that

reflect this potential include teacher-initiated school-based projects, action research, and efforts to encourage collegiality and collaborative experimentation. In their work with large-scale evaluation of reform efforts, these researchers discovered that teachers who re-interpreted mandates from outsiders to meet their own and their students' needs, interests, and concerns had the highest degree of curriculum implementation. They learned that more successful change occurred where teachers could re-interpret, adapt, or redesign curricular materials as they saw fit, which highlights the importance of the personal nature of the implementation of teachers' professional knowledge, the contexts in which they work, the way teachers respond personally to changes in context, and the way they approach their own initiatives to classroom change. This situation underscores the previously-made point of Osborn and Broadfoot (1992): that teachers mediate the external pressures upon them through the filter of their own professionalism to create a blend of external constraints and personal ideology—drawing attention once again to the opportunities-constraints continuum of Woods (1990).

In that same vein, Mander (1997) explores a middle-ground position between the extreme ends of the opportunities-constraints spectrum. At one end, teaching is viewed as determined by structural constraints that shape and limit teachers' practice. At the other end, teaching is understood to provide teachers considerable autonomy to direct and develop their own practices. Mander studied teachers from two different school environments and drew

comparisons to illuminate similarities and differences in their work situations, which highlight the complexities of teachers' work and demonstrate that both situational contexts and aspects of individual teachers' personal characteristics interact to influence what happens at school. She concludes that an adequate understanding of teachers' work must capture this dual influence, especially when implications are drawn about changing teachers' work.

In the structural-constraint model, teachers are portrayed as being under strain as structural pressures such as policy changes intensify their work. Increased role expectations require that teachers cope with the needs of special-education students in ordinary classes, prepare students for the rapidly increasing demands of technological society, respond to constantly changing curricula and to the challenges of diverse and often short-lived reform measures, meet demands for a wide variety of assessment strategies, become more consultative with parents and other education stakeholders, enhance collegial communication, become more involved with in-service training and further university up-grading to maximize opportunities for career advancement, and on and on. This view suggests that teachers are constrained by the social, institutional, and situational determinants of their schools as workplaces. For instance, studies focusing upon larger social, political, and economic dimensions tend to portray teachers' work as consistent over differing institutional contexts and directly influenced by decisions made by the three foregoing sectors of society, which thus constrain what teachers can do. Another level of structural

constraint occurs at the institutional or workplace level, where such influences as the specific demographics of a school's clientele, its institutional ethos, administrative structures, and collegial support influence teachers' work. At the situational or classroom level, such considerations as students' differences, the curriculum, resources, the teacher-student ratio, the constraints of time, and the traditions of privacy, individualism, and presentism constrain what teachers can do (Mander, 1997). In this view, teachers are conceptualized as "prisoners of the past" (Lortie, 1975, p. 65) and "prisoners of the present" (Zeichner & Gore, 1990, p. 341).

Obvious structural aspects in teachers' work tend to constrain and direct what teachers do; however, teachers respond to these determinants differently. Teachers' biographical backgrounds and personal philosophies come together to produce a particular pedagogy that directs their actions. Goodson (1991) reminds us that life experiences and background are key ingredients of the person one is, of his or her sense of self. To that degree, we invest ourselves in our teaching. Past experiences influence teachers' behaviour, and personal characteristics and personal priorities affect the way teachers deal with their work. Individuals' routines may be shaped by restrictions, but responses are not determined by them: many interacting dimensions influence what teachers do. Focusing only upon personal style, social background, and opportunities provides an inadequate framework effectively to explain teachers' work. Even teachers who may be fairly homogeneous socially teach differently, and those who teach

in privileged contexts may hold different attitudes to their work. Similarly, focusing only upon constraints provides an insufficient explanation of the determinants of teachers' work. School contexts may be too numerous to delineate, and teachers' acceptance of or resistance to these situations may vary greatly and produce multiple interrelationships. To provide a more subtle analysis of teachers' work, Mander (1997) thus adopts a middle-ground synthesis of the structural-contextual-constraint model (which Hargreaves in his 1991 article terms intensification) and the personal-autonomous model (which Hargreaves terms professionalization), which she believes may prove valuable to help one appreciate both contextual constraints and their personal place in the grand scheme of things.

Teachers' Reactions to Intensification

Intensification has been described as not just intermittent crises and problems that a teacher can solve, learn, and grow from, but a cumulative effect that forces teachers into survival mode (Butt et al., 1990). Hargreaves and Fullan (1988) argue that many teachers' work contexts are characterized more by constraint than opportunity, leading to survival-based patterns of teaching and routinization. Denscombe (1980) suggests that we can understand routinization as teachers' response to structures not of their own making and a work context so constrained that opportunities for teachers to create personal meaning are minimized. He adds that these individual responses have evolved

into a powerful work culture of collective patterns and practices. In such circumstances, teaching may become "a kind of secondary going through the motions" (Woods, 1984, p. 233) where the "substantial self" (Nias, 1984, p. 275) is separate from work. The personal meaning of work, however, can be enhanced when it "serves sociability needs, sustains status and self-respect, establishes personal identity, provides a routine, distracts from worry, offers achievement, and contributes to a cause" (Woods, 1984, p. 233). Thus, teachers' reactions to their work vary, depending—to a great extent—upon the degree of intensification to which they are subjected, plus their personal backgrounds and coping mechanisms.

Osborn and Broadfoot (1992), in their case study exploring the relative significance of teacher professionalism as a mediating influence on the impact of educational policy initiatives, investigated teachers' reactions to change. They indicate that teachers have at least four options: (1) cooperation—accepting imposed changes and adjusting their professional ideology accordingly; (2) retreatism—submitting to imposed changes without any corresponding change in professional ideology, leading to deep feelings of demoralization and resentment; (3) resistance—resisting imposed changes in the hope that the sanctions available to enforce the changes will not be sufficiently powerful to do the job; (4) incorporation—appearing to accept the imposed changes but incorporating them into existing modes of working so that the effect of change is considerably less than intended. Osborn and Broadfoot's research suggests that

most teachers in Britain, post-ERA (1988), have had to change their teaching approach, their classroom practice, and their perception of their professional role in ways they would not have chosen for themselves and do not really believe in, resulting in time pressures, intensification of work load, and a loss of satisfaction in the child-centred aspects of teaching. There has been evidence of a loss of autonomy and some demoralization, counterbalanced by positive feelings experienced by a few. Teachers appear to have polarized to a certain extent in their response to the changes. At one end of the spectrum are those who are determined to resist what they perceive to be the worst features of the changes while adopting the rest. At the other end are those who perceive changes more positively, not as an attempt to destroy teacher autonomy but to alter it so that they become collaborative professionals rather than autonomous individual teachers. Cooperation, or acceptance of imposed changes, is most noticeable among new teachers with no pre-ERA experience and by some head teachers with a strong managerial orientation. It will be interesting to observe, in years to come, the longer-term impact of such changes. In the meantime, the response of the majority of teachers appears to be incorporation rather than resistance or retreatism: most teachers likely will accept the changes but try not to allow anything they consider really important to be lost. That added burden, however, fosters intensification of teachers' work.

In her study of two quite different school environments, Mander (1997) found that the teachers had clear ideas about how they wanted to teach;

however, situational constraints impacted upon those visions and shaped teachers' work. One group acknowledged the constraints, accepted them, and shaped their work accordingly. Another group complained about the constraints: they were often displeased and frustrated with the directions they felt obliged to take. Mander alleges they were reduced to "mere technicians implementing school policy even when they felt it to be incorrect" (p. 291). Hence, they grudgingly acquiesced. Other teachers in this study consciously and actively resisted the constraints. These teachers were more like the epitome of autonomous, reflective practitioners, using policy as a guide but rejecting it when, in their professional judgment, it was inappropriate. In these two schools there were, of course, taken-for-granted routines and cultural practices that shaped teachers' work but were unrecognized as structural constraints. Some teachers felt valued as professionals but believed they had constantly to extend themselves to cater to individual children's needs. The ethic of care, corresponding workload, and feelings of guilt at times were balanced by the satisfactions teachers perceived of good-teacher-student relationships. The effect of such hidden determinants, however, was to cause teachers to be overworked. In their attempts to meet expectations, they tended to be critical of themselves rather than blame the system. Here the personal dimension was crucial to the way teachers coped with a given situation.

Nias (1998) speaks of the human costs of the changes in teachers' work. She mentions the emotional response of teachers to the transformation of their

work and challenges to their values, particularly in England since the 1988 Education Reform Act. She stresses that feelings are central to the practice of teaching and says to treat teaching as if it were primarily cognitive and behavioural is fundamentally to misunderstand its nature. The reasons for this emotional involvement include working with and enjoying the company of children, the inherently moral nature of teaching and the sense of responsibility for students springing from it, allegiance to the ethics of care and service, and personal identification with work. Nias believes those who overlook the emotional nature of teaching will fail in their attempts to improve its quality. She stresses the shift in balance in the past few years from situations involving tension and constraint, which elicit an emotional response from teachers. Of those who remain in the teaching profession, Nias differentiates between enhanced and compliant teachers. She argues that those who feel enhanced by restructuring are more likely to be drawn into headship because of the scope it offers for independence and commitment. The majority of staff members, being at best compliant to change, will distance themselves from management activities and policy making and focus as much as possible upon the classroom. She believes that the preoccupations and responsibilities of teachers will become increasingly differentiated from administration and that the gap between them will grow. She suggests that is not a recipe for school improvement and that it will lead to an increase in both manipulation and micro-political activity on the part of heads and their staff members.

Like Nias (1998), Menter (1998) also focuses upon England post-ERA when he speaks of the bureaucratization of teaching. He indicates teachers have experienced an enormous increase in administrative duties, many of which do little or nothing to contribute to the education of their students. He categorizes teachers' reactions as contestation, resistance, and accommodation. Harvey, MacDonald, and Clark (1980) discuss three main adaptive strategies: "accommodation, locomotion, and construction" (p. 32). Accommodation involves developing behaviour patterns that satisfy existing environmental requirements, including adapting expectations; locomotion entails the search for an environment compatible with current behaviour patterns and traits, such as moving to a new location; and construction requires an alteration of the environment to make it more suitable to the individual's resources, for example, changing the institutional structure. In all three of these strategies, the implication is that the adjustment is required because fundamental changes have occurred. Patterns may emerge based upon the way an individual generally reacts to the basic forces that shape long-term behaviour. Woods et al. (1997) celebrate teachers who resist, circumvent, exploit, or triumph over top-down educational reform to defy or deny the defeat the British government has inflicted incrementally upon the teaching profession. Webb (1998) argues that British changes since 1988 have resulted in the intensification of teachers' work since, without any additional resourcing, the "new" teacher's role includes additional whole-school responsibilities while retaining traditional classroom

responsibilities, plus the pressure of constant external evaluation. She contends that current notions of what constitutes a good teacher give rise to competing demands upon teachers' time and energy, creating role conflict for teachers, intruding upon their personal lives, and threatening their self-identity. She indicates that teachers have exhibited variable adaptation to the changes: while for some the changes have led to new professional opportunities, for the majority—to varying degrees—the result has been a more restricted professionality and loss of control. Tension and constraints have caused teachers to become demotivated, feel inadequate, and perceive their knowledge and experience to be devalued.

Teachers have needs that must be met through teaching, ranging from pride in their work and in securing results to realization of the self. The teacher also learns and develops in fulfilling ways, both as pedagogue—in understanding children's learning and in refinement of teaching methods—and as self—in relation to his or her own knowledge and abilities (Woods, 1993). When a teacher with high ideals, however, works in a severely constrained situation—a not uncommon scenario—some common strategies develop: complying with the prevailing order, adjusting one's ideals, transposing ideals to some other form of activity outside teaching, or renouncing them altogether (Woods, 1990). Some situations do permit teachers to retain their ideals, sustain their vision, restore their faith, and confirm their own personal, practical philosophy; but currently teaching appears to be at a crucial juncture. Since the 1980's, in Britain and

elsewhere, teachers' morale has declined; they have lost status and a great measure of control, and intensification of teachers' work exists (Apple, 1986; Hargreaves, 1991; Larson, 1980). To reduce intensification, Fullan (1982) points out that teachers need the opportunity to experiment, modify, select, and absorb proposed changes that are being instituted from without; the same applies to changes from within (Nias, 1989). The problem for teachers who wish to challenge the current state of affairs, however, is their increasing vulnerability, for example, in Britain, where they are currently judged, graded, disempowered, and forcibly reconstructed. A great deal of research evidence has found OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) (Tromon, 1996) inspections to be mainly "hierarchical, confrontational, unfeeling, narrowly technically minded and condemnatory" (Woods et al., 1997, p. 160). Such surveillance and disciplinary pressure undermine informal collaboration, isolating teachers and weakening their ability effectively to protest against the notions of good practice held by those in authority over them.

This chapter has focused upon the intensification of teachers' work with particular emphasis upon the component of fiscal pressure, a characterization of intensification, the claims of intensification, support for the intensification thesis, qualifications to the intensification thesis, an opportunities and constraints continuum, and teachers' reactions to intensification. I believe what has happened in Britain should provide a wake-up call to us concerning what to try to prevent from happening in Canada. Here intensification has had a strong

start; we should learn from the example of others and be ever mindful of the potential for harm.

Let us now turn to intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context. Intensification is a combination of subjective and objective phenomena. It is subjective—real enough, but a function of teachers' feelings and perceptions—and objective—measurable, factual, and quantifiable—given what we have already said and what, in chapter six, we will demonstrate in the Nova Scotia context in relation to teachers' time and stress.

Chapter Six

The Present Nova Scotia Context

> As Nova Scotia teachers, "Our jobs are consuming us." (Sheppard, 1999, p. 22)

The human capacity to deal with change is limited, and too much change at one time or over a long interval invites chaos. Teachers in Nova Scotia, however, have been subjected to many recent changes: numerous advisory councils, a new education act, a new special education document, restructured school boards, a school indicators project, a new public school program document, and fiscal cutbacks, according to Peter Lewis (1997), then a member of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union (NSTU) Provincial Executive. Anyone familiar with the professional literature on education reform in the United States, the U.K., and elsewhere will find many similar themes in the provincially-mandated change initiatives currently underway in Nova Scotia. Susan Church (1997), then at Mount Saint Vincent University, chronicles more demanding graduation requirements, more stringent teacher licensing, national curriculum and standards, and various forms of site-based planning and management. At the same time, schools are expected to stretch their shrinking resources to meet the demands of an increasingly diverse and needy student population. The frenetic pace of change is making the demanding job of teaching ever more difficult, but perhaps an urgent question concerns whether the young people in our care are

receiving any real benefit from the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context. In an attempt to explore these issues concerning change, this chapter will focus upon the Nova Scotia Teachers Union, a Nova Scotia time-use study of teachers' work, and Nova Scotia teachers' voices.

The Nova Scotia Teachers Union

Within a context of increased governmental control over education systems, the rapidity of educational reform, the introduction of massive curricular reform, systems of accountability and evaluation, and the intrusion into public schooling of market goals, the role of teachers' unions to represent, promote, and protect their membership becomes very complex. Unions play two distinct roles: to act as political agents to secure rights and benefits from the employer and to act as voluntary organizations that meet members' demands concerning the benefits they obtain and the services they provide. According to Anne Rodrigue (2001), an executive staff officer at the NSTU, an examination of mission statements from several Canadian teachers' organizations reflects this duality of purpose: the protection and enhancement of economic benefits, and the promotion of both professional self-interest and a high quality democratic public school system. This duality of trade unionism and professional association creates a shifting dynamic tension within teachers' organizations, but teachers' unions seem comfortable with it.

Teachers' unions in Canada consider themselves to be professional

organizations. Unions espouse many of the characteristics of professionalism described in my Chapter 4: the duty to speak out with authority, both individually and collectively, on broad matters of public policy and justice, going beyond their duties to specific clients; a relationship to clients consisting of integrity, plus legal and ethical rights and duties (Downie, 1990); and moral and ethical principles stemming from caring concerns (Hargreaves & Lo, 2000). Unions believe in the historical model of professionalism, and its concepts of altruism and community interest, and their conduct is informed by this belief (Ozga, 1995). They are, however, also willing to take direct industrial action in support of matters of principle (Brown & Angus, 1995).

The discourse of professionalism has, as a subsidiary theme, the relationship of power and control, which has been used by both employers and teachers' unions. Employers use it to control teachers, to promote participation in consultations on education reform, to engage teachers in self-management initiatives such as school governance models, to restrict teachers' recourse to union strategies such as strikes and walk-outs, and to discourage teachers' unions from becoming political players (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). Unions use professionalism as a means of defining politics and policy, and as a means of resisting change (Lawn, 1996). Canadian teachers' unions use the concept of professionalism concerning contested matters such as teacher workload, contracting out, issues of professional judgment, and establishing new protected spaces such as technology (Rodrigue, 2001).

The professional characteristics of the NSTU are embedded in the objectives of the union, which date back to 1896, and are also ensconced in legislation. A stated objective of the NSTU is to advance and promote the teaching profession and the cause of education in the province. As in Nova Scotia, many other teachers' unions in Canada have been accorded, through legislation, the right to speak on behalf of public education. In a climate of downsizing, direct attacks on public sector unions, and cuts to education budgets, teachers' unions are engaged in a battle with governments for the hearts and minds of Canadians. Although polls have shown that teachers in Canada are liked and respected by the parents of the children they teach, teachers' unions are sometimes perceived as self-serving (Rodrigue, 2001). Thus, researchers suggest that teachers' unions need to reclaim their professional voice and enhance their public image and their instrumentality for the general public (Lawn, 1996). Luke (1974) suggests that unions should be engaged in influencing the public concerning what they should demand from government. Teachers' unions, if and when they decide to do battle, do have access to substantial financial and human resources. They have democratic governance systems which can adapt, reject, and modify strategic plans. They have memberships who, if they support a cause, can lobby political representatives. Research is also a tool that many teachers' unions use as they frame their responses to both internal and external education issues. Unions use research to support membership demands concerning collective bargaining, to

document changes in teachers' work, to survey teachers' attitudes, to prepare position papers, to empower teachers and their unions, and to challenge the initiatives of government. Teachers' unions engage in research as part of their function of speaking out—as advocates for public education—that external professional role described in the literature and written into legislation. Canadian teachers' unions have commissioned external research on such issues as accreditation, standardized testing, school councils, inclusion, teachers' professional development, and so on. Some unions have free-standing research components such as the Saskatchewan Teachers Federation and the Stirling MacDowell Foundation. Some unions are advocating pro-active and expanded research roles for their organizations to respond to the changing demographics of the profession, the changing nature of teachers' work, and the concern that unions are losing their ability to influence education policy (Rodrigue, 2001).

The NSTU does not have a long history of conducting research, either internally or externally. There has, however, been a shift in the thinking of the union over the years—a realization that research is necessary to respond professionally to increasingly complex issues. Presently, there is an expectation from the membership that the union's responses to government be based on researched critiques and researched alternatives. Hence, the NSTU has assigned a staff person to be responsible for overseeing the research needs of the union. Recently the union has conceived and implemented an internal and external public relations campaign whose purpose is to stop a provincial government

intent on issuing fiscal restraint measures and downsizing initiatives to our public education system. This public relations campaign has three objectives: to use research to frame and support public pronouncements and media releases, to establish the NSTU as a credible professional voice for public education, and to create strategic alliances to unify and expand its professional voice. An internal strategy team decided research was needed to provide information concerning three aspects: fiscal analysis of the province's financial position and a response to the recommendations proposed by the provincial government, baseline data on the impacts of cuts in education and the impact upon teaching and learning conditions, and an instrument to measure the impact of the public relations campaign. It was decided a balance should be sought between externally commissioned surveys and internal surveys. As a means of extending partnerships and tapping the expertise of faculty members at Nova Scotia universities, staff decided to contact interested faculty to determine if working partnerships could be effective (Rodrigue, 2001).

To compile data generated from internal sources, a contract researcher was engaged. The NSTU also commissioned research from two research firms and used the research generated by the Canadian Teachers Federation and other national and local public sector unions that had been involved in fighting downsizing agendas. The data collection process fulfilled two purposes: to provide a research basis for public pronouncements and to evaluate the impact of the public relations campaign on both internal and external audiences. Data

collection was mainly by recorded group discussions and feedback, personal testimonials, two surveys, and a public opinion poll. Group discussions acted as a filter to evaluate components of the strategic plan and determine the future applicability of similar strategies; personal testimonials and the surveys provided data for newspaper and television advertisements; and the externally-commissioned public opinion poll helped to determine the impact of the campaign on public opinion (Rodrigue, 2001).

Following is a summary of the research agenda of the NSTU over a seven-month period. (1) Fiscal Analysis & Alternatives is a qualitative/quantitative analysis of existing documents, budget, and public opinion polls, commissioned externally to provide data for individual and collective intervention for the public relations campaign and a response to a provincial government draft document. (2) Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers is based upon a qualitative/quantitative time-use diary survey, commissioned externally to explore the temporal realities of teaching, for use in collective bargaining and public relations. (3) The Impact of Government Funding on Education is based upon a quantitative survey, commissioned externally to gauge teachers' perceptions of the impact that budget restraints have had on education since 1994, for use in collective bargaining and public relations and as baseline data. (4) Tell Us Your Story: Teachers is based upon a qualitative, anecdotal questionnaire done internally to provide testimonials concerning the impact of budget cuts on teaching and learning conditions, for use as baseline data and in

public relations. (5) Tell Us Your Story: Parents is also based upon a qualitative, anecdotal questionnaire done internally in partnership with the Nova Scotia Federation of Home and Schools to provide testimonials concerning the impact of budget cuts on teaching and learning conditions, for use as baseline data and in public relations, in correlation with the teachers' survey. (6) Attitudes & Perceptions of Public Education in Nova Scotia is based upon a quantitative public opinion survey, commissioned externally to measure voting intentions, voting behaviour in the last election, current issues, and attitudes and perceptions of the public school system in Nova Scotia, for use in impact analysis and public relations. (7) Strategy for Advocacy is a qualitative study based upon focus group discussions, carried out internally to provide feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the public relations campaign, for strategic planning for 2001 and future initiatives (Rodrigue, 2001).

The NSTU engaged in their research process to cause the provincial government to reflect upon the impact of their actions, not just upon teachers' union members and the loss of jobs but on the impact upon children and our economic future. Similar initiatives elsewhere, in New Zealand and other locations described in the literature, suggested that the fiscal management solutions proposed by the government were both unworkable and economically devastating. The NSTU's goals were both altruistic and self-serving. Ideologically, they believed the proposed solutions were wrong; thus, they had a dual role: to educate the public concerning the impact of the cuts on the quality

of education and to educate the government on the consequences of their budget cuts.

Did the NSTU accomplish its goals? The results of the seven research efforts and the government's subsequent actions suggest success. Concern over public education has heightened within the last year; between 52 and 60% of Nova Scotians are more supportive of teachers than they were one year ago, and a strong majority of Nova Scotians believes that both the NSTU and individual teachers are highly committed to public education. Between 44 and 52% of Nova Scotians are not at all confident in the government's ability to act in the best interests of the public education system, and most Nova Scotians want the NSTU to become more proactive in ensuring high quality public education in this province. The NSTU has established itself as a credible professional voice for public education. The government modified its original position: the number of teaching positions lost was reduced from 922 positions to about 200, most of which were attributed to attrition; supplementary funding was provided to school boards so that education budgets did not have to be cut drastically; and the spring 2001 budget included additional spending for education despite the province's being in a deficit position (Rodrigue, 2001).

Subsequent to the results of the initial campaign, the NSTU decided that two of its priority goals for the future would be to provide an ongoing, straightforward community relations program to inform the public about funding requirements for high quality public education and to prepare the organization to

take strong action in defence of public education. This stance places the NSTU in a positive position with respect to directions advocated by many researchers. Bascia (1998) suggests that teachers' organizations establish external relevancy through influencing and setting out educational policy; Barber (1992) advises strategic unionism by teachers' unions attuning themselves to the public need or good; and Lawton, Bedard, MacLellan, & Li (1999) suggest that unions should lobby concerning issues rather than try to form governments. The NSTU prioritized education funding in its campaigns of 2000 and 2001, but it never officially supported a political party; instead, the union followed the advice of Luke (1974) since it worked with parents and the general public in informing the government that education cuts were unacceptable and demanding a high level of services for public education despite fiscal restraints. According to Rodrigue (2001), the Teacher Union Reform Network suggests that unions have to undergo fundamental changes in culture to become effective partners in education reform. The NSTU—through research as a basis for bargaining positions, position papers, and a public relations campaign—has begun the slow process of its own cultural change. There is recognition that the public must become part of both the debate and the solution to change government policy. Ongoing alliances are continuing with parents, parent associations, university faculty, and other public sector unions. Substantial resources have been allocated to public relations and public affairs, and a re-evaluation of the purpose and focus of these roles is occurring. Kumar, Murray, and Schetagne (1999)

suggest that unions must work to change public policy to ensure that workers are consulted and participate in workplace change. Swimmer (2001) recommends that teachers' unions, as part of the labour union sector, must consolidate their resources to ensure that collective bargaining rights are recognized as human rights, which requires creating alliances with other public sector unions. In Nova Scotia, alliances are being established for the greater good, and unions are working together to examine and propose alternatives to public sector cuts, privatization, and restrictive budgets; and research has become essential in the strategic planning of these groups (Rodrigue, 2001).

An examination of recent additions to collective agreements in Nova Scotia reveals that the teachers' union is addressing issues of professional voice and representation in educational decision making. The establishment of credibility with the public, the strategic deployment of union resources in the political arena, and the use of mechanisms of collective bargaining are only some of the strategies the NSTU has used to reclaim professional voice—which requires unions to define the labour of teaching, propose alternatives to the status quo, and identify the tools and resources necessary for a high quality education system. It involves creating broad, strategic alliances with equal partners, and it requires teachers' unions continually to redefine themselves and their members within the evolving concept of professionalism, in a constantly changing environment.

The Nova Scotia Time-Use Study of Teachers' Work

This section extends the discussion of professionalism and intensification of teachers' work by focusing upon Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers, commissioned by the NSTU, carried out by the Time-Use Research Program at Saint Mary's University, released in March 2000—with which I was involved to a limited extent. I attended all meetings, held at the NSTU, concerning the project, observed the initial focus group, assisted with the pilot project, and helped with the final questionnaire. I suggested some questions, assisted with details, participated in some of the analysis, and did all of the editing. I had no access to raw data or to the names of any participants and dealt only with compiled results. The study was motivated by the need "to understand the implications of increasing demands made on teachers by multiple and uncoordinated changes, including increased accountability, a policy of inclusion, centralised curriculum development, and downsizing being imposed on the system, resulting in job intensification" (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. v). This externally-commissioned study was part of the research effort carried out by the NSTU, as described in the last section.

According to Mary Jane Cadegan, then NSTU Coordinator of Staff Development Services (meeting, March 16, 1999), the notion that teachers have been failing is what has fuelled the call for reform. She says that since 1993, the Nova Scotia scene has changed: with increased directives, teachers are being de-professionalized. More packaged curricular material and top-down direction

have eroded teachers' control. Ms. Cadegan identifies two main discrepancies currently causing problems for Nova Scotia teachers: de-professionalization, which is perhaps the first and most important issue, and reduced collegiality. She says teachers can deal with some discrepancies if they are offset by some positive aspects; but when the negative aspects accumulate, teachers' morale definitely decreases. As we saw in chapter two concerning the threat to the liberal education of students and the changing role of the teacher, and in chapter four in the challenge to professionalism, there has been an attempt to turn teachers into compliant, competent technicians rather than reflective professionals, which has implications for education. Cadegan says that de-professionalizing teachers has demoralized the work force, who then do not have the impetus to work for improvement.

At a press conference held when the time-use study was released, Andrew Harvey (March 20, 2000) indicated that teachers believe other people's perceptions of the teaching profession have changed for the worse over the past five years. More than 80% of teachers responding indicated that they feel they are trying to take on too many things at once, and almost 75% feel that others expect too much of them; 75% said they worry about not having enough time to spend with family and friends. "These results suggest the potential for fostering a sense of hopelessness, cynicism, and demoralization among Nova Scotia teachers. Obvious ramifications include feelings of guilt, resentment of job demands, and anxiety from the fear of not meeting expectations" (Harvey, press

conference, March 20, 2000). The fact that 80% of survey respondents either often or always feel rushed every day caused the director of the survey to suggest that teachers do not have adequate time to reflect on their teaching, they do not have enough time to work collaboratively with their peers, and they do not have time to refuel emotional and physical reserves.

He said the data collected for this study indicate that teachers are definitely experiencing changes. Some of these changes require additional time if teachers are to adapt, while other activities are sacrificed to accommodate increased demands for teachers' time. "Students may well be the losers in this process since the greatest perceived decrease has been in time spent with individual students, suggesting that activities with individual students are often not rewarded by the system, while paperwork and meetings typically are" (Harvey, press conference, March 20, 2000). The results of this report do not paint an attractive picture of the teachers' situation. Harvey suggested teachers are "time-poor," stressed, and frustrated with the dramatic changes to their profession.

Bruno (1997) has suggested that the cost for any school reform or change should be measured not only in dollars but also in terms of the resource of time provided by classroom teachers. Harvey and Spinney (2000) report that the amount of time spent on most teaching activities has increased over the past five years. Activities that represent the greatest increase in time are typically performed during the evening and have thus increased the amount of homework

for teachers. Partly to blame for this increase appears to be a systematic lack of sufficient resources, including both support for infrastructure and preparation time. The results from the time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers "clearly point to the need for any future changes . . . that affect teachers' working conditions to include provision for adequate supports and resources . . . [and] consideration for the impact of such changes on both the professional and personal lives of teachers" (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. 24).

After the press conference (March 20, 2000), a publication of the Nova Scotia Teachers Union (The Teacher, April 2000) quoted then NSTU president Donnie MacIntyre as saying: "There is clearly a lesson here for school boards and provincial politicians. While learning takes place in the classroom, the climate is set in the legislature" ("Educational change has generated a 'lose-lose' environment," p. 1). As a matter of fact, several months previously (late October 1999), Premier John Hamm announced the formation of a Voluntary Planning Fiscal Management Task Force. MacIntyre reports that more than 150 Nova Scotia teachers took the time to attend pre-hearing workshops arranged by the NSTU locals throughout the province, and 50 teachers made oral and written presentations at the hearings. The up-side of Taking Control of our Future, the final report of the task force, was its key theme "to make Nova Scotia a learning society." The down-side was its call for drastic cuts to government departments, programs, and services—and the provincial government's insistence that that would include public education. MacIntyre's response to the Nova Scotia

government's actions up to March 2000 was as follows:

> . . . 1999-2000 will be seen as a benchmark year for teachers and for our public school system. Through it all, teachers—individually and collectively—have not hesitated to step forward and speak out in support of education. It is the . . . [NSTU] at its finest—teachers collectively helping teachers improve conditions. ("NSTU president thanks teachers for speaking out," April 2000, p. 3)

Despite numerous efforts by and on behalf of Nova Scotia teachers, the provincial government has persisted in expecting teachers to do more with less support. Some recent initiatives to press for support have included the following: (1) an anecdotal survey of teaching and learning conditions distributed by the NSTU in March 2000, to which over 500 teachers responded; (2) a voluntary quantitative survey of teachers conducted by researchers for the Centre for Research in Educational Administration and Development (CREAD) at St. Francis Xavier University to determine teachers' perspectives of how budgets of NS governments have impacted on education since 1994-1995, to which almost 800 responses were received—a statistically significant response rate of over 50 percent; and (3) the previously-mentioned study Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers ("NSTU president thanks teachers for speaking out," April 2000, p. 3).

Concerning that time-use study, after a focus group (which I attended on May 25, 1999) of seven participating teachers and a facilitator, plus five observers, followed by a pilot study (to which I contributed) of 251 teachers throughout the province, to which almost 100 teachers responded (June 1999),

the final time-use survey (with which I assisted) was distributed (fall 1999) to a stratified random sample of 1800 teachers in 154 Nova Scotia schools. The sample was based upon the then latest (1998-1999) official NSTU database of 10,228 "valid" teachers at 511 public schools (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. 3). The distribution was deemed properly to reflect the profession—based upon gender, age, and geography (McLaughlin, March 21, 2000)—and demographics including, but not limited to, grade levels taught, subjects taught, and administration and resource duties ("Landmark study of teacher worklife gets underway," Sept. 1999). Of the 1800 survey instruments distributed, 1006 were returned, representing a response rate of 55.9%. However, not all surveys were complete. A total of 822 completed diaries were used for subsequent analysis, representing a response rate of 45.7%. Such a response rate is considered acceptable for a distribution of unsolicited questionnaires to teachers, equalling the response rates in studies conducted by Goddard (1999), French (1998), and others (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, p. 4).

When the results of the time-use survey were released, then NSTU president Donnie MacIntyre said:

> Teachers are already overworked. It was with some reluctance that we decided to approach our members with . . . requests for more information, but the situation we face in trying to protect education is serious enough that we felt we needed solid data on which to base our fight against drastic funding cuts. ("NSTU president thanks teachers for speaking out," April 2000, p. 3)

MacIntyre added that the response from teachers even surpassed his

expectations. He indicated that students, parents, and teachers not included in the survey owe a great deal to the teachers who responded, calling them "dedicated professionals . . . going beyond the call of duty" (p. 3). The Teacher (1999, Sept.) reported MacIntyre as saying the results of this study are crucial and will likely influence NSTU policy and planning for many years to come.

The methodology used for Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers was based upon the international, standard, time-diary approach, which is widely accepted as the most reliable means of collecting accurate and reliable time-use data. Teachers maintained a 24-hour diary record for each of two days, providing researchers with more than 1600 diary days. The researchers wanted a valid profile of the daily demands placed upon a teacher within each working hour. "What we received was a detailed workday picture, broken into 15-minute slices of time. To the best of my knowledge, the complexity of such a survey of teachers' work time has never been captured before," said Harvey (press conference, March 20, 2000), who was then in his fourth year as president of the International Time-Use Association, a collection of professionals with varied backgrounds—for example, economists, sociologists, educators, psychologists, geographers, and statisticians. This study also expanded upon the traditional time-diary approach by disaggregating the time spent on the job to provide a better understanding of the range of activities teaching involves. Typically, in time-diary studies, time at work has been measured as a "black box," in aggregate terms only. Internationally, this study

is among the pioneers to use a standard time-diary approach to examine the teaching profession (Harvey & Spinney, 2000).

This study was motivated by a need to understand the implications of the increasing demands made upon teachers in the province's public school system. The intention was to move beyond the usual type of survey that reports on the total number of hours in a teacher's work week. The results identified stressful demands on teachers being controlled, to a great extent, by multiple, concurrent changes to the school system. Much of the public considers that teachers work about a 35-hour week. The survey demonstrated that public perception, as well as the perception of many teachers, is inaccurate. When teachers were asked how long they work, most considered they worked an average of 51 hours a week. The teachers' study revealed, however, that teachers work 52.5 hours a week [later amended to 54.2 hours per week, when including 1.7 hours of contextual activity (Harvey & Spinney, 2001)], only one-third of which is classroom time. School administrators perform 56.7 hours of work-related activities per week. Matched with surveys of other occupations, these figures demonstrate that teachers work similar, hectic hours on a par with corporate administrators and business managers. This study indicates teachers spend an average 630 minutes (10.5 hours) per week on preparation for teaching, yet only 180 minutes (3 hours) of preparation time is allocated by the school system for that purpose. The result is that 450 minutes (7.5 hours) of weekly preparation activities must be performed as "homework" during evenings, early

morning hours, and weekends (Harvey, press conference, March 20, 2000).

Despite more working hours, teachers consistently report being unable to give students the kind of individual support and attention that, as professionals, they want to provide and know their students require. In addition to classroom time (accounting for 33% of their time) and preparation (20% of their time, most of which is "homework"), other large consumers of teachers' time include marking and grading (10%), meetings and paperwork/report cards (5-7%). Responsibilities such as supervision, administration, extra-curricular activities, and preparing Individualized Program Plans (IPP's) for students are taking increasingly more time. In fact, meetings before and after school, and often at lunch break, plus the added paperwork, are leaving many teachers stressed and frustrated about dramatic changes concerning which they have had little or no input; and these conditions have been aggravated during the past decade with continual review and reduction of required resources, human and financial. Describing teachers as "time-poor," Harvey (press conference, March 20, 2000) said the survey found that teachers participate in a myriad of varying activities at different times of the day. In fact, teachers engage in many more transitions in a day than in comparable occupations, and studies show transitions are the most stressful dimensions in a work day. The duties of teachers do not fit a nine-to-five workday. Their work invades the privacy of their home lives and lifestyles. It has placed increasing challenges on a caring profession, while restricting, to a great extent, time spent in their primary function, teaching young people.

Harvey (press conference, March 20, 2000) said, "I hope the value of this research will not be lost on those political forces with the means to make the changes parents and teachers want and students deserve."

Two reports based upon the Nova Scotia teachers' time-use study (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, 2001) reveal at least seven major objective points. First, Nova Scotia teachers devote 54.2 hours per week to their jobs. The most conservative estimate of teachers' time is that they work 42.2 hours per week, but that only includes primary activities such as preparation and instruction. Secondary activities, such as grading papers while looking after their own children, and contextual activities, such as shopping for class material, account for an additional 10.3 and 1.7 hours, respectively. Hence, teachers put in a full workday each day. Over the course of the survey's average workdays, counting all respondents reporting on the given day, primary time ranged from 7 to over 9 hours, while the inclusion of secondary and contextual time led to total work of over 10 hours most workdays. Second, teachers spend, on average, about 10 hours per week at home, including 5 hours each weekend, on school-related work. In addition to their work at school, teachers are destined to a "second shift" performed at home during the evenings, early morning hours, and weekends. More than 10% of teachers' work begins after 6 p.m., in essence invading teachers' home time. Third, teachers spend 7 hours and 50 minutes a day at school, including an average of 1 hour and 50 minutes at school before it begins and after it ends, with only 25% of lunchtime devoted to lunch. The time

before school tends to be dominated by getting ready for the day, tutoring, supervision, and administration. Time after school is allocated to a broad range of activities including, in declining order, preparation, meetings, supervision, tutoring, marking/grading, other teaching-related paperwork/report cards, extra-curricular activities, and administration. Lunchtime, in general, is not for teachers. About 25% of that time is devoted to lunch and an equal amount to instruction/tutoring. The rest of the time is occupied by such activities as school-related travelling, supervision, marking/grading, meetings, and administrative duties. Fourth, large class sizes are a reality; they increase system time components (such as administrative activities, meetings, extra-curricular activities, committee work, paperwork, phone calls, and work-related travel) while they decrease class time components (such as instruction, preparation, and marking/grading time). Thus, preparation time suffers as a result of the increased demands associated with increased class sizes. Class time is spent directly for students, whereas system time consists mostly of supplementary activities, some of which could possibly be delegated to and sometimes in the past were once performed by support staff, if they were available. Nova Scotia teachers reported that their homeroom class size averaged 24 students; however, that figure belies the reality that the modal class size is 26 students, that nearly half of all classes are over 24 students, and that class size ranged up to 37 students. Overall, teachers averaged contact with about 70 students and 3 IPP students. Fifth, IPP/IMP students impact

significantly upon both the quality and allocation of teachers' time. Over all grades and positions withing their schools, 80% of teachers are involved with an average of 3.7 IPP students. The number of IPP students per teacher is a function of the teacher's role (classroom teacher, specialist teacher, resource teacher, or administrator) and grade level (elementary, middle/junior high, or high school). IPP students generate longer hours, an additional average of 4.2 hours per week. There is more system time for teachers overall; however, the burden is not borne equally by all teachers: it varies by the kind of IPP involvement. IPP and some IMP students significantly increase specific system chores, including time for meetings, paperwork, phone calls, the plans for IPP/IMP students, and administration. These students also significantly increase the amount of time spent with single students, both IPP/IMP and non-IPP/IMP students. Sixth, a significant portion of teachers' work occurs for, but not in the presence of, students. When considering the average total time teachers devote to work-related activities for students, they spend about 40% of their time for and with students and about 60% of their time for but not with students; thus, teachers spend about 3/5 of their work time behind the scenes and considerably less time (2/5) actually interacting with students. Seventh, teachers are able to allocate very little time to individual students: a total of about 1.5 hours for, and less than an hour with, individual students per week. Most of the time allocated to individual students occurs during class hours, generally the morning hours, often in the company of other students (Harvey & Spinney, 2000, 2001).

In addition to the above-listed objective points, the Nova Scotia teachers' time-use study (Harvey & Spinney, 2000) reveals at least two major subjective points, concerning stress and respect. The survey examines stress by describing situations that sometimes arise in people's lives, based upon work by the American time-use researcher, John Robinson, in 1991, and adapted by Statistics Canada, in 1995. They are appropriate to this study because of the changing work environment for teachers, and they facilitate the comparison between Nova Scotia teachers and people in other professions. The highest response is that more than 80% of teachers believe they are trying to take on too much at once, suggesting that teachers may feel overwhelmed. About 75% of teachers believe others expect too much of them, and 75% worry about not spending enough time with family and friends. The results suggest teachers are expected to perform increasing numbers of duties and feel forced to neglect family and friends to meet those expectations. Teachers report cutting back on sleep when they need more time. About one-third of respondents consider themselves workaholics, meaning two-thirds might not choose to work so hard if they believed they had a choice—leading to feelings of anxiety and resentment. Compared with other Canadians whose occupation is education and who participated in the Statistics Canada 1998 time-use study, Nova Scotia teachers are far more likely to worry about not spending enough time with family and friends; they are also more likely than other Canadians to cut back on sleep when they need more time, want to spend more time alone, and hope to slow

down in the coming year. Teachers are equally as likely as other Canadians to perceive themselves to be workaholics (Harvey & Spinney, 2000).

As mentioned earlier, of the reported average of 630 minutes teachers devote to preparation each week, the school system only allots 180 minutes per week for that purpose. That is simply not enough time, given all the other changes occurring within the classroom and in education generally. Increased allotted preparation time could reduce stress, improve life outside teaching, enable teachers to be better prepared and organized, and improve pedagogy. Preparation time is both desirable and necessary for several reasons, such as the opportunity to commit to and be involved in change, and to resist the process of intensification in teachers' work (Hargreaves, 1991). Increased preparation time, in the present context, however, might just provide for coping with immediate demands. The survey reveals over 80% of Nova Scotia teachers either often or always feel rushed each day. The consequences of this chronic lack of time—stemming from insufficient time for preparation, too many expectations, and too few breaks during the day—are increased levels of stress, feelings of guilt and despair, resentment of job demands, and anxiety stemming from the fear of not meeting expectations (Harvey & Spinney, 2000).

In addition to stress, another major subjective point revealed by the teachers' survey concerns respect. To explore teachers' perception of their profession, teachers were asked to rate how they believe eleven different groups view the teaching profession and whether teachers perceive these views to have

changed over the past five years. These groups included educational program assistants (EPS's), guidance counsellors, the NSTU, school administration, parents of school-aged children, teachers, students, Department of Education personnel, the general public, federal politicians, and provincial politicians. The results show teachers believe that other people's perceptions of the teaching profession have changed for the worse over the past five years. Goddard (2000), who also studied Nova Scotia teachers, indicates that teachers have expressed the view that the opinions of many people who work outside the educational enterprise have changed for the worse. There is very little difference in the results between Goddard's study and that of Harvey & Spinney (2000), which reinforces the perception of teachers from two separate, independent studies. Teachers appear to believe that the greater the distance between other people and the daily realities of the classroom, the lower their view of the teaching profession. The ramifications are that teachers believe federal and provincial politicians have the poorest understanding or appreciation of the teaching profession, yet these individuals are the power brokers of our society. These results suggest the potential for fostering a sense of hopelessness, cynicism, and demoralization among Nova Scotia's teachers (Harvey & Spinney, 2000).

Based upon the data provided by Nova Scotia's teachers and analysis of the results of the time-use survey (Harvey & Spinney, 2000), we may conclude that the life of a teacher is complex, resulting from the wide variety and number

of tasks required of a teacher daily. Such tasks are performed not only at school but tend to "bleed" into the personal life of a teacher. Although at first glance a teacher's day may appear to be shorter than other workers' days, when the total time spent on teaching-related activities is tallied, the result is "homework" for teachers, to be performed during a "second shift" during the evenings, early morning hours, and weekends, which is especially reflective of preparation and marking/grading activities. Thus, if present teachers are to be retained and new teachers are to be attracted to the profession, the current working conditions of teachers, including stress levels and respect for the profession, must be addressed. The results of the teachers' survey do not paint an attractive picture of the teachers' situation: teachers are overworked, stressed, and frustrated with the dramatic changes to their profession. Partially to blame for their increased workload is a systemic lack, and ever-dwindling supply, of sufficient resources, relating to both support infrastructure and preparation time. The results from this study clearly point to the need for any future changes that affect teachers' working conditions to include provisions for adequate supports and resources, as well as consideration for the impact of such changes on both the professional and personal lives of teachers.

Nova Scotia Teachers' Voices

Neilsen (1999), a professor at Mount Saint Vincent University, observes that although a great deal has been written about the nature of teachers' work

and life in schools, relatively few Canadian public school teachers have written any of those accounts. That task is usually left to academics or journalists, perhaps because public school teachers have had very few opportunities in public forums to make their voices heard. What counts as newsworthy by the media seldom includes stories of everyday complexities and tensions in today's schools, unless it involves, for example, so-called racially-motivated fights or abusive strip-searches. Neilsen says even when there are newsworthy stories to tell, it may be risky to reveal all in a down-sizing work environment where insecurity often prevents teachers from "telling insider tales in public" (p. 13). Even among "tenured veterans, silence tends to be symptomatic of burnout, cynicism, or an instinct for emotional self-preservation" (p. 13). In good times, when resources and privileges are more equitably distributed within society, there is less impetus to challenge the status quo. In economic, political, and social hard times, however, voices struggle to emerge "in response to perceived threats to principles, practices, and resources about which we care deeply" (p. 14).

Although the limits of this dissertation do not allow for full-blown accounts by contemporary teachers, I believe Nova Scotia teachers' voices appearing in print and comments gleaned from case summaries compiled by SMU researchers from over 800 Nova Scotia teachers' time-use diaries serve to illustrate some reactions to the current educational setting in which teachers presently live and work.

Barton, Barrett, Whitty, Miles, and Furlong (1994) allege that successive British governments have looked to possible weaknesses in the teaching force as an explanation for broader failings within society, entailing a constant stream of criticism of teachers' failure to maintain adequate standards, instill discipline, and provide school leavers with the necessary attitudes and skills to compete effectively in the marketplace. Hargreaves (1994) discusses the disrespect and disregard that British reformers have shown for teachers. He says, "Teachers' voices have been . . . neglected, their opinions overridden, and their concerns dismissed. Change has been . . . imposed . . . [, and] teachers have been given little credit . . . for possessing their own wisdom to distinguish between what reasonably can be changed and what cannot" (p. 6). I suggest that the failure to listen to teachers' voices is not limited to Britain but that it also occurs in Nova Scotia, albeit not presently to the same extent; however, it would behoove us to pay attention to what has happened elsewhere to avoid making the same mistakes.

David Ritchie (1999), who teaches visual art, drama, and senior English at Middleton Regional High School in Nova Scotia, says that "Education is the single most defining characteristic of a modern society" (p. 4). Teachers today, however, face challenges our predecessors could never have imagined. A constantly changing curriculum and students' social and emotional problems—including teen pregnancy, drug use, economic and racial disparity, and issues of personal safety—compounded by the provincial government's

measures of fiscal restraint and downsizing, haunt the future of education in our province. It is desirable to attract the brightest and best into the teaching force, but Ritchie believes that present restrictions, poor remuneration, and reduced community respect do not bode well for keeping present and attracting new and excellent teachers to our province. That conclusion illustrates vividly the hypothesis of this dissertation that the provincial government's measures of economic rationalism, conflicting with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, result in the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context. Ritchie's words suggest to me a need for the recognition that, in a time of change, a necessary change in government policy deserves increased attention.

Cliff McKay (1999), a senior English teacher at Shelburne Regional High School, quips that the glib injunction "Do more with less" (p. 11) is delivered to teachers by those charged with constraining access to social resources. Hence, teaching is a caring profession "caught in . . . [a] squeeze" (p. 11). While the career places unlimited emotional demands upon its practitioners, the ongoing crises in public services means that the resources needed to remedy the situation are not only failing to keep pace with the demands but are actually dwindling. Thus, teachers are constantly stretching themselves to bridge the growing gap between the needs of their students and the resources available to meet those needs. McKay argues that the slogan of doing more with less has become the modus operandi of the teaching profession, guaranteeing tension

and stress, as also found by Harvey and Spinney's (2000) Life On & Off the Job: A Time-Use Study of Nova Scotia Teachers. McKay alleges that words like "consultation, co-operation, collegiality" are often used as "tricks" (p. 12) to dismiss teachers' concerns, recalling to us Hargreaves' (1991) allegation that teachers' professionalism is often used against them, to persuade them to collaborate in the intensification of their own work. McKay contends that a sense of powerlessness manifests itself in numerous small ways to reduce the quality of teachers' working lives: often trivial issues are substitute projections of larger frustrations. He urges that understanding the source of frustrations is the first step in resolving them. McKay's advice not to blame the victim for the victimization reminds us of Hargreaves' (1991) comments concerning the backlash of the professionalism and caring of teachers. McKay advises collective action. He says for over a century, Nova Scotia teachers who have found themselves relatively powerless as individuals have been able to resolve concerns much more successfully through the collective strength of a teachers' union. A reduction in teachers' sense of individual powerlessness through collective strength and action offers tremendous possibilities for turning workplace frustrations into teaching opportunities, which McKay advises is a good definition of life-long learning. I suggest that should remind us of Dewey's many works expounding upon that concept.

Work-related stress is the focus of Fran Reddy Chisholm (1999), then supervisor of counselling services at the NSTU. She defines stress as "the

reaction of the body to any change demanded of it" (p. 25) and notes that in the past decade in Nova Scotia, ongoing change has been demanded of teachers who have been forced to meet new challenges as "education is constantly reinvented" (p. 25). She identifies some issues contributing to work-related stress, as reflected in current trends in education: increased class sizes, decreased resources, limited preparation time, growing numbers of students requiring specialized programs, committee work, community contact, and uncertainty in the workplace because of the relatively recent amalgamation of school boards—concerns expressed by Nova Scotia teachers at all levels of education, from classroom teachers to top-level administrators. She says that some long-time teachers report working twice as many hours as they did twenty years ago, when their bodies were younger and their job was more clearly defined. Adding to the stress is the fact that many teachers are members of the sandwich generation—people in their mid-life years who are responsible for both young families and aging parents. Under such circumstances, balancing home and career is a growing challenge. The supervisor of counselling services says it is noteworthy that every teacher in crisis also has a story of commitment to his or her students and an intense desire to make a difference in their lives. She says teachers' professional self-worth is defined by their ability to care for their students and colleagues, which also illustrates my premise concerning teachers' professional ideology of caring and its relationship to intensification of teachers' work.

In contrast to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which arises from experiencing one or more extraordinarily horrific and life-threatening events, teachers' stress typically arises gradually over many years, resulting in accumulative stress disorder (ASD), commonly called burn-out or exhaustion, according to Peter Mullally (1999), a therapist in counselling services at the NSTU. In describing what contributes to teachers' accumulative stress, he says:

> Take an idealistic, mission-oriented teacher who tries to meet everyone's needs; place this teacher in a hurried, time-bound, ever-evolving school system that can ask for the best on one hand, and can erode character and destroy trust on the other; set the school system in communities and among families who question authority; and add the aging process and the family life events that will inevitably occur with that teacher. The result: numbers of teachers experience the extreme effects of accumulative stress on themselves, their work and, eventually, on their families. (p. 27)

Just as family stress goes to school with teachers, so too does work-related stress affect families. As teachers gradually accumulate stress, families can lose teachers to teaching. Mullally (1999) believes the system is designed to burn teachers out, so to speak, if they are too conscientious in their care of students! He quotes from one client: "You can't do the job the way you know is best for the kids. I know I was a good teacher. I don't know any more if I can even be a decent husband or father" (p. 27). Teachers commonly describe the burden of guilt and neglect of their own families. As caring persons, teachers often take students' needs to heart, and they may be unaware of the <u>costs of caring</u>. For the idealistic teacher, caring too much is an oxymoron. For the exhausted teacher, caring too much is a reality. Mullally says, "Teachers daily

walk the shoreline of social change, where past ways of thinking and relating meet future ways of doing and being. This presents both danger and opportunity. . . . Travelling this shoreline throughout a teaching career requires a delicate balance" (p. 28). Teaching involves a great deal of planning for tomorrow and evaluating yesterday; thus, for teachers it is a struggle to live today. When evaluating students' work, teachers are inevitably evaluating themselves, which can induce a great deal of self-pressure. By comparison, most of the working public undergo only annual performance evaluations. Mullally presents four suggestions from teachers recovering from exhaustion: (1) If you think you are burned out, talk to someone; (2) be patient; therapy takes time; (3) re-orient your lifestyle; (4) invest in casual, relaxed time and pursue a recreational interest that you choose. Mullally suggests attempting a liveable balance of work and play, family life and school life.

As is evident from the voices of four Nova Scotia teachers, or those working with teachers, this province's educators who have spoken out on behalf of public education and its practitioners have tackled a number of issues. Peter Sheppard (1999), a Grade 4 teacher at Berwick School, examines several additional problems. First, he discusses the physical conditions in which teachers and students work. He contends that many of the province's schools are in poor shape after years of neglect. Many teachers believe their health is suffering from poor air quality as a result of high levels of carbon dioxide and, at times, carbon monoxide, moulds, deteriorating building materials, and person-made

chemicals that become toxic as they break down. Many classrooms are too small or overcrowded, or schools are closing because of dropping enrolments. Equipment and furniture are aging, and textbooks are in short supply or out of date. Unless one is in a P3 school, there is a scarcity of money to deal with these problems. (P3 schools are a huge problem on their own, but that topic is outside the scope of this dissertation.) In addition, Sheppard indicates that Nova Scotia teachers are facing changes within the education system at an almost revolutionary pace: the imposition of a totally new curriculum, IPP's, IMP's, challenge for credit, outcomes-based education, amalgamation of school boards, school advisory councils, the controversy surrounding P3 schools, changes in certification and technology, limited access to computers, lack of adequate professional development, resources, and time for teachers to deal with so many changes all at once. In addition, many teachers are not convinced that all of these changes are going to improve student learning very much anyway.

Much of this change is seen as the result of the unilateral actions of politicians and bureaucrats who seem to be unaware of the realities of the classroom or the needs of students and teachers. Sheppard (1999) questions whether they simply do not care or whether their priorities are focused on corporate and political concerns instead. He finds the corporate influence especially vexing to teachers. He refers to an unhealthy alliance between big business and our governments to open schools to competition and investment. He points to the misuse of statistics and studies to discredit our schools to make

them more vulnerable to the interests of big business. Many teachers believe that provincial governments across Canada are pushing changes that will have a significant, negative impact on their lives, and they worry that many students will be disadvantaged by the process. Twenty years ago we were told there would be too much leisure time in the near future; the present reality is that teachers and other workers all seem to be working harder and harder: as mentioned earlier, "Our jobs are consuming us" (p. 22). We readily blame international corporations and treaties that are pushing for workers who are desperate for jobs, who are willing to work for low wages, and who will be loyal to their employers, but never demand such loyalty in return. "They want a population seduced . . . into believing that the purpose of their lives is to consume" (p. 22). To a great extent, corporate culture is driving education. Business leaders complain that we spend too much time on the humanities and the arts; we are told that public education should focus only on developing marketable skills, preparing our students for the job market. I suggest this approach smacks of training, not education in the sense envisioned by Dewey, Russell, Whitehead, Peters, Scheffler, Passmore, and other noted philosophers of education.

Every day we face new stresses and demands. For many there is a sense of having lost control of their professional and personal lives. Sheppard (1999) says it is as if teachers have become victims of abuse, unwilling to stand up for themselves anymore, yet they must do so to regain their sense of self-worth. Perhaps then they can sort out what is reasonable and what is not, take on the

challenges that seem worthwhile, and abandon those that drain them for no good reason. Despite many obstacles, teachers have the responsibility to make our schools positive experiences for students, but they also have the responsibility to take care of themselves and to make decisions that improve the quality of their personal and professional lives, not diminish them. Ideally, Sheppard believes, teachers need to learn to choose the issues they are capable of taking on and say no to others. No individual teacher needs to take on every challenge facing the profession: they need to reserve time for themselves, their families, and their personal interests. Otherwise the teaching profession will consume them.

Finally, the school is silent, but is the day over for teachers? Hardly! Jane Aalders-St. Clair (1999), a resource teacher at L. E. Shaw School, Annapolis Valley Regional School Board, chronicles the extra duties that teachers perform outside school teaching hours. Her list—including teachers' "homework" (papers to mark, projects to review, phone calls to make to parents, lesson plans to prepare), committee work, extra-curricular activities, and so on—reminds me of Harvey and Spinney's (2000) so-called "second shift" for teachers, beyond the time frame those outside education envision. Aalders-St. Clair indicates that teaching has become an aging profession fraught with high demands and great expectations, and the pressures are felt each day. She says twenty years ago class size and students of varying abilities were also challenges, but then there were more adequate levels of financial support and greater respect for education

and educators on the part of the government and society in general. Additionally, the education system has had continuously to respond to the changing demands of society. Although such demands require key personnel or resources, these components are usually not included in the plans, which creates added stress for dedicated professionals who are striving to meet the demands placed upon them. This resource teacher reports that many experienced teachers have told her they are feeling the negative effects of the myriad changes and demands. Teachers claim they are "always on the run" (p. 24), which echoes Harvey and Spinney's (2000) findings in their time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers. Aalders-St. Clair makes an excellent observation: she says teachers have very little, if any, time to collaborate with their colleagues, yet collaboration is a fundamental component teachers expect of the students in their classrooms. This irony, I believe, illustrates the hidden curriculum—when schools do not model in their own practices what they require of their students. Although, as a profession, teaching has changed remarkably in the past twenty years, one aspect has remained unchanged: the interest in and care for children.

Greg O'Keefe (1999), former president of both the NSTU and the Canadian Teachers' Federation, is the last of the Nova Scotia educators whose published ideas we will ponder. He emphasizes that teachers care for children; are aware of young people's potential; value the role they have in being a positive influence on students; realize the importance not only of knowledge but also of reasoning, rationality, and responsibility; and recognize their

responsibility to help develop a better society. Such qualities, I believe, illustrate the ideal aspects one might expect of the teacher as a professional, even in the midst of the flurry of the intensification of teachers' work.

In addition to teachers' voices in print, comments from teachers responding to the Nova Scotia teachers' time-use study (Harvey & Spinney, 2000), commissioned by the NSTU, shed some light on the present Nova Scotia context. I have had no access to these teachers' names, locations, or diaries but have gleaned their voices from 65 pages of case summaries (Spinney, 2000), compiled by a time-use researcher at Saint Mary's University. The teachers are separated into four categories—classroom teachers (CT), resource teachers (RT), other specialists (OS), and administrators (A)—according to the classifications the teachers identified in the initial demographics portion of the questionnaire. Teachers in those four categories are identified by number and page upon which their comments are recorded (for example, CT #263, p. 21; OS #50, p. 53).

Based upon teachers' responses, I have divided what they listed as stress relievers into three categories. (1) For exercise, they reported walking (alone or with a pet or family or friends, working out, weight training, aerobics, bowling, skating, yard work, and sports. (2) Another major category of stress reliever was pets. A significant number of teachers reported walking with, caring for, and interacting with pets as a form of relaxing. (3) Hobbies and leisure activities included reading, TV, movies, napping, spending time with family (for example,

reading to one's own child, Internet surfing with one's own child, family activities), visiting with or entertaining relatives, socializing with friends, computer use, home repairs, doing puzzles, shopping, yoga, art projects, taking music lessons, directing a choir, engaging in prayer, baking to share with school staff members, and weekend camping.

Among the many aspects leading to intensification of teachers' work, I have sorted out the following categories and short quotations to illustrate teachers' typical current reactions. Concerning pressure, one teacher commented:

> I felt under too much pressure—like I was just barely keeping my head above water. I am teaching full day Primary without adequate guidelines or prep time. After school I am too tired to do anything—I have difficulties sleeping at night . . . . [After classes] I had to leave school because I was brain dead and couldn't think—so needless to say I will be busy doing prep this weekend. Was day from hell. (CT #47, p. 3)

Another teacher remarked:

> If sleep counts as an activity, it was definitely the single most enjoyable activity. Otherwise, there weren' t many enjoyable activities throughout the regular work day with meetings during lunch hour and class in the evening. (CT #217, p. 17)

Another response was:

> No time to do anything else but work flat out all day. Some classes might have been more enjoyable if there was a little more time. (CT #218, p. 17)

In relation to stress, some reactions were:

> Teaching is a stressful job. The future of young children is in our hands. (CT #87, p. 7)

> I usually don't work on Friday nights. Tonight we fundraised to allow us to buy "extras" for our classrooms, like construction paper, markers, posters, special books. Being in two schools, I have twice the fundraising, twice the parent-teacher nights. (OS #1, p. 49)

> It wasn't as busy as usual and I didn't work as late as I normally do. Every other evening [so far] this week, I have worked at school most of the evening. Tonight, I just dropped in and picked up some things to do at home. (OS #2, p. 49)

> I truly enjoy my work with students. If I could just do my job without the politics, unnecessary paperwork, fundraising etc., I'd hardly have any stress at all. (OS #2, p. 49)

> Paperwork is one of my primary sources of stress!!! (CT #225, p. 18)

Concerning physical repercussions from stress, one teacher replied:

> Migraine makes a school day awful. . . . [It] colours everything—drains you. . . . The migraine continued a second day. (CT #604, p. 47)

Apparently that teacher went to work even with a migraine headache.

Other teachers said:

> I was exhausted and cranky and I needed . . . a nap. (CT #299, p. 23)

> There was an interschool soccer tournament. My class was involved. I had no breaks at all and everyone was very excited and keyed up. I ate lunch standing and was outside in the cold all day standing. I went to bed for a few hours with a headache. (CT #443, p. 34)

With respect to exhaustion, some comments were:

> On Friday evenings I usually do housework and marking. Today I was too tired to do either. (CT #472, p. 37)

> For a weekend, I went to bed relatively early. This is clearly because of teacher-related fatigue. (CT #496, p. 40)

Being busy is evident from the following;

> I always feel I am on a hamster wheel, and it takes a long time to slow

down. (CT #258, p. 20)

"School" takes up too much of my day! At one time a teacher had a life outside school! (CT #582, p. 46)

Harvey and Spinney's (2000) "second shift" is evident in the following remarks:

I had a little more time with family and friends than I usually do. I frequently spend from noon until bedtime on Sunday doing school-related work—preparation and reading. (CT #168, p. 14)

It was a holiday (Thanksgiving) and I still had school-related work to do. (CT #541, p. 43)

It was a pretty typical day—teach/soccer after school/late supper/meeting/phone calls to parents. (CT #456, p. 36)

Having to meet with a parent to explain why an IPP is the only way this child can cope with school. (CT #258, p. 20)

I met with parents of an autistic child in my class. (CT #261, p. 21)

Many teachers take graduate or other course work, which adds to their time crunch:

I had to give a presentation for my master's research course, so it was a very busy day. (RT #48, p. 61)

On Tuesday, I travel one hour each way to take my Reading Recovery course. (CT #621, p. 48)

Meetings and committee work contribute to intensification:

The meeting lasted two hours after school. It was too lengthy after a full teaching day. (CT #593, p. 47)

Meeting from 2-4 P.M. for resource teachers, out of town. . . . Speech pathologist was at school for weekly consultation, so I had to meet with her at lunch. . . . Had to meet with substitute also. (OS #45, p. 52)

A reaction to an in-service day was:

> A professional in-service replaced the usual classroom day. I did not have to deal with lates, absences, classroom management. It was less demanding although the topics of the in-service were worn ones. I did not learn anything new. (CT #325, p. 25)

Having little or no time for lunch was noted:

> Extremely busy day. Extra-curricular at lunch. (CT #366, p. 28)

> I worked through recess and noon hour. For the first time I am teaching a 3/4 split class, and I am still struggling to ensure the curriculum needs are met. (CT #547, p. 43)

Occasional solitude is valued:

> I was on my own and did not need to discuss, explain or answer to anyone. (CT #124, p. 10)

> I sat down at 5 P.M. and was able to relax alone for half an hour. (CT #267, p. 21)

> Quiet time—totally by myself—no obligations—time to unwind. (CT #488, p. 39)

Many teachers find it difficult juggling home and school responsibilities:

> Because I was so busy marking assignments I didn't get a lot of housework done (which is usually done on Saturday), so I'll be busy with extra housework all . . . next week. (CT #104, p. 8)

> [On weekends] normally I clean house until I do school preparation in the afternoon . . ., but with the extra day holiday and determination, I enjoyed my family for a change. (OS #68, p. 55)

> I don't always spend the whole of Saturday [preparing for classes] . . ., but I had fallen behind. Usually I bake, clean and shop for food. (CT #95, p. 7)

> We had a big Thanksgiving meal in the middle of the day. Then my husband and I set the kids up with games and videos to enable us to focus on some much overdue housework. We even turned the phone ringer off and parked our vehicle next door!! (RT #43, p. 61)

> Very difficult to juggle everything and yet forego the most important. (RT #17, p. 58)

Harvey and Spinney (2000) refer to the stressfulness of transitions and many activities intertwined, as shown by the following teachers:

> This was a catch-up day—meetings, tests to be marked, loose ends to fix up, make arrangements for a school walkathon, contact different staff members concerning finances of student council. (CT #260, p. 21)

> Today was busier than usual, very little time to stop. I went from one activity to another with few breaks. It felt especially exhausting. (CT #448, p. 35)

> Playground accident, 911, ambulance, firetruck (medical), police, hospital, examinations, x-rays, grandmother, stitches (a head-first fall from equipment). Then back to school. (CT #605, p. 48)

Teachers find it hard much of the time to have no choice or few choices about what they do:

> I did enjoy choosing what I wanted to listen to on the radio while driving home. So much of my day involves "no choice" about what to do! (CT #473, p. 37)

Collecting money for various purposes and spending one's own money on class-related needs are not unusual:

> Too much time taken collecting lunch money, registration money. (CT #273, p. 22)

> I had a lot to do in the evening to prepare for applesauce-making with my class. I also had to buy a slow-cooker, with my own money, for the activity. It's amazing how much teachers spend of their own money on teaching items! (CT #570, p. 46)

Guilt is common when teachers think they should do more:

> I took time to do yard work when I should have been working on assignments. (CT #238, p. 19)

Teachers remark positively when they are able to give students individual attention:

> I enjoy teaching my individual students. I do not enjoy teaching my class because of the tension caused by a child with severe behaviour problems. (CT #621, p. 48)
>
> Enjoy working with students, especially if in small group or individually where the most progress can be made. (RT #19, p. 58)
>
> Tutoring a student one-on-one often reminds me of why I became a teacher and what I have to offer my students! (CT #358, p. 27)

Teachers speak positively about the opportunity for collegiality and collaboration:

> I am working on an in-service presentation for the staff, which is exciting and enjoyable. I enjoy collaborating with my colleagues. (CT #248, p. 20)
>
> I enjoyed having the opportunity to socialize/talk with a colleague. There's never enough time to do that. (CT #85, p. 6)
>
> Socializing with fellow teachers before teaching begins is a great way to start the day. (RT #10, p. 57)
>
> The most enjoyable part of the day was joining with my colleagues in preparing for a new week. Our school is blessed with a wonderful, caring staff and it's a pleasure to work with them. (A #16, 63)

Many, many teachers expressed a sincere love of teaching:

> It's important to make the most of each activity so I tend to enjoy many. You get out what you put in! (CT #40, p. 3)
>
> I love to teach. The students are great. (CT #214, p. 16)
>
> I love my work! I made the right choice at 18 to be a teacher! I've never looked back. (CT #393, p. 30)
>
> I chose teaching because I love children. (CT #394, p. 30)
>
> I very much enjoy my daily activities on and off the job—I enjoy working

> and taking care of my family and home. (OS #20, p. 50)
>
> I enjoy doing what I always wanted to do, helping children learn. (RT #42, p. 61)
>
> Had my student teacher with me for the day (former student). It was nice to pass on the flame. (CT #609, p. 48)

Teachers express their care of and concern for students in many ways:

> Had to make a . . . stop at funeral home (former student)—not sure how this fits into the life plan. (CT #609, p. 48)
>
> I was taking part in an in-service concerning our deaf students. It is odd being at your own school and having someone else take over your class and your children (I checked a couple of times and said hi to everyone). (OS #28, p. 51)
>
> I have an IPP student who has recently developed a school phobia. Today I had the opportunity to have a block of uninterrupted time with her, and after lots of talking I got her to come to school after lunch without having a panic attack. (RT #33, p. 60)

What is a teacher's day like? Following is a compelling comment:

> A teacher's day is often similar to being swarmed by hungry bees. Bedtime is wonderful! So is teaching when we don't have to do all the non-teaching items in a teaching day. Teachers are being committed to death. (OS #16, p. 50)

It is extremely important that Nova Scotia teachers have an opportunity to be heard concerning their work and their lives—on and off the job. What we are and how we live have an impact on what we do, and our working lives significantly affect our personal lives. The NSTU's recent research effort concerning teachers' time-use—including the opportunity to comment on matters of importance to teachers—an item I suggested—has afforded many educators the opportunity to reflect upon, evaluate, and share their concerns. Some

educators have also published short articles in "the magazine for Nova Scotia's teaching profession: Aviso," a name derived from Latin and meaning "a collection of thoughtful ideas and advice" (1999, Winter, cover, p. 1). An opportunity to have a voice, however, is not equivalent to government initiatives that solicit participation, views, and ideas with the intention that they will lead to change; nevertheless, a voice is still a step in the right direction.

Reflections

Reflecting upon the title of this dissertation—Professionalism and Intensification: An Analysis of Teachers' Work in the Present Nova Scotia Context—and considering what we have discussed so far, it is obvious that the current work of teachers is complex. In addition to the existing body of literature on professionalism, intensification, and teachers' work, a great deal is still left to be discussed, theorized, and applied. Among issues for further research we might include labour-process theory applied to the administrative effort to micro-manage teachers' time. Questions exist about productivity: what is productivity in terms of professionalism? Why should a business model not be imposed upon education? It is perhaps ludicrous to conceive of education as a state industry—a capitalist enterprise in education. State industries do not technically run on a capitalist model: they do not go bankrupt; money is simply taken from one sector to give to another. A capitalist enterprise in education applies more appropriately to independent than to public schools, for example,

such competing models as private schools and cooperative schools. Another issue for further exploration could be the role teachers and their unions play in teachers' problems. Teachers' unions are partially responsible, through their negotiating, for the contractual limits that lead management to act in the ways it does. There is a shifting demand for specialists and generalists among teachers and in schools. Schools could not afford to maintain all that teachers want at any given time; seniority is also an issue here. In addition, many of the demands on teachers they generate themselves. Many demands are externally imposed through outside pressure and increased expectations, but many demands are internally driven through pressure from within because of teachers' own care for and commitment to students. Solutions to current problems will not come easily, but an attempt must be made to explore possibilities.

Let us examine the issues we have considered so far. As stated in chapter one, the hypothesis of this dissertation, as seen through the lens of philosophy of education, is that governments' bureaucratic and administrative ideology of economic rationalism is often in direct conflict with teachers' professional ideology of liberal education and caring for students, resulting in the intensification of teachers' work in the present Nova Scotia context.

In the technical-rational view, teaching time is a commodity that can and should be manipulated to increase student performance, but many teachers maintain that their teaching tasks extend beyond academics and that their teaching time cannot be thought of in mere instructional minutes. They claim

that the time spent interacting with students concerning their social and emotional growth is as much a task of teaching as teaching math, science, or reading (Cambone, 1994). Such teaching time resists measurement in minutes and is hard to structure instrumentally, even though it is shaped within an allotted time. It is time crafted from inside the experience of teaching and learning; it is created by the teacher in interaction with students and the material studied (Hawkins, 1974). Teaching time is a distinctly personal investment for teachers, who tend to covet it. Hence, we often see struggles among teachers and reformers over teaching time: some want to extend it; some want time away from it for other professional activities; some will not become involved in restructuring activities because those activities require time away from their core activity. Teaching time catches teachers in a paradox: they are isolated from others by their time teaching, while they see their strongest results with students stem from intensive teaching time (Cambone, 1994).

Within Nova Scotia at the present time and in the recent past, the provincial government's policies of economic rationalism—in the form of cutbacks, downsizing, reorganization, new requirements, and new initiatives—have often conflicted with what professional teachers believe is best for their students and for themselves. Threats to teachers' professional autonomy involve not the loss of personal independence and power but the loss of the ability of teachers to act in ways that are central to their professional role, such as taking responsibility, acting with integrity, and making decisions based upon their

judgment. I believe that intensification occurs as a result of economic rationalism and that the intensified demands put teachers in a position that conflicts with their professional ideas and ideals. If economic rationalism appears to succeed, it is basically because it has been added to the professional ideology already in place (C. Easthope & G. Easthope, 2000) in an era when the economy has become central to education (Seddon, 1996), thus resulting in the intensification of teachers' work, in Nova Scotia as well as elsewhere.

To support its hypothesis, this dissertation has presented background material and a literature review (chapter one); discussed the function of liberal education and the changing role of the teacher from the standpoint of philosophy of education (chapter two); analyzed teachers' work in relation to time and to labour-process theory (chapter three); examined teacher professionalism (chapter four); characterized intensification of teachers' work (chapter five); and explored and assessed the present Nova Scotia context concerning the Nova Scotia Teachers Union, the recent time-use study of Nova Scotia teachers—with which I was involved—and Nova Scotia teachers' voices (chapter six). I have attempted to present a theoretical background and apply it to a practical context.

What difference does all of this make? An implicit, if not explicit, goal of the educational system is to educate all students to the limits of their abilities. Certainly such a goal is central to the professional culture of teaching. The achievement of success in educating students with differing abilities requires

attention to their individuality. It requires increased time allocated to understanding individual needs, preparing targeted instructional material, and individually transmitting that material. Increased attention to individual needs places an increased demand upon teachers' time. This reality, and a multitude of other changes in Nova Scotia and elsewhere, demand that an increasing amount of time be allocated to education. Despite increased demands imposed upon the system, cutbacks in the name of economic rationalism have contrarily reduced the time and resources available (Harvey & Spinney, 2001). The outcomes of this process include the inability realistically to allocate time to individual students, increased misallocation of teachers' professional skills, and a growing sense of frustration among teachers. What is presently happening in Nova Scotia—with respect to the shifting focus from liberal education toward teaching competencies, the demands placed upon teachers causing changes in the teachers' role, the exertion of control over teachers' time and their work, the challenges to professionalism, and the intensification of teachers' work—should shake any complacency we might have toward education. Nova Scotia teachers are under a considerable amount of stress as a result of added pressures, while students appear to be no better off. If the situation is to change, as Hargreaves (Nov. 1998) has said, "It is vital that educators everywhere take their heads out of their classrooms and become more engaged with and literate about the changing world in which their work is performed" (pp. 55-56). Anything else is a prescription for failure.

Appendix A

Nova Scotia Public School Programs, 1999-2000
The Goals of Public Education

The primary mandate of the public school system in Nova Scotia is to provide education programs and services for students to enable them to develop their potential and acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to contribute to a healthy society and a prosperous and sustainable economy.

Preparing All Students for a Lifetime of Learning

Fundamental changes are occurring in the world. The economy is becoming more diversified and is placing a greater emphasis on information-based enterprises, global competitiveness, and sustainable development. Society is becoming more diverse in family structure, language, culture, values, and perspectives. There is a growing awareness of global interdependence among peoples and nations. Nova Scotia's future is becoming more reliant upon partnerships and collaboration.

To function successfully in this changing environment, all children in Nova Scotia need a broad-based, quality education. Quality in education is demonstrated by the excellence of individual courses, programs, and shared experience. Quality is also demonstrated by the diversity of educational experiences in which students are actively involved and by the extent to which individual student needs are met.

The challenge of education is to offer a school experience that will provide students with opportunities to develop the understanding, skills, and attitudes necessary to become lifelong learners capable of identifying and solving problems and dealing effectively with change. Students need well-developed organizational and interpersonal skills, which include working collaboratively with others and developing leadership skills. Students need to be able to communicate clearly, competently, and confidently from a broad knowledge base to make thoughtful and responsible decisions. Achieving these educational goals will allow students to make connections between what they learn and how they live.

Fundamental to achieving these goals is the development of each student's self-esteem. Self-esteem is most effectively fostered by a learner-centred school environment that provides opportunities for all students to experience success from a variety of achievements. This success should enable learners to build confidence regarding their abilities and competencies and, more importantly,

foster an image of themselves as persons of dignity and value who deserve respect. To this end, educational programs, services, and the teaching/learning environment must be sensitive to the culture and heritage of learners and must actively promote anti-racist principles.

Our vision of an educated person is that of a competent, confident learner able to think critically and participate fully in a democratic society and in a lifetime of meaningful work. A sound education provided in partnership with the home and the community forms the basis for students to become healthy and caring persons, having a respect for self and others and a desire to contribute to society as productive citizens.

A comprehensive education must offer a balanced program of studies that includes opportunities to explore the cultural, aesthetic, social, intellectual, physical, vocational, and moral aspects of society. All partners in education must work together to provide a stumulating and supportive environment to assist individuals in reaching their full potential. (Adapted from The Core Program and Related Services for Nova Scotia Schools, 1992, p. A-3)

Appendix B

Monochronic and Polychronic Time-frames

Monochronic	Polychronic
1. Clock time	1. Event time
2. Rigid adherence to schedules	2. More flexibility in scheduling
3. One activity at a time, in series	3. Multiple tasks (at once) and interpersonal relationships, in combination
4. Start to finish, in linear sequence	4. Intermittent, revolving focus; a little at a time on each task; spontaneously shifting attention and making connections; in non-linear progression
5. Completion of schedules	5. Completion of transactions
6. Control over completion of schedules	6. Control over description and evaluation of tasks; concern for completion of human transactions
7. Orientation to schedules and procedures	7. Orientation to people and relationships
8. More task-oriented	8. More people-oriented
9. Low sensitivity to context	9. High sensitivity to context
10. Most Western cultures	10. Native, Latin, and Mediterranean cultures
11. Official sphere of business and professions	11. Unofficial sphere of informality and domestic life
12. Large bureaucratic organizations	12. Small organizarions
13. Usually male perspective	13. Usually female perspective

14. Tend to be concentrated in achievement-oriented, industrial societies, likely in modern Western economies	14. More common in Third World or traditional Eastern cultures
15. More likely to be interested in monetary success	15. More likely to be interested in traditional commitment to social obligations
16. Often more productive	16. Often less productive, by Western economic standards; sometimes more liberating and productive
17. At the extreme, prone to undervaluing the humanity of their members	17. At the extreme, tend toward unproductive chaos
* The most fruitful approach of all, however, moves flexibly between monochronic and polychronic time, clock and event time, as suits the situation, so that people can take control of their time, rather than vice versa.	

Adapted from Hall, 1984; Hargreaves, 1990; & Levine, 1997.

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