

Teacher culture and teacher change: Insights from a meta-theoretical perspective.

Maxine Cooper, Lorraine Ling, Joan Stewart.

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Abstract

One of the challenges and opportunities for university academics working in teacher education programs in the current global/glocal context is to work in close partnership with schools and systems to enable new and experienced teachers and principals to manage change, to work with new pedagogies, new curriculum initiatives for learning in dynamic creative learning spaces.

This study develops a meta-theoretical framework drawing on the work of Kardos et al (2001) which articulates three distinct teacher cultures which are referred to as *veteran oriented professional cultures*, *novice-oriented professional cultures* and *integrated professional cultures*. This is synthesised with the work of Robertson (2000) who claims that there are three levels of experience into which teacher change can be classified. These are '*the world of events*', '*conjunctural time*' and the '*longue duree*' (p 7) and all are interpreted within a glocalised and cosmopolitan world.

This paper is based on a study of beginning and experienced teachers and principals in two Australian states and their experiences are interrogated in the light of teacher culture and teacher change. An imperative for knowledge creation in a new era is presented here. The focus is on the current influences on teacher culture and teacher change which include: entrepreneurialism, competition, individualism versus collectivism, credentialism and teacher supply and demand, location of power, and responding to the challenges of globalisation in the global/glocal community. We argue that theorists and practitioners need to work to reach the *longue duree* stage for as Smyth argues there is a need for 'a continuous cycle of critical analysis, education and action' (1991: xv). Implementing and developing new theories of teachers' work, teacher learning and school change requires education professionals including teachers, administrators, teacher educators as well as government policy makers to reexamine their current practices and ideologies, undergo a period of creativity and critical action, and then move into a period of risk taking where reflection through a world view of long time-space duration and patterning is developed which is informed by the needs and demands of a glocalised world.

Introduction

In this paper a synthesis of two meta-theoretical positions is used to critically examine teacher culture and teacher change. The meta-theoretical perspectives will be discussed and described and examples of how these concepts play out in the real world of schools in the 21st Century will be provided through data collected in two states in Australia across a range of different school types and settings and using the voices of an array of diverse teachers. The issues which will be specifically addressed in the light of these meta-theoretical perspectives will focus on the current influences on teacher culture and teacher change which include entrepreneurialism, location of power, credentialism and teacher supply and demand, competition, globalisation/glocalisation, and individualism versus collectivism and how teachers have used their cultural capital.

Meta-theoretical perspectives

Teacher cultures

For the purposes of examining the teacher cultures in the 21st century the work of Kardos et al (2001) will be used in order to form part of the meta-theoretical framework we synthesise here. Kardos et al (2001) articulate three distinct teacher cultures which they refer to as *Veteran oriented professional cultures*, *novice-oriented professional cultures* and *integrated professional cultures*. They refer to veteran oriented professional cultures as a culture where,

the concerns and habits of experienced teachers determined professional interactions. These schools or subunits within the schools typically had a high proportion of senior teachers whose patterns of professional practice were well established (p 261).

The second culture to which they refer, the novice-oriented professional culture features,

inexperience, youth, and idealism...typically in schools staffed with very high proportions of new teachers working together feverishly and zealously...although generally uninformed by the expertise and wisdom of veteran teachers (p 261).

The third professional culture referred to as integrated professional culture is one where there is,

sustained support and ongoing exchange across experience levels for all teachers. There were no separate camps of veterans and novices. Expert teachers understood the importance of mentoring their novice colleagues and often found that they themselves benefitted from the exchange. All teachers, veterans and novices alike, were regularly engaged in deliberations about curriculum, instruction, and their shared responsibility for students (p 261).

In this paper when we discuss the data collected across the various schools in this study, it is against this framework that the cultural aspects of these schools will be interpreted.

Teacher change

The second aspect of the meta-theoretical framework employed in this paper pertains to the concept of teacher change. Robertson (2000) claims that there are 3 levels of experience into which teacher change can be classified. These are 'the world of events', 'conjunctural time' and the '*longue duree*' (p 7).

In describing these three levels of change Robertson refers to the 'world of events' as,

...the day-to-day changes that affect teachers directly as individuals.

Describing change at this level involves the systematic collection of 'events'...the focus here is on describing what it is that teachers do, how they manage and cope with the complexities of classroom and staff-room *life and so on* (p 8).

Whilst the worlds of events, serves to give a description of what teachers do, it does not necessarily provide a rationale as to why teachers act this way nor does it situate their practices in any kind of historical, political or social context. In order to do this, Robertson (2000) argues, we need to arrive at a concept of *settlements*. Robertson (2001) refers to a settlement as,

... a particular combination of thought patterns, material conditions and human institutions which have certain coherence among its elements.

These structures do not predetermine actions; rather, they constitute the framework within which actions are shaped and take place (p 8)

Thus Robertson (2001) sees as critical to teacher change the need to move beyond the world of events into a state of mind and reflection where *settlements* begin to bring some pattern and coherence to this world of events. She then takes the notion of teacher change to the second major phase which she refers to as *conjunctural time* which means that *settlements*

...come to define a social formation for an extended period of time – it is the history of gentle and not so gentle rhythms which may last for period of several decades or more (p.8).

At this phase in the concept of teacher change the historical aspect whereby the time space relationships of teachers work are taken into account, becomes a dominant organizing theme for teachers' own reflection on their own work as professionals.

The third phase in teacher change to which Robertson (2001) refers goes beyond conjunctural time and is that of *longue duree*. This refers to a period of

...a century or more which focuses on the broadest of structures and patterns. It is useful to see teachers' work against a longer canvas in time in order to understand better the enduring features of teachers' labour over the long haul (p. 9).

This study currently being undertaken is a longitudinal study and this meta-theoretical perspective allows us to interpret the first phase of the data collection and to see new possibilities for subsequent phases.

Meta-theoretical synthesis

Using these two meta-theoretical perspectives about teacher culture on the one hand and teacher change on the other, we have developed a synthesis which allows us to interrogate and interpret the data which were collected in this study. Because we see an interdependence and intersection between the notions of teacher change and teacher culture, these perspectives allow us to consider some of the predominant external and internal forces which operate on teachers in the current era.

External factors impacting on teacher culture and teacher change

Entrepreneurialism

As a result of the highly successful twenty five years or more of the economic rationalist, neo liberal, neo conservative movement, the concept of entrepreneurialism and the development of entrepreneurial workers and citizens, has become a central imperative for education systems in general and teachers in particular. This imperative has led to what Robertson (2001) claims has ... created spaces for the emergence of a new sense of teacher values and identities built around the reorganization of schools and their orientation to the labour market. In this environment, *teacher entrepreneurship* is increasingly valued as the new cultural asset by schools fighting for positions within the market place (page 193)

This notion of entrepreneurship leads inevitably to the second major force in cultural change for teachers in the 21st century which is that of competition.

Competition

Teachers have been traditionally encouraged to think of teaching, (even if thinking of it is as far as it went), as a collegial activity. Many critics of the concept of collegiality, such as Smyth (1991), claim however that collegiality is a contrivance constructed with a view to ensuring that we are each in surveillance of each other. Hence in Smyth's view rather than collegiality being a collective activity involving concepts such as support, cooperation, collaboration, and

interactivity, rather it involves individualism, privatism, surveillance of each other and a judgmental and competitive teacher environment

... competition and the privatism of teaching as against relational, collective and collaborative enterprise, promotes competition and cuts off dialogue which is crucial to the task of teaching (Smyth 1991 p. xiii)

The tendency towards teaching becoming an individual and private entrepreneurial activity rather than a collective and collegial one leads to one of the third external forces upon teachers in the current era.

Individualism versus collectivism

In terms of conceiving of oneself as an individual who is in competition with one's colleagues, a new view of the teacher as professional emerges and as Robertson (2001) points out in this context "power is relocated to the individual and not to the collective" (p 194). One of the problems that emerges in such a culture where the collective becomes less powerful as a force, is that the power of the voices of teachers as a group tends to be diminished especially when it comes to lobbying for particular social, political or economic rights. It has been the case in the past that teacher unions have been a strong force in terms of gaining particular benefits for teachers as a collective group particularly in terms of employment conditions. However, once power is dissipated to individuals, the collective bargaining power of groups such as teacher unions is potentially reduced. There are also critics of the way in which teacher unions in the past may have served to disenfranchise rather than enfranchise the group of teachers they are meant to represent. Smyth (1991) is one such critic who claims that ... the union holds us and controls us into a conformist model (p. xv)

As a result of the move from a collective to an individual culture in teaching new systems of governance and policy are of necessity brought into play in order to bureaucratise and systemise these moves. Inevitably these

...new governance structures will divide teachers as an occupational group as is the intention. These divisions will deflect the fall out of various political struggles away from the state, either by locating them within local communities, or individualising them as a consequence of choices by actors in the market place (Robertson, 2001, p.190).

As the world of schools is reorganized as a market place the notion of credentialism and its intersection with teacher supply and demand becomes another powerful external force exerted upon the culture of teachers and the changes which occur to their work.

Credentialism and teacher supply and demand

Consonant with the move to individualism, competition, and entrepreneurialism, is the notion of the value of teachers' credentials. It is in this aspect of the

teacher culture that the state, as a political entity, exerts significant pressure on the culture of teachers. It is the state that controls, monitors and in some sense, manipulates the supply and demand of teachers and therefore it follows that it is the state that controls, monitors and manipulates the credentials required of teachers.

The power of the state can be exemplified in various ways and Robertson (2001) refers to some of these

... there are a number of ways in which the state has reduced the value of teachers' credentials; through ever increased providers of teacher education programs, resulting in a tendency to shorter training periods for teachers; limiting the funding of training places, thus creating problems of supply; or locating the bulk of teacher training into schools, using a variety of models of training including school based teacher mentoring (p.194).

Therefore it is within the power and the intent of nation states to contrive and manipulate conditions of teacher supply and demand and to prescribe the form of teacher education which best serves the ends of the political agenda of the day. Inevitably within such a context, creativity, innovation, risk taking and critical thinking suffer. Smyth asserts that

... educational values must take precedence over bureaucratic and technically based judgments of teaching and that accountability is a two way process. Hierarchical forms of appraisal and curriculum development are fundamentally flawed (1991 p. xiii).

He proposes a liberal view of supervision whereby so called scientific knowledge is not regarded as superior to artistic, intuitive knowledge of the teacher.

The culture of individualism and the notion of teacher supply and demand being governed by the state, leads to a situation where particular individuals within the system can be seen to be even further advantaged, whilst other individuals are even further disadvantaged. Therefore such a culture of credentialism and individualism as currently exists, tends if anything, to widen the inequality gap between teachers (and students) who would traditionally have either more or less access to power, resources and organizational support. This therefore leads to a discussion of another major force on teacher culture which is that of power.

Power

Any discussion of power would inevitably centre upon the use of discourse and in terms of teacher culture the discourse is a major determinant of who holds the power and who does not. Within the notion of discourse comes a focus upon the power which is exerted and conveyed through the language choices which are made and struggles to control meaning, set agendas, and create and sustain expectations. Eagleton (1983) claims that

... to be on the inside of the discourse itself is to blend to this power... the power of critical discourse moves on several critical levels. It is the power

of “policing language – of determining that certain statements must be excluded because they do not conform to what is acceptably sayable. (p. 203).

When linking the notion of discourse to teacher culture there are certain agendas which may be discussed between teachers and certain agendas which are seen to be inappropriate to discuss. This is particularly so when the concept of innovation versus *status quo* is examined. Smyth discusses the impact that the technician discourse has had on the working culture of teachers and the force that this discourse can be, for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

... supervision of teachers should be about reforming, transforming and changing practice – not maintaining status quo. This is a means by which teachers may gain control over their own teaching and thus development as professionals ... educational values should take preference over administrative or hierarchical values (xiii)

However, in an economic rationalist context it is the discourse of micro economic reform, bureaucracy and management which dominates and effectively muffles the discourse of education, pedagogy, democracy and creativity. Smyth supports this view when he claims

... that the systematic blocking process stops schools from devising and implementing fair, just and equitable ways of living and working (p. xv).

The discourse of policy which directs the work of teachers inevitably favours the managerialist, technician, bureaucratic and economically rationalist impact teaching can have on the reform of society. Within such a policy discourse teaching and the work of teachers becomes a powerful tool in the hands of the nation state to bring about the kind of micro economic reform upon which the political agenda is premised. This, however, is not a view restricted to specific nation states. It is in fact the basis upon which the concept of globalization survives.

Globalisation

Globalisation can be variously defined and in fact the notion of globalisation has been superseded by glocalisation. Firstly however, in defining globalization Robertson (2001) quoting Cerny (1997, p253) claims that

... globalization is a political phenomenon that operates at a number of levels, with the result that “the shaping of the playing field of politics itself is increasingly determined not within insulated units, i.e. relatively autonomous and hierarchical structures called state; rather it derives from a complex congeries of multi-level playing fields, above and across, as well as within, state boundaries” (p. 7)

The influence of multi national companies, the resultant global competition to which these companies give rise, the inevitable blurring and breaking down of

national boundaries, and the loss of identity for particular communities caused by such globalization, has inevitably altered dramatically what it means to be a teacher professional. Drucker discusses the kind of attributes which a person living in a globalised world must possess and especially links this to what would be required of a person emerging from an education system, supposedly preparing them for life in a globalised world.

... tomorrow's Educated Persons will have to be prepared for living in a global world. It will be a Westernised World. But the Educated Persons will also live in an increasingly tribalised world. They must be "citizens of the world" – in their vision, their horizon, their information. But they will have to draw nourishment from their local roots and, in turn, enrich and nourish their own culture (1993 p.195)

Here we see the beginnings of a move from thinking about globalization to the concept of 'glocalisation'. Urry (2002) refers to the merging of local and global concepts as 'glocalisation'

... there are parallel irreversible and mutually interdependent processes by which globalization – deepens – localization – deepens globalization and so on. The global and the local are inextricably and irreversibly bound together through a dynamic relationship with "huge flows of resources" moving backwards and forwards between the two. Neither the global nor the local exists without the other (p.84).

Teacher culture is therefore caught up with and carried along by movements of globalization and glocalisation which of necessity will mean that the work of teachers is constantly changing, is constantly revisable, is perpetually uncertain and always in a state of becoming.

The study

The authors have undertaken extensive data collection regarding the experiences of new teachers, experienced teachers and principals in two Australian states. The two Australian states are Queensland and Victoria. The Queensland project, Induction – Professional Alliances in Learning (I-PAL), was developed by the Centre for Professional Development at Griffith University, Gold Coast Campus in partnership with the Queensland, Department of Education Training and the Arts (DETA). The Victorian focus concentrated on the partnership between the University of Ballarat, Mount Helen campus and the Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Development. The study has drawn upon seven case studies utilizing the experiences of new and experienced teachers and principals from both states.

Methodology

This research is grounded within the interpretive paradigm and utilises a qualitative research methodology. We employed a case study approach where the narratives of teachers and principals from participating schools were explored especially with regard to the ways that the participants interpret and negotiate the challenges of teacher culture and teacher change in their own contexts. The data were collected through surveys, interviews and observations. The interviews were each audiotaped and transcribed. Our interpretations and conclusions were shared with other researchers. For the purpose of this paper we explore the narratives from staff in seven schools spread almost evenly across Victoria and Queensland.

Discussion of data and the links between the meta-theoretical perspectives

Using the notion of the teacher culture as being able to be categorized as veteran oriented culture, novice oriented culture and integrated culture in conjunction with concepts of teacher change involving the world of events, conjunctural time and *longue duree* we will now proceed to exemplify the influences (as we have discussed above) on teacher culture and teacher change as they have been demonstrated through the data which have been collected for his study.

Veteran oriented professional school cultures.

Principal voice

I think new teachers bring lots and lots of fantastic things to the school, firstly from an academic point of view, the latest research and the latest methods and ideas from the university. In most cases they are very enthusiastic. ...they're wonderful to have around from the point of view that it breeds new enthusiasm, new life, into schools...[compared with] more established older staff who sometimes are people who perhaps are just feeling a little jaded, or maybe a little stressed. I think year after year in the classroom actually kind of takes its toll eventually.

The comments by this principal demonstrate his supportive and sympathetic ideas about the beginning teachers he works with and the more negative and demeaning comments he makes about the more experienced and mature staff. His approach seems to set up a dichotomy that supports a divided staff that will emphasise competition amongst groups of new and experienced staff and other sub groups of staff. The principal seems to be focusing on the new teachers and their energy and enthusiasm which appears in stark contrast to his comments on his experienced staff. This relates to the issues of competition, and collectivism versus individualism as he tends to support a judgemental and competitive

teacher environment which allows the principal to consolidate his power over the staff.

This power role is exemplified in the next quote where he indicates he is controlling of the newer teachers.

Principal voice

...even just popping into their classroom without being over the top or in any supervision type role, but just popping in, having a chat with the kids and getting a feel for the class and for how they're going. I think that is really important

The principal uses surveillance although he tends to portray it as being collegial, supportive and professional. But he takes on the veteran manager leader role that controls the possibilities for change within the culture of the school. He does, however go on to discuss the need for ongoing teacher learning at a deeper level.

Principal voice

I think that they need to be aware that you are not going to know everything that you need to know in a year or two years. In fact, for those of us who've been around for a lot longer we realize that you're never going to know it all. We're always growing and changing and it's a really important part of being an educator. The fact that we're in education we need to educate ourselves constantly. And it's not a slight that we don't know about things and how to do things, and that we need to keep up.

These comments indicate a more considered view and critical reflection on the role of education and of teachers as learners and therefore moves beyond the world of events into a state of mind for reflection where settlements begin to bring some patterns and coherence to this world of events within a social and political context. However it does not move on to the further phase of *longue duree* but rather may more aptly be described as demonstrating some move towards a conjunctural time stage.

Experienced mentor teacher voice

I just think sitting down and conferencing, going through, first of all, curriculum content, presentation, you know, just to try and nut out exactly where the problems lie. Is it behavior management, is it the teaching practice, or is it a lack of planning, or no real idea where they're going with their planning, and trying to narrow it down and talk with them about that, give them some strategy.

In these words this teacher indicates the way she is focused on the world of events and the need to consider looking at day-to-day events in a social context

but she is not yet seeing a pattern. Such planning and discussion is potentially beginning to move her towards the more conjunctural time view of her professional world.

Experienced mentor teacher voice

I'm trying to think how to say it. I suppose it's like driving a car and you get in a car and you drive it, you don't think about what you're doing, and when you have young teachers asking you to be specific about each step and so forth, you really have to pull yourself up and think about what you're doing because you just take it for granted. And so it makes you go over little things, what you should be doing, which you probably are, but you don't think about it. Just the eye contact across the room. Sometimes it just reminds me of the strategies and practices, that you're not using all of them that you could do.

This same teacher uses the metaphor of driving a car to explain how you drive as an experienced driver and don't have to think about each specific aspect of the way you drive. She is reflecting on her own cultural capital and professional knowledge and what she is passing on to new teachers. She explains that when she is working with new teachers, she has to stop and think how she is doing it and explain her actions to them, that is, she explains to them how she enacts her work as a teacher. Through this approach this teacher is forced into a reflective mode to help transmit her knowledge and experience to the new teacher. Her mentor role moves her from the routines of teaching day to day events into the conjunctural time framework. As well, we need to consider the possibility of this happening precisely because of the integrated professional culture of the school environment and thus we appear to have an example of a meta-theoretical framework being enacted through teacher cultures and the levels of teacher change.

Beginning teacher voice

It [induction] definitely would have helped because it was a nightmare in the first year..... [after discussions with other teachers]....I discovered it was okay to hate your first year of teaching...

Another who was in her second year as a teacher said

Even though I feel better this year, I still feel that there is a lot to learn, especially looking at other teachers that have been teaching for so long.

Beginning teachers in veteran oriented schools also spoke about the challenges and difficult situations they faced. Some did not get a chance to experience an induction program and felt a lack of support, uncertainty in their roles and isolation from their peers. These factors could lead some new teachers to become anxious, disillusioned and ready to leave teaching as a career. Some of

these new teachers had to struggle through these discourses of despair *'it's okay to hate your first year of teaching'*. If new graduates want to get full accreditation and ongoing employment they have to build up their professional and cultural capital to apply for ongoing work as a teacher.

In a few cases principals can make getting continuing employment difficult for some new teachers and may even work to manipulate and control who stays in teaching at their schools and who moves on to other schools or goes away disillusioned with teaching and moves on to other jobs. All this has an impact on the retention of new graduates in teaching because if they are only employed initially in short term contract work they can become easily disheartened. This also enables the education systems and the governing organisations the power to influence and control the supply of and demand for various types of teachers in different locations.

For young potential teachers, not gaining continuing work can become an arduous experience with the lack of power, discourse of despair, or loss of confidence in their abilities. This may also lead to a focus on Individualism and resistances to power.

Novice oriented professional school cultures

Rural school principal voice

You can't come and decide what to do and then leave it in the lap of somebody else, like your strategic direction needs to probably go over a longer time. Say for instance a Principal needs to stay for at least four years to implement some changes.

This principal is reflecting on the leadership needed in rural and isolated areas of schooling and the need to have time to plan and bring about the strategic changes necessary. She goes on to speak about the difficulties she faced as a principal at an isolated rural school.

I mean one thing I didn't like was when the school staff was divided over who gets what and why ... and trying to find relief staff which is pretty impossible. So you're always juggling people and moving staff around, you and they, lack continuity. But the big challenge here is breaking down the community resistances...

The place and space in isolated rural schools that have to cope with a competitive culture amongst the staff, the lack of relief teachers to allow teachers to undertake professional learning and development, the sense of isolation that means there is no one to share professional concerns with and competition within the staff to stay and get ongoing jobs and get access to scarce resources or to go and take their chances in other places, sometimes equally isolated are

all issues that are evident here. There is a need for such principals and experienced teachers to consider their professional work not only in a world of events way, but also to reflect upon such specific issues as credentialing, supply and demand for teachers in rural and isolated areas and the need for staff to have new experiences and variety in their early years of teaching.

This principal is trying to be entrepreneurial and competing with others to be a principal of the school with a strong community and with quality teachers working in partnership with that community to enhance the learning experiences and outcomes of the students at the school.

The principal in this particular school spoke of how she worked closely with education system staffing officers to try to get staff members who really wanted to be in and stay in this particular rural area. She explained how some new teachers promise to do country service after their first year of teaching but then she spoke about three quarters of the new teachers employed who decided not to do country service for various reasons. She suggests that the education system really has to work to provide financial and other incentives to make country service more inviting and acceptable for new teachers.

One particularly difficult issue she mentioned was that the city and metropolitan schools in competition with the country rural schools have the chance to offer ongoing work to beginning teachers. This links to the issues of supply and demand for quality teachers in rural areas and incentives suggested to get teachers to work and stay in rural and remote areas. This becomes a State issue of allocating and controlling resources and teachers lives. The entrepreneurial approach has limitations in these settings as can be noted in the following principal voice.

Rural principal voice

they [the teachers] need more incentives to come out here... if you value them you need to pay them more. There are some incentives but by the time you [the teachers] pay for food, travel, accommodation, and health care you [the teachers] actually spend more than what you get as an incentive.

City school new teacher voice

Last year I was in a very small country school – two teachers - and I found that to be isolated and quite daunting.

The first setting is of a novice oriented professional culture with no experienced support available. This novice teacher depended upon the world of events to survive her first year of teaching. On the other hand the second voice had the support needed and gained confidence by being part of the integrated professional culture of the school. She was able to use the world of events to discuss and reflect on her teaching with the mentor.

It was all a little daunting at first but I was well supported by the staff and the administration.

The third voice is from a teacher in a veteran oriented professional culture and although a mentor was assigned to the new teacher she found that this did not work in a supportive manner as there was a mismatch between mentor and the person expecting to be mentored. This would appear to make it difficult for this teacher to operate other than in the world of events.

I was meant to have a mentor in my first year but there was a mismatch, he was new to the school as well, he had a [different] wrong approach because he bullied and belittled me...

The fourth voice is from a teacher in an integrated setting but as noted the mismatch is similar regardless of the cultural setting. This may need further investigation.

I am not particularly happy about the person allocated to me as my mentor. I don't find his manner of advice to be helpful but as a new member of staff I have to be careful

These voices of new teachers stressed the isolation they felt as new teachers. They were each supposed to have a mentor teacher allocated to assist them to settle into the teacher's role in the schools but they found that this did not always work in a supportive manner.

There are issues of power, control and bullying, involving feeling silenced and marginalised and being caught up in the problem of mismatching of mentors. Whether the prevailing values of individualism and collectivism are discussed and worked through and in what ways these issues encourage young teachers to move beyond the day-to-day events of their lives remains an issue of concern.

As Smyth (2001) wrote, the process of capturing silenced and marginalised perspectives in schools is important to the research and school change agenda and that we all need to be conscious of certain principles.

The importance of "honouring" voice which means listening to and responding to that listening of portrayals of self-knowledge, so that those who make utterances know they have a voice; that groups who have historically been subjugated by dominant discourses need to be listened to in multiple ways as they penetrate and puncture those stifling discourses (p.159).

So even in these novice oriented schools beginning teachers can still feel left out and be excluded from the culture of the school. The process of change and the culture of the school are issues for deep concern but if beginning teachers are caught within the silences and their voices are ignored then the dominant discourses of the school will continue with little change possible and communities and such schools are unlikely to retain these new teachers as contributing and vibrant ongoing members of staff.

Integrated professional school culture.

This type of school culture is where there is sustained support and ongoing exchange across experience levels for all teachers.

Beginning teacher voice.

When I got there I had a lot of trouble with my class, and with behaviour management, and it wasn't really until the end of the first term where I was really starting to think "what am I doing wrong?" but I investigated a lot more about the children and found out a lot more about them and knew that I needed lots of extra support teaching them. So now I know just go straight for help, and get that [support] happening straight away

In this first voice of the day-to-day work of teachers (or the world of events) , where behaviour management and 'just coping' often overpowers the new teacher and doesn't allow them the time and space for the reflective process to start to view their work in the conjunctural time or the *longue duree* phase which Robinson deems necessary for teacher change.

Beginning teacher voice

Honestly ...I really love in-services and courses that you go on with other teachers that are really based on getting together and discussing and talking to other staff. I find it really helpful with learning new skills, and even watching other teachers and how they interact and looking at their classroom programs. I think that is where I've learned the most in the past, is through observing other staff and talking with other staff. Because I had my older staff at my other school and they were so supportive, and they would come in and watch me teach and give me feedback as well, which is really good.

In contrast to the previous example, this beginning teacher is moving into conjunctural time and reflection, is thinking deeply about learning new skills and is taking a big step forward for a new teacher. These teacher learning opportunities are providing "settlements" for this beginning teacher.

Beginning teacher voice

The main thing that we've done is the maths syllabus. It's hard. And sessionals [casual relief teachers] would come out and help us plan our unit and work with the terminology... We were allowed time out from class to all sit down as a big group together and get our heads around it and work all together. We turned out so many units and they are up off and running now.

The sense of world events on a day-to-day basis, with elements of power and working collectively are evident here. There are issues of individualism versus collectivism. The sense of the dilemmas teachers face constantly with the social and political elements of their work both at the micro level of the school and classroom and at the macro level of the community and society to determine just how difficult and complex the work of teachers has become and how difficult it is to 'fit' into the culture of the school. There is also a sense of a lack of power and of being controlled by the system.

Beginning teacher voice

Well... a critical incident from my first year of teaching, without going into a whole lot of detail, was me having a girl come to me that was being abused and I think that was critical for me in understanding the power that I have, for want of a better word, or the relationship that I have with those children, that I was the only safe person that child felt she had to speak to. So, that gave me a sense of, you know, boy this is a real responsibility I have here.

This beginning teacher is starting to be reflective within an individualist framework. She is thinking deeply about how she can help this student, using critical reflection she is starting to think just beyond the world of events and moving towards settlements which will potentially facilitate her move to a conjunctural time view.

Beginning teacher voice

I'm doing what I should be doing. I know that. I love it. It's a joy. I come to school inspired every day, ...I think what the I-PAL program gave me was this forum to express doubts, to express concerns, to be able to be mentored by somebody, to have someone that I could go and talk to. And the professional standards, I liked reading them and thinking about them and writing down how I was meeting them because it made me think about teaching and about the process of teaching.

This teacher is being creative and thinking deeply about professional learning and professional standards that guide her teaching and learning. There is also a

sense of her moving into conjunctural and entrepreneurial ways of thinking that are exemplary for a new teacher

Beginning teacher voice

I have also realized that I need to keep studying and to ensure that I have learning challenges. ...I have already enrolled in the University of New England this year and I am studying French. It is a challenge but I am enjoying it. I have a strong need to learn and improve. I want to keep moving forward

This teacher is moving onto a conjunctural time view through particular settlements she is experiencing. She has realised she has to move to a broader perspective and to a longer term form of learning.

Credentialism is an important part of this new teacher's thinking and reflecting on her life as a teacher and her need to build up her cultural capital as a teacher. She seems to be moving onto conjunctural time thinking. She has realised she has to move to a broader perspective and a longer term view.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the discussion of data, this study is in an early phase. It is clear from the findings reported thus far that whether the teachers are part of what might be described as a veteran oriented culture or a novice oriented culture, there is little evidence at this point of many of the teachers in this study having moved from the world of events through to the conjunctural or *longue duree* phases of teacher change. In fact, the research study itself may provide an impetus for the teachers who are participants in this study to begin to become more critically reflective and therefore to move towards the conjunctural and *longue duree* phases. This study may in fact act as a "settlement" to facilitate this. It is also clear from the data reported that for novice teachers, who formed the majority of the participants in this study so far, neither the veteran oriented culture nor the novice oriented culture provides an ideal setting for them to gain the kinds of support, mentoring, collegial stimulation and professional critique to which one would expect, as developing professionals, they should have access. It appears that it is the integrated culture which provides the most conducive context to moving novice teachers as well as experienced teachers through the three stages of change to which we have referred.

As teacher educators the findings to this point in this study provide some insights as to some of the areas upon which we could be placing a great deal more emphasis in our programs than we currently are doing. If for example, we are to assist teachers or are to provide them with the where with all to move from a world of events where they merely describe what they do, to a concept of

conjunctural time where they situate what they do within some social, political order and context, to the stage of *longue duree* where they are able to employ reflectively and critically the lessons of history as a means to inform their own practice, confront their own practice and critique their own practice, we will need to place much more emphasis on the history of education, the philosophy of education and the learned art of critical reflection. Whilst those of us able to engage in the *longue duree* of teacher education are able to recall the times when these aspects of one's profession as a teacher were formally addressed in teacher education programs, we now have to concede that these elements are scantily covered, if at all. There is a risk that in attempting to keep up with every fad and fashion and in our attempt to try to provide teacher education students with a grab bag of all they might need to know about a breadth of curriculum concepts; we can overlook the foundations and historical patterns which have led us to the current context. Without such a comparative historical basis we leave prospective teachers unable to situate their work, their philosophies and their culture within any kind of educational big picture.

Not only are there lessons here for teacher education program developers but there are also lessons here for educational researchers, especially those undertaking the kind of research that is being reported in this paper. In the subsequent phases of this research study the kinds of teachers who participate in the study will be broadened significantly to include professionals at various stages along their career path. This will allow for a deeper understanding of the potential intersection between the three teacher cultures discussed here and the three levels of teacher change addressed here. On the face of it, a simplistic view of the intersection between these meta-theoretical perspectives might be to expect that a veteran oriented culture would intersect with a *longue duree* view of change, a novice oriented culture would intersect with a world of events view of change and an integrated culture would intersect with a *conjunctural time* view of change. However, in the interests of proffering a tentative thesis to guide us into the next phase of this study we perceive it is likely that it is only in the integrated culture where you have a 'sustained support and ongoing exchange of cross experience levels for all teachers' that there is likely to be the kind of environment in which teachers will develop a *longue duree* view of change. This is likely to occur because of the lively exchanges, professional discussions, professional research and ongoing professional development and learning in which teachers in an integrated culture will engage. The veteran oriented culture, we suspect, may at best view change in a *conjunctural time* sense but is likely to predominantly view change at a world of events level. We extrapolate from this that a novice oriented culture may well be predominantly grounded in a world of events view of change. As we continue to develop further phases of this study we would hope that our research may move into an emancipatory paradigm whereby we are not merely describing and interpreting what we find but rather that we are empowering the teachers in our study to become co-researchers in an effort to facilitate their movement from a world of events view to a *conjunctural*

time view and finally to a *longue duree* view of change in terms of the way it affects them as teacher professionals.

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