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From Technicians to Teachers: *The New Zealand Curriculum* and the Development of Ethical Teacher Professionalism

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Abstract

The New Zealand Curriculum mandated in 2010, requires on-going school-based curriculum development and significant shifts to teachers' practice. Will the implementation of this curriculum policy encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism? The dominant critical position in New Zealand education theory is that teaching has been 'deprofessionalised' by the reforms of the education system since 1989, while dominant 'official' discourse postulates 'reprofessionalisation' through 'effective pedagogy'. This thesis suggests that *The New Zealand Curriculum* breaks with the pattern of neoliberal reform, because of the influence of Third Way ideology on its formulation. The self-contradictory elements of the Curriculum provide opportunities for critical and creative implementation that enable teachers to take ethical control of their work. This thesis will elucidate this contention.

Renewed attention must be drawn to an ideal of teachers' work in the context of post-1989 education reform, its key elements, and how these could be operationalised by teachers. This ideal is centred on a calling or vocation to 'ethical professionalism' that is under constant renewal.

This claim for ethical teacher professionalism is considered in relation to the underlying ideological drivers of the reform project, and placed in the context of the concept of profession and various conceptions of teachers' work. Its operational elements are established before considering the reform context that has encouraged the deprofessionalisation of teachers' work. The question of whether *The New Zealand Curriculum* represents a break in the pattern of neoliberal reform is considered. As a policy, the Curriculum is subjected to critical policy analysis, permitting an exploration of the notion of 'spaces' in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The Curriculum does challenge the development of ethical teacher professionalism, and three aspects in particular are considered. A critical and creative approach to implementation that will encourage ethical professionalism is driven by the vision of building a knowledge democracy for a critical education community. In such a community, teachers form a community of critical professional enquiry. This approach is contrasted with the vision in *The New Zealand Curriculum* of reprofessionalised teachers' work proposed by 'effective pedagogy', in particular 'teaching as inquiry'.

Dedication

I have had the unstinting support, patience and listening ear of my wife and professional friend, Gina Benade. She has endured more than three years of preoccupation and 4 am wake-up calls, while our children, the young adults who share our home and lives, Ryan, Caitlin and Kieran, have looked on with detached interest. It is to my family that I dedicate this thesis.

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The New Zealand schools that employed me in my capacity as independent education consultant, working with them to implement *The New Zealand Curriculum*, indirectly assisted by providing me a context for thinking more fundamentally about the ideas I theorise in this thesis.

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During this period of Doctoral study, I have been privileged by my membership of the Philosophy of Education Society of Australasia (PESA). My friends and associates at PESA have been most supportive, and their comments and feedback to papers delivered there are reflected in the pages of this thesis.

The discussion of the Draft New Zealand Curriculum in Chapter Four has appeared in similar form as ‘The New Zealand Draft Curriculum: A policy case

study with specific reference to its understanding of teaching as an ethical profession in *Policy Futures in Education*, Vol 7 (1) (Benade, 2009).

Fig. 1 in Chapter Six and Fig. 2 in Chapter Seven are copyright of the Crown, and are able to be reproduced here under the Creative Commons Licence governing those images.

The discussions of ‘key competencies’ and ‘enterprise’ in Chapter Seven draw on earlier work, namely ‘Knowledge and ethical teaching professionalism in the 2007 New Zealand Curriculum’, that was presented at the 2008 Conference of the Philosophy of Education Society of Australasia, and ‘Enterprise in *The New Zealand Curriculum* and its challenge to ethical teacher professionalism’, published by the *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, vol 33(2) (Benade, 2008).

The discussion of ‘values’ in Chapter Seven has appeared in modified form as ‘Shaping the responsible, successful and contributing citizen of the future: ‘values’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum* and its challenge to the development of ethical teacher professionalism’ in *Policy Futures in Education*, vol 9(2) (Benade, 2011).

The term, ‘knowledge democracy’, used mainly in Chapter Eight, is borrowed from Gerald J. Pine, *Teacher action research* (2009). In the same chapter, the discussion of ‘critical thinking’ in Chapter Eight was originally developed in a paper delivered to the 40th Annual Conference of the Philosophy of Education Society of Australasia, 2010 entitled *Developing democratic dispositions and enabling crap detection: Claims for classroom philosophy with special reference to Western Australia and New Zealand*. My attendance at the Conference was made possible as a result of the financial support of the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland.

For two years of my Doctoral work, I benefitted by the financial support of a Doctoral Scholarship of the University of Auckland, in addition to small grants made by the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland that enabled me to attend conferences of the Philosophy of Education Society of Australasia (PESA), further supplemented by student grants made by the PESA committee.

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Introduction: Background to the research question and scope of the study

The Research Question

It is the view of several critical theorists that the education reforms of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have brought about a marketisation of education and a decline in its capacity to enhance community and advance the interests of the social democratic welfare state. This decline, it is suggested, has had a debilitating effect on teachers' work, causing it to be 'deprofessionalised'. An outspoken proponent of this view was John Codd, who suggested that 'the expansive Keynesian state has been transformed in to a minimal contractualist neo-liberal state, while in education the culture of professionalism has been largely surrendered to a narrow and reductionist instrumentalism' (2005d, p. 194). It is argued that education reforms have created a low trust consequential accountability regime and have encouraged a frenetic pursuit of school improvement and effectiveness. The teacher is now no more than an instrumental 'learning manager' or 'assessment clerk' (Thrupp, 1997, 1998).

According to these critics, teachers are regarded by neoliberal reformers as self-interested and requiring external manipulation through a range of devices to ensure they deliver cost-effective results that maximise tax dollars spent on education (Gordon, 1997; Gordon & Whitty, 1997). Devices such as external accountabilities are created by a range of initiatives and policies. A recent significant education policy initiative was the review and revision of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) from 2000 – 2006, followed by the publication in 2006 of the Draft New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2006), and the release in late 2007 of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007b). This revised national curriculum became mandatory for use in New Zealand schools in February 2010. If the claims of critical writers are to be wholly accepted, then the purposes of this revised national curriculum will lead to a further devaluation of teachers' work.

The deprofessionalisation thesis is both compelling and fatalistic, leading to a despairing sense that few options remain in considering the nature and status of

teachers and their work: either they are no more than technicians, or they are ‘reprofessionalised’ by definitions of ‘effective teachers’ promoted by the reforms. It may be however, that there are many teachers who do not see their work in either of these two ways. These are the teachers who believe they have a nobler purpose and who ‘claim devotion to [a] transcendent value, and, more importantly, the right to serve it independently when the practical demands of patrons and clients stifle it’ (Freidson, 2001, p. 123).

This thesis seeks to provide a valid account and theoretical justification of this perspective. Freidson’s ‘transcendent value’ is understood in this thesis as ‘ethical teacher professionalism’, an ideal of vocation that challenges teachers to reconceptualise their work and provides an alternative perspective to the fatalism of deprofessionalisation and state-sponsored notions of teachers’ work.

Fulfilling that vocation occurs in a context, however. It will be argued in this thesis that the nature of this context for teachers’ work can be significantly altered by the critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The investigation into the possibilities for teachers’ work provided by the Curriculum is guided by the following research question: **Will the implementation of The New Zealand Curriculum encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism in New Zealand?**

This research question calls for explanation of the notion of ethical teacher professionalism. Questions that concern concepts of profession and professionalism, vocation, and ethical teacher professionalism, are the subjects of Chapters One and Two. The deprofessionalist argument is that reforms have tampered with the ethical dimension of teaching, especially the concept of trust (Codd, 2005b, p. xvi), thus fundamentally changing the nature of teachers’ work. Central to this claim is that the reforms are maintained by neoliberal premises whose principles have been applied to all areas of life, including public spaces, such as schools. These principles include a low-trust model that strictly limits teachers’ autonomy.

A thematic argument underpinning this thesis is that *The New Zealand Curriculum* is a ‘Third Way’ policy; that despite several critiques of Third Way, its significance has not been sufficiently acknowledged by all theorists working in

the dominant anti-neoliberal tradition; and that as a Third Way policy, *The New Zealand Curriculum* offers significant opportunities for the development of ethical teacher professionalism. Third Way is a political-ideological response to the effects of globalisation and the related notions of ‘knowledge economy’ and ‘knowledge society’. Its response to those challenges is framed in terms of the dual goals of national economic progress in a globalised market place and social cohesion in a revised vision of civil society. It is an internally self-contradictory ideology, a feature that characterises *The New Zealand Curriculum*. These contradictions offer spaces that can be utilised to enable a critical implementation of this curriculum that will in turn encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism. Establishing and clarifying this claim will be assisted by developing an understanding of the neoliberal and Third Way dimensions of education policy making in New Zealand over two decades. Given their importance to the thesis question as a whole, these themes will be outlined in some detail here, before considering approaches to the thesis and the outline of chapters.

Theoretical underpinnings of the New Zealand education reform project

a) ‘New Right’ and neoliberalism

‘New Right’ is associated with ‘Reaganomics’, the economic policies of Ronald Reagan (President of the United States of America, 1981–1989) and ‘Thatcherism’, the economic policies of Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1979–1990). A local New Zealand version was ‘Rogernomics’, the economic policies of David Lange’s Fourth Labour government of 1984–1990, where it was applied to Finance Minister, Roger Douglas (1984–1988). The aforementioned administrations followed monetarist policies that slashed public spending, and introduced privatisation and deregulation of local markets. However, these administrations (particularly the USA and UK) also emphasised a brand of moral authoritarianism.

Olssen, Codd and O’Neill (2004) refer to the New Right as the grouping or alliance of market liberals and moral conservatives, where ‘New Right’ is the

alliance and ‘neoliberalism’ its underlying ideology. Apple (2004) distinguishes ‘neoliberals’ from ‘neoconservatives’, treating the former as the market liberals and the latter as the moral conservatives in the conservative alliance. This distinction lacks the clarity of that offered by Olssen and his colleagues, whose interpretation is preferred here. Market liberals seek limited government that does not interfere with the free market, while moral conservatives seek authoritative pro-family government that has little tolerance for crime. What the two groups have in common is their belief in individual freedom expressed as competitive individualism in a free market and a government that limits social spending (Olssen, Codd, & O’Neill, 2004). What follows is an analysis of the intellectual foundations of that position.

At the core of neoliberalism is the liberal belief in the *a priori* right to individual freedom, requiring that state legislation be justified as it inevitably encroaches on individual freedom. However, tensions exist between liberal conceptions of negative freedom and positive freedom (Benn & Peters, 1959; Berlin, 1958; Gaus & Courtland, 2007; Strike, 1982). Negative freedom can be understood to be freedom *from* coercion, power or use of force by others over the individual self (Berlin, 1958), or as the absence of restraint (Benn & Peters, 1959). It is an opportunity concept (Gaus & Courtland, 2007) that enables capacities (such as rational enquiry) to be developed (Strike, 1982) through unobstructed action (Berlin, 1958). Positive freedom focuses on the freedom *to* actualise the individual self (Gaus & Courtland, 2007). A rational, autonomous being is the objective (Berlin, 1958) of this more expansive interpretation of the liberty principle, that has the advantage over the former in that it recognises several varieties of constraints on individual liberty (Benn & Peters, 1959). For example, one may be fettered by addiction to a vice or by inability to send one’s child to a successful state school because it is zoned for a neighbourhood that is beyond one’s means. Thus positive freedom is an exercise or ability concept (Gaus & Courtland, 2007).

These propositions imply different levels of government involvement, where negative freedom requires minimal government, ensuring only that citizens do not coerce or unnecessarily impede one another (Gaus & Courtland, 2007), whereas positive freedom leads to an active state that sees itself as a collective

extension of the individual rational will (Berlin, 1958). Liberal belief is thus neither unitary nor without elements of self-contradiction. Liberal ethics are similarly divided. In *On Liberty*, J.S. Mill argued that

in things which do not primarily concern others, individuality should assert itself. Where, not the person's own character, but the traditions or customs of other people are the rule of conduct, there is wanting one of the principal ingredients of human happiness, and quite the chief ingredient of individual and social progress (1859/1979, p. 185).

Therefore, Mill argued that individual and social creativity is encouraged by individual liberty, and self-perfection is each individual's first priority (1859/1979, p. 188). In contrast is the contractualist position such as that proposed by John Locke, who posits a 'state of nature' in which people are free to act without let, but who choose to sacrifice some of that freedom to live in a lawful society of equals to guarantee self-preservation. Members of that society are mutually bound to one another:

Every one, as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station wilfully, so by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he as much as he can to preserve the rest of mankind, and not unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away, or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb or goods of another (1690/1976, p. 6).

These positions lead to theories that variously consider society to be an aggregation of private individuals, to those that emphasise its collectivist or communitarian qualities. Mill's notion of negative freedom led him to regard government as inimical to the pursuit of individuality and an incursion on personal freedom. In particular, he was suspicious of popular democracy (1859/1979, p. 129). Isaiah Berlin (1958, p. 51) noted that there is not a logical connection between individual liberty and democracy; the question of coercion and obedience turns on the extent of authority in the hands of the government, not on who has that authority. This highlights one of the tensions that exist whenever the concept of 'liberal democracy' is used, namely that the ends of liberty do not necessarily coincide with the ends of democracy. Berlin argued that a source of these tensions lies in the conflation of 'liberty' with 'equality' and 'fraternity' (1958, p. 30; 43). The former demands levels of social control to prevent domination of the weaker by the stronger, while the latter makes totalitarian

government permissible as long as it acknowledges and guarantees the recognition and status of all citizens.

A further matter of contention in liberal thinking is over the question of material circumstances, as alluded to above. An important source of such status is property. ‘Classical liberalism’ unites freedom and property, although there are some differences within this position. One view within classical liberalism treats property *as* freedom, embodied by the free market. The state simply ensures that the free market can exist (Gaus & Courtland, 2007). Alternatively, individuals are regarded as free to make contracts, sell their labour, acquire and accumulate capital, and to deploy capital. The role of the state is to guarantee this freedom by regulation. Locke, for example, regarded one of the chief aims of government to be the mutual preservation of private property (1690/1976, p. 73).

In contrast, ‘welfare liberalism’, which gives rise to social democracy, has a tenuous link between property and liberalism, because of doubts that the free market can distribute resources equitably. Consequently, welfare liberals look to the state to proactively smooth free market variations, and prefer the state to guarantee a range of liberties and rights than property freedoms (Gaus & Courtland, 2007).

‘Neoliberalism’ has a conception of the individual that shifts from the classical liberal ‘homo economicus’ (Olssen, Codd, & O’Neill, 2004; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997), to the ‘perpetually responsive’ individual. Whereas the classical position acknowledges the self-directed, self-actualising individual whose interests coincide with the interests of society, the neoliberal position regards the individual as slothful, but amenable to development by the state as an enterprising individual. The key intellectual trends that led to the development of neoliberal thought include the rising influence of monetarism, the work of theorists linked to the Austrian and Chicago schools of economics, and the emergence of theories of Human Capital, Public Choice and Agency.

i. Monetarism

Usually associated with Milton Friedman and the Chicago School (Olssen & Peters, 2005), monetarism keenly supports a laissez-faire market, thereby

rejecting Keynesian welfare economics and attendant public spending. Monetarism seeks the extension of economic and market principles to traditional non-economic sectors, such as public services and education. The demand-side, centralised control and manipulation of the market by the welfare state is replaced by supply-side interventions, such as investment in education, so that individuals are better able to capitalise on the market or add value to it by their enhanced skills. A self-regulating market is considered to be virtuous and better able to distribute resources, thus requiring less state intervention.

The Chicago School, of which Friedman was a notable figure, and the Austrian School, with which Frederick Hayek was closely associated (Olssen & Peters, 2005), concur in their adherence to *methodological individualism* and *political individualism*. The former views 'society' as a myth, and provides explanations in terms of individual motivations, while the latter has the related notion of society as an aggregate of private individuals who should be left free to pursue their own interests. While the 'Chicago School' generally refers to a group of individuals (including Hayek) who taught at the University of Chicago School of Economics, the 'Austrian School' refers rather to a school of thought that included late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Austrian economists, Menger, von Mises and Hayek (Devine, n.d). Significant differences include the extreme *laissez-faire* position of the Austrian school that resisted state intervention, whereas the Chicago monetarists allowed for some state intervention, especially control of money supply and inflation. While the latter are positivists and rely on empirical data and 'value-free' economics, the former argued the primacy of *a priori* knowledge and introduced the notion of 'subjective theory of value' (Devine, n.d) that rejects empirical notions of calculating a fixed value of commodities based on the labour required to create them. Instead the Austrian economists posited that value is determined by the subjective preferences of individuals (Olssen & Peters, 2005). The significance of this point is that Hayek vigorously promoted the notion that the rational individual is capable of freely choosing amongst options based on personal knowledge of the market, rather than relying on an expert state planner who is not privy to the same knowledge (Olssen & Peters, 2005), and is too distant from the

fragmented knowledge emanating from the market to be able to coordinate it (Peters, 1999).

ii. Human Capital Theory (HCT)

HCT is the notion that capital investment in education leads to enhanced skills and knowledge for individuals, representing a return on investment for the state. HCT thus postulates a linear relationship between education and later economic success. This theory is however flawed for several reasons, including its ahistorical assumptions, its notion that individuals behave rationally (Fitzsimons, 1999a), and the assumption that education necessarily leads to economic success (Brown & Lauder, 1996; Codd, 2005a; Fitzsimons, 1999a; Fitzsimons & Peters, 1994; Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). HCT features strongly in the discourse of international agencies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and The World Bank, where it is promoted as a significant factor in creating 'competitive advantage' for nations (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004).

iii. Public Choice Theory (PCT)

PCT postulates the extension of market and business principles to all sectors of life. Its exponent, James Buchanan (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004) advanced the notion that the market as regulator could, in the hands of the state, become a model for the regulation of the public sphere (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In this regard, Buchanan advanced significantly from the Hayekian notion of the 'invisible hand' of unfettered markets acting as self-regulators that had influence over private transactions, to believing that the state could manipulate and create quasi-market conditions to influence public sector transactions. Because PCT is underpinned by methodological individualism, it rejects the possibility of 'public interest', thus postulating 'provider capture', the likelihood that public service delivery will favour bureaucrats, who will act only to maximise personal utility. Therefore, schools are economic 'black holes' that fail their 'consumers' (Apple, 2004). A solution is the eradication of potential 'conflicts of interest' by separating policy, implementation and regulation in public services. Quasi-markets are created by uncoupling services from the parent organisation, placing

these services in competition with each other, and requiring the parent organisation to engage in contestable practices with the now outsourced providers. Rigorous accountability is applied from policy-making to implementation, by agents also separated from the parent organisation (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Peters, 1999).

iv. Agency Theory (AT)

AT postulates that individual personal relationships in public organisations are formalised contracts that manage the relationship between superiors ('principal') and subordinates ('agent'), to whom specific tasks are delegated. AT and PCT share a distrust of individual motivations. Essentially, AT dwells on the 'agency problem' where 'asymmetrical' knowledge exists between the parties. The principal expends resources to keep the agent under surveillance, while the agent withholds information from the principal, making the task of the principal more challenging. Each party is motivated to achieve their respective self-interest. AT therefore focuses on balancing the monitoring of behaviour against the offer of rewards in return for desirable action by the agent (Eisenhardt, 1989). The relevance of AT is its contribution to understanding the place of accountability systems and the restructuring of the public sector (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004). Taken together, these strands of neoliberal thought have influenced both New Zealand education reform and one of the central responses to those reforms.

b) Neoliberalism shapes the deprofessionalist case

In essence, the deprofessionalisation argument is that post-1989 New Zealand education reforms have contractualised teachers' work, thus eroding trust in the professional relationship. Olssen and Peters (2005) regard contractualisation as a product of Public Choice Theory that has extended neoliberal market norms to the public sector. This in turn has created workplace relations that can be explained in terms of Agency Theory. The work of the agent (the teacher) is shaped, monitored and appraised by the principal (the school principal or other delegated person) so that the productive requirements of the organisation are achieved efficiently and competently (2005, pp. 319-320). For Codd (2005a; 2005d), contractualisation

was a product of the intrusion in schools of a ‘culture of managerialism’. This culture is a concern with quality that reduces education to a pursuit of observable and measurable outcomes at the expense of professional trust, democratic values or moral vision (2005d, pp. 200-201). Both accounts can be related to Lyotard’s (1984) notion of ‘performativity’, and both argued that contractualisation undermines the traditional notions of professional work, pointing out in particular the loss of autonomy and sense of public trust (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 325) and the erosion of critical reflection and professional judgement (Codd, 2005d, p. 202). Indeed, Codd referred to teachers as having become ‘managed professionals’ who can be seen only as ‘skilled technicians’ (2005d, p. 202). The case for deprofessionalisation goes deeper, however.

Government influence over curriculum (which has emerged as a consequence of reforms described in Chapter Three) and shifts in the meaning and purpose of knowledge (as described in Chapter Seven) distances teachers from the creation of their work, obliging them instead to perform the new role now demanded of them. These changes come about amid a growing emphasis on competencies, reflecting the international pressure on countries to have citizens able to adapt to the demands of the global ‘knowledge economy’, leading in turn to a growing vocationalisation of the school curriculum. A hollowed-out curriculum, reflecting a postmodern, postindustrial conception of knowledge, sees ‘key competencies’ in the ascendant, with knowledge as the mere handmaiden to competencies. The development of competencies through the curriculum aims at enabling students to become efficient and effective *users* of knowledge, and this instrumental sense of ‘use’ is well represented in *The New Zealand Curriculum* outline of key competencies (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 12-13). Teachers too are required to exhibit these competencies, so that they can effectively model them (Warner, 2006, pp. 12-13), demonstrating that they can work effectively in ‘teams’ with their students to create ‘knowledge’ that will enable to students to develop the relevant competencies. The developments described here are a product of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and to some extent have accelerated beyond neoliberalism, thus demanding different political thinking.

c) *Third Way*

Third Way is a political response shaping centre-left politics, particularly in the Anglo West, in the past two decades. Despite that, by the time of writing, it is a discourse which, in name at least, 'has been gently allowed to lapse' (Holmes, 2009, p. 251), Third Way modernised the left, enabling it to challenge the New Right conservative governments that entrenched neoliberalism, especially in the USA and UK. These developments have been echoed in New Zealand. Third Way has been vigorously contested by several writers on the left, and two in particular will be referred to, namely Alex Callinicos (2001), who offers a European perspective, and Jane Kelsey (2002), a New Zealand perspective. Also referred to is Codd and Sullivan (2005). The Third Way position will be presented, followed by reflections on the influence of postmodernism and notions of knowledge economy and society. This will be followed by a summary critique. The account of Third Way in this thesis draws on its key exponent, Anthony Giddens, who authored *The Third Way: The renewal of social democracy* (1998b), *The Third Way and its critics* (2000) and edited *The global Third Way debate* (2001b). A number of authors in that collection have influenced the overall understanding of Third Way developed in this thesis. The outline of Third Way will refer briefly to its genesis, its aims, the 'five dilemmas' Giddens claims are faced by the left, and the political response of Third Way to those dilemmas.

Tony Blair led 'New Labour' to victory at the polls in 1997 following eighteen years of conservative government in the United Kingdom. He is most closely associated with Third Way and indeed, Giddens is considered to have collaborated with him as the idea of Third Way developed. Bill Clinton, who brought the 'New Democrats' to power in the United States of America in 1992, is also associated with Third Way. In both cases, their parties were modernised by breaking with traditional left orthodoxy, led respectively by the US Democratic Leadership Council established in 1985 (Giddens, 2000, p. 2) and the UK Labour Party Policy Review, established in 1987 (Giddens, 1998b, p. 17). However, a simple association of Third Way with these two political groupings is limiting, ignoring its wider currency (Giddens, 2001a). Giddens' defines Third Way as 'an attempt to transcend both old-style social democracy and neoliberalism'

(Giddens, 1998b, p. 26), recognising however that his critics see Third Way as ‘warmed-over neoliberalism’ (1998b, p. 25).

Third Way emerged in a socio-political and economic context that included the collapse of socialism and the attendant weakening of a bipolar world; the emergence of a global ‘knowledge economy’ and associated decline in the number of traditional blue-collar jobs; rapidly changing personal identity politics; and the dramatic rise to prominence of eco-politics. This context challenged nation-states ‘to help citizens pilot their way through the major revolutions of our time: *globalisation, transformations in personal life and our relationship to nature*’ (Giddens, 1998b, p. 64. Emphasis in the original). Giddens argued that neither the doctrinaire and orthodox ‘old left’, nor the neoliberal right were able to respond to these contextual challenges. The welfarist egalitarianism of the old left had ‘perverse consequences’ (1998b, p. 16) of social decay and drab uniformity, while the integration of free market economy and moral conservatism by neoliberals failed because of the inherent self-contradiction in that relationship (1998b, p. 15). The dual aims of Third Way are therefore for nations and their citizens to achieve economic success globally and at home, and for governments to develop social cohesion amongst their citizens.

The ‘five dilemmas’ (Giddens, 1998b, pp. 27-68) facing the left arise in relation to the contextual challenges above. Giddens listed these as *globalisation; individualism; left and right; political agency; and ecological issues*. ‘Globalisation’ is the facilitation of trade and movement of goods, services, people and capital across national boundaries, which Giddens acknowledged to be a consequence of the international application of neoliberal principles. He challenged the view of the ‘old left’ that global trade has a long historical life. Modern global trade is characterised by new features such as the rise and prominence of global financial markets; the revolution in information communication technologies (ICT) that has facilitated the rapid movement of global capital; the attendant developments in mass media and global entertainment; and the relaxation of trade barriers internationally. Add to this the role of international agencies such as the OECD, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that have promoted the aims of the

Washington Consensus,¹ in particular the relaxation of trade restrictions, deregulation of local economies and the creation of flexible labour market conditions. The collapse of socialism and the erosion of international bipolarisation are related to the effects of globalisation, as is a challenge to national sovereignty by virtue of lost national autonomy in trade relations. Further, globalisation has led to the demand and opportunity for a more mobile and 'flexible' labour force that is steadily replacing traditional forms of labour.

Giddens distinguished 'individualism' from 'individual autonomy' and clarified that he was not referring to a rampant form of self-interested economic individualism. Personal identity is undergoing significant change, due in part to the educational benefits of the welfare state and to the effects of globalisation. In particular the explosion of digitised communication has created vast opportunities for social networking and on-line crafting of personal identity. A highly mobile, intelligent and independent younger generation creates significant demands and is less conformist than its parental forbears. Members of this generation are politically active, yet disrespect traditional electoral politics. There is thus a challenge to develop inclusive national social cohesion that both appeals to this emergent individualism and encourages the acceptance by individuals of their responsibilities (1998b, p. 37).

Giddens argued that the apparent decline of socialism does not equate to a collapse in the distinction between 'left' and 'right', a distinction ultimately defined by the issue of equality. While the extremes of the 'old left' may have faded away, the existence of a resurgent 'far right' is very real, and its rhetoric of 'cultural and economic protectionism' (1998b, p. 48) must be challenged by a 'centre left' that takes issues of equality and social justice seriously. Although the right will reject the goal of social cohesion based on social justice and equality,

¹ This term was coined in a paper ('What Washington means by policy reform') by international economist, John Williamson, at a conference held by the Institute for International Economics in November 1989. Although he is subsequently aggrieved that this term has come to be associated with neoliberal policies and practices (see his comments at <http://www.petersoninstitute.org/staff/jwguide.cfm#topic3>), his list of ten recommendations, aimed at finding ways to lift developing countries from poverty, contributed significantly, albeit unintentionally, to the development of globalisation (Naim, 1999).

the challenge for the centre left is to promote this cohesion while simultaneously encouraging individual choice and liberty and engaging with capitalism.

Changing notions of individual identity are associated with changing political sensibilities and political agency, connecting to growing popular disenchantment with electoral politics and suspicion of politicians. Visible evidence is the proliferation of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and citizen groups. These developments challenge governments and political parties to review and re-evaluate their role and appeal to their fellow citizens. Third Way seeks to actively renew social democracy through government that continues to play a significant role as employer, provider of social services including education, through which it develops key messages and values, regulator of markets and competition, conduit for reconciling conflicting interest, and guarantor of social peace and stability (1998b, pp. 47-48).

Ecological pressures such as climate change and the general impact of industry on the environment give international groups such as Greenpeace a high profile, but extreme environmental positions disregard the reality of technological progress. Opposing right views downplay or disregard environmental issues in the pursuit of profit, failing to take the management of environmental risk seriously enough. Giddens suggested sustainability politics as a social democratic response. This response includes a risk management strategy that provides both the security for citizens traditionally linked to welfare states and economic opportunities through wise investments in ecology (1998b, pp. 62-64).

The political response offered by Third Way may now be considered against this background of the 'five dilemmas' sketched by Giddens. This response is outlined in the work of Giddens (1998b; 2000; 2001a) and others (Driver & Martell, 2001; Latham, 2001; Merkel, 2001). This consideration is in relation to globalisation, social justice, the individual and modernising government. Third Way does not believe globalisation threatens national identity, but is wary of free trade and is conscious of the need to preserve national identity and the integrity of national values. There is however a realisation of the value of nations gaining global competitive advantage for themselves and their citizens. A core value for Third Way is social justice secured by state promotion of egalitarianism. It recognises however the importance of individual autonomy, seeking to link this

freedom to the concerns of the wider social community. Thus Third Way thinking about individuals emphasises the notion of ‘no rights without responsibilities’ (Giddens, 1998b, p. 65), leading to a redefinition of civic responsibility. As rights are conditional, Third Way measures seek ‘welfare to work’ policy options. Expanded individual obligations are however not intended to persecute the poor; policy options are thus also sought to ensure that the wealthy do not opt out of society.

Third Way government, argued Giddens, is modernising government, but is not about more modernity (1998b, p. 67); rather, it is ‘pragmatic’ government that seeks to cope with a world that is ‘beyond tradition’ (1998b, p. 68). It is also focussed on ensuring corruption-free, ‘smart’ government that utilises technology to be more responsive to its citizens. It is government that makes substantial supply-side investments in education and encourages greater civic participation as one of the outcomes of education. Third Way government seeks to regain the confidence of citizens in the democratic process and institutions from the ground up. It also seeks to sustain family life and secure the well-being of children. One way it does so is by creating a secure society through vigorous anti-crime measures. Third Way government looks to technology to enable it to better manage environmental risk.

d) The postmodern influence on Third Way

The position that imagines a world ‘beyond tradition’ to which Third Way governments are challenged to respond, is taken by postmodernists, whose thought may thus exercise some influence over Third Way education policy. That possibility therefore has implications for the circumstances under which any development of ethical teacher professionalism must be considered. The influence of postmodernism overlaps other influences, notably globalisation and the development of the knowledge society and economy. These signal changes in the late twentieth century world that were presaged by Lyotard (1984), particularly the massification of digital media and solutions, whereby previously ‘high-end’, high-value products cease to be the preserve of the wealthy and become popularly available (McDonald, 2009). This development and penetration of technologies

have fundamentally altered the way knowledge is conceptualised and understood. Lyotard noted that knowledge was losing its intrinsic value, becoming instead a tradable commodity to be valued for its 'performativity' (1984, p. 45). Postmodern analyses break with 'master narratives', finding intellectual favour in this fluid context. They reject patriarchal, Eurocentric notions such as Reason, Rationality or Truth. Postmodernism emphasises the margins and marginalised against the centre and the powerful; it emphasises difference and individuality or discrete groups of individuals as legitimate and worthy of serious consideration; it rejects binaries and the boundaries they create (Giroux, 1992), such as black-white, oppressed-oppressor, gay-straight. 'Difference, novelty, change, and choice are valued over standardisation, stability, and external authority' (Gilbert, 2005a, p. 29). Postmodernism therefore flourishes in an increasingly pluralistic world, in which national boundaries are weakened by globalisation. Although the essence of what is implied in postmodernism is a rejection of 'master narrative', one of its weaknesses is that its proponents see postmodernism as an alternative to modernist ways of theorising the world and knowledge, thus according it the self-contradictory status of a master narrative.

The 'dilemma' of individualism, to which Third Way ideology addresses itself, arises partly in consequence of the postmodern effect on ways individuals and groups constitute themselves (Driver & Martell, 2001; Giddens, 1998b). Individuals are saturated by choice and make substantive choices that break traditional boundaries. They are living in a period of 'life politics' and increasing moral uncertainty (Driver & Martell, 2001; Giddens, 1998b). This period too has seen the growth of the identification and association of individuals with small local groups (Giddens, 2000). Third Way promotes positive political programmatic action that celebrates diversity and local influence in response to the rejection by postmodernism of the traditionalising effects of modernity. As the unrestrained progress of modernity has contributed to the erosion of large scale employment, it is increasingly the individual and small groups of individuals who must be enabled with the kind of 'life' knowledge and skills that will allow them to succeed in an uncertain world. While a modernist approach regarded public education as a universal good with strong social benefits and was committed to the intrinsic value of a well educated population (Gilbert, 2005a),

events of the late twentieth century have brought these aims in to question. These events include the ICT revolution and its impact on work. A Third Way political agenda celebrates the presence and advancement of digital technology and acknowledges its contribution to the development of a global knowledge economy, which has flow-on effects for both nations and individuals.

e) Third Way, knowledge economy and knowledge society

As much international trade now occurs in cyber space, geopolitical boundaries have been weakened (Giddens, 1998b). Globalisation prevents states from fortifying themselves against international influences, resulting in several international crises, the most obvious of which has been the 2008/9 global recession, and more recently the ‘Greek tragedy’ that signalled the possibility of a Greek economic crisis becoming an international crisis (Davis & Hilsenrath, 2010), followed by a similar crisis in Ireland (Davis, 2010).

The penetration into rich and poor homes of ‘24/7’ news, and access by millions to the World Wide Web via the internet has closed digital divides. The Web brings a plethora of resources, both static (such as documents) and dynamic (such as news or entertainment web sites, video and audio) to the computers of users who are connected to the internet via fixed line, fibre or wireless applications. This technology that has delivered instant messaging and communication between parties across the globe, is also responsible for facilitating global economic and financial transactions, creating a technological revolution that has led to the development of a global knowledge economy (Warner, 2006). As will be seen later, the impacts of this revolution on traditional work categories support a fundamental argument motivating the production of *The New Zealand Curriculum* and arguments for the development of key competencies.

Following the argument that traditional work categories are under pressure, Giddens noted that shrinkage of manufacturing is occurring at a rate comparable to the shrinkage of the agricultural sector in developed countries, where 2% of the working population produces in excess of what 30% was once required to produce (2001a, p. 4). World trade in resources declined from a 45% share in 1976 to a

24% share in 1996; while in the same time frame, world trade in high technology increased from 33% to 54% (The World Bank, 1998 Slide #8). This necessarily leads to a demand for highly skilled workers able to keep pace with the ‘codification’ of knowledge that is constantly evolving through the interactions between networks of people (OECD, 1996, p. 7). Governments may respond to this challenge by increasing investment in formal education or by providing incentives to business and individuals to engage in lifelong learning opportunities (1996, p. 19). ‘Lifelong learning is education for the knowledge economy’ (The World Bank, 2003, p. xiii). Digitisation of work, leisure and commerce has led not only to enforced upskilling, but also to the need for rapid responses to change, and the demand for greater consumer responsiveness (Gilbert, 2005a).

This knowledge economy demands a ‘value added’ component that in turn requires higher skill levels enabling knowledge to be applied differently and creatively to bring about innovative solutions. Thus the workplace requires more independent thinking, and therefore innovative ‘risk-taking’ becomes a new knowledge requirement (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a; Latham, 2001; Warner, 2006). In this ‘economy’, exchange is of ideas rather than goods (The World Bank, 2003, p. 1). The World Bank 2003 report, *Lifelong learning in the global knowledge economy*, noted the following characteristics of this economy:

- New ways of developing and applying knowledge. Principally this refers to the creation, acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, the key being the techno-digital revolution;
- Increasing rapidity of production and demand for innovation in production. There is an explosion of intellectual property claims through patenting and so the key here is intellectual property ownership and the ability to gain advantage from that ownership as quickly as possible;
- Knowledge enables countries to participate in dramatically increased global trade when producers are able to respond to international consumer demand;
- The business unit size is rapidly reducing, allowing small and medium enterprises to flourish (2003, p. 2).

Individual economic success depends not only on government support for lifelong learning, but individual commitment to lifelong learning. In this sense, however, knowledge also becomes ‘capital’ in the hands of individuals who are now more or less desirable by virtue of their knowledge, in particular their ‘know how’ or

‘tacit’ knowledge (OECD, 1996, p. 7). In development terms, knowledge is seen as a critical lever in reducing poverty (The World Bank, 1998)

One way a ‘knowledge society’ prepares its citizens to meet the demands of a knowledge economy is by investing heavily in education. Another is to recognise that schooling should not prioritise an academic focus above a vocational one (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a; Warner, 2006). The knowledge society arises in a new postmodern ‘knowledge age’ that rejects universalist, ‘one size fits all’ approaches to education, favouring instead individualised learning while also ensuring that all students have access to all skills (Gilbert, 2005a). Knowledge society and Third Way discourse concur that welfare is an industrial relic unsuited to a postindustrial age, disabling individuals by preventing them from acquiring the skills that will enable them to participate in the knowledge economy *and* escape the welfare trap (Merkel, 2001).

Thus pressure is applied to policy makers to reconceptualise students as individuals taking up unique personal identities, thereby concurring with Third Way thinking that recognises and acknowledges that young adults in the twenty-first century are seeing themselves differently, contributing to Giddens’ ‘rise of individualism’ (Giddens, 2001a, pp. 4-5). The techno-digital revolution creates flexible and multi-identities, shaped and reshaped on-line (Gilbert, 2005a), in a world that is not easily inhabited by the parents, teachers or other significant adults in the lives of young people. Young people are a critical consumer ‘demographic’ that engages with a globalised world at an early age. These ‘digitally connected’ twenty-first century students bring to school greater sophistication than their parents did thirty to forty years ago (Warner, 2006, pp. 22-25).

If this discourse is accurate, schools and teachers will need to change. The account above locks ‘industrial-age’ schools into contexts of authority that emphasise tradition, academic knowledge and assessment whereas postindustrial (‘knowledge age’) schools emphasise co-constructive teaching and learning, innovation and digital technology (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a; The World Bank, 2003; Warner, 2006). ‘Orthodox schools’ emphasising static skills will be ‘subverted by diverse new learning frameworks’ (Giddens, 2000, p. 74). In the knowledge age, schools focus on ‘know how’ rather than ‘know that’ and

they teach and encourage risk taking and focus on collaboration over control. In such schools, the academic-vocational divide is collapsed and a range of competencies beyond the academic are required for all students (Gilbert, 2005a, p. 67; Warner, 2006, p. 13). Teachers become ‘learning managers’ and guides, assisting their students to work in ‘research teams’ (Gilbert, 2005a); to become lifelong learners and facilitators (The World Bank, 2003). Teachers should be researchers and cross-disciplinary experts, working as contractors in several schools (Gilbert, 2005a, p. 143). However, Gilbert feared the prospects for such wide-ranging changes could be dimmed by the likely contestation of vested, politicised and cultural interests and groups, a view echoed by The World Bank (Gilbert, 2005a, p. 153; The World Bank, 2003, p. 36).

f) Critiques of Third Way

The following summary review of critiques of Third Way will commence with general remarks, followed by comments about globalisation, the values of social cohesion, and conclude with specific reference to New Zealand. The key sources of Third Way critique reviewed here (Callinicos, 2001; Codd, 2005b; Kelsey, 2002; Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004; Roberts, 2006) concur on several points, namely that Third Way is essentially a soft version of neoliberalism, is vague and contradictory, lacks a coherent ideological framework, and represents ‘short term political management’ (Kelsey, 2002). There are however variations within this literature. One position is that Third Way and neoliberalism are indistinguishable, to the extent that certain theorists fail to acknowledge Third Way, for example in their treatment of globalisation (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 314). Another acknowledges Third Way discourse by pointing to unique policies, but then concludes it is simply ‘neoliberalism in disguise’ (Kelsey, 2002; Roberts, 2006). The view expressed in this thesis is that Third Way is contradictory, but that it represents an advance on the neoliberal attempt to unify free market liberalism and moral conservatism, a relationship in which the market trumps moral concerns. Instead, Third Way seeks to harness the economic gains of capitalism to the benefit of social democracy, where social democracy and justice trump the market. Third Way, while self-admittedly pragmatist, must be taken seriously. As

Alex Callinicos, the notable critic of Third Way suggested, the dual aims of Third Way, to reconcile economic efficiency and social justice, ‘is the most politically influential ideology both in advanced capitalist countries and in the leading Third World states’ (2001, p. 109). He was critical of those writers who dismiss Third Way, choosing instead to give it serious regard (2001, p. 13).

Third Way sees itself as a response to globalisation that can be distinguished from the neoliberal response. In particular, Third Way approaches to globalisation would seek to impose risk management strategies that neoliberalism fails to achieve (Giddens, 2000, p. 33).² Critics such as Callinicos (2001) and Kelsey (2002) however considered Third Way approaches to globalisation as both reductionist and blind to the trouble in which globalisation finds itself.³

The Third Way views of a ‘new economy’ in which hierarchies and monopolistic practices are annihilated as an outcome of globalisation, is challenged, for although globalisation has led to significant capital restructuring, corporations and their hierarchies are not disappearing. Both Callinicos (2001, p. 37) and Kelsey (2002, p. 16) have provided empirical evidence of monopolistic practices of global capitalism working through giant multinational corporations that ensure the repatriation of profits to the home country of those corporations, providing little opportunity for local economies to prosper. This refutes the likelihood of global economic gains being used in the service of local social justice and cohesion.

The case for the digital revolution is overstated, Callinicos (2001) arguing that it does not compare to the other great technological revolutions such as electricity, road and air travel and telecommunications. Rather, the mass production of personal computers and the advent of the Internet have changed habits rather than revolutionised the global economy. Similarly challenged is the

² Such as the rejection sought by the outgoing Republican Bush administration of the massive 2008 government ‘bailout’ plan to rescue an unregulated United States economy that threatened world economies, because of ‘the astonishing price tag of the proposal and the hand of government that it would place on private markets’ (Business Day, 2008). As events transpired, a global recession eventuated, although a neoliberal ‘hands-off’ approach in the United States may have led to a far deeper international crisis.

³ Note for example the riots that occurred during the meeting of the G-20 economic forum leaders in Toronto in June 2010.

notion that the digital revolution has contributed to the development of a 'knowledge economy' and the annihilation of many conventional jobs. The counter arguments presented by Callinicos are not entirely convincing, however his critique does draw attention to the problem of the commodification and privatisation of knowledge, questions around copyright and patenting, and the role of international agencies in promoting this erosion of common, public knowledge.⁴ Callinicos (2001, p. 30) argued that knowledge treated as proprietary is often the result of work paid for by public tax.

To show that Third Way has close ties to neoliberalism, critics suggest that international agencies such as The World Bank and IMF are fronting US foreign policy by applying the principles of the Washington Consensus. As a result, loans to developing countries are conditional on their acceptance of terms of trade suitable to developed states, leaving developing states debt-ridden and unable to compete. This critique is intended to refute the Third Way notion of either the benefits to nation states of global trade or the ethics of participating in such trade.

On the question of ethics, Third Way has the attainment of social cohesion as one of its dual aims. This rests largely on the encouragement of equality, a principle on which Callinicos believed Third Way should stand or fall. He argued that, at least in the British context, Third Way fails to achieve equality due to the prevalence of choice policies, notably in education. These policies have resulted in a stratified system, creating 'better quality' schools for the wealthy. He also doubted the efficacy of education in achieving full employment, as there will always be certain sectors that remain unemployable. The role of 'community' features prominently in Third Way discourse, and ironically for a Marxist, Callinicos (2001) noted that this communitarian inclination leads to the suppression of individual rights in favour of duty, leading to the suggestion of 'moral authoritarianism' (also see Thrupp, 2005a). Besides, he doubted that a communitarian philosophy could be coalesced with modern capitalism, a point made even by Giddens (1998b, p. 15).

⁴ See the World Bank 'Knowledge Assessment Methodology' (2010) where one of the indicators of a knowledge society is the extent to which ideas are patented and royalties and their payments are protected. The very notion of defined indicators to describe the extent to which a country is a 'knowledge society' is contentious.

This thesis suggests that *The New Zealand Curriculum* breaks with the pattern of earlier reforms, and may allow the encouragement of ethical teacher professionalism because of the influence of Third Way ideology on the formulation of the curriculum. Thus it is appropriate to consider some of the critical views expressed by Kelsey (2002) (and others) in relation to New Zealand's appropriation of Third Way.

New Zealand has long been committed to the ideal and idea of globalisation (Hope & Stephenson, 2005). This includes its acceptance of global governance, particularly in respect of its involvement in the OECD and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Kelsey suggested that this identification with a global economy has been to the detriment of New Zealand that has 'done everything globalisation required of it. The result was a pathologically dependent, vulnerable and underperforming economy' (2002, p. 40), contributing to an ever-widening wealth gap.

The 1999 election victory of the New Zealand Labour Party marks the advent of Third Way in New Zealand (Codd, 2005a, p. 8), about the time that Kelsey stated that '*New Zealand Labour fits neatly into this paradigm*' (2002, p. 60. Emphasis added). Like the US Democrats and the UK Labour Party, the New Zealand Labour Party spent its years in opposition re-branding itself, broadening its appeal across the political centre. Kelsey went on to note an address by Robert Reich, Bill Clinton's Secretary of Labour, to a New Zealand Labour seminar entitled, 'Smart government in the global economy', and the development of Third Way ideas for the New Zealand context by Labour front-bencher, Steve Maharey. She also cited an address by then-leader of Labour, Helen Clark, to a Wellington election rally on the 21st November 1999, who stated that: '...like our friends in Western Europe and North America, we have come to talk of a Third Way of smart, active, intelligent government ... where investment in people is so critical' (Kelsey, 2002, p. 67).

The Clark government was credited by Kelsey for achieving many, if not all, of the key social justice legislative and policy changes promised by Labour in the 1999 election within its first term of office. However, for Kelsey, the economic policies of the Clark government brand it as a neoliberal, rather than Third Way, government. These policies mark a 'hands-off' government that

favoured business over unions and attempted to shift debate from class politics to focus on the creation of an alliance of business, unions and government. This is nothing less than a betrayal of traditional social democratic values by a Labour Party of free marketers and pragmatists whose leadership would brook no dissent (2002).

The foregoing critique of Third Way led Kelsey to regard the left as ineffectual and impotent (2002), while Callinicos summed up less despairingly, that those ‘who seek alternatives to neoliberalism must look elsewhere than the Third Way’ (2001, p. 109). Although both writers acknowledged the social justice initiatives taken within their own national contexts to achieve the Third Way aim of social cohesion, both concluded (as do many other Third Way critics) that the economic policies of these states, and their uncritical acceptance of globalisation, suggest an ideology with deeper attachments to neoliberalism than to social democracy and social justice (for an economics perspective that comes to a similar conclusion, refer to Romano 2006 and Whyman 2006). For the purposes of this thesis moving forward, this conflict will be regarded as a philosophical difference of opinion. As noted before, *The New Zealand Curriculum* is considered in this thesis to be self-contradictory, attributable to its status as a Third Way policy. The concern of this thesis is to elucidate this contention, showing by reference to other concepts and arguments, that implementation of this policy can develop ethical teacher professionalism. It is not the concern of this thesis however to adjudicate on the differing claims made either for or against Third Way, rather to establish it as a significant ideology that has had, and continues to have, significant influence over policy-making in New Zealand and elsewhere in the world.

Outline of Chapters

The concept of ‘professionalism’ and its relation to the concepts of ‘profession’ and teachers’ work are overviewed in Chapter One. This thesis assumes that teaching is a profession, but has a greater interest in the kind of profession it is becoming and whether there may be some intellectual and practical ways of responding to that shift. Therefore, consideration is given to the salient features of

the idea of ‘profession’ and in that light, some competing accounts of teachers’ work in the literature are considered.

Chapter Two will closely examine what constitutes ‘ethical teacher professionalism’ and how it might be operationalised. Teaching, it is claimed, is an ethical act and ‘devotion to the transcendent goal’ (Freidson, 2001) of ethical teacher professionalism requires at a minimum that a teacher’s work be based on altruistic responsibility that is focused on ‘the other’, and on concepts of duty and service. These claims are supported by a careful discussion of the concept of altruism. Ethical teachers display attributes of listening and caring. They are called upon to reflect critically on their work and to use this critical and reflective attitude as a guide to developing their practice and continued reflections upon that practice. This *praxis* strengthens, and is strengthened by, taking up a critically reflective approach to pedagogy. This critical and reflective attitude also entitles, encourages, and calls upon ethical teachers to actively contribute to developing their professional knowledge by engaging in critical teacher action research. These themes are returned to in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Three takes as its starting point that the aspirational vision of ethical professionalism must be read and understood against the context that calls for it to be forged. This chapter considers New Zealand educational developments in the post-Second World War period that contributed to a changing ideological landscape, ultimately setting the stage for the ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ reforms of 1989. A consideration of education reform in New Zealand in the decade after 1989 enables reflection on how these developments have led to the intensification, fragmentation and contractualisation of teachers’ work.

An assessment of whether *The New Zealand Curriculum* represents straight line continuity with its predecessors and with other education policy initiatives is the content of Chapter Four. Does the Curriculum hold firm to neoliberal principles such as the entrenchment of low trust consequential accountability? Or does it break with predecessor documents or reforms? If so, then its potential to encourage an alternative conception of teachers’ work must be up for further critical consideration. Chapter Four examines the context of the period of curriculum revision, between 2000 and 2006. There it is shown that a break with neoliberal thinking of the previous decade is evident in the shift towards ‘Third

Way' thinking (Giddens, 1998a), which, as previously noted, finds appeal in the futuristic 'knowledge society' that some claim demands unique responses from schools (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Warner, 2006). It is argued that in the extent to which the curriculum revisions break with the past, and the ways in which they do so, offers up spaces that can be further explored for their ability to bring about ethical teacher professionalism.

The focus of Chapter Five shifts to questions of policy and policy implementation. The chapter first considers approaches to *policy analysis* in general and the insights that might be gained from a critical reading of policy. Although policy may be written unproblematically, its interpretation is contestable. This is particularly true when reflecting on the distance that exists between policy writers and makers on one hand, and those charged with its interpretation and implementation on the other. This aspect of the investigation considers the importance of local context and the realisation that teachers are not mere victims who necessarily implement policy blindly (Ball, 1993; Bell & Stevenson, 2006). The chapter then focuses on theoretical insights that inform a holistic approach to policy formulation and implementation.

From this basis, Chapter Six takes up this holistic policy analysis methodology, as developed by Bell and Stevenson (2006), and applies it to a general consideration of the intentions of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, drawing attention to some of the contradictory elements within these intentions. The questions of what curriculum is for and how it is to be implemented are answered partly through a critical overview of the vision and principles of the Curriculum, its concepts of values, key competencies, school curriculum design and review, and effective pedagogy. This curriculum document when standing alone represents a very slender text; its intentions have to be sought elsewhere in addition, particularly in the plethora of e-sources, symbolically validating a discourse that calls on the compulsory sector to shift its thinking and practice to accommodate the knowledge society. However, despite certain overriding commonalities in this discourse, the text on which it is based contains contradictions and tensions, such as balancing the requirement for state schools to promote a set of values that is broad enough to enable wide consensus, against a recognition that individual communities have values that may be less inclusive

(Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 1, 2007b, p. 10). The implications of such contradictions and tensions at both national and local level are examined.

Against a background examination of questions regarding the intended purposes of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, the focus of this study shifts in Chapter Seven to consider the implications for ethical professionalism of specific aspects of the Curriculum. It asks how these aspects could be a barrier to the development of ethical professionalism. The Curriculum is regarded by its creators as a positive policy initiative that enables schools and teachers to respond to the challenges of the twenty-first century. However, this will require a significant shift in teacher practice. Traditional knowledge as a corpus of truths that can be known, and which serve as the vehicle for the development of critical, rational and autonomous thinking, has been hollowed out of the curriculum. In its place are such notions as key competencies, enterprise and values that will provide students the capabilities to enable them to become lifelong learners able to adapt to the challenges they will face as responsible, successful and contributing citizens of the future. As teachers and schools are to achieve these purposes, it is clear that their role has to be dramatically reshaped to assist in the education of an entirely different kind than that envisaged in the twentieth century.

Teachers are given scant mention in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, their significance being limited to its particular conception of ‘effective pedagogy’. Chapter Eight gives special attention to this concept not only because of its importance to the school improvement and teacher effectiveness positions used to characterise contemporary teachers but also because it contains aspects that have implications for critical curriculum implementation. This chapter argues for that implementation to envisage the building of a knowledge democracy, in which teachers, as a community of critical professional enquiry, make a significant contribution to their schools, their students, and ultimately to their own ethical teacher professionalism.

Chapter One: Professionalism, professions and teachers' work

The Introduction to this study posed the research question: Will the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism in New Zealand? The point was made that alternative conceptions are required to those that see teachers' work as deprofessionalised on one hand, or in terms of state-sponsored notions of 'effective teachers' on the other. This thesis claims that there can be an alternative conception that resides in the notion of 'ethical teacher professionalism'. Furthermore, it will argue that the development of this conception can be encouraged at this specific time in New Zealand by critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. That argument is contingent on an understanding that *The New Zealand Curriculum*, mandated for use by all schools from February 2010, represents a break with the pattern of neoliberal education reform that has predominated in New Zealand since 1989. Instead it is an instance of Third Way reform. Therefore, *The New Zealand Curriculum* reflects the inner contradictions of Third Way ideology, thus opening spaces for critical and creative implementation. Because of the centrality of that understanding to the main thesis, the Introduction clarified some of the theoretical tenets underpinning the reform project.

The notion of 'ethical teacher professionalism' exists independently of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and indeed any other education policy. It cannot, however, be considered *in isolation* from policy; thus its development will always be influenced by policy. While policy and policy analysis are matters that are given substantial treatment later, this chapter and the next will focus on the concepts of 'profession', 'professionalism' and 'ethical teacher professionalism'. The questions this chapter seeks to address are: **i) what is professionalism? ii) What, in general terms, does it mean to speak of 'profession'? iii) What are some conceptions of teachers' work?** This thesis does not seek to ask whether teaching is a profession, because such a question leads to blind alleys and dead-ends resulting from efforts to enumerate 'characteristics' of professions, usually

modelled on the ideal type of medicine or law. That line of enquiry demands a search for empirical evidence in other occupational groups to verify their claims to the title 'profession', some of which will come up short, for each occupational group will demonstrate to varying degrees the 'attributes' of a profession. However, as McCulloch, Helsby and Knight (2000, p. 6) note, enumerating traits is the 'default position' in the study of the professions, a claim that is treated more critically by Macdonald, who saw the 'trait' approach to be a feature of functionalist sociology (1995, pp. 2-3), rather than as a feature of all study of the professions. This thesis assumes that teachers' work is professional (breaking, for example, with the notion of 'teachers as workers') but focuses instead on what kind of profession it has become, and contemplates what kind of profession it may yet become.

Professionality

Understanding 'professionalism' may be facilitated by reviewing some of the concepts in general use by theorists who discuss the professional status of teaching. Because of varied use by different writers, terms such as *professionalism* lack clarity. On one hand are suggestions that 'professionalism' highlights what is desirable about teaching (Englund, 1996, pp. 76-77). These are the features of teaching that make it unique or attractive, such as the perceived quality or social value of the work being performed. Others consider 'professionalism' to be the ideological or rhetorical aspects of the nature of teaching (Hoyle & John, 1995; McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000). These two understandings overlap, as may be evidenced when groups such as teachers' unions seek to protect gains made that entrench the professionalism of teachers. These gains help to stake out the status of teaching that teachers' groups aim to protect and develop. This process is usually referred to as *professionalisation*, however.

'*Professionalisation*' is the process whereby occupational groups such as teachers seek greater status (to enhance the professionalism of the group) for their members and entrench their economic position through professional monopoly by credentialing members and establishing professional bodies and codes of conduct (Hoyle & John, 1995; Larson, 1977; McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000). In the

discussion below that reviews the general concept of ‘profession’, this is referred to as the ‘professional project’ (Larson, 1977; Macdonald, 1995) suggesting that the attainment of professional status comes about as the outcome of struggle (Hilferty, 2008). Professionalisation thus refers to the steps actively taken by teachers to improve the quality of their work, for instance through professional development (Hoyle & John, 1995, p. 16). *Deprofessionalisation*, a concept of some considerable interest in this thesis, suggests a process that effectively deskills the work of teachers, reducing their role to that of an instrumental ‘learning manager’ or ‘assessment clerk’ (Thrupp, 1997, 1998). Others however are sceptical of the deskilling hypothesis generally (Macdonald, 1995, p. 63) and in teaching particularly (McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000, p. 110). Sceptics argue that while there is merit in the deprofessionalisation thesis, it is equally true that greater skills are now required of professionals, such as developing greater relationships with ‘stakeholders’ and dealing with a far wider range of indeterminacies in daily work.

These trends, and several others which can be associated with modernising governments since the mid-1990s, have attempted to *reprofessionalise* teaching. However, this reformist strategy often removes the initiative from teachers, by establishing registration bodies, demanding codes of conduct or ethics, regulating the content and length of pre-service education, and apparently enhancing the status of teachers’ work by increasing its complexity (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996, pp. 1-3; Hargreaves, 1994, p. 14). Having briefly outlined these key terms, it now remains to briefly account for the concept of ‘professionalism’.

Hoyle and John use the term ‘professionalism’ ‘to refer to that set of knowledge, skills, values and behaviours which is exercised on behalf of clients’ (1995, p. 16). ‘Professionalism’ is thus an organisational concept that elaborates what these writers consider to be the elements central to becoming a professional teacher, namely knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (1995, p. 18). The term ‘professionalism’ has been borrowed and adapted for use in this thesis in preference to ‘teaching as a profession’. This use of value is partly stylistic, but mainly is used because the clumsy ‘teaching as a profession’ suggests that whatever meaning may be ascribed to ‘profession’ is ascribed *to* its members by implication. ‘Professionalism’ is both an identifier and a descriptor suggesting a

sense of *being* reflecting an active commitment to what the concept entails, rather than a passive acceptance of being-ascribed-by. It thus anticipates the idea of a vocation, and also emphasises what Freire refers to as the ‘unfinishedness’ of teachers (Freire, 1998, pp. 51-54). He notes that a teacher does not appear by accident, but exists by choice, exercising an option to intervene in an imperfect world to bring about transformative change. This change is never complete however, nor is the development of a teacher who, in this sense, is ‘unfinished’. Professionalism therefore suggests that the identity of a teaching professional is actively forged and developed by practice as a teacher. Before advancing any further however, it will be helpful to review some of the central ideas contained in the concept of ‘profession’.

The concept of profession

The thinking of teachers in studies conducted by McCulloch, Helsby and Knight conformed with a ‘trait theory of professions’ (2000, p. 99). However, the writers argued instead that the concept of profession is ‘socially constructed, dynamic and contested’ (McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000, p. 6). Critics of the trait approach in sociology, such as Hughes (1958) and Freidson (2001), drew attention to the place of individuals within occupations and the efforts of those occupational groups to attain autonomous power in society (Macdonald, 1995). Larson (1977) extended that thesis and argued that professionalisation is not simply a quest to gain respectability for a particular occupational group in society; rather it is an effort to gain monopolistic control of a particular segment of the economic market. ‘Professionalisation is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources – special knowledge and skills – into another – social and economic rewards’ (Larson, 1977, p. xvii). Macdonald’s refinement of this position is to accept it, while rejecting its Marxian elements. An occupational group will seek to monopolise and protect its privileged position through ‘social closure’ (see below) and by developing and sustaining an ideological presentation of itself to society (Macdonald, 1995, pp. 34-35).

The approach taken here does consider the concept of ‘profession’ in light of its key qualities, but does not assume benchmark professions against which other occupations may be judged, assuming instead that certain occupational

groups are designated as 'professional' because they reflect these qualities. Of much greater importance therefore is the standing that an occupational category has in society and amongst its own members, hence the concern in this thesis with the kind of profession teaching has become. Professional qualities will be reviewed here under the following sub-headings: the mystery of professional work; professions as a social product; control over work; career and vocation.

a) The mystery of professional work

In representing itself to its own practitioners and the public, a profession must emphasise the complexity of its work. This complexity resides primarily in the difficulty of its work, represented by the concept of *indeterminacy*, and the knowledge claims of the occupational group. To a lesser extent, the complexities and aura of this group are communicated by its culture and the techniques of the group.

Discretion and professional judgement are defining principles of professions (Freidson, 2001). For Macdonald (1995), professional judgement occupies the space between abstract knowledge and concrete work; the greater that space, the more claim an occupation may have to status as a profession. Because professional work attempts to address the 'perennial problems that are of great importance to most of humanity' (Freidson, 2001, p. 161) an element of 'danger' is therefore injected in this potentially life-altering work (Hughes, 1958).

The knowledge of a profession is therefore abstracted and codified (but not to the extent that work is routinised) so as to place it beyond the grasp of those outside the profession. The profession determines who may be initiated into its ranks and sets an appropriate period of study and induction, allowing its prospective members to gain cognitive competence over the body of knowledge associated with the profession. This cognitive competence enables an occupational group to maintain a virtual monopoly over its market (Larson, 1977). Macdonald argued that professions are able to emerge as a characteristic of modernity because of intellectual developments that shift the cognitive balance from the values of group survival to the values of economic advancement (Macdonald, 1995, p. 158). This advancement is made possible by developing an

empirically-based understanding of how to manipulate nature. It is this cognitive development that gives science its pre-eminent epistemological status and that helps explain the fixation in current education policy and practice discourse that emphasises ‘evidence-led teaching’. However, it is worthwhile to note the distinction made between ‘scientific’ professions and ‘normative’ professions by both Freidson (2001) and Macdonald (1995).

An example of normative professions is found in Macdonald’s discussion of ‘caring’ professions (1995), wherein he makes the point that an emphasis on practice elements such as ‘care’ devalues the knowledge claims such a profession can make. Although Macdonald suggested that teaching shares with caring professions their ‘mediative’ nature, whereby the state mediates the relationship between the profession and its clients, he does not recognise it as a ‘caring’ profession. This point is moot, however, but it is interesting to note the codification of ‘care’ and ‘nurturing’ in discourses of ‘effective teaching’ (Alton-Lee, 2003, pp. 22-23; 25; Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007, pp. 259-262) that attempts to provide academic respectability to an otherwise normative concept.

An important strategy that excludes outsiders from professions is the location of pre-service preparation *away* from the professional workplace over an extended time period. This preparation is provided by full time members of the profession who do not work in the workplace of the aspirants, but instead focus on developing the knowledge base of the profession and preparing aspirants for entry to it (Freidson, 2001). This learning emphasises knowledge rather than technical skill, given the indeterminacy of the professional work. This knowledge, which is a basis to distinguish professions from other kinds of work, means that ‘members of such groups *carry the means of production for their line of work in their heads*’ (Macdonald, 1995, p. 162. Emphasis in the original). The extended period required to gain this knowledge – at no pay – has important links to notions of commitment (to be addressed later) and professional culture.

The culture of the professional group begins to develop at the earliest stages of recruitment and is shaped by a lengthy preparation period, usually in a university environment (Freidson, 2001). Even though the novices will eventually move to different work places, they preserve a common identity that they share

with one another, for example when meeting socially or at professional meetings that bring together members from various work places. This culture regulates behaviour towards each other – what Hughes calls ‘etiquette’ (1958) – that includes the exercise of discretion towards each other by, for example, keeping confidences. Professional culture is evident in the relationship with the public that the professional group serves, and is often embodied in codes or ethics. Historically, in pre-industrial times, the professions that did exist served noble ‘gentlemen’ who desired to deal only with ‘gentlemen’; under modern capitalism professions had to convince a wider public to trust professionals in matters of great personal concern (Freidson, 2001; Hughes, 1958; Larson, 1977).

One of the sources of this trust is the skill of professional technique that only members of the profession are sufficiently qualified to practise. Like their knowledge base, this technique is communicated in esoteric and codified form. It may, however be held tacitly (Freidson, 2001); nevertheless, it is an aspect of professional work that the professional members seek to define, delineate and control (Hughes, 1958). While Freidson thought a skilled professional is more admirable than a knowledgeable one (2001, p. 27), Macdonald (1995, p. 184) regarded the potential to split knowledge from skill to be the soft underbelly of the professions. This is because without the anchor of knowledge, the way is open to deprofessionalise an occupation, or to allow interlopers in. In this regard, the over-emphasis on ‘what works’ in the New Zealand classroom, bundled with taxonomies of the ‘effective teacher’, take the teaching profession down a potentially dangerous deprofessionalising track. This preceding discussion of professional knowledge is significant, for as demonstrated by Macdonald (1995), it is the cognitive competence and cognitive changes heralded by the Enlightenment that opened the way for professions to establish themselves. This establishment is, however, by way of a negotiated process of bargaining with society, a concept to which the discussion will now turn.

b) Professions are a social product

While the ways and means of a profession may be a mystery to outsiders, the acceptance of that professional status by outsiders depends on the members of a

profession earning the approbation of the wider society in which they work. The following discussion considers the concept of ‘profession’ as a social construct. Members of a profession gain status in society based on their relationship with a client, who along with the rest of society mandates professionals to work within that relationship.

Having previously set aside a ‘trait theory’, it is important to consider how else the label ‘profession’ may come to apply. It does so by the actions of an occupational group, points made especially by Larson (1977) and Macdonald (1995). While a ‘trait theory’ is set aside, this does not equate to the non-existence of traits, for the public is constantly evaluating and monitoring the performance of occupations that will ‘thereby produce the climate of opinion which provides the background for ‘professional standing’’ (Macdonald, 1995, p. 7). It is thus the ‘circumstances in which ... an occupation attempt[s] to turn ... into a profession’ (Hughes, 1958, p. 45) that is significant. An occupational group may therefore, as a result of contest and struggle, attain the status of ‘profession’ in the public eye by convincing it to accept the norms and values promoted by the group. There are many vehicles to achieve this outcome, one being the acceptance of abstract knowledge already discussed, that gives members of a professional group credentialed status. Another is to show that the members of this group are competent to deal with significant human issues.

Historically, precursor professions dealt with social elites who demanded the services offered by those with the requisite knowledge and skills. These providers had social respectability that grew from their knowledge and skill rather than material affluence – hence the notion that in matters of great personal import, ‘gentlemen wished to be served by gentlemen’ (Macdonald, 1995, p. 31). This leverage with clients who sought the advice and support of an expert allowed professionals to cement their social standing that deepened as more people could afford their services. Additionally, as Larson (1977) noted, the development of industrialism and capitalism enabled the state to widen the availability and scope of professional services. This state support in particular has helped professions to gain status in society. This status can also be attributed to the possession of high cultural capital – or ‘cultural assets’ (Macdonald, 1995, p. 58) – derived from years of study.

Credentials, while testifying to the knowledge and skill of their holder, are however alone unable to fully secure the trust of the individual client or society. Licensing has thus become an important vehicle to convey the trustworthiness of professional members to the public that they work with. In this sense, a professional licence becomes a social mandate to conduct the confidential, potentially life-altering work that the profession is engaged in.

Licensing does have its detractors, however. It may be suggested that licensing comes about either because of public pressure or because the state believes the public requires protection. However, over a half century ago, Gellhorn suggested that licensing was a meal ticket motivated by occupations as diverse as ‘threshing machine operators ... dealers in scrap tobacco ... egg graders and guide-dog trainers ... tree surgeons and well diggers ...’ leading him to conclude that the practice of licensing was being induced by the very people in the relevant occupational groups rather than imposed by government. The only conceivable justification was the creation of an economic ‘closed shop’ (1956, pp. 106; 109-110).

Gellhorn was not far off the mark, as will be seen later when discussing social closure. Suffice to say, Gellhorn bemoaned that ‘the ‘right’ to work has been legislated into a most precarious condition’ (1956, p. 105). Milton Friedman, referred to in the Introduction of this thesis, expressed the equally individualist view that ‘[i]n more recent decades, there has been a retrogression, an increasing tendency for particular occupations to be restricted to individuals licensed to practice them by the state’ (1962, p. 137). He considered, and rejected, the grounds for registration, certification and licensure, concluding that licensure was the most difficult to justify. This was because the reason generally provided for licensure is protection of the consumer, in other words, consumers protecting themselves from their own ignorance, an argument providing no appeal to a liberal (1962, p. 148), Friedman arguing that consumers are protected by market competition and available knowledge (Friedman, 1979, p. 264; 269).

Licensing not only gives a defined group in society a mandate to carry out its activities, it also permits and encourages that occupational group to set standards of work whereby it may be judged. Indeed, the occupational group comes to define the underlying philosophical concepts of its work, such as

medical doctors, who come to define *health* (Hughes, 1958, p. 79), and presumably teachers define *education* or *educational achievement*. However, not only is society required to judge an occupational group by the standards it sets for itself, it is required to accept these standards. This acceptance is driven in part by what has been previously referred to as the ‘mystery’ of professional work that enables the members of a profession to work, to some extent, autonomously. This autonomy is always partial, however, as the profession is a social segment and is thus not free to act totally independently of social norms (Macdonald, 1995, p. 56). It is thus the concept of professional control that will now be considered.

c) Control over work

A unique feature of professional occupational groups is the control they and their members are able to exercise over their work. The discussion of the mystery of professional work emphasised that professional work is complex, but that the abstract knowledge and skilled techniques of individual professionals enable them to make discretionary judgements over the challenges that confront them in their work. This is an important source of evidence for the claim that professional work is able to be autonomous. However, as the preceding discussion has pointed out, professional groups do not operate in a vacuum, and their freedom to act is constrained by social norms and approbation of their activities by wider society. This discussion shifts the emphasis slightly, to consider how a professional group may come to exercise wider control over its own activities by the creation of shelters and monopolies and the development of specialisations. This control gives a profession a better chance not only of governing its own future existence, but also gaining public trust.

Freidson (2001) argued that there exist three *logics of occupational control*. These logics are capable of driving policy, and they vest in the free market, bureaucracies and professions. Each of these have implications for occupational divisions of labour, specialisation and career paths, but when an occupational group wins the support of both the public and the state, it is far more able to control its own destiny, rather than being controlled by consumers or bureaucrats (2001, p. 83). There has already been a taste of control by the free market in the

preceding discussion of licensing; on this view, the individual consumer has enough knowledge to make decisions without the help of experts or specialists. The policy emphasis is therefore on deregulation and competition. While this logic rests on consumerist ideology, bureaucratic control rests on managerialist ideology. On this view, managers or bureaucrats are seen to be able to make decisions on behalf of consumers and specialists. The policy emphasis here is on efficiency through standardisation. The spectre of both policy directions is raised in the 'deprofessionalist case' discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.

Freidson suggested that the two crucial aspects that an occupation must manage if it seeks control of its work are monopolisation of its sector of the economy and the exercise of professional judgement by its members. He claimed, in contrast to Milton Friedman's position: '*Monopoly and credentialism are the key elements of professionalism's economic privilege*' (2001, p. 198. Emphasis in the original). His qualification is that the motivations for control by a professional group are not intrinsically economic (though that is an inevitable result) but to manage training, qualifications and practice on one hand, and refine skills and knowledge on the other. This allows a profession to control who may enter and practice the profession and directs the consumer's choice of professional service provision. Freidson considered this strategy sufficiently significant to claim: '*Without closure there can be no disciplines*' (2001, p. 202. Emphasis in the original).

Macdonald noted that the concept of social closure has its source in the work of Max Weber and highlighted how these self-interested actions by occupational groups shelter them from competition by outsiders, securing their economic future. These actions also contribute to social stratification, both Macdonald (1995) and Larson (1977) showing that professionals form a specific class segment in pluralistic capitalist societies, attaining social status without requiring capital assets. These insights will have a bearing on the later discussion of professional ideology, in particular to the central concern of this thesis with the concept of altruism.

Professional groups seek to create a market for the trade of services in intangible goods, namely the knowledge and skills that resides in the intellect and actions of their members (Larson, 1977, p. 14). Monopolisation of this market is

given legal status when the state assents to its creation. However, not only does the state allow a socially privileged group in society to conduct this trade, but it prescribes appropriate social responses and expectations in respect of the professional services delivered (Hughes, 1958, p. 79). This point was made in respect of licensing, and it is made again because it helps cement the idea that a professional group uses its knowledge and skill base to preserve its unique social role. Monopolisation can be served by specialisation, although there is a fine line to tread.

Hughes provided some of the flavour of this balance by looking at the professional field of sociology (1958, pp. 166-167). Too much specialisation will narrow down the field of potential recruits; not enough specialisation waters down the discipline, making it vulnerable to usurpation by outsiders. Specialisation has the effect of both consolidating the monopoly and providing some diversification within it (Larson, 1977, pp. 43-44). An example in teaching is the rise to prominence of special needs teachers, who by virtue of their unique interest and further study have created and sustained a specialist market for teachers of their type. Larson demonstrated how the universities, as the site of initial training into the profession, bring together a concentration of specialists, who, by a process of peer review and collegial support, allow the encouragement of both standardised and specialist knowledge, giving that knowledge an internal imprimatur. This process and the regular circulation of new recruits guarantees the on-going sanction and persistence of that knowledge (1977, p. 45).

Freidson (2001, p. 109) linked specialisation to knowledge that better enables the professional to exercise discretionary judgement. It may be suggested however that to exercise discretion in non-routine areas of work life calls for general knowledge and that over-specialisation can lead to a meaningless pursuit of detailed routine. However, it is specialisation that enables the professional to challenge the general knowledge of the bureaucrat and the populism of the free marketer, who decries the need for experts (2001, p. 116). The professional can claim to have the general education required of all citizens as a prerequisite to enter initial professional education; to have the breadth of a general professional qualification; and to have the depth of technical expertise. Neither the bureaucrat nor the consumer can lay a similar claim (2001, p. 121). This proposition forms

part of the ideological armoury whereby professions and professionals stake their own claim to special status in society, and it is a further examination of that ideology that must now be undertaken.

d) Career and vocation.

Professional groups exist because they offer a knowledge-based service in areas of life that are of the greatest significance to society. They enjoy a position in that society, which they have won by virtue of struggle and contest, that is on-going. They monopolise their position thanks to a state-sponsored mandate that gives them jurisdiction over their area of expertise, which they demonstrate by attaining the credentials that testify to their knowledge and cognitive competence. Their service is largely intangible, and to some extent, it may even be suggested that they exist at the sufferance of society (Freidson, 2001, p. 163), giving professionals leave to pursue the intrinsically valuable activities that give unique meaning to their lives. They gain and retain this privileged social position by ideological persuasion rather than by wealth or force (2001). This discussion thus considers some of the key features of this ideological persuasion, beginning with the trust and ethics that mark the relationship of the profession to the public it serves. While it is the profession as a whole that projects the ideological message and thereby persuades the public, it is the individual members who must hold up the professional end of the bargain with society. They do so by showing and living their commitment to the career they have chosen, which is elevated in significance by affirming a commitment to a vocation. These moral commitments are operationalised by demonstrating a service ethic.

The privileged standing in society of professional occupational groups is retained as long as they retain the trust of the public. Professionals claim a commitment to 'the other' by placing the good of the client ahead of the self-interest of the professional. Because the basis of professional service is esoteric knowledge (and extreme confidences), clients are potentially in a vulnerable position. Codes are a necessary device to satisfy clients of the probity of the professional (Freidson, 2001, p. 214). However, codes are not sufficient, and indeed, even the humblest of occupations may seek to abide by a code (Hughes,

1958, pp. 45-46). At the very least, to be regarded as valuable, codes should be seen to be rigorously enforced and errant members of the profession be ejected from the profession. A profession needs more than a code, however, to convince the public of its integrity and good intentions.

The motivation to enhance the quality of life of others may be an important consideration for those embarking on a professional career. The early commitment to an ideal and a lifelong career is unique in modern capitalist society (Larson, 1977, p. 229). It was noted earlier that the choice of a professional career engages a recruit in a lengthy period of preparation at significant financial cost, which implies a commitment to non-material ideals, or at least a willingness to defer financial rewards (1977, p. 229). It is this level of commitment that can assist a profession in winning the respect of the public. By giving material rewards a lesser priority, professions also demonstrate a concern in matters that have value beyond simply making a living – the intrinsic value referred to earlier. This perceived value gives the individual professional the hope of a life of meaning and great significance.

It is this work of intrinsic value that allows the label ‘vocation’ to be attached to the professions. The term is related to the notion of ‘calling’, and in Weber – *Beruf* – refers to a life-task or clearly defined area of work (Weber, 1958, p. 79). For Weber, calling was a product of the Reformation, as up to that point, this concept had no secular meaning; it referred instead to notions of obedience to God’s will. According to Weber ‘vocation’, found in Romance language translations of the Bible, is closely related, although it refers to an inner calling to obedience to the Gospel to eternal salvation (1958, p. 79. See endnote 1). Luther’s translation of Biblical texts gives ‘calling’ its peculiar Protestant character, representing a rejection of the Catholic notion of spiritual perfection through Monastic asceticism. However, in its early Lutheran form ‘calling’ came to take on a no less severe orientation, with the important difference that one had to accept one’s worldly place and the consequent duties imposed by living in the world in opposition to the selfish notion of withdrawing from it. In Weberian terms, this calling is a steadfast and uncompromising commitment to rational purposes in an increasingly irrational world. Weber’s use of the term ‘vocation’ is interchangeable with ‘profession’, and was linked to the religious sense of

‘calling’ when he spoke of vocation as giving oneself over to one’s calling, simultaneously taking ownership of it (Owen & Strong, 2004, p. xiii). In his lecture on ‘science as a vocation’, Weber referred to many of the points raised thus far in this chapter: he spoke of long periods of study that await the professional who seeks to join the academy; the prospect of low pay; the hierarchies and monopolies that characterise the division of labour within a profession; and particularly of the passion that drives the professional: ‘For nothing has any value for a human being as a human being unless he *can* pursue it with *passion*’ (2004, p. 8. Emphasis in the original).

For professionals then, intrinsically valuable work trumps the entrepreneurial spirit (Larson, 1977, p. 61). The attraction of intrinsically valuable work lies in its inherently interesting, complex and challenging nature that requires discretion and professional judgement. To satisfy this attraction requires the member of a profession to hold a long view, which is possible because the individual freely chooses to opt to fulfil what becomes a vocation. Freire regarded vocation to be ‘mysterious’, and the reason for the devotion of teachers (1998, p. 126). However, there is no mystery surrounding the choice made by the individual, who for Freire has ‘consciously taken [the] option to intervene in the world’ (1998, p. 122), suggesting perhaps greater choice in the matter being exercised by the professional than allowed for by Weber.

Freire’s words highlight the ethical nature of intrinsically valuable work that for professions is derived from their attendance to matters of great significance to people and their lives. Alluding to this ethical element and echoing the ‘mystery’ of vocation, Freidson suggested that professionals ‘claim devotion to [a] transcendent value’ (2001, p. 123). It is the on-going effort to work towards attaining and living by this value that makes professional work meaningful, to such an extent that Freidson controversially regarded professional vocation a ‘secular priesthood’ (2001, p. 108). From this level of commitment, the individual professional develops and displays high standards of personal excellence and diligence that support the ideological claim of the professional group to have independence of judgement and freedom of action (2001, p. 123). However, Macdonald warned that some may consider the dedicated commitment of individual professionals to their vocation to lead to a lack of objectivity clouding

their judgement (1995, p. 137), particularly in ‘caring’ professions. As a counter to this, the teacher effectiveness discourse would suggest that teachers display commitment and care by having high expectations of *all* students (For example, Alton-Lee, 2003).

The ethical dimension of vocation suggested above is derived in part from the desire of professionals to devote the use of their knowledge and skill in the service of the public good. Thus, motivations for professionals include the ‘sense of work as self-realisation’ (Larson, 1977, p. 62). The commitment of professional groups to a service ideal and ethic helps them to convince the public of their probity, because it becomes a virtuous standard against which individual members are held to account (1977, p. 59). The ethical basis of this devotion to service may explain why material rewards are not prioritised by professional groups (contradicted to some extent by the obviously materially beneficial rewards that pertain in particular to the private practice of law, accounting and some branches of medicine, which can diminish social-ethical standing).

A key sociological problem is the difficulty of obtaining empirical evidence for a ‘service ideal’ (Freidson, 2001; Larson, 1977), and Macdonald noted that principles of service, altruism and high ethical standards are lately seen as ‘less than perfect human social constructs’ (1995, p. 4), and he later suggested that the emphasis in caring professions of practice elements (which these principles conceivably are) actually devalues the knowledge base of a profession. Freidson argued that the ‘service ideal’ is not sufficient to carry the day alone, as many occupational groups can claim to be committed to service. Rather, commitment to a transcendent goal will distinguish professional groups (2001, p. 122). Larson noted how the service ideal comes in to conflict with the entrepreneurial activity associated with a professional grouping staking out a monopoly in the market, however as earlier indicated, intrinsic professional goals trump entrepreneurial ones (1977, pp. 59-61). It may be argued that because teaching follows a ‘public service’ rather than private economic model, its members are better positioned to allow themselves the luxury of commitment to a service ideal. This will be one of the features of ‘ethical teacher professionalism’, the subject of the next chapter, made more meaningful by considering some rival conceptions of teachers’ professional work.

Rival conceptions of teachers' work

Uncertainty surrounds the identity of the teaching professional, which is contested and not clearly established (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Hoyle & John, 1995; McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000). Furthermore, the status of the professional teacher has been variously eroded by deskilling and intensification of teaching by reformist governments' intent on increasing efficiency, and reprofessionalised by similarly reformist governments seeking to gain teacher support for their reforms (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996, p. 1). The earlier discussion of *professionalism* justified its use as a device highlighting a more active commitment by individual teachers to what the concept of 'being a professional' entails, rather than a passive acceptance of being-ascribed-by the term, 'teaching as a profession'.

However, the preceding discussion reviewing some mainstream sociological literature of professions suggested that there *are* some senses whereby the recruit to a profession *is* 'ascribed by' the general concept of the chosen line of work. Any person joining a professional occupational group is indeed *expected* to comply with the accepted norms of that occupation – which is what Hughes had in mind when he suggested that members of a profession have a reasonable expectation that they can 'blow off steam' in the company of colleagues without the content being generally broadcast (Hughes, 1958, p. 109). Thus professionals are required to exercise discretion, and foolish recruits who break confidences would be brought quickly in line by their colleagues. The use of *professionalism* envisages a professional actively and consciously forging and creating a professional identity through the practice of that occupation. There could, however, be any of a number of ways of describing that professional identity. This thesis puts forward the idea of a professionalism that is shaped around the concept of the *ethical teacher*. What follows is an outline of some of the chief ways teachers' work is described, beginning with what could be termed a 'classical' conception.

a) *A 'classical' conception of teachers' professional work*

This is a criterion-based approach and is referred by Locke, Vulliamy, Webb and Hill (2005) as the 'classical' or 'essentialist' approach. It is seen in similar form in Codd (2005); Sitch (2005); and Wise (2005). There is agreement that being a professional entails an expert command of a body of technical or esoteric knowledge gained over time. The work of a professional performs a vital public function (Hoyle, 1982; Sitch, 2005), founded on an altruistic motivation to serve students (Phelps, 2006). Codd (2005d) outlined the personal characteristics of a professional to include personal initiative, self-knowledge and the ability to exercise professional autonomy. Professional autonomy is essential given the non-routine nature of professional work (Hoyle, 1982; Hoyle & John, 1995). This unpredictability requires that a professional needs autonomy to exercise judgement free of political or bureaucratic control 'in the best interests of the clients' (Hoyle & John, 1995, p. 77).

This account therefore follows some of the key ideas identified in the general discussion of professions. Just as professions are set apart by their esoteric *knowledge*, so teachers require a body of knowledge and a range of competencies and skills unique to teaching to do their work. Teachers have close knowledge of curriculum knowledge; pedagogical knowledge in general and related to their area of curriculum expertise in particular; of forms of assessment, what the assessment means and how it can be interpreted; of methods for dealing with challenging classroom behaviours; and of policies and their impacts on schemes of work. The knowledge criterion is a complex one, with debates occurring over whether the knowledge required to teach successfully is indeed esoteric or simply technical, whether it requires years of study, or whether much of this knowledge is acquired by practical experience (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Hoyle & John, 1995; McCulloch, Helsby, & Knight, 2000). According to Michael Young however (2010), the knowledge of a teacher should be focused on teaching concepts, supported by appropriate content, not designing curriculum, which is effectively what *The New Zealand Curriculum* requires. Much of what a teacher does however, revolves around teaching the content of a curriculum, therefore the notion of 'pedagogical content knowledge' was suggested by Shulman to be a defining feature of the professional teacher (Shulman, 1986, p. 9)

and continues to be used in the New Zealand context (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007). Pedagogical content knowledge is argued to be more than either knowledge of content or general knowledge of teaching method; rather it is the knowledge of the unique methods required to teach particular content in the most effective way possible, and it is thus no surprise that this type of knowledge is a key to discussions in the instrumentalist literature (Alton-Lee, 2003; Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007) that focuses on teacher effectiveness.

The concept of *autonomy* is closely allied to the notion of *indeterminacy*, referring to the uncertainty and unpredictability of teachers' professional work (Hoyle & John, 1995, p. 77). The presence of this quality accords the practitioner some advantage over non-practitioners or recipients of the professional service, adding status to the profession. The autonomy criterion in teaching is seriously undermined by the deprofessionalisation and reprofessionalisation associated with intensified accountability regimes and increased standardisation. A further articulation of autonomy has been the notion that the work of a professional is characterised by the exercise of freedom and practitioner judgement in the absence of controls. Historically, there has been a sense that teachers have derived their autonomous professional status by enjoying a degree of control over the curriculum. McCulloch, Helsby and Knight (2000, p. 13), challenge however whether teachers had such control over curriculum and freedom of implementation in earlier years, suggesting that this 'English tradition' was 'mythologised' (2000, p. 27).

The accountability demands that characterise New Right and neoliberal reform have intensified teachers' work since the late 1980s, these reforms seeing the state exercise far greater explicit control over the curriculum and the work of schools. The qualities of surveillance and compliance embedded in accountability therefore render it an obstacle to teacher autonomy. These qualities are implied in Codd's view that teacher accountability ought to be based on 'high trust' that acknowledges the moral agency of the teacher (2005d, p. 203). Similarly, Snook (2003) argued that 'high trust' modes imply an internal locus of control maintained by a teacher's own sense of commitment and duty. Wise (2005), writing from the perspective of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education in the United States of America, resolved the tension between

accountability and autonomy by suggesting that a profession should be self-regulating. What is intended here is that professional groups like teachers maintain their own systems of professional control, be it over the content of teacher education courses (as exercised by the NCATE) or over the professional behaviour of teachers (as exercised by codes of conduct or ethics).

Autonomy may be further contested as teachers are not autonomous in the sense of dictating income, hours of work and who they teach. Teachers are however autonomous to some extent in that they may make decisions about aspects of a course to emphasise, the order of topics to be covered and the time to be spent covering those. This autonomy is however moderated when the teacher has to work in the confines of a subject department or syndicate that may be setting this agenda, although in this sense, the teachers of that department or syndicate exercise a corporate autonomy, making these decisions collectively. At another level higher, that departmental autonomy will be curbed by decisions made by Senior Management that could require, for example, that all departments or syndicates in the school adhere to specific guidelines for assessment. Much the same points apply to doctors who work in large hospitals or lawyers or accountants working in large corporate firms (Freidson, 2001). Finally, as was seen earlier, professional autonomy is not a blank cheque; it depends to some extent on social sanction.

By the *public service* criterion, teachers' work is carried out for reasons other than extrinsic, material ones (Wise, 2005) This idea of 'service' is sometimes conceptualised as 'social responsibility' (Brien, 1998), the teacher being one who performs a vital public function (T. Locke, Vulliamy, Webb, & Hill, 2005; Sitch, 2005). However, the idea of *public service* does not imply a one-way relationship, in which a profession gives or offers, because there is also a public expectation of what it may expect when taking up what the profession offers, hence the implementation of various strategies to make the teaching profession more *accountable*. Although this dimension of the public-profession relationship has given a distinct edge to the efforts of teacher unions and associations world-wide to extract improved material rewards, the rewards of teaching are still often stated in popular discourse as being non-material. Graham Young, a past president of the New Zealand Secondary Principals Association

spoke of a good teacher having not just a ‘set of core competencies’, but also ‘a sense of vocation... passion... and missionary zeal... [which]... is a belief that... [teachers are]... making a difference to other people’s lives...’ (Gerritsen, 2006, p. 8). Phelps (2006) emphasised that teachers’ work demands a high level of selflessness and student orientation from the teacher. The reality for many teachers is that much of their work is ‘off the clock’ (Lindqvist & Nordänger, 2006) and unmeasured (or not measurable). There is no room to be self-serving when a teacher focuses on being an advocate for students (Phelps, 2006). This image spills over to the well understood sense of teaching as a vocational calling and the public service criterion may be regarded as closely linked to the ideas of ‘transcendent values’ (Freidson, 2001, p. 123), and ‘work as self-realisation’ (Larson, 1977, p. 62). A radically different conception of teachers’ work to now consider is one that focuses on a ‘workerist’ or ‘social constructionist’ perspective.

b) Teachers as cultural workers and self-empowering critical activists

This account recognises the historical and cultural significance of teaching and education, and particularly regards schooling to be serving the interests of the dominant capitalist class (Harris, 1982; J. O'Neill, 2005). For some writers the relationship of state, teachers and knowledge is seen in structural and deterministic terms. Althusser (1971) noted that the function of education is the ‘massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class... [that ensures]... that the *relations of production*...are largely reproduced’ (1971, p. 261. Emphasis in the original). Here teachers are viewed as ‘workers’, although some writers recognise that there are contradictions present in the particular class position of teachers due to many of the dissimilarities between teachers’ work and that of the working class (Harris, 1982, pp. 35-36). Because of their particular function and value to the perpetuation of capitalist ideology, teachers have to be controlled and managed as ‘docile bodies’ (Smyth & Shacklock, 1998). This is especially the case when the balance of socio-political power within a capitalist state shifts away from communal concerns to purely economic ones (Aronowitz & Giroux,

1986; O'Neill, 2005b). The way teachers collaborate in supporting the dominant class is by transmitting their content knowledge in relations of power that they in turn exercise over their clients, namely students (Harris, 1982).

Teachers are seen as gatekeepers of this content knowledge primarily because they are an educated middle class (The Open University, 1977) having privileged access to the knowledge that makes up the core of the stored 'cultural capital' of society (Seddon, 1997). However, possession of this knowledge is not considered by Geer (Geer, 1971) or Harris (1982) sufficient to consider teachers to be 'professionals'. Harris detailed teachers' knowledge as *teaching process knowledge* (pedagogy), *school process knowledge* (administration) and *content knowledge* (1982, p. 117). Indeed, besides what is required by teachers at a senior secondary level, Harris regarded teachers' content knowledge to be largely common-sense, composing a common core of knowledge everyone in society is required to have. He acknowledged only specific cases (such as treating dyslexia) as requiring pedagogical knowledge that is esoteric; for the most part, teachers are engaged in transmission of ideological values in relationships that mirror industrial relations, and they do so using pedagogical knowledge that has only lately come in to fashion.

Both Harris and Geer concurred that teachers have an important function of transmission and control. This means teachers have enormous influence over the thinking of society, both present and future. In addition, when acting as a profession, teachers can maintain control over teacher education courses, thus both preserving cultural capital and maintaining scarcity of supply (Seddon, 1997). In modern times, the state has come to recognise this and guarantees the role of teachers through its acknowledgement and support of 'credentialled knowledge' (1997, p. 234), referred to by the Open University writers as 'sponsorship', 'which operates on the inducement of loyalty in the aspiring member and the granting of social permission to practise' (1977, p. 23).

The notion of teachers as 'gatekeepers' has been significantly undermined since the 1980s by education reforms globally, which challenge assumptions that teachers should have any control over matters such as the content of teacher education or curriculum (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986). So while teachers continue to have instrumental value in the Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 1971), it

is the state that has a far greater role in determining what counts as expertise and in underwriting jobs that promote this expertise. The state trades off acceptance by teachers (through unions) of the state-sponsored 'knowledge' initiatives and systemic reforms in return for the promise of status and reward. On this revised view of the 'gatekeeper' professional, teachers form a socially constructed, politically sanctioned professional group, taking its place in a stratified society, and acting to perpetuate the knowledge and skills appropriate for the members of the next generation preparing to take their respective places in this stratified society (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986).

There exists an allied, but less deterministic view of teachers' work and their possible response to reform. It takes the position that despite controls applied to them, teachers are still able to exercise agency and posit counter-discourses (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986; Smyth & Shacklock, 1998). This interpretation regards teachers as self-conscious creators of their own reality, who can reflect critically (in a progressive democratic sense) not only on their practice but also on the policy that shapes their working lives. It is proposed for example, by Aronowitz & Giroux (1986) as 'transformative intellectuals'; Locke et al. (2005); Sachs (2003) as 'activist professionalism'; and Codd (1997) as 'professional-contextualism'.

The essence of this view sees teachers as collaborative networkers who understand that they work in a community of like individuals who have to make sense of what they do in the context of policy and practice. Rather than being passive recipients of policy, teachers ought to contribute actively to the shaping of policy. In so doing, they will also contribute to societal change (T. Locke, Vulliamy, Webb, & Hill, 2005, p. 560). The knowledge teachers have empowers them to reflect critically on their work and so develop avenues for contestation and activism (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986). Furthermore, the 'psychic' motivations often expressed by teachers (such as the notions discussed earlier in respect to 'career and vocation') trump the low-trust managerialism evident in modern schools (Geer, 1971; Smyth & Shacklock, 1998).

Elsewhere, Smyth argued for 'reflective practice' because 'teachers are only able to reclaim the power they have lost over their teaching if they place themselves in critical confrontation with their problems' (1989, p. 5). It is through

reflective practice that teachers will be able to ‘problematise’ teaching and perceive linkages in the broader political-economy (1989, p. 4). For Smyth, teachers need to gain context over their otherwise decontextualised work. To achieve this, he proposed a four-step process of *describing* (what do I do?), *informing* (what does my practice mean?), *confronting* (why do I act this way?) and *reconstructing* (how could I act differently?) (1989, pp. 5-6). Such ‘reflective practice’ is completely absent from the notion of a teacher as an extrinsically motivated technical expert.

c) *The extrinsically motivated superior practitioner: An unofficial perspective*

A New Zealand example is represented by the Maxim Institute, (http://www.maxim.org.nz/index.cfm/About_us_Home), an independent research and policy organisation. It takes up a neoliberal position that strongly advocates liberal individualism. The Maxim Institute regards a professional teacher as one who is distinguished by superior competence and performance, and who ought to be rewarded for this superior performance (Henderson & Thomas, 2008; Maxim Institute, 2005). In its report, *Valuing Teachers*, Maxim Institute found that ‘New Zealand parents want to see teachers valued and respected for the work that they do and treated as professionals’ (2005, p. 7). In *National standards for excellent teachers, reporting of student progress and the NCEA*, Henderson and Thomas (2008) argued that for several reasons, including the enhancement to teachers’ ‘professional dignity’ and the advancement of the teaching profession as a whole, standards of excellence be introduced (2008, p. 6) and that teachers who are classified as excellent teachers be rewarded appropriately (2008, p. 11). Neither of the two reports cited here indicate what is meant by the term ‘professional’. The conclusions reached by the Maxim Institute writers suggest however that a professional is one who demonstrates expertise over the technical aspects of the role, leading to superior results in the execution of that role. In addition, both link competence to pay rises and the attainment of explicit standards of work to pay levels. Merit-based pay is therefore argued by Maxim Institute to be an important policy lever to attract and retain quality teachers.

Similar conclusions are reached in other documents, such as those emanating from the Education Forum, an arm of the New Zealand Business Roundtable (<http://www.educationforum.org.nz/index.asp>). A particular example is *A proposal to improve secondary school and teacher quality*, a position paper co-authored by Education Forum Chairman, and Principal of Macleans College, Byron Bentley. One suggested proposal is as follows:

Greater freedom for schools to be self-managing:

Allow schools that meet criteria for academic results and financial viability to receive a “warrant of fitness” and be able to run their own affairs within the legislative and curriculum requirements of the Ministry of Education. This management may include:

A school-based payroll service (Bentley & Moses, 2008, p. 3).

A list of topics on the Education Forum website page ‘Teachers and Teacher Education’ (http://www.educationforum.org.nz/topics.asp?topic=Teachers_and_Teacher_Education) includes titles dealing with performance pay and the reward of excellent teachers. Interestingly, some of the Maxim Institute and Education Forum ideas quoted here have found an official governmental audience, specifically in a recent discussion document that has the potential to develop in to policy, named *A vision for the teaching profession* (Education Workforce Advisory Group, 2010). Significantly, the ‘independent advisory group’ (2010, p. 1) established in 2009 by the Minister of Education, Anne Tolley, *included* Byron Bentley. (Equally significant is that the group *excluded* the teacher unions and the New Zealand Teachers Council). The background to its terms of reference included assisting the government ‘to [find] ways of rewarding teacher excellence’ (2010, p. 20). While the ‘vision’ of the Advisory Group is not easily encapsulated in one pithy statement, the following recommendation provides a flavour of its thinking:

We recommend that recognition, reward and progression of teachers could best be provided through...

flexibility for principals to use resources at their disposal, such as salary units, and non-contact time, flexibly to provide opportunities for teachers to upskill and to reward their increased skill and capability

clear standards against which effective, transparent and robust judgements of teacher capability and performance may be made (Education Workforce Advisory Group, 2010, p. 16).

In contrast to a classical account of teachers' work provided in scholarly writing that emphasises the possession of esoteric knowledge and skills, some degree of autonomy, and a commitment to public service, this account, regarded here as 'unofficial', is represented by groups and individuals who emphasise narrow technical skills. Moreover, these accounts seek remunerative rewards for those who best display these skills. It is also noted that elements of this unofficial account are finding their way in to 'official' accounts of teachers' work that will now be considered in more detail.

d) The effective and reflective classroom practitioner: The official perspective

This is the view of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century and reflects the systemic neoliberal reform programme. This view is expressed in school improvement and teacher effectiveness literature, and deeply influences the documents and policies published by the New Zealand Ministry of Education, Education Review Office and the New Zealand Teachers Council. It has a singular focus on the task of classroom teaching. This focus creates an image of the teaching professional as an instrumentalist in a systematised environment. A leading intervention in the area of teacher effectiveness in New Zealand has been the 'Best Evidence Synthesis' of Alton-Lee (2003). The driver for this research was a '... focus on evidence-based generic characteristics of quality teaching for schooling' (2003, p 9). Unsurprisingly, the conclusions of this research related to teaching methodology that assists and may even ensure success for students of varying abilities from diverse backgrounds. While there is no discussion of the concept of professionalism or of the teacher as a professional in Alton-Lee's *Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in Schooling*, creativity, expertise and responsiveness are noted as key characteristics of effective teachers (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 97).

The Ministry of Education handbook, *Professional Standards: Criteria for Quality Teaching* (1999), outlines standards secondary teachers are to be assessed against as part of the 'professional development cycle'. The intent of these standards is to ensure '... that students have the opportunity to learn from, and

that schools are managed and led by, high quality professionals' (1999, p. 5). These standards are based on the knowledge, skills and attitudes a teacher is required to exhibit (1999, p. 4) and are motivated by a desire to ensure high quality learning outcomes for students. Despite this narrow scope and failure to define what a professional teacher is, the idea that a teacher be *reflective* is considered important in teacher effectiveness discourse.

In their contract research for the Ministry of Education, Carr and associates argued that '... the teacher is much more than a narrowly trained technician' (2005, p. 64), later stating that the '... professional self is developed in a community of persons involved in teaching' (2005, p. 80). These researchers noted that the reform process has challenged the professionalism of teachers especially in regard to the question of supervision of what teachers do and notions of standardisation of outcomes and assessment. However, these observations make up a very small part of their literature review that 'seeks information to inform New Zealand educational policy regarding the influences on learning' (2005, p. 17), providing a narrow perspective (if any) on the concept of teacher professionalism, despite their claim about teachers being more than narrow technicians.

As an example of some 'topical issues' in their 'best evidence' literature review on teacher professional learning, Timperley, Wilson, Barrar and Fung (2007) considered 'professional learning communities', suggesting that 'teacher participation in some form of structured professional group' (2007, p. 201) was a consistent finding across their review. However, this participation was only reported to be helpful if 'problematic beliefs' were challenged (such as deficit thinking), external expertise brought new perspectives, and an 'unrelenting focus on the impact of teaching on student learning' was applied (2007, p. 203; 205). Both examples quoted here show that an 'effective' teacher is also a 'critically reflective' teacher, where 'critical' means having high expectations for the success of all students and being focused on one issue only, namely student achievement and the role of an 'effective' teacher in achieving that goal. However, as Smyth (1992) has suggested, this notion of 'reflective activity' is problematic for several reasons, including the domestication of a progressive democratic concept by central sources of power (such as the Ministry of

Education), making it a fashionable ‘band-wagon concept’ that simultaneously takes on the aura of being an article of faith (who would contest the value of critical reflection?); its power to further control the work of teachers by its ring-fencing of the kind of issues open to ‘reflection’; the obvious failure to link so-called ‘critical reflection’ to broader social issues that have a real (but unacknowledged) bearing on student achievement; and its pragmatist ‘what works’ orientation (1992, pp. 284-288).

School leaders have a role to play in supporting the ‘effective teacher’ discourse, primarily to ensure that student achievement is maximised for all students (for example by facilitating ‘professional conversations’ about student achievement). This supportive role is often expressed in managerialist terms, a concept that can be widely referenced (Apple, 2005; Fitzsimons, 1999b; McKenzie, 1997; O’Brien & Down, 2002; Simkins, 2000; Thrupp & Willmott, 2003). Managerialism underlies the view that teachers are professionals by virtue of their expertise in managing student learning, accounting for their own performance and assisting their schools in attaining and maintaining externally imposed accountability targets (Robertson, 1996). The wide range of leadership, management and self-help management literature available that emphasises strategies aimed at deepening and widening the practice of teachers and school managers stands as witness to the success of importing managerialist and corporatist thinking into schools (Barnett, Mahony, & Matthews, 2004; Lambert, 2003; Monroe, 1997). Thrupp and Willmott (2003) reflected on this brand of management literature, noting that it is largely decontextualised and ahistorical.

This literature is united in its commitment to both improvement of student learning and school processes. It seeks to fill the vacuum that exists for teachers taken away from the core business of teaching by management roles requiring them instead to engage in curriculum planning and organisation, personnel management, financial and property management, recruitment and retention of staff, recruitment of students and promotion of their schools to the wider community. This workload has to be managed against a ‘press for immediate and decisive action’ (Barnett, Mahony, & Matthews, 2004, p. vii). Faced with corporatist roles they often have no background in, Assistant and Deputy Principals and new Principals will default to perform those roles according to the

rules they find in place. To assist them, however, this literature, and associated professional learning programmes around such literature, focuses new leaders on such concepts as ‘developing leadership capacity’ in schools. This is regarded to offer ‘the promise of sustainable school improvement by developing thoughtful, focused leaders [and] achieving steady improvement in student performance...’ (Lambert, 2003, p. x), while Monroe (1997, p. 191) put it plainly thus: ‘leadership is the key to school change. The leader needs to indicate daily that our work is about transforming children’s lives, every day.’

In a further contribution to the Best Evidence Synthesis Programme of the New Zealand Ministry of Education, Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd (2009), were not deterred by finding ‘little research evidence that directly explores the relationship between educational leaders’ knowledge, skills, and dispositions (KSDs) and student outcomes’ (2009, p. 46), establishing in any event the following ‘indirect connections between the four ‘KSDs’ and student outcomes:

Ensuring [that] administrative decisions are informed by knowledge about effective pedagogy;

Analys[ing] and solv[ing] complex problems;

Build[ing] relational trust;

Engag[ing] in ... learning conversations (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009, p. 46)

Here the authors are able to set out salient aspects of what amounts to ‘designer leadership’ aimed at ensuring all school leaders develop these characteristics in their roles, where they are seen to be ‘instructional leaders’ who are presumably themselves ‘effective teachers’ with a close understanding of pedagogy and content pedagogical knowledge, who are able to develop relations of trust across all constituencies within a school community and who can ‘give and receive tough messages’ about teaching and learning (2009, p. 47).

It has been shown here that there is an official conception of teachers’ work, and this is best illuminated under the label of ‘teacher effectiveness’, an oft-quoted mantra that is seen in many official documents and policies. This is a conception of a state-sponsored ‘reprofessionalised’ teacher, and it is one of the two conceptions to which ethical teacher professionalism is offered as an alternative. In challenging this view of teachers’ work, this thesis is not rejecting

it out of hand; indeed this official view underpins much of the thinking of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that, it is argued in this thesis, offers opportunities for critical and creative implementation that will encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism. Similarly, ‘teacher effectiveness’ discourse, particularly around notions of teacher reflectivity and professional communities, holds some promise, provided these notions are implemented with critical discernment. That is the subject of Chapter Eight. For now, one further conception of teachers’ work to which ethical teacher professionalism is offered as an alternative will be considered, namely that of the ‘deprofessionalised’ teacher.

e) The teacher as deprofessionalised contract worker

This view is held by writers sympathetic to the ideals of Keynesian economics. They regard the welfare state as a social settlement, in which education is a major player, contributing to the development of essential social-democratic values. For these writers, the ascendancy of New Right and neoliberal policies signals the withdrawal of the Western state from its undertakings to society to smooth out inequalities by the provision of socially beneficial services such as quality public education. These writers do not suggest an account of teaching *as a profession*; rather they provide an account showing that teaching *is not a profession*, that indeed it is deprofessionalised.

In the New Zealand context, Codd (2005d) provided a trenchant critique to demonstrate how the concept of a teaching profession has been degraded by the ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ reforms. He suggested that the aims of education in New Zealand have shifted from preparation for participation as educated citizens in a democratic society, to preparation for participation in the world of work and meeting the challenges of a competitive global economy. Given this imperative, the state has come to assume greater control over education, applying an accountability regime to areas of curriculum and assessment. The result is a highly tailored education system in which ‘the culture of professionalism has been largely surrendered to a narrow and reductionist instrumentalism’ (2005d, p. 194). Through these controls, claimed Codd, teachers have become ‘managed professionals’.

International writers echo this picture of teaching in post-reform New Zealand. Simkins (2000) argued that the accountability regime has shifted the influence over educational policy from teachers to central state, strengthened management and weakened the service element of teaching. The 'bureau-professional' who operates according to bureaucratic rules and professional judgement is pushed aside by the marketisation of schools in which the 'consumer' is empowered. This occurs through a process of 'Public Choice Theory' (discussed in the Introduction) or 'New Public Administration' (Smyth & Shacklock, 1998) that imposes the language and practices of business administration on schools (such as strategic planning and producing charters).

Seddon (1997); Robertson (1996); and Sitch (2005) harmonise on the themes of marketisation leading to the contractualisation of teachers' work and the monitoring of performance against a set of 'objective' pre-determined standards. This process is mirrored in curriculum reform that has led to a system of 'outcomes based education', whereby teachers can verify student attainment against pre-determined 'achievement standards' that narrowly define the object of learning. This leads effectively to teachers becoming mere 'learner managers' (Robertson, 1996), losing their academic freedom and right to influence education.

Managerialism has reduced the human element of relationships in the commodified contractual relationships described here. For Codd (2005d), teachers have become mere functionaries, valued only for what they produce by demonstrating pre-determined competencies. The reforms have denuded trust and degraded the teaching profession (2005d, p. 193). The only way forward is to restore a high trust model, characterised by moral relationships and accountability that is based on the commitment, loyalty and sense of duty of teachers (2005d, p. 203). State control over teachers' work through managerialism has separated the conception and execution of work by teachers (J. O'Neill, 2005, p. 57), thus it is logical to assume closing that gap will go some way to restoring professional dignity to teachers and their work.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to address the concept, ‘professionalism’, what it might mean to be professional, and what might be some of the ways the teaching profession could be conceptualised. This thesis has no intention of debating whether teaching is a profession, despite the obvious uncertainties and differences of opinion that may exist on that question. Rather, it assumes teaching is a profession. It also assumes a general understanding of the concept of ‘profession’ as a socially constructed and situated knowledge-based activity dealing with intangible qualities and concerns that run to the very core of humanity. It is those concerns that provide professions, like teaching, with an ethical basis. This thesis is thus concerned to engage in developing an account of a particular vision of what *kind* of profession teaching could be, which presupposes the *kind* of person a teacher might be. A starting-point has been to review some of the various ways recent literature has represented the teaching profession. The notion of ethical teacher professionalism stands in contrast to these representations yet must acknowledge those representations. Understanding *professionalism* means understanding that an ethical teacher is an active agent who develops an identity by engaging critically and reflectively with the profession and activity of teaching. The significance of developing this account of ethical teacher professionalism will be realised in the following chapter.

Chapter Two: Ethical teacher professionalism

This study has set itself the task of proposing an alternative conception of teachers' work to those suggested in Chapter One; in particular, it challenges the view of teachers as wholly deprofessionalised on one hand and the state-sponsored view of the 'reprofessionalised, effective teacher' on the other. Instead, the alternative concept of 'ethical teacher professionalism' is presented as an ideal-type account of teachers' work. It is furthermore argued in this thesis that the development of this conception can be encouraged by the critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The reasoning supporting this claim is that the curriculum, mandated for use by all schools in February 2010, breaks with the predominant pattern of neoliberal education reform in New Zealand since 1989. Instead it is based on the contradictory socio-political Third Way ideology — contradictions that offer up spaces for critical and creative implementation.

Chapter One presented the concept of 'profession' as a socially constructed and situated knowledge-based activity. The largely intangible concerns of professions led Freidson to suggest in *Professionalism: The third logic*, that professionals lay claim to having a 'collective devotion to [a] transcendent value' (2001, p. 123). This devotion is two-fold: the professional is motivated by a passion for the attainment of the purpose of professional work, while also being motivated by a passion for self-realisation through the work being performed (Larson, 1977, p. 62). The 'very soul of professionalism' lies in the freedom of professionals to 'judge and choose the ends of [their] work' (Freidson, 2001, p. 217), which is devoted 'to the use of disciplined knowledge and skill for the public good' (2001, p. 217). This devotion, of which Freidson speaks so eloquently, is what provides professions, like teaching, with their ethical basis.

While the idea of professionalism was considered in the previous chapter, alongside a general understanding of professions and varying conceptions of teachers' work, it has not yet been established what makes teaching ethical. The concept of an ethical teacher must presuppose 'ethical teaching', or more correctly, 'teaching as an ethical activity'. This chapter will therefore consider

this question, but will also seek to understand how ethical teacher professionalism might be operationalised, beginning with a consideration of the role of the individual teacher. The discussion of career and vocation in Chapter One prefigured a central idea to be explored in the present chapter, namely *altruism*, constituted by commitment to ‘the other’, duty and service. The concept of altruism is to be explored in more detail because an argument underpinning this thesis is that altruistic responsibility is a necessary condition for the existence of ethical teacher professionalism.

Alongside the self-realisation of the ethical professional is the realisation of the aims of professional work. In the case of teaching, this thesis argues for the aim of education to be the attainment of critical and reflective thought for both teachers and students. It will be suggested that critical and reflective teachers display attributes of listening and caring, attributes that underpin a critically reflective pedagogy. This pedagogy in turn is strengthened by *praxis*, whereby the practice of ethical teachers is developed through a continued critical and reflective orientation that also entitles, encourages, and calls upon ethical teachers to take greater responsibility for their own research and knowledge development, and ultimately to speak out in various ways. These themes are returned to in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

The place of individualism and self-realisation in the development of ethical teacher professionalism

What makes *professionalism* distinct from the notion of ‘teaching as a profession’ is its strong element of human agency – the point of *professionalism* is that it accentuates individual teachers making a conscious decision to define themselves as professional people of a particular sort, thereby rejecting any notion of the individual teacher being ascribed by a particular concept of ‘profession’, as in the phrase, ‘teaching as a profession’. Furthermore, a fundamental position underpinning this thesis is that *The New Zealand Curriculum* is a self-contradictory document that is open to critical and creative interpretation, although making use of its spaces implies the exercise of human agency. However, to accept this strong account of agency raises questions of the role and place of the social groups where the professional identity of the ethical teacher is forged. In particular, thought has to be given to other teachers, narrowly the direct

colleagues of any teacher in a school, and more broadly other teachers in the profession.

In the Introduction, the matter of negative and positive liberty was highlighted. Both give an account of the how the good life could be attained, particularly by and for the individual agent. In the former case is an account of a ‘hands-off’ state that allows the individual to get on without coercion by others. This is a classic liberal utilitarian view that emphasises society as an aggregation of private individuals, in which the pursuit of individual freedom is seen as the route to the attainment of the good life, provided this pursuit leaves most people better off.

The positive position places more emphasis on active self-realisation, not by focussing on what may be in place to *prevent* self-realisation, but rather on what may *facilitate* it. This leads ultimately to senses in which society is of greater importance to each individual – indeed, there is much more interplay between the two, and society may come to be seen as an extension of the desires and intentions of its individual members. This latter account thus gives more attention to concepts beyond personal liberty, such as equality and fraternity, and it may be suggested that the good life is attained by the pursuit of these in addition to personal liberty (Kompridis, 2004, p. 333).

On this positive account, the notion of human dignity, a feature of Christian theology, is also considered significant. Lukes (1973, p. 47) noted however that it would be the Renaissance that would see the full development of this idea of human dignity that for Lukes finds particular enunciation in the Kantian categorical imperative that people be treated as ends and not as means. Despite that the concept of dignity could be controversial because of its Christian overtones, Taylor (1994, p. 27) saw it as an important democratic concept due to its egalitarian sense (all people have dignity). This is certainly the sense that Freire used the term when he rejected all forms of discrimination as they ‘offend the essence of human dignity and constitute a radical negation of democracy’ (1998, p. 41). Furthermore, it is the duty of the (ethical) teacher to respect ‘the dignity, autonomy, and identity of the student’ (1998, p. 62). Much closer to the concerns of this thesis, Freire went on to state unequivocally that teachers must struggle ‘to bring dignity to the practice of teaching’ (1998, p. 64).

A further feature of Kantian ethics underpinning human agency is the concept of rational autonomy, whereby the good life is attained not only by obeying the categorical imperative, but indeed by freely imposing it upon oneself (Körner, 1955, p. 149). From this source springs forth the idea that whatever a rational person wills, should be possible to be willed for all. As noted in the Introduction, it is this possibility of a corporate will that led Berlin to adopt a dim view of popular democracy, and although Lukes dismisses Berlin's gloomy concerns, because 'all ideas can be put to evil uses' (1973, p. 56), MacIntyre shows how seemingly irrational ideas could be universalised (1981, p. 45).

Thus it may be seen that in conceptualising the orientation towards the attainment of ethical teacher professionalism, there is assumed the empirical possibility of individual teachers who severally understand the precepts of ethical teacher professionalism, and strive in their daily practice to attain it. However, as may be induced from the consideration of 'profession' in Chapter One, the attainment of any professional status requires teachers to jointly collaborate in that effort. Indeed, as Taylor notes, the 'crucial feature of human life is its fundamentally *dialogical* character' (1994, p. 32), and the negotiation of personal identity through dialogue with others (1994, p. 34). A key conclusion of this thesis points to the imperative to build professional communities in schools. Therefore, it is also assumed that one's self-realisation as an ethical teacher is achieved *both* as an individual act of human agency *and* as a collective act of professional community.

Teaching is an ethical activity

Teaching is an ethical activity firstly because it is a complex people-centred activity engaging human motivations, desires, beliefs and goals. Therefore, teachers and students and are called on to have regard for each other. An account of people who develop as socio-historical beings must consider their ethical relationships too, for 'it is not possible to imagine the human condition disconnected from the ethical condition' (Freire, 1998, p. 39). Secondly, because teaching is a human matter, it is not a technical matter, leading Freire to suggest that 'the teaching of contents cannot be separated from the moral formation of learners. To educate is essentially to form' (1998, p. 39). Thirdly, teaching occurs

in a socio-political and economic policy context. The policy dimension may have the greatest impact on the activity and process of teaching and learning, yet could have little regard for the people it affects. These factors are the basis of the discussion following, and will assist to form a clearer picture of what it may be to be an ethical teacher, partly by suggesting some challenges to the concept of teaching as an ethical activity. Other relevant factors include the point made in the previous chapter, namely that a professional occupational group seeks to retain its privileged place and status in society by convincing the public of its ethical probity. This consideration will have greater relevance when the discussion turns to consider altruism.

a) *Equifinality, diversity and relational trust*

Hoyle and John, highlighting the uncertainty of teaching, refer to the 'equifinality' of the classroom (1995, p. 88), whereby a range of methods could achieve the same or a similar result (related to the concept of *indeterminacy* used in the previous chapter). Teachers are therefore likely to seek teaching methods that they know from experience will work for them and their students. That there is a choice suggests complexity, indecision, trial, error and constant search. This search will be influenced by multiple factors, including the human relationships that exist in the classroom. Choice-making is an ethical matter, because choices can be made for the wrong reason, such as teachers who decide not to exercise their authority over classes for fear of being marked as authoritarian and perhaps racist. Once having lost control over their classes, they may turn to authoritarian methods that really do rob their students of freedom (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 179). This example, which may occur in the context of pedagogical uncertainty and contingency, demonstrates that teachers' decisions could have a critical bearing on their students.

Against this background, one of the most influential documents in contemporary New Zealand schools, prepared for the Ministry of Education by Alton-Lee, must be considered:

This best evidence synthesis *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling* is intended to contribute to the development of our evidence-base for policy and

practice in schooling. The purpose of the synthesis is to contribute to ongoing, evidence-based and evolving dialogue about pedagogy amongst policy makers, educators and researchers that can inform development and optimise outcomes for students in New Zealand schooling ... [hence] ... This best evidence synthesis has produced ten characteristics of quality teaching derived from a synthesis of research findings of evidence linked to student outcomes ... Evidence shows teaching that is responsive to student diversity can have very positive impacts on low and high achievers at the same time (2003, p. v).

The implication of producing a definitive list of ‘ten characteristics of quality teaching’ is the containment of equifinality, so that any teacher conforming to these characteristics or whose classroom practice is shaped by these characteristics will ‘optimise outcomes for students’. Central to outcomes based education is a belief that all students deserve to benefit by the same outcomes, representing an evolution in New Zealand educational thinking that has shifted from equality of access to equality of outcomes (Simon, 2000). In debates over outcomes-based education, the question of predictability of outcomes is frequently raised, and a frequent challenge is to highlight the importance of process over outcomes. To suggest there are specific teaching characteristics that could add certainty to the attainment of specific outcomes adds strength to the outcomes-based side of the debate. However, diversity – the central focus of this Best Evidence Synthesis – is the very factor that makes equal outcomes impossible, or at least unlikely. Neither is student diversity the only aspect of diversity that is important: teachers too are diverse, yet a list of ‘ten characteristics of quality teaching’ presupposes these to be the ‘best ten’ or ‘the only ten’.

Respect for the socio-cultural location of students is a frequent theme in progressive thinking about students (for example, Bartolome, 1994/2003; Bishop, 2003; Giroux, 1997). Freire argued that this respect would be mutually transmitted in a classroom climate of *trust*, built on the coherence between the action and words of teachers. It is precisely because teaching and education can have a direct influence on how students form themselves as cultural and historical human beings that it is an ethical activity — into which teachers consciously choose to insert themselves to make a difference. When unethical choices are made however, these violate the quality of the relationships that exist in a school community, and relational gains previously made could be lost. Thus teachers are engaged in a task that is not only richly ethical, but radically uncertain, leading

Freire to the conclusion that ‘to transform the experience of educating into a matter of simple technique is to impoverish what is fundamentally human in this experience: namely, its capacity to form the human person’ (1998, p. 39). Freire’s point allows consideration of the second suggested reason why teaching is an ethical activity.

b) Teaching is not a technical matter

‘Teaching is not just a technical business. It is a moral one too’. This point, made by Fullan and Hargreaves (1991, p. 18), is not stated vigorously enough – teaching should not be seen as a technical matter *at all*. It certainly is an activity that calls for academic rigour; it is an activity that calls for methodological preparation and accuracy; it is an activity that requires teachers to be aware of various options for delivering the curriculum and that some options will be more effective than others. To regard teaching as ‘technical’ however is to consider that its outcomes can be accurately and reliably predicted and made impervious to random influences. It implies that specific sequences of events or procedural steps will always guarantee the same outcomes, regardless of which teacher is using these procedures, or which students are engaged in the learning process. Given the contingent and divergent nature of teaching (which is partly what characterises it as a profession), the application to teaching of the term ‘technical’ is a misnomer.

Despite their debateable application of terminology, what Fullan and Hargreaves intended is that the long-term influence of the teacher on the lives of students, and the nature of teachers’ decision-making in the course of their work, is what makes teaching moral. This echoes an earlier point and thus needs no further elaboration. The issue is that when teaching is referred to as ‘technical’ the implications are not only those already outlined, but also the real possibility that the ‘technician-teacher’ becomes completely immersed in and engrossed by the content of teaching and its methods. Elsewhere, Hargreaves argued that the movement to standards and outcomes-based education has led to teaching that is narrow and amenable to what may be colloquially termed ‘silver bullet’ solutions such as ‘ready-made’ teacher resources (1994, p. 26) and, it may be added,

notions such as Alton-Lee's 'ten characteristics of effective teaching'. Hargreaves suggests that this technicisation of teaching is a response to some of the crises of legitimacy in the period of late modernity that saw increasing dissatisfaction with the state's ability to deliver adequate outcomes in return for tax dollars spent on education (1994, p. 32) and the concomitant demand by the state that education produce meaningful student outcomes.

A practical and political solution to this problem has been found in creating bodies of technical curriculum knowledge and technical practical knowledge, amenable to prediction and control. However, in giving effect to this solution, teachers forget the (trans)formative nature of education as they become deeply immersed in achieving technical control over their work through their pre-service education, on-going professional development and learning, and their daily experience of a standards-based curriculum. The influence of politics on the daily lives of teachers and students is a further reason why teaching is an ethical activity.

c) Teaching is a political activity

An important sense in which teaching is ethical is gained by recognising its context, which is directly influenced, as suggested above, by policy that reacts to perceptions of systemic failure in education to deliver a return on taxpayer investment. Teaching is thus a political activity because it has the potential to challenge the effects of those policies. Freire argued that modernising, reformist policies in education have spawned a 'neoliberal technoscientific education', creating a false dichotomy between the need for a broader liberating education and the narrow economic intentions of vocationalism (1996, p. 131). He believed that 'modernising discourse' was masking an education system that taught people to reject a discourse of hope and accept dramatic socio-economic disparities consigning most of them to a narrow vocational life (2005, p. 104). Theorists like Freire and Noddings (2005) are attentive to the point that school is about more than just academic attainment; Freire made the point (as do those influenced by his work) in characteristically strong (even polemical) political language. Noddings made the point in a different tone of voice and from a slightly different

perspective, but no less politically: '[Students] feel alienated from their schoolwork, separated from the adults who try to teach them, and adrift in a world perceived as baffling and hostile' (2005, p. 2). The reason, she argued, is that teachers, who are part of an ineffective education system that has 'largely ignored massive social change' no longer demonstrate that they care for their students (2005, p. 1). The challenge is to acknowledge that 'the school cannot achieve its academic goals without providing caring and continuity for students' (2005, p. 14). Both writers reinforced the arguments that although contemporary schools have purposes that are liable to set students up for adaptation to a world they find alienating, teachers have a central role in shaping a more positive experience of school for students.

This last point was made vigorously by Freire who contended that there is no neutral pedagogy (Shor & Freire, 1987b, p. 13). If so, this proposition calls for teachers to respond. Freire suggests that they take up a position, regardless of whether 'they define themselves by being democratic or authoritarian' (2005, p. 112). A later chapter will argue that teachers are not mere victims of policy; instead they can choose to make a difference, even within the constraints of policy. The very research used by instrumentalists like Alton-Lee can be employed here:

Our best evidence internationally is that what happens in classrooms through quality teaching and through the quality of the learning environment generated by the teacher and the students, is the key variable in explaining up to 59%, or even more, of the variance in student scores (2003, p. 2).

If teachers do have the ability to exercise such a high degree of influence, critical writers would argue that they ought to use this influence to counteract the negative impacts of 'neoliberal technoscientific' policies. As Freire noted, the teacher has the 'right and duty to opt' to be political and to make a difference (1998, p. 53). Noddings observed that discussion of the teacher-learner relationship indicates 'that teachers not only have to create caring relationships in which they are the carers, but that they also have a responsibility to help their students develop the capacity to care' (2005, p. 18).

Teaching, it has been argued here, is an ethical activity. Despite attempts at the level of the state and ministries or departments of education to subject the classroom and teacher to sanitised and technicised variations of a laboratory that

can efficiently deliver predictable outcomes, the classroom is still populated by human students who have backgrounds both unique and diverse and who must one day enter the adult world. This is a world that many students may find disturbing, damaging and alienating. Realising that this is so, and accepting their duty to empower their students to better face these challenges makes teachers' work ethical. If accepting this duty requires some rejection of prevailing discourses, then this makes teachers' work political too. Clarifying, justifying and shaping that responsibility, which defines ethical teacher professionalism, lies in developing altruism.

Altruism

This discussion will develop a general understanding of altruism that will be applied later to the ethical teacher. It will consider some defining characteristics of altruism, including duty and altruistic love; the relationship between altruism and self-interest; the source of, and limitations on, altruistic behaviour; and the status of altruism in relation to morality, rights and justice.

a) Some defining attributes of altruism

Altruism may be variously understood as benefitting others over oneself (Spencer, 1894, p. 201); promoting the interests of others (Scott & Seglow, 2007); or when people act 'as if the long-term welfare of others is important *independent* of its effects on their own welfare' (Jencks, 1990, p. 53. Emphasis in the original). Important questions here are whether these actions stem from motivations that are based on reason or emotion, and what the relationship might be between altruism and duty. Answering these questions will clarify certain attributes of altruism and the dispositions that may be expected of the altruist.

Arguments for altruism motivated by emotion arise in connection with evolutionary theories that emphasise learned reciprocal behaviour beginning with the family unit, as the key to survival of the species (Spencer, 1894). The development of such qualities as compassion, sympathy and empathy extend outward from the nurturing care of the young to wider social patterns. In contrast, altruism motivated by reason is often associated with deontological theories that

emphasise rule-following. Well known examples are the scriptural ‘golden rule’ (‘love others as I have loved you’; ‘do to others as you would have them do to you’), and the Kantian ‘categorical imperative’ (‘act only in accordance with that maxim that you would will for all’; ‘treat all people as ends, not means’). The difficulties raised by each position include the variability inherent in the emotional perspective (there is the greater likelihood of displaying altruism to those we closely associate with) and the exclusion of instinct from the rational perspective (such as non-rational acts of bravery, like rescuing a child from a burning vehicle). As suggested by Scott and Seglow (2007), an appropriate compromise position may be to conceive of altruism being based on a unification of reason and emotion. Either position must however account for duty.

A starting-point in considering duty is Kant’s notion that duty and virtue be distinguished, that is to say, it is a virtue to want to do one’s duty, rather than the duty itself being virtuous. Kant therefore rejects any emotional motivations, arguing instead for rational intentions to act that are only morally good if taken for the sake of doing one’s duty. This enables one to do one’s duty regardless of one’s feelings towards the object of the duty (Körner, 1955, pp. 131-132). Ross attacked this notion by applying a *reductio ad absurdum* argument (2002/1930, p. 5) – if an agent’s duty to is to perform an act from a sense of duty, this must imply that the agent is not performing the act for any other reason than it is the agent’s sense to act that way. An agent cannot simultaneously be said to be acting dutifully *and* acting from a sense of duty. The question, ‘what is duty?’ must be answered, ‘acting from a sense of duty’, therefore defining the concept in terms of itself. According to Ross, no amount of correction can strengthen Kant’s argument. Thus Ross argued that ‘right’ acts can only be initiated by ‘morally good’ intentions (and that acting from a sense of duty is not a morally good motivation). Put differently, Ross argued that an agent is never under moral *obligation* to have good intentions or motives (2002/1930, p. 4), but to perform certain acts (2002 [1930], p. 22).

Körner was satisfied that the objections raised by Ross were not fatal; indeed, they captured precisely what Kant had in mind when he suggested a common sense understanding of a distinction between actions that are *apparently* dutiful and actions taken *for the sake of* duty (1955, pp. 131-132). Whereas Ross

seems to have argued that morally good acts require morally good motivations, Kant preferred, argued Körner, to judge acts as morally good if they sprang from the disposition to do one's duty, thus taking motivations or considerations of potential consequences out of the rational equation. Kantian duty is therefore conceptualised as an objective feature that can be applied justly to all, including strangers. Blum suggested however that devotion to objective obligation blocks an 'understanding of the moral significance of sympathy, compassion, concern and friendship' (1980, p. 9). Sergiovanni posited a blended position, conceptualising (school) communities as places that develop 'altruistic love', 'an expression of selfless concern for others that stems from devotion or obligation' (1994, p. 30). For Sergiovanni, altruistic love is cultural, not psychological, and does not require 'blood' or 'place'; it can be sustained mentally. These views overlook however the hard reality of self-interest.

b) Self-interest

'Self-sacrifice, then, is no less primordial than self-preservation' concluded Spencer (1894, p. 203), having reflected on the ways the mother nurses her young with no prospect of immediate reward or return. The preservation of life depends on such sacrifice. There could nevertheless be pay-off in the future, when the mother reaches her dotage and may hope to receive the support of her son. Arguments supporting egoism and self-interest as motivators of human actions seem on balance to be more compelling and numerous, but as 'altruism is not an illusion' (Small, 2005, p. 78), the relationship between selfless altruism and egoistic self-interest must be taken seriously.

Although Spencer could imagine an egoistic world before imagining an altruistic one, a 'state of nature' would see people locked in to a state of perpetual war with each other. More is to be gained by joining a society than by remaining alienated from it, thus Hobbesian 'social contract' theory suggested that 'win-win' conclusions could be reached by reciprocal relationships. Locke's position, referred to in the Introduction of this thesis, similarly suggested that individuals willingly give up some of their individual freedom in return for self-preservation (1690/1976, p. 6).

The concepts of *sympathy* ('fellow-feeling', or imaginatively sharing the pain or joy of another) and *empathy* (strongly identifying with another or seeing life from inside the skin of another) are significant to mediating the relationship between altruism and self-interest. These attributes can check selfish motives in persons, although the reason for their exercise may simply be selfish. Jencks (1990) points out how empathy may bring individuals to self-check their behaviour because they fret over what others may think of them if their behaviour appeared to be selfish. Sympathy may serve only to relieve one's personal sense of suffering and guilt. Examples abound; one of these is the act of dropping coins into the poor beggar's enamel cup. The donor feels comforted by the deed, not because the coins will relieve hunger (the beggar may use the money to buy cheap brandy), but because it pains the donor to see the beggar apparently hungry. This illustrates the position taken up by Nietzsche (Scott & Seglow, 2007, pp. 18-19), who viewed altruism as a cynical act of self-interest. The notion of self-interest has been only partly explored here, and will be developed in the following section, which gives further consideration to the sources of altruistic behaviour, taking up the matter of choice or discretion.

c) The source of altruistic action

If the world is inclined to self-interest, then what might motivate and sustain altruistic acts? Spencer could not imagine a world where individuals would suffer personal losses on behalf of others, who would benefit by those losses. He also however argued that a world of hard-hearted individuals who do for others only in relation to what they expect to have returned would not be the genial place it is, in which 'other regarding' actions are taken for no foreseeable return (1894, p. 212). Nevertheless, *reciprocity* may play an important role in a person's decision to help others, and its existence could encourage altruistic acts. Mansbridge (1990, p. 133) argued strongly that altruistic behaviour depends on self-interested returns on acts of duty and love. Her example of the pleasure of bonding closely with her son while carrying out her duty to care for him suggests that self-interest need not collide with duty. However, reducing the source of altruistic acts to a pleasure-

pain principle misses the mark (Elster, 1990; Small, 2005), overlooking for example instinctive acts of bravery or acts of anonymous generosity.

The matter of individual choice may provide a deeper understanding of the source of altruism and what sustains it. A rationalist perspective may suggest that some calculation occurs in deciding whether to undertake an altruistic act or how far to take it. For instance, it would seem irrational to donate to a flood relief effort in a far-flung state when one's personal financial circumstances are stretched to breaking-point. Or a regular donor may weigh up which charities to support in the forthcoming year, based on the outlook for the family budget. Such acts highlight that the reciprocity principle does not apply very well to acts of charity. An exception would be the religious faithful who would act on the assumption that charity (a) not only accords with their general outlook on life; but (b) will help secure their salvation. The application of the Kantian categorical imperative shares something in common with this religious perspective. If an agent chooses to act selfishly, then it is right and proper that all should act selfishly; however, recognition of the possibility that one's position could be reversed in the future encourages the agent to act instead on principles that encourage all to act in mutually beneficial ways. This imperative thus encourages the agent to choose in accordance with the interests of others. Besides such imperatives, are there other guides to understanding why one may choose to consider interests beyond oneself?

Unselfish acts could be of three types, according to Jencks (1990, p. 54 ff). *Complete unselfishness* is based on a utilitarian view of taking all interests (including those of the agent) equally in to account to achieve the greatest benefit for all. *Partial unselfishness* takes *some* account of the interests of others, while *extreme unselfishness* takes account *only* of the interests of others. He also suggested three sources of unselfish behaviour, namely *empathetic*, *communitarian* and *moralistic*. *Empathetic unselfishness* refers to the identification with the interests of others. When taken far enough, this identification amounts to 'love'. *Communitarian unselfishness* develops typically around such groups as families and workplace. The identification of the individual with these groups may sometimes overlap and even conflict. *Moralistic unselfishness* relates to the internalisation by the individual of the moral code of

an external group. If taken too far, this could lead to the identity of the individual being absorbed into the identity of the group. Sects are obvious examples that come to mind.

The distinction between altruistic acts that may take account of Kant's 'sense of duty' where such acts as duty of care are carried out regardless of the intentions, perspectives or attitudes of the recipient (such as a teacher caring equally for a hateful child as for a loving one) and *supererogatory* acts that go beyond the minimal requirement of obligation, can be discerned in Jencks' account. Jencks argued for example that altruistic behaviour can be made a required norm within an organisation. Such a norm 'must be compatible with reasonably efficient organisation of economic production and distribution' (1990, p. 64). In cases of individuals submitting to or identifying closely with a larger collective, organisational cultures may be encouraged that 'are likely to spread to the degree that they can inhibit individual selfishness and induce their members to abide by behavioural norms laid down by the group as a whole' (1990, p. 65). Of interest in this regard are notions of 'professional collegiality' that imply deprivatised teacher practice and collaborative work practices as a requirement within certain schools. Such practices demand sharing with, and concern for, one's colleagues.

Thus far, it is clear that there are both rational and emotional reasons for performing altruistic acts. It would also seem possible to provisionally conclude that duty is an important source of altruistic acts, although the concept of duty is complex and could include dispassionate notions of justice or more emotive notions such as gratitude. A further source of altruistic acts is referred to by some, such as Mansbridge in the reference above, as 'love', which would include ideas of sympathy, empathy and compassion. Instinctual acts may fit into this broad category of altruistic love. However, self-preservation and self-interest are compelling forces that make the performance of altruistic acts difficult, although, as Mansbridge has argued, self-interest is required to keep altruism alive, often exercised through reciprocity. What remains unclear however is what indicates to the individual agent where altruism ought to begin and where it ought to end, which leads to a consideration of the moral element of altruism.

d) The moral status of altruism

The moral status of altruism resides to some extent in the attribution of praise to non-selfish acts whereas blame or condemnation is likely to be reserved for selfish acts (Small, 2005, p. 83). What is the source of such judgements? Spencer (1894), who argued from a Darwinian notion of natural selection, suggested that socialisation, beginning with the family, plays an important role. The individual (the most important unit for Spencer) soon learns that more is to be gained by non-selfish acts than by selfish ones, despite the human tendency to the latter rather than the former. Spencer located these acts in a mix of the product of common-sense and education. On balance, society has much to benefit by the mutual effort of all in raising the standard of 'public morals' in each and reversing the debilitating effects of 'carelessness, stupidity, or unconscientiousness' (1894, pp. 210-211).

It must seem that Spencer was arguing for a central place to be accorded to the principle of reciprocity; indeed it explains the persistence of altruism despite its perceived disadvantages. However, reciprocity strains at the notion of moral 'rightness'; after all, if the calculating 'altruist' gives only in strict and exact measure with an expected return, such as in the case of 'tit for tat' reciprocation, then surely the act is neither altruistic nor praiseworthy. Scott and Seglow (2007) argued however that reciprocity protects the altruist from the exploitative behaviour of non-altruists. Making a similar case to Spencer that exploitation will not be found socially acceptable, they suggested that the 'Golden Rule' and the Kantian categorical imperative imply and encourage mutual obligations. Spencer however dismissed both the Christian maxim and Kant's universalising imperative as logically absurd, requiring the altruist to be simultaneously an egoist (1894, p. 233). Aside from his objection, as already noted, strict rationality of intention does not explain all altruistic acts. The balance lies, presumably, in the reality of an imperfect world of both egoists and altruists, where altruists may expect similar treatment from some, but not all, others at an indeterminate time in the future, yet will still act independently of such a promise. An important question that remains however is the identity of 'others'.

The Kantian imperative to treat all people as ends and not means is essentially a moral exhortation to overlook the imperfect world just described. This maxim deals with the problem of deciding among possible recipients of altruistic acts, because it suggests that all persons are equal (Blum, 1980). This *impartiality* principle is not, however, a requirement that all persons receive equal treatment (Scott & Seglow, 2007). It is a principle that has significance in public settings, like schools, because it calls on altruists and selfless people to be blind to their own self-interest, and to treat themselves and anyone else as having no special prerogative. This principle (which Jencks (1990, p. 54) referred to as a utilitarian principle of *complete unselfishness*) is demanding as it seems to condemn acts of altruism towards those close to the agent. In contrast, Blum (1980, p. 46) saw no contradiction in balancing the institutional requirements that exist for instance in professional settings, with a moral commitment to one's friends.

Altruism is then a complex concept, but certainly relevant to life in a social world. This thesis aims to develop an alternative conception of teachers' work, reacting in particular to notions of teachers as deprofessionalised contract workers or as reprofessionalised 'effective teachers'. It is not however the aim this thesis to make claims on behalf of people in their private capacities. While there may be great scope for living one's private life by altruistic principles, a teacher's public life is another matter altogether. Ironically, the ethical nature of teaching significantly blurs the line between public and private. The concept of ethical teacher professionalism calls on the teacher to actively assume and shape a role that, as will be argued in the following discussion, relies on a willingness and ability to act altruistically. Indeed, the argument will suggest that altruism is necessary to ethical teacher professionalism.

Altruism – at the core of ethical professionalism

Earlier, this chapter claimed that teaching is always *ethical* and has ethical implications even when a teacher seeks only to force-feed meaningless facts into students or when an education system perpetuates a repressive social order. What will now be argued is that while the label *profession* may be applied to certain

accounts of teaching, such as the ‘classical’ account presented in Chapter One, unless *altruism* is present in the discourse of those engaged in teaching (evidenced by what is said, what is done, what is believed and even what is unstated), then what they are doing has no claim to the label *ethical profession*.

The discussion in the previous chapter describing and outlining the classical definition of teachers’ work included the idea of teaching as a public service. This public service element of teaching provides an opportunity to develop ‘professionalism’ as an ethical concept based on the practice of altruism. In reference to public service, it is illuminating to consider what Hoyle & John (1995) say about *responsibility*, which they distinguish from *accountability*, the former as a ‘divergent principle’ and the latter as a ‘convergent principle’, it being *responsibility* by which teachers ensure that the interests of their students are met (1995, p. 128). The contingent and unpredictable nature of teaching and learning means that responsibility in this sense cannot be pre-formulated, thus is ‘divergent’.

Accountability in contrast makes transparent to the public what it is that teachers are doing and gives justification to authorities such as the Ministry of Education, Education Review Office, New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the Teachers Council to apply various requirements and sanctions to schools and teachers. Accountability is ‘convergent’ because it minimises divergence by pre-formulating specific requirements to be met. Accountability implies responsibility, but is focussed on extrinsic responsibility rather than intrinsic responsibility. There are times when accountability and responsibility come in to conflict with each other, such as seen in popular media debates over national literacy and numeracy standards that many regard as inimical to their responsibility to develop the attributes of well-balanced ‘life-long learners’ (Buitveld, 2009b). In this context, responsibility is seen to precede accountability, thus illustrating the contestable and debateable nature of the public service element of teaching. The application of altruism to teaching and its specific role in developing the notion of *ethical teacher professionalism* will draw heavily on the distinction between accountability and responsibility just outlined. Altruism as used here following, is a concept that refers to a commitment to ‘the

other', duty and service. Once those ideas have been developed, certain objections and counter-objections will be argued.

a) *'The other', duty and service*

By definition, altruism presupposes commitment to 'the other', that is, acting out of concern for other people rather than out of concern for one's own interests (Phelps, 2006) or, for example, those of the Ministry of Education. This illustrates the point made by Hoyle & John (1995) when they suggested that responsibility can bring a teacher in to conflict with accountability, because ethical teachers have a commitment to their students *here and now* that may sometimes be more important than being accountable to the public, the Ministry of Education, or to any commitment to students in the future. However, commitment to a student's perceived interests will become secondary should such commitment result in unlawful acts or in some way compromise other ethical principles held by a teacher. What might constitute an altruistic commitment to student interests?

For Freire, a teacher cannot claim to be an educator yet fail to develop a personal attitude of love and care towards the student (1998, p. 65). This chapter will argue later therefore that the dispositions of care and listening are essential to support an orientation to the other. In the same passage, Freire sets as worthy goals for the teacher to be respectful of students and their curiosity and not to take up inhibiting attitudes towards students. To achieve these goals requires that the teacher develop the attributes of humility and tolerance. In suggesting these goals, Freire must have recognised that teachers, by virtue of legislative support for their role, their superior age, knowledge and experience, are in a position of power over their students. Classroom and school practices will reflect this power imbalance. A focus on 'the other' is a starting-point for developing empowering and trusting relationships in the classroom and school. However student empowerment requires nuanced treatment because like the development of ethical teacher professionalism, the process of student empowerment relies on the specific context, generally accepted practices in that context, and the people who work in that context (Gore, 2003).

The Code of Ethics that New Zealand teachers subscribe to by virtue of registration, notes as its first clause, ‘Commitment to Learners’: ‘The primary professional obligation of registered teachers is to those they teach’ (New Zealand Teachers Council, nd). ‘Obligation’ may be understood as duty or responsibility; however these terms have specialised uses in this thesis. To restate the earlier positions, *accountability* was suggested to be a ‘convergent’ principle and *responsibility* a ‘divergent’ one. Kantian notions of duty distinguished between *perfect obligation*, which suggests external control, and *imperfect obligation*, which suggests some personal discretion (Scott & Seglow, 2007, p. 38). These distinctions provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between duty and altruism. The former could be considered to include bill paying and promise-keeping, while the latter could include acts of beneficence. An advance on that understanding is that the former may be governed by legislation, the latter by personal discretion.

What is suggested here is that both accountability/perfect obligation and responsibility/imperfect obligation have ethical implications and content. Recall Kant’s view that it is virtuous to do one’s duty, such as paying bills or keeping promises. However, while there may be virtue in doing what one is required to do by law or honour, that is no justification for allocating praise. Indeed, it may be considered that such acts are neutral, unless not performed, in which case the agent’s omission or failure becomes blameworthy. However, supererogatory acts *are* praiseworthy, because they go *beyond* what is required. It is here that a commitment to altruism lies. Therefore, the clause quoted above from the Code of Ethics, states the obvious. It is a statement of accountability/perfect obligation.

It may be objected that this condition sets an untenable standard; however, it must be noted that this thesis is concerned with *ethical* teacher professionalism, not merely *teacher professionalism*. Being a professional teacher calls upon teachers both individually and collectively to perform a range of duties of obligation, such as being present in class on time, preparing thoroughly, not being deceitful or dishonest (such as thieving the collected student funds for school camp) and not developing intimate relationships with students. These do not amount to acts that go beyond calls of duty by which teachers are held accountable in any event. Some further explanation will indicate the bounds of

‘duty’ conceptualised here to embrace both accountability/perfect obligation and responsibility/imperfect obligation.

‘Duty’ can be either be extrinsic in origin (such as being in class when required to by the timetable, because that is what one is paid to do) or intrinsic in origin (such as recognising the needs of a student who wants extra help to get better results and therefore making time available after school to help that student). This distinction is helpful in considering when duty is regarded as an altruistic concept and when it is regarded as a legalistic one. Supererogatory acts that reflect discretionary choice by an agent are intrinsic. The obligation to be at work on time, prepare lessons or mark essays, are extrinsically motivated by factors such as salary rewards. This obligation is understood at a rational level, and relates to the Kantian *sense of duty*. Obligation carries the corollary of rights. If a teacher is obliged by contract to teach, this is because the student is entitled, by right, to be taught. The same student cannot, however, expect as of right that a teacher will voluntarily give up time after school to help that student. That a teacher does so is an act of altruism. This analysis suggests therefore that altruistic acts are freely committed by ethical teachers who are personally motivated by their sense of a level of responsibility to their students that is greater than merely their legal obligations to those students. This ‘greater level’ may be justified in several ways. What makes teaching more than ‘just a job’ is its claim to the status of profession. The discussion regarding ‘career and vocation’ in Chapter One drew attention to the significance of a profession creating an ideology surrounding its ethical probity. There it was suggested that while codes may be a necessary step in communicating the ethical intentions of a professional group to the public, they are not sufficient. For one, many non-professional occupational groups create codes. It is the commitment of the members to the idealised goals of the profession that are far more compelling; that is, the ‘devotion to a transcendent value’ suggested by Freidson (2001, p. 123). By showing their commitment to acts that go beyond simply what is contractually required, ethical teachers display the devotion that Freidson spoke of, and they exercise Freire’s notion of opting to make a transformative difference to the lives of their students. The third constituent element of altruism resides in the concept of service.

‘Service’ conveys the idea that one is working for others and in their interests, placing these above or beyond one’s own. Moreover, it carries the idea that this work is carried out for reasons other than extrinsic, material ones (Wise, 2005). Accordingly, the service ideal is sometimes conceptualised as ‘social responsibility’ (Brien, 1998). The starting-point for a professional is the desire to maximise the congruence of personal talents, skills and knowledge with a work role (Larson, 1977, p. 61) that is dedicated to the service of others. For ethical teachers, this means exercising an option to share with their students experiences that will enhance their life chances and contribute to inspiring hope for the future of both individuals and society collectively. Fulfilment of this service ideal, coupled with control they may come to exercise over their work, enables ethical teachers to achieve self-realisation through work. In essence, this thesis argues that teachers may have the opportunity to engage with *The New Zealand Curriculum* in ways that enables them to achieve meaningful control over their work, thus enriching their identity as ethical teachers.

Professions that successfully cement their status in society develop an ideology not only around the ethical probity of their members, but around a service ideal too (Larson, 1977, p. 59). A cautionary note regarding the service ideal was however struck by Freidson (2001), Larson (1977) and Macdonald (1995). It cannot be assumed because a profession espouses the ideology of service that individual members will live by that ideal. Certainly the service ideal demands a counter-cultural attitude of selflessness. The motivation of teachers by their belief in the good of people, their ability to enhance that goodness, and to ‘make a difference’, is however necessary to the altruism that characterises teaching as an ethical profession. These characteristics are not necessary to *teaching*. It is conceivable that there are teachers with a low opinion of their students and the world in general, who do not believe that their effort will make one iota of difference to the lives of anyone. Such teachers however, could not on the account given here, be considered as ‘ethical’ professionals. There are, however countless teachers for whom it is a common-sense mantra to say ‘I didn’t come into this for the money’, or ‘I’m here for the kids’. Indeed, a key motivator for many New Zealand teachers is the notion that they can make a difference (Kane & Mallon, 2006) Thus, just as altruism may seem inconceivable in a

largely egoistical world, yet exists anyway, so the service ideal, against the odds, is a standard for intrinsically valuable ethical professional work:

Whatever else the service orientation is, in a secularised society, its ethical and motivational base must include a sense of work as self-realisation and a sense of duty to one's calling deeper than just compliance with a set of standards (Larson, 1977, p. 62)

Teachers are professionals by virtue of their vocational commitment to a career based on specialised knowledge, gained over years of education and development, both prior to, and during, that career. This knowledge and the practice of teaching cohere strongly with the pre-existing interests of individual teachers, who seek to place this knowledge and practice in the service of others, notably their students. To the extent that teachers have control over that work, and the ends to which it is placed, they are fulfilled as professionals. Additionally, the ethical nature of teaching and education enables teachers to add a further dimension to their work by engaging in intrinsically valuable work. Maximising that value, and fulfilling their ethical role completely, requires teachers to engage in altruistic acts that are focused on the other, duty and service. This brief account of the foundation of altruistic practice is not unproblematic, however, and consideration must now be given to some objections and counter-objections.

b) Objections and counter-objections

The preceding discussion of service has set a demanding standard of selfless commitment, and in the context of a world that favours self-interest, serving others without reward seems implausible. If so, then ethical teacher professionalism is impossible. Teaching professionals are bound by legal and contractual obligations. However as these belong to the category of accountability/perfect obligation, they are not the issue here. At issue here are supererogatory acts, that is ethical actions or altruistic acts that go beyond the simple call of duty. There may be a class of supererogatory actions that although not categorised as obligatory duty, demand a response from agents that treats them as if they were obligatory. The culture of the profession as a whole or a unit within the profession (such as a school) may encourage the communitarian or moralistic unselfishness suggested by Jencks (1990, p. 65), and articulated as 'the

virtuous school' by Sergiovanni (1992, pp. 99-118). In this context, the 'social credit' (Larson, 1977) of the profession is established because its members are seen to live by the service ideal. Displaying commitment to that ideal is furthermore considered morally appropriate as individual professionals possess in their own heads knowledge that is of value to the public and should be deployed in the service of the public (Larson, 1977, pp. 222-223). Thus it pays teachers to commit unselfishly to a service ideal, because to not do so, would bring them and the profession in to disrepute.

This argument does not lead to the conclusion that there should be an expectation that teachers engage in acts of self-sacrifice on behalf of others. This position was argued by Spencer to be weak and fallacious, thus needs no further revisiting here. In relation to the non-material nature of teaching service, there is a general understanding that teachers do derive 'psychic' rewards such as professional satisfaction or the joy of sharing in student achievement. Therefore, the following broadly defined statement of ethical teacher professionalism is proposed: *ethical teachers seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work.* This definition will be found objectionable by those who would treat altruism narrowly as selfless acts that respond to needs expressed by strangers and that elicit no reward or reciprocation. It has been suggested that altruism exists only as the perception of outsiders (Quigley, Gaes, & Tedeschi, 2001), and that 'altruistic' acts should instead be objectified as 'pro-social' (2001, p. 260). The perception of altruism in such pro-social behaviour is diminished by agent-initiation of assistance, the likelihood of reward, situations where the agent is not acting freely and where these actions are not unique (2001). So if a teacher offers to help a student with an essay after school, this is considered non-altruistic, as the teacher has offered help, is probably motivated by a sense of extrinsic responsibility and the hope that the help will eventuate in a better result that will be positive for both teacher and student.

What this narrow account fails to acknowledge is that many teachers undertake beneficent service on behalf of students they know, whom they know to have expressed needs, with little or no expectation of reward other than the satisfaction of meeting those needs. The narrow account is verified in those situations when student requests for help are negatively construed by the teacher as supererogatory. The teacher may reluctantly agree to meet at break or for a limited time after school. However, it is plausible to suggest that the teacher who hosts a weekly open-agenda round table conference in her classroom at break for those who wish to discuss issues that are troubling them would have no hesitation in responding positively to the student who requests extra help.

Kenneth Strike (2000) contrasted liberalism and communitarianism, suggesting that these positions propose a 'world of strangers' on one hand and a 'community of intimates' on the other. Strike searches for a 'space between' to develop moral capacities of empathy and sympathy in settings larger than the tight knit ones proposed by communitarians. By the narrow account of Quigley, Gaes, & Tedeschi (2001), 'pro-social' altruistic acts of kindness or beneficence are more likely to occur between strangers, whereas the definition of ethical teacher professionalism outlined earlier suggests that altruism flourishes in a community. Following Strike (2000), a communitarian world is a tightly-knit world of intimates who are loyal to each other and who engage with one another and where persons are seen as ends-in-themselves. In contrast, a liberal world (as postulated in the earlier account of negative freedom) is one where persons are colliding atoms, autonomous individuals barely tolerant of one another, seeing others as instrumental to achieving personal self-interest.

The narrow account would presumably argue that intimacy disallows altruism. This conclusion is however a bridge too far. On the grounds of having a disposition or orientation to the other, being motivated by responsible/imperfect duty (as opposed to only accountability/perfect obligation) and serving others for non-material reasons, the altruistic teacher will flourish in a community but possibly perish amongst strangers. A faceless school characterised by anomie and that has few unifying principles or values, where each individual goes about 'doing their job', inhibits altruism and the development of ethical professionalism. It may ironically be suggested, in defence of the narrow conception of altruism

that it is in such hostile environments where saints emerge. However, this thesis is more concerned with the ethical teacher than it is with the saintly one. Therefore, it will be suggested in Chapter Eight that the place of values in the school has an impact on the place of altruism in the school.

Some environments are more likely to conduce and assist in developing ethical professionalism than others. This thesis argues that it is the task of teachers and school leaders to ensure that they develop environments that are most conducive to developing ethical teacher professionalism. On the broad conception of altruism suggested here that implies schools that encourage and develop a range of dispositions and competencies amongst teachers and students. It is a conception of altruism that is neither partial nor neutral and that presupposes the teacher as an active agent making meaning of the concept of 'professional' in multiple ways, the most necessary of which is by altruistic acts. By these means, it is suggested here, the individual teacher exists as an active being capable of forging an identity as an ethical teaching professional.

Ethical professionalism in the actions and practice of the ethical teacher

An ethical teacher motivated by altruism that stems from justice notions of responsibility to others, may and should be expected to behave or act in accordance with certain dispositions. It was noted in the introduction to this chapter that beyond this core of altruism lays the attainment of critical and reflective thought for both teachers and students, whose partnership is characterised by the attributes of listening and caring and the practice of a critically reflective pedagogy and praxis. This praxis of ethical teachers is developed through a continued critical and reflective orientation, which also entitles, encourages, and calls upon them to take greater responsibility for their own research and knowledge development, and ultimately to speak out in various ways.

a) *Listening and care*

The ethical teacher is a listener and has a dispositional openness to listening. This implies a focus on what is being said, rather than a focus on speaking or, as Freire has it, delivering ‘communiqués’. More will be said in Chapter Eight regarding dialogical pedagogy suffice it now to suggest that teachers disposed to listening are likely to be taken seriously by their students. This disposition does not silence the teacher’s voice, but enhances the student voice that is struggling to make meaning and sense of knowledge. Freire notes that this disposition to listening presupposes a spirit of humility on the part of the teacher (1998, pp. 108-109). Humility does not however imply submission of the teacher, but by being an active listener, the teacher demonstrates an appropriate pattern of behaviour for students to follow in their own attitude to the teacher.

Less humanistic and more functionalist research (Alton-Lee, 2003) reports listening by teachers as valued by students who perceive this attribute to be evidence of *teacher care*, a theme to be explored shortly. Research conducted by the Māori Education Research Institute of the University of Waikato, *Te Kōtahitanga: The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms* (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003), found that ‘authentic’ listening by teachers was a factor in the joint enterprise of constructing knowledge by teachers and students, and in the effectiveness of teachers to engage students in learning. It is noteworthy however, that both sources cited here, influential in contemporary New Zealand education research, in fact say little about the importance of *teacher listening*.

It should not be assumed that all teachers *care* about the impact of their work or the context in which it takes place. Freire’s *Pedagogy of Freedom* (1998) is largely concerned with the impact of the ‘scourge of neoliberalism’ (1998, p. 22) on the self-awareness of teachers. Its fatalistic ideology encourages teachers to see the world as a given, discouraging theorising of its underlying causes and tensions, giving preference instead to data manipulation as an explanatory tool. Although it is important that teachers develop this global sense of caring, the care a teacher displays at classroom level is more readily noticed and is where the effects of its presence or absence are most keenly felt.

Here too many perspectives are noted: care may characterise the relations a teacher has with students; the diligence and excellence of lesson preparation and planning demonstrates care; the belief that the learning and performance of one's students is significant and matters presupposes care. These perspectives also contain several debates within them. Consider the mantra of 'high expectations' that holds that all students, regardless of background, are capable of learning and achieving (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). In contrast is the position that care should be differentiated because not all students can learn all they are taught (Noddings, 2005, p. 19). A further perspective is the view that 'high expectations' and caring may be necessary, but are not sufficient and must be supported by pro-actively addressing diversity and avoiding a 'culture of niceness' (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 24; 25).

A focus on partnerships based on a commitment to altruism that incline the ethical teacher to listening and care does not excuse the teacher from the job of teaching. This thesis argues that prevailing conceptions of teaching as a deprofessionalised, instrumentalist activity, or as reprofessionalised by a state-sponsored vision of 'effective teaching', must be countered by the proposal that effective teaching need not be detached from an ethical mooring. For instance, Sergiovanni argued that the virtuous school is both moral and effective (1992, p. 99 ff). The kind of mooring that has been so far described here in terms of ethical teacher professionalism is one that lends itself to a particular form of pedagogical practice, to which the discussion now turns.

b) Critically reflective pedagogy

While the curriculum or the policies and practices of day-to-day schooling appear 'naturally', as neutral, they are all products of decision making. Whether originating within the school, or outside the school, they represent an exercise of power and authority. Therefore, the effects of these decisions are not neutral or unproblematic, affecting those subject to them in various ways. Additionally, macro-level policies and practices are fundamental and far-reaching in their effects. This is a matter for greater focus in Chapters Five and Six. Critically reflective pedagogies approach teaching and learning in ways that seek to

problematise these various aspects for both students and teachers. These approaches seek to assist teachers and students to become empowered individuals of conscience who will take up active lives in society in ways that will enable them to lead fulfilling lives.

As noted in the discussion of caring, it is important that teachers develop a holistic approach to their work, considering its impact not only in the classroom but beyond it. Freire actively rejected ‘banking education’, condemning a transmission style of teaching in favour of dialogical ‘problem-posing’ education that would develop critical epistemological curiosity (1970/1996, p. 62; , 1998, pp. 32; 66-67). A problem-posing pedagogy calls on the teacher to treat the student’s life experience and prior knowledge as text, using this text as an authentic context for learning and as a bridge to new knowledge.

Critically reflective teachers demand academic rigour and high expectations that all students are capable of benefiting by this rigour, replacing low expectations and patterns of discrimination ‘with a culture of excellence and justice’ (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 172). This pedagogical approach requires the teacher to take up a particular position demanding a constant process of critical self-reflection and a commitment to students ‘recreating and remaking’ knowledge (Freire, 1998, p. 31). It is an approach that recognises not all students are ready to learn at the same time and that by mutual reflection of student and teacher, a teacher is able to gear classroom programmes in ways that enable students to bridge the gap from ingenuous to critical curiosity. This process of critical self-reflection is *praxis*.

c) *Praxis*

Freire’s view, expressed several times in *Pedagogy of Freedom* is that action has primacy over theory; that a teacher’s theoretical position should be one of critical openness to change and new ideas, and that a teacher must strive for a coherence of theory and practice, of words and deeds (1998, pp. 39-40; 49; 63; 88). Freire’s theory of teaching and learning is one in which the essential moment is that of critical reflection on one’s practice. Thinking critically about today’s practice makes possible the improvement of tomorrow’s practice.

An explicit Freirean strategy of praxis involves: problem identification; problem analysis; creation of a plan of action to address the problem; implementation of the plan; analysis and evaluation of the action (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 25). This model closely resembles a model of critical teacher action research, which problematises teaching and learning, and that will be contrasted in Chapter Eight with the model of ‘teaching as inquiry’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 35). That model asks: What is important given where my students are at? What strategies (evidence-based) are most likely to help my students learn this? What happened as a result of the teaching, and what are the implications for future teaching? It is a narrow and limiting model, and yet its very existence implies the opportunity for teachers to expand their critical horizons, and in the process, deepening their ethical engagement with their professional work.

Conclusion

The last of these points allows some concluding comments about ethical teacher professionalism and a further level of praxis. Teachers are more than just persons who appear before students in a classroom; they are influential in a mutual process of formation. They assist students to engage in a process of developing critical curiosity and as co-learners, they too are formed by this experience. Their role of formation extends to assisting their students to take up their rights and obligations as citizens of a democratic state. Hence teachers must model and display those characteristics. Teachers therefore have a duty, as one of their democratic obligations, to be informed by wider public debate and to inform those debates with their own critical and considered views; that is, they must develop a *critical voice*. Ethical teachers are called on to be scholars and researchers, lifelong learners in search of answers, who make this search and their tentative conclusions a matter for open discussion and debate.

Chapter Three: Understanding the context

This thesis aims to establish whether the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* will encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism. Chapter One outlined professionalism as a commitment on the part of teachers, individually and collectively, to actively forge and develop their identities as teaching professionals. Chapter Two defined ethical teachers as those who *seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work*. Nothing has yet been said however to justify this concern with ethical teacher professionalism. Thus the context that calls for ethical teacher professionalism to be forged must be considered.

Although education reform has been common among English-speaking states, it has developed uniquely in New Zealand, following the ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ reforms of 1989. A textured understanding of the theoretical underpinnings and historical antecedents of the New Zealand context is necessary, because arising from these reforms are several conceptions of teachers’ work. This thesis confronts and challenges two in particular, namely the notion of deprofessionalised teachers, and the contemporary concept of ‘effective teachers’. The former conception is based on a particular interpretation of the effects of the post-1989 reforms on teachers’ work. In this thesis it is assumed that this interpretation will be inclined to regard subsequent reform – such as *The New Zealand Curriculum* – in the same way. The conception of the ‘effective teacher’ is a product of the reform process and reflects an officially sanctioned ‘ideal type’. This conception is flawed, and is challenged in this thesis by proposing an alternate ideal type – namely ethical teacher professionalism. The thesis also argues that the creative and critical implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* may encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism, therefore challenging a blind acceptance of the deprofessionalisation thesis. The

intention of this chapter is therefore to address these questions: **what was the unique educational and intellectual context of New Zealand that gave rise to a process of education reform that has had negative impacts on teachers' work? What did this reform process entail in the decade after 1989?**

The following review of the reform context of New Zealand education will provide an historical background to post-1989 education reform and clarify the theoretical underpinnings of the reform project, relating these to the concepts discussed in the Introduction chapter. In particular, neoliberal ideology will be noted and commented on. Specific attention will be paid to the briefing papers prepared for Prime Minister and Minister of Education, David Lange, in 1987 (New Zealand Department of Education, 1987), the brief prepared for the incoming government by the New Zealand Treasury (1987), and the Picot Report (New Zealand Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988. Hereafter Picot Report). The effects of reform have been manifold, in particular on teachers' work. These effects are reviewed in terms of the realignment of the purposes of education, the issue of accountability, and reforms related to secondary assessment.

The Historical Background to Post-1989 Education Reform in New Zealand and the Theoretical Underpinnings of the Reform Project

The Michael Savage-led Labour Government that came to power in New Zealand in 1935 in the social and economic aftermath of the Great Depression, heralded social welfare policies that would remain in place until the 1980s. In 1939, during its second term, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Peter Fraser and Assistant Secretary for Education, Clarence Beeby, collaborated to extend the welfare programme of the Labour Party to education. (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997, p. 5; Simon, 2000; Snook, 2003). This collaboration was represented by the Beeby-Fraser formulation that stated:

The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind to which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997, p. 9).

This position established equal access as a principle of New Zealand schooling for the next fifty years. The starkly contrasting reform agenda of the New Zealand

Labour government of the 1984 – 1990 period, which is well documented by Butterworth and Butterworth (1998); Codd (2005d); McKenzie (1997); Olssen and Morris Matthews (1997); Simon (2000); and Sullivan (2002), fundamentally altered education discourse. Its reform agenda broke the continuity of the preceding half century by shifting discourse from questions of equality of access to equity of outcomes (Butterworth & Butterworth, 1998; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Simon, 2000). The welfarist orientation dominating New Zealand education for fifty years was replaced by Picot's desire that the 'administrative structure of the [education] system should be as 'lean' and efficient as possible [and must] obtain the best value for the education dollar for the learner' (Butterworth & Butterworth, 1998, p. 81). However, was Picot's report the first signal of a sudden and dramatic turnaround?

a) The 1944 – 1970 period

This well-documented period (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004; Openshaw, 2009; Simon, 2000) does not require detailed recounting here, apart from drawing out certain significant features. Simon (2000) argued that although New Zealand's education policy history may *claim* an egalitarian commitment, it is rather more reflective of control and middle class dominance, entrenched by the *Thomas Report* of 1944. This report led to key policy changes, such as the extension of the school leaving age to 15, thus extending compulsory education to most New Zealand children, which is why 1944 has been chosen to bench-mark this chapter.

The Thomas Report led to the creation of a School Certificate exam separate from University Entrance, and a core curriculum to Form Four (Year Ten). However, these changes added impetus to an emergent meritocratic ideology as parents sought credentials to ensure success in the job market for their children (Simon, 2000). Dale echoed this view (2000) by suggesting that the issue of social class dominates New Zealand schooling. Despite introducing initially favourable changes (such as the School Certificate examination) the Thomas Committee failed to address the issue of gender differentiation (such as girls being channelled towards home economics, while boys were channelled towards

science) or the demands of Maori parents for a wider, more academic curriculum (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004; Openshaw, 2009). Employer groups also felt their needs were not being met by schools, expressing growing dissatisfaction from the late 1940s with the apparent failure of schools to produce students with skills required for the workplace. These criticisms drew a negative rebuttal from the Department of Education (Openshaw, 2009, p. 29).

The 1962 *Currie Report* reaffirmed the Beeby-Fraser vision, although Codd suggested that this document provides the first evidence of an attempt to link educational and economic aims (2005c, p. 32). The Currie Report did acknowledge that certain groups in society had special needs, such as those living rurally, those who lived in urban dormitory suburbs, the physically and mentally handicapped, and notably Maori. Nevertheless, as Openshaw (2009) notes, it did little to actually *address* these concerns, and in particular ignored calls from business to create differentiated vocational education options in secondary schools. Such lapses and the apparent inability of educational qualifications to protect individuals from economic hardship in the severe economic downturn of the late 1960s, would come to place significant pressure on the education system (2009).

The years following the Beeby-Fraser formulation marked a period of 'settlement' between education and state (Codd, 2005c), during which successive governments protected the social-democratic orientation of education (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Simon, 2000). During this 'golden age', members at various levels of the education profession contributed to the development of curriculum and policy, conducted largely without state interference, and motivated essentially by those at the 'chalk-face' (Gordon, 1989; A. O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004). As a result of suggestions by the Currie Commission, the Curriculum Development Unit was established in 1963, providing the teaching profession and Department of Education significant opportunity to develop curriculum (Openshaw, 2009). In the process however, curriculum design and development became centralised and cumbersome (O'Neill, 2005, pp. 118-119).

Gordon's (1989) observations of teacher union activity undermines the notion of settlement. The Post-Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA),

established in 1952, unlike the primary teachers' union, was militant from its inception, choosing for example to withhold labour by refusing to mark School Certificate examinations in 1962 unless its wage demands were met. This action calls into question the 'consensus' between teachers and state in this period, and Gordon conceded that 'there were huge cracks in the consensual notion that 'everyone gains, no-one loses' in education, and indeed [the realisation] that not everyone's interests could possibly be served equally by schooling' (1989, p. 23).

b) The 1970 – 1984 Period

The relationship between education professionals and state in this period is described by Alison as a 'pragmatic partnership' (2007, p. 38), and she has debated precisely when this partnership ended or altered significantly. It was suggested above that this partnership may have been uneasy well before this period, and although Alison demarcates 1988 as a decisive point of change, she too considered the possibility of an earlier change (2007, p. 39). What may have placed this partnership under pressure?

Global capitalism found itself in crisis from the late-1970s. Western economies were by then moving from a 'Fordist' period of mass production, mass consumption and full employment to a post-Fordist period characterised by globalisation driven by multi-nationals. Real wage and salary levels fell in this period as companies drove down overheads and shifted manufacturing to low-wage, unregulated Developing economies. Developed countries experienced growing unemployment in this period, which witnessed the advent of short-term, contractual employment (Brown & Lauder, 1996). New Zealand was not immune to this economic crisis, the effects of which would challenge the on-going relevance of the Beeby-Fraser formulation as an article of education faith.

Although the PPTA had shown leadership from the late-1960s by re-directing thinking about assessment from the traditional, highly differentiated norm-referencing system to a potentially more inclusive standards-based concept (Alison, 2007), by the 1970s its response to the effects on education spending of the unfolding economic crisis became increasingly militant (Openshaw, 2009). Analysis of newspaper reporting of PPTA strike action in the late 1970s led

Openshaw to the view that ‘by the 1980s education in general and secondary education in particular had largely lost the battle with public perception’ (2009, p. 47). Parental dissatisfaction and the importance of giving greater community voice to schools were reported through the 1976 *Nordmeyer Report* and the 1978 *McCombs Report* (Openshaw, 2009, pp. 76-77). These community concerns echoed a view held within the education profession that the qualification system was failing students (Alison, 2007, p. 126); indeed, it was failing to provide students with the skills required to enable them to be economically productive. These collective concerns were reflected in the review of school curricula commissioned in 1984 by the incoming Labour Minister of Education, Russell Marshall, (Openshaw, 2009, p. 81), which helped fuel a ‘back to basics’ debate in response to the growing youth unemployment problem.

c) The Changing Ideological Landscape

The global capital crisis mentioned above set the stage for the emergence of neoliberal ‘solutions’ that emphasised managerialism and marketisation. These solutions would usher the demise of ‘the expansive Keynesian state [transforming it] into a minimal contractualist neoliberal state’ (Codd, 2005, p. 194). From the 1980s the state changed its focus from being a ‘social contract’ state that ensured economic consistency through welfare legislation in the post-Second World War period, to focus instead on reforms that would secure the conditions under which the market could prosper (Brown & Lauder, 1996, p. 3). The theoretical underpinnings of this reform agenda in education in New Zealand post-1989 were at odds with the egalitarian nature of New Zealand education prior to that time (Butterworth & Butterworth, 1998; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Simon, 2000), and its discourse was alien to the prevailing social democratic discourse familiar to the education profession (Alison, 2007).

However, as already noted in this chapter the significance of the concept of equality in the half century prior to ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ has to be measured against the reality that school policy also turned on issues of social control, political education (preparedness for citizenship) and preparation for work (Openshaw, 2009; Simon, 2000). Furthermore, the notion that a professional

‘golden age’ of peaceful and stable settlement and consensus existed prior to 1989, has also been questioned.

The New Zealand Treasury provided gloomy economic forecasts going into the 1980s, and adopted a critical stance in relation to high cost state services, education being a notable instance (Openshaw, 2009). In addition, Openshaw noted that the Mahon Commission investigating the disastrous 1980 Erebus air crash, and the 1987 Cartwright Inquiry into cervical cancer treatment at National Women’s Hospital generated a public attitude of scepticism and hostility towards entrenched self-interest. The uncompromising language of these inquiries paved the way for demands for both transparency and choice, (2009, pp. 90-91) that would be addressed by the discourse of managerialism and marketisation, which will now be considered.

i. Managerialism

This concept was tracked by McKenzie (1997) and given very detailed treatment by Thrupp and Willmott (2003). Several other writers (Apple, 2005; Fitzsimons, 1999b; O’Brien & Down, 2002; Simkins, 2000) also used this term. Their insightful analyses characterise managerialism as the extrapolation of commercial management values into the public sector domain, a move associated with *public choice theory* (see Introduction chapter). Managerialism is also associated with minimal government and the drive to achieve gains in efficiency and quality. In particular, managerialism is the intention to provide greater transparency by demanding greater accountability. It regards schools as systems that have inputs, processes and outputs. Assurance can be provided by defining outputs in advance. All production processes must therefore be strictly focussed on the output. Thus teachers can be appraised against their attainment of specific and measurable targeted outcomes. The focus at governance level is on contractual compliance and a decontextualised and detached insistence on quality delivery that will contribute to overall school effectiveness (Codd, 2005d; McKenzie, 1997, p. 47; Thrupp, 1997, p. 147). However, the neoliberal state does not take a ‘hands-off’ role; rather it shifts from a closely interventionist role of micro-manager to one that now requires the education sector to manage itself while still directly accountable to the state.

ii. Marketisation

Like managerialism, marketisation in education is linked closely to public choice theory. Public choice theory posits the concept of state-regulated markets or ‘quasi-markets’ in relation to public sector transactions (see Introduction chapter). Several writers already cited (Dale, 2000; Gordon, 1997; Jesson, 1997; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997) concluded that marketisation is an undesirable policy model for New Zealand. A feature of marketisation is the transformation of the state’s role from interventionist welfare provider to detached market funder (Gordon, 1997). In such a system, greater control is localised and opportunities are created for flexible use and management of resources. Many of these resources become contestable, meaning that they are no longer provided as ‘of right’. Critics have argued however that despite the ‘market’ being equally open to all, it encourages transactions that result in outcomes that are inequalitarian. Advantaged school communities that already have resources are in a stronger competitive position than poor and disadvantaged schools and communities (Brown & Lauder, 1996; Dale, 2000; Gordon, 1997). Furthermore, the heavy hand of state involvement and the lack of traditional ‘market’ phenomena, such as cash transactions, contribute to the perception that education is not an authentic ‘market’ (Gordon & Whitty, 1997).

Setting the Stage for Reform

a) Rogernomics: putting New Zealand out to bleak waters

David Lange led Labour to a stunning victory in 1984 over the ‘antagonistic and arrogant political style’ (Martin, 2004) of Robert Muldoon, National’s Prime Minister since 1975. Although Anne-Marie O’Neill agreed New Zealand faced a parlous socio-economic situation in 1984, and was ‘ripe for change’(2004), she protested however that the Lange Labour government sprung on an unsuspecting New Zealand population ‘one of the most rigid and extensive programmes of economic, social and cultural *structural adjustment* undertaken anywhere in the world’ (2004, p. 32. Emphasis in the original). Lange’s government radically reformed the welfare state and propelled New Zealand into bleak global economic waters. This severe economic reform programme, initially steered by Finance

Minister Roger Douglas, was dubbed ‘Rogernomics’ for the similarity of its principles with ‘Thatcherism’ and ‘Reaganomics’. In its second term, the Labour government appointed the Taskforce to Review Education Administration led by businessman Brian Picot. The *Picot Report* (New Zealand Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) and the government’s policy response, dubbed ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ (New Zealand Minister of Education, 1988), inaugurated wide-scale education reform. Over the next decade, opportunities were provided for increased participation and control at the local level, the national curriculum was overhauled, and a qualifications framework was created.

An understanding of both the economic and educational context in which Rogernomics was applied, can be developed by examining specific documents that clearly engage in discourses of managerialism and marketisation. An overview of briefing papers prepared for Prime Minister and Minister of Education, David Lange, in 1987 (New Zealand Department of Education, 1987), the brief prepared for the incoming government by the New Zealand Treasury (New Zealand Treasury, 1987), and the Picot Report (New Zealand Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) will illustrate these discourses. However, these documents will also demonstrate the view expressed by Openshaw, which places the recommendations of the Picot Taskforce ‘at the end of a continuum, rather than at its beginning’ (2009, p. 15). These documents will each be contextualised and then considered in turn.

b) Renwick briefs Lange

While the first Labour term (1984 – 1987) had focused on the economy and state commercial interests, the second (1987 – 1990) focused on education (Codd, 2005d). The Director-General of Education, W.L. Renwick, provided a briefing report to the Prime Minister and Minister of Education, David Lange (New Zealand Department of Education, 1987. Hereafter Renwick Brief). At the outset, Renwick warned that Lange had no long-term budgetary approval to proceed with education reform already slated to occur, attributing this situation to extreme financial constraints on government spending since 1975 that had ‘disastrous outcomes’ for progress on education reforms (1987, p. 5). Lange was urged to

consider ‘improved participation rates and achievement outcomes for Maori students at all levels of the education system’ (1987, p. 8), and similarly for Pacific Island students. Later on, Renwick conceded that Maori believed the education system had failed their children (1987, p. 129).

Renwick advised Lange that since the mid-1970s, there had been mounting public concern about the students in the bottom ten per cent of academic performance, and that ‘employers are looking for young people with personal and social skills that enable them to work co-operatively with others, and for the qualities of initiative and creative thinking as well as perseverance and dependability’ (1987, p. 10). This statement has compelling echoes with contemporary notions of ‘key competencies’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, two decades later.

The reforms recommended by the Curriculum Review released in 1987 were given lengthy consideration by Renwick. He indicated the intention of the Department of Education to prepare a ‘National Curriculum Statement’ that would reflect the rationale of the review, namely to establish a curriculum that would enable students to develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes (including respect) to enable them to be continual learners able to function effectively, and who can live and work with others (1987, p. 35) – nascent concepts present in *The New Zealand Curriculum* of 2007. Significantly, the review recommended that the curriculum statement ought to provide for community and school based curriculum development. Renwick advised Lange that there was now ‘a high expectation ... that the impetus and the sense of public involvement generated during the curriculum review itself will soon be translated into action throughout the country’ (1987, p. 37).

Openshaw argued that the negative political and public climate toward teaching quality and accountability described by Renwick lay behind the decision of parliament’s Education and Science Select Committee to establish a committee chaired by ex-teacher and Labour member, Noel Scott, to enquire into the quality of teaching (2009, p. 92). Renwick’s briefing to Lange advised that the previous Minister of Education (Marshall) had ‘publicly supported’ Scott’s recommendations to improve teaching quality and increase accountability (Renwick Brief, 1987, p. 38), and that teacher accountability ‘is an important

current issue' (1987, p. 81). Measures to increase accountability included making schools more accessible and open to parents (Openshaw, 2009, p. 93).

The foregoing comments regarding Renwick's briefing to Lange have firstly foreshadowed the issues and recommendations to be raised by the following two documents emanating from The Treasury and the Picot Taskforce; secondly, they have provided evidence that key issues such as community involvement, the perceived unresponsiveness and inflexibility of the schooling system, and demands for accountability were established well before 1988. While Renwick's language was clearly that of a senior bureaucrat addressing his political master, it would seem to some that the language of the following document was like a foreign tongue.

c) The Treasury Brief

The New Zealand Treasury, a state sector organisation, is 'the government's lead advisor on economic, financial and regulatory policy' (New Zealand Treasury, 2009). Many critical commentators claim that the course of future reform was dictated by Treasury advice to Lange's Labour government (Lauder, Middleton, Boston, & Wylie, 1988; O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004). Its personnel were condemned as 'New Right' proponents of 'human capital' theory who argued that New Zealand education was one of many flawed welfarist structures in the New Zealand economy that was failing to produce desirable outcomes (Codd, 2005d; Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997). Treasury officials claimed that continually increased government spending on education would not deliver different results because schools were unaccountable (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997, p. 12) and unresponsive to parents and students. The national curriculum (as it existed in the 1980s) was attacked by Treasury for its failure to display an economic direction or to adequately consider economic objectives (Snook, 2003). Treasury recommendations would lead ultimately to a radical decline of teacher participation in policy making (Gordon, 1989). According to critics, the Treasury Brief, *Government Management: Vol II Education Issues* (New Zealand Treasury, 1987), dramatically changed the shape and purpose of New Zealand education, from early childhood to tertiary. The

Treasury Brief is also a clear example of neoliberal thinking, as the following review of some of its contents will highlight.

At the outset of the discussion, however, two observations of interest will be noted. The first is that the Brief authors, although presenting a neoliberal analysis of New Zealand education, also expressed their concern with disparities and inequalities in the education system. Specifically, the Brief notes that institutional and financing structures in education were disadvantaging significant numbers of students, by shifting resources from low to high income groups (1987, p. 2). A related concern was that educational outcomes (especially for the disadvantaged) appeared to be declining, yet the education system was consuming a greater share of state resources. A commitment to public choice theory is evident in Treasury's solutions that would alter subsidy arrangements (the state becoming a funder rather than provider) and that would seek greater accountability, efficiency and responsiveness from the education system (1987, p. 2).

The second observation refers to the scholarship of the Brief that Grace (1989) and Snook (1989) commented on, the former noting that it 'demonstrated a serious knowledge of modern educational writing and research' (Grace, 1989, p. 208), the latter that the Brief is 'long and sophisticated in its arguments', and that 'it is as thorough, researched, and cogent a position on education as any produced by educationists' (Snook, 1989, p. 12). The Brief is supported by a reading list that includes such authors as Ivan Illich, Pierre Bourdieu, Basil Bernstein, Stanley Aronowitz, Henry Giroux, Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, Judith Simon, Roy Nash, and Hugh Lauder. Much of this research work informed chapter eight of the Brief on Maori education and underachievement, where it concluded that education policy 'has been detrimental to the preservation of Maori culture and self-esteem, and, thereby, it seems, to Maori educational attainment' (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, p. 241).

Despite this range of reading, however, the Treasury writers claimed that there is 'a lack research into the philosophy of education which might throw light on the purposes and goals of education' (1987, p. 8), and they seem to have struggled to pin down the 'aims of education' (1987, p. 5; 24; 36). Surprisingly, their research efforts failed to turn up John White's *The aims of education restated* (1982) or the even earlier work of R.S. Peters, *Ethics and education*

(1970). Indeed, many scholars working in the English analytical philosophy of education school had much to say on the subject of the aims of education, as did some New Zealand academics (Marshall, 1981; Snook, 1972). The Brief writers were however economists – and Openshaw made the point that from the 1960s, Treasury came to be staffed and dominated by ‘high-achieving economics graduates’ rather than typical bureaucrats (2009, p. 38) – therefore, it must be expected that this document would be written from the perspective of economists. Unsurprisingly then, they were dismayed that they found few empirical and statistical studies that could aid them in their attempt to analyse the New Zealand education system (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, p. 7; 8; 43). Also unsurprisingly, they recommended further research using statistical, longitudinal and functionalist methodologies, and made use of such studies in their own research, including several reports of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (For a critique of the Treasury methodology, see Boston, Haig, & Lauder, 1988, pp. 138-140).

Given the range and complexity of the area covered by the Treasury Brief, and the considerable critique that has been levelled against it, further analysis and comment here will be confined to certain key aspects that will demonstrate its neoliberal underpinnings, in particular highlighting the shift to managerialism and marketisation. One of these aspects, widely condemned by various critics of the Brief, stems from the following statement: ‘Education can be analysed in a similar way to any other service in terms of interaction and exchange in the face of uncertainty, information costs, scarcity, interdependence and opportunism’ (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, p. 2). Furthermore, they noted that in a technical, economic sense, education is not a ‘public good’ (1987, p. 32), as to be so considered, education should conform to the following criteria:

- It should not exclude anyone (‘non-exclusive’)
- It should not cost more for more people to enjoy its benefits (‘non-competitive’ or so-called ‘marginal cost’)
- Its value should not be related to its being in scarce supply (‘non-positional’) (1987, p. 33).

However, because schooling excludes people (through zoning or the imposition of a compulsory age range, for instance), costs more as more people are educated,

and creates value through qualifications not everyone is able to attain, Treasury concluded that ‘education [thus] shares the main characteristics of other commodities in the market place’ (1987, p. 33). From a non-economic perspective, this conclusion seems dubious, as it is fanciful to imagine any public service in existence anywhere that can conform to at least the first two criteria above. Grace argued that he saw no reason to treat the Treasury definition (or that of economists) of ‘public good’ as definitive and supplied his own:

Public goods are intrinsically desirable publicly provided services which enhance the quality of life of all citizens and which facilitate the acquisition by those citizens of moral, intellectual, creative, economic and political competencies, regardless of the individual ability of those citizens to pay for services (1989, p. 218).

Nevertheless, the Treasury conclusion may be regarded as one of the important pieces of the marketisation jigsaw that pictures the ‘quasi-market’ envisaged in *public choice theory* (referred to earlier in this chapter and in the Introduction). The Treasury writers observed that education is ‘never free’ (perhaps thinking of the popular economic dictum, ‘there is no such thing as a free lunch’), thus signalling that education would need to pay its way just as any other commercial enterprise in the market ought to.

In view of the failure (in Treasury terms) of education theorists or the Department of Education to clearly formulate the aims of education, the Brief suggested four ‘functions of education’, geared to: the individual (the key word used in this regard is *fulfilment*); society (key word *integration*); adult life (key word *economic*); and institutional provision (key word *custodial*) (1987, pp. 24-25). While the first three are self-evident (education improves the individual, who becomes a balanced and well-adjusted citizen with the requisite skills to be employable), the fourth requires some explanation. It draws attention to the ‘agency problem’. This concept was explained in the Introduction, in reference to workplace contracts, which may be characterised by a lack of trust between the parties to that contract, thus calling in to being accountability measures. In this case, the Treasury writers had in mind such complex matters as the extent to which potential choices made by parents regarding the education of their children could be influenced by the institutional provision of education. So for example, the greater the provision, the greater the uptake will be by parents. Put differently,

institutional provision channels choice. This position foreshadowed later concerns about the openness and transparency of schools (required to facilitate so called ‘information flows’) and the deployment of the morally conservative notion that parents should take greater responsibility for education by taking greater interest in it. Therefore, the notions of both ‘choice’ (marketisation) and ‘accountability’ (managerialism) stem from here.

These four functions of education lead to specific ‘benefits’ that thus accrue to the individual, parents (or ‘agents’) of the individual, society (the economy) and ‘providers’ (teachers and bureaucrats) (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, p. 29). In regard to the latter was the Treasury view that ‘provider’ benefit comes in the form of income, secure careers, professional satisfaction and ‘long institutional holidays’ (1987, p. 30). A well-known critique of the Treasury Brief is aimed at its attacks on ‘provider capture’, used by Treasury to argue for the disempowerment of teachers (for example Codd, 2005d; Gordon, 1989; Lauder, Middleton, Boston, & Wylie, 1988; O’Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004; Sullivan, 2002). According to Treasury, the lack of valid research to ascertain appreciable benefit from increased state spending on education had not ‘dampened the enthusiasm of pressure groups in demanding increases in educational inputs’ (1987, p. 7). Reference to Chapter Two will indicate that it is precisely the aim of professional groups to attain a monopoly — however not in the shape or form suggested by the Treasury Brief.

In addition to revealing their particular concept of provider capture, the Treasury writers also clarified their position on society and the individual: ‘Societal costs and benefits have been discussed as if experienced by as distinct entity called ‘society’. In practice, they are, of course, experienced by individuals who make up that society’ (1987, p. 33). The analysis of the classical liberal roots of neoliberalism in the Introduction of this thesis drew attention to varying conceptions of the individual and society that it will be helpful to rehearse here.

It has been suggested that although neoliberalism has roots in classical liberalism, it is erroneous to assume they are identical in regard to the individual (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997, p. 22). There are at least two central ways the two are distinguished; firstly in the conception of the state, and secondly in the conception of the individual. The classical liberal view of negative freedom

regards state intervention negatively, fettering the individual. Neoliberalism seeks a proactive role for the state, whereby it creates viable market conditions and apparently reduces state interference. The state will make it possible for the individual to be enterprising. Classical liberalism theorises the individual as the self-interested *homo economicus*, the rational person who will seek to maximise personal wealth with the least effort required to attain that wealth. In contrast, neoliberalism regards the individual as ‘perpetually responsive’ (1997, p. 22). This view de-emphasises the significance of individual initiative found in classical liberal theory, and suggests far greater state manipulation of individuals. In practice, neoliberal policies shift from universal welfare entitlements to a situation where entitlements become contestable in a market-type situation. Underlying this shift is a belief in the ‘slothful indolence’ (1997, p. 22) of people and consequently a commitment to heightened state surveillance.

While the foregoing analysis clarified how the Treasury Brief writers *may* have thought about the individual, it was earlier observed that there was also a concern in the Brief over matters of equity that may have tempered the notion of the individual. It is evident in the Treasury Brief that increased state financial commitment to education could not be justified if the benefit was to the individual. This position was reinforced by the perception of Treasury that education benefitted individuals unequally. It therefore had to reconceptualise the relationship between the state and education that took in to account the rivalry (as seen by Treasury) between selfish capture (by providers and individuals) on one hand, and social equity demands on the other. The former raises questions of accountability and benefit, while the latter raises questions about the capacity for making choices and paying for education. On the matter of provider capture, the Treasury Brief was particularly unrelenting in the force of its critique, singling out ‘interest groups’ protecting ‘providers with the least marketable skills’; damning a system that provided job security but no demand for accountability; and rejecting its self-interested orientation that disempowered ‘consumers’ through lack of choice, participation and information (1987, p. 37).

The Treasury advice to Lange’s Labour government was that state expenditure on education could not be justified because it encouraged providers to demand greater resources that they were unwilling or unable to be accountable

for; parents took up more education than required for their children so long as it was on offer; state provision took from parents not only their right to choose but their capacity to provide for themselves. Furthermore, state administration of education created an inefficient and unresponsive system (New Zealand Treasury, 1987, p. 36ff). Significantly, in its attack on the education system as it existed in 1987, the Treasury Brief pointed out that the problems it identified were not new. It referred to the Currie Report of 1962, the Education Development Conference of 1974 and the Curriculum Review that was released in the same year the Brief was written. The problems identified in these initiatives had not been addressed, it argued, because the education system was inert, monolithic, disempowering and self-serving (1987, p. 42).

Consequently the recommendations made by the Treasury Brief demanded public choice and maximal information flow as a priority. Secondly, it demanded significant levels of system accountability, transparency, functionalist research that justified results, a break-up of policy and execution functions, recognition and reflection of Maori values, and local control. It has been suggested (Gordon, 1989; Openshaw, 2009) that these recommendations directly or indirectly influenced the findings of the Picot Report, the subject of the following discussion.

d) The Picot Report

The following discussion will review The Picot Report (1988) that was largely accepted by the government's response, *Tomorrow's Schools* (New Zealand Minister of Education, 1988). Of particular interest will be to identify examples of its discourse that support the neoliberal concern with accountability and choice.

The Picot Taskforce Terms of Reference required it to investigate the Head Office of the Department of Education, the various local institutional boards and councils, the education boards and the regional administration of education. It had to report its findings and recommendations to the Ministers of Education, Finance and State Services (Picot Report, 1988, p. ix). There is a view that the Picot Taskforce was at least implicitly, if not directly, influenced by the Treasury Brief

(examples include Gordon, 1989; Snook, 1989). Openshaw has provided evidence to suggest that the frequent input and advice from Treasury and State Services officials irked the Picot Taskforce that took a sometimes contrary stance (2009, p. 117). The Taskforce gathered evidence from a range of sources, interviews, papers, independent consultants, and over seven hundred public and official submissions. Its essential conclusion about the education system was not dissimilar to that of Treasury, doubtless a factor in the assumption of its critics that it was influenced by Treasury. The Taskforce concluded that the education system was over centralised, inefficient, unresponsive, and perplexing particularly to those outside it. A reformed system would put far greater control at local level. That control would be carried out transparently according to national guidelines and be accountable for achieving national goals in a responsible and responsive way (Picot Report 1988, p. xi).

Some pertinent observations will be made before considering the neoliberal content of the Picot Report. First, it acknowledged the role of teachers, noting that the governance and management of schools should be ‘a partnership between the teaching staff (the professionals) and the community’ (1988, p. xi). The Taskforce had ‘an assumption of individual competence’ as one of its four ‘core values’, whereby it assumed ‘that nearly everybody will have a genuine commitment to doing the best job possible for all learners’ (1988, p. 4). The Taskforce praised the ‘dedication and professionalism’ of teachers (1988, p. 36) and expected that the change of focus in their relationship with their community would ‘give teachers a good deal more satisfaction in their working and professional lives’. To this end the Taskforce cited the ability of teachers to have influence over their resources, the likelihood of their commitment and excellence being rewarded and recognised, and having access to quality professional development, all within a system that would now be responsive and not characterised by ‘petty rules and regulations’ (1988, p. 52).

A further observation is that the Taskforce was concerned with issues of equity, through its ‘core value’ of ‘cultural sensitivity’. Noting New Zealand’s obligation not only to honour the Treaty of Waitangi, but also to extend cultural sensitivity to all New Zealand cultures, the Report called for a ‘reaching out’, a ‘need to listen and change’ and it condemned an education system that caused

individuals outside the cultural mainstream to ‘suffer personal and social dislocation’ from learning (1988, pp. 4-5). The Report noted its concern with a 50% School Certificate failure rate – a matter already concerning many in the profession as early as the 1974 Education Development Conference (Alison, 2007, pp. 126-127) – and the disproportionate representation of Maori and Pacific Island students in that statistic. For Picot’s Taskforce, ‘this is quite unacceptable in a society which aims for fairness and equity’ (Picot Report 1988, p. 35). The Report expressed dismay at the alarming statistics that told of the failure of South Auckland schools to equip students with school leaving qualifications, concluding that such students ‘lack confidence... are denied the respect of the wider community; and *they are shut out by those who control employment and the opportunity for a fulfilling life*’ (1988, p. 36. Emphasis added). It is against such concerns that the evidence of neoliberal ideological discourse in the Picot Report must be evaluated.

The Picot Taskforce identified the achievement of two objectives as the focus of the education system, namely the maximisation of ‘individual and social benefit’ in relation to tax dollars spent, and the creation of a system that would be ‘fair and just for every learner’ (1988, p. 3). The latter objective relates to equity, therefore nothing further will be added at this point. The first objective however provides a clue to the neoliberal orientation underpinning the Picot Report. This objective is strengthened by the remaining two core values, namely that the administration of education should be based on choice and ‘good management practices’ (1988, p. 3).

i. Choice

The Taskforce emphasised choice as it would ensure both efficiency and equity, thus addressing some of the perceived failings of the system, including a lack of information to parents about the relative strengths or weaknesses of schools, the lack of choice within schools for students and their parents (for example over courses), and the lack of choice within the system for individual schools to choose services and products (1988, pp. 28-29).

The Taskforce wanted ‘consumers’ to be ‘able to turn to acceptable alternatives’, and to create opportunities for parents to participate in the

governance of their school. Additionally, the Taskforce believed schools needed to be free to choose the services they wanted and to be able to obtain these from whichever source they preferred (1988, p. 4). Notable here is the reference to ‘consumers’; the availability of presumably schooling options; and a free market in the provision of education services. The role of choice as a determining principle of post-1989 education reform has been roundly criticised by several writers (Codd, 2005d; Gordon, 1997; McKenzie, 1997; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Snook, 2003) for reasons that include its privileging of the individual over the community and the undermining of a quality state education system. A further criticism is that the discourse of choice led to the creation of quasi-markets in education, and thus neoliberal marketisation.

ii. ‘Good management practices’

This Taskforce ‘core value’ referred to its concern with both the efficiency and the effectiveness of the education system. In this regard, it levelled some of its more acerbic criticisms at various features of the education system that it regarded as an over-centralised structure, in which decision making not only failed to appreciate local realities or concerns, but made the system ‘vulnerable to pressure group politics’. The most successful and best organised of the constituencies and interests engaged in such ‘politics’ were those with the most resources, namely the ‘providers’ (1988, pp. 23-25), thus echoing the ‘provider capture’ argument of Treasury. Further problems related to the complexities, overlaps and unnecessary duplications characteristic of a centralised bureaucracy. Here too, the Taskforce was unrelenting in its critique of the Department of Education that was held together only because of the ‘personal integrity and collective commitment to education of the management’ (1988, p. 29). It singled out overlapping responsibilities that led to conflicts of interest; a lack of clear planning or direction; an inability to separate policy-making from advocacy; inflexibility in making and applying rules and regulations; and accountability focusing on following these rules rather than focusing on results of actions and decisions (1988, pp. 25-27; 29-35).

The remedy suggested in the Picot Report was a system that balanced local control over decision making and resources, with a commitment to clear national

objectives that it would be the responsibility of all those in the system to attain. Conflicts of interest would be managed by divorcing policy-making from provision of services and policy implementation (1988, p. 5). In this remedy lay the recommendations for the establishment of Boards of Trustees; the use of the School Charter as the commitment of the school community to the state; the establishment of an independent audit agency that would hold Boards to account for their attainment of the objectives outlined in the Charter; and the establishment of an independent Ministry of Education that would be confined to policy-making, financial resourcing of schools and the management of its property portfolio. Notable among these remedies is the demand for accountability and thus the commitment to managerialism as a methodology for achieving that purpose. Here too, Picot has been heavily condemned by several commentators.

Olssen and Morris Matthews (1997) pointed out that state devolution of authority to Boards was in fact balanced by greater state control through accountability mechanisms such as the requirement that Boards report to the Ministry through their Charter. The role of the 'Board as employer' led Codd (2005d) to note that schools operate as small 'firms', preparing strategic plans, annual plans and annual reports of variance, keeping and reviewing budgets, seeking commercial links with sponsoring firms and showing how they 'add value' to the students in their care. By placing the responsibility for policy-making in the hands of the Ministry of Education, teachers (through the unions) were effectively cut off from a role they had played historically (Gordon, 1989). Managerialism leads to an obsession with quantification that is prioritised over pedagogy, creative thinking and educational values, the traditional domain of the teacher (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004).

With the exception of certain specific suggestions (notably the establishment of Community Education Forums, the Education Policy Council and Parent Advocacy Council), the main recommendations of the Picot Report were accepted by the government (New Zealand Minister of Education, 1988), and implemented, as suggested by Picot, on 1 October, 1989. This set in train, over the following eighteen years, perpetual education reform that would have significant impacts on schools and teachers. Indeed, it may be suggested that the

Picot Taskforce reforms have not yet reached their conclusion. The Picot Taskforce was however mandated only to consider the administrative structure of the education system, not such matters as curriculum and assessment. In the following section is a brief overview of some of the key changes that occurred following Picot, which help to develop an understanding of the contemporary context of teachers' work that motivates a call for a consideration of ethical teacher professionalism and its development.

Impacts and On-going Reform

Several writers referred to in this chapter have contributed to an understanding of how the terrain on which teachers in New Zealand schools work changed since 1944, and particularly how that terrain may have come to be viewed differently in the post-1989 period. This understanding has been developed by the review of the historical development of education in New Zealand since 1944, and particularly the discussion of three significant documents, namely the Briefing of the Director-General of Education to Labour leader, David Lange, the Brief of the New Zealand Treasury to the 1987 government and the 1988 Picot Report.

In many respects, the reform process has impacted negatively on teachers' work, consequently influencing how that work may be regarded. The following discussion will consider teachers' work in New Zealand in the post-1989 period in terms of a realignment of the aims of education in New Zealand, the accountability regime, and the impact of curriculum and assessment reforms. These divisions are employed only for ease of analysis. In reality, they overlap one another.

a) Realigned Aims of Education

This chapter has noted with reference to several writers (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Simon, 2000; Snook, 2003) that the reform period coincided with a shift in government thinking from a concern with welfare to a concern with economic objectives (Codd, 2005d). In education this meant that there was a fundamental break with the Beeby/Fraser formulation of 1939. This shift in thinking reflected global post-Fordist economic trends that highlighted the need

to break down the old mental-manual divide in the workplace encouraged by Fordism. No longer could Developed economies rely on large pools of semi-skilled labour. Their focus had to shift to radically extending the skill base of all workers. Therefore, governments began to place far greater emphasis on establishing a link between education and the economy, and the development of 'human capital' (Brown & Lauder, 1996). The desire that New Zealand students be prepared for participation in both the local and international economy is expressed in the 1993 National Curriculum Framework thus: 'The New Zealand Curriculum... will provide coherent goals and learning experiences which will enable students to achieve their potential...and to play their full part in our democratic society and in a competitive world economy' (Ministry of Education, 2004). Codd saw in this realignment of the aims of education 'an erosion of trust and a degradation of teaching as a profession' (2005d, p. 193), emanating from the increasing control the state sought to have over the activities of schools through accountability mechanisms, ensuring that they would be responsive to the 'market' (2005d, p. 194) thus providing consistency with the local and global economic aims of the government. The Education Review Office (ERO) established by the Education Act of 1989, was to be a critical element of the accountability regime. ERO will be further discussed in the following section.

The post-1989 reform period in New Zealand has seen the marketisation of schools that for many commentators highlights a shift in emphasis from the community to the individual (Codd, 2005d; Gordon, 1997; McKenzie, 1997; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Snook, 2003) and competition amongst schools for scarce resources. Neoliberal belief in 'consumer choice' demands the transparent provision of information to enable parents to make well-informed choices, hence the popularity of so-called 'league tables' that compare schools' academic results. League tables allow parents to choose amongst schools based on their relative academic performance. However, this kind of pressure can lead schools scrambling to hold on to their students. Gordon's work (1997) concluded that the mantra of 'choice' led parents in the past to vote with their feet rather than exercise political 'voice', resulting in 'flight' from many schools. These schools, faced with declining rolls, were 'precipitated into a crisis of funding' (1997, p. 73) as a consequence of falling rolls, because state funding of schools is

tied to rolls. Therefore, teachers in low decile schools had to cope with both radical budget cuts and the challenge of teaching students from low socio-economic backgrounds. Dale, echoing Gordon, suggested that because schools are required to be financially self-reliant, middle class parents obtain 'preferential access to enhanced opportunities for educational achievement' (2000, p. 125). They are able to maintain relative socio-economic advantage because of their ability to make up financial shortfalls through fees and fundraising, whereas lower income families are less likely to be active in the life of their schools and less likely to have skills and time to devote (2000).

Writers such as Codd (2005d), Marshall (1997) and Roberts (1997) argued that the greater commercial focus in education has led to an increasingly vocational curriculum. Not only are commercial firms invited to participate in schools through sponsorship (Gordon & Whitty, 1997) and by receiving naming rights (such as Bairds Mainfreight School in Otago <http://www.bmps.school.nz/Welcome.html>) but they are increasingly involved in education through vocational programmes such as 'Gateway'. This latter initiative was piloted in 2001 by Skill New Zealand (now the Tertiary Education Commission) and places secondary students into the workplace environment where they get work experience and are assessed in the workplace (Vaughan & Kenneally, 2003). Secondary schools may now offer courses that include Tourism and Travel and Employment Skills as stand-alone subjects and thus secondary teachers are increasingly likely to have at least some teaching responsibility in an area that is vocational, rather than only academic. Whereas these subjects may have been part of 'Transition to Work' programmes for just some students previously, they now compete with regular academic subjects. Unwittingly, New Zealand secondary teachers find themselves in the role of 'occupational trainers' on an ever-increasing scale.

Finally, the marketisation of education is plainly evident in the active recruitment and enrolment by many schools of Foreign Fee Paying (FFP) students (Gordon & Whitty, 1997). As contestability for state funding of schools replaces direct funding, schools are required to become more self-sufficient by participating in 'export education'. Although Codd (2005d) suggested that there is yet to be enough evidence collected on the impact on schools of export education,

it has altered the relationship between teachers and state. At the classroom level teachers are required to assist sometimes large numbers of students who are not native English speakers. Schools receive no additional staffing entitlements for privately-funded students, who are generally required to join mainstream classes. Fees paid by foreign students may contribute to some language support, but also support other curriculum costs.

b) Accountability

As marketisation is to choice, managerialism is to accountability. Codd noted that managerialism is ‘obsessed with quality’ (2005d, p. 200) where quality is to be maintained through objective planning, reporting and review cycles and through supervision by governance and management. The concept of managerialism was shown in the Introduction to be a feature of both public choice theory and agency theory. Public choice theory is underpinned by the view that there is no public service, as bureaucrats capture public ‘services’ to maximise their personal utility. Therefore it calls for the break-up of administrative structures such as that imposed on the now-defunct Department of Education (Marshall, 2000). Agency theory also assumes the individual as a rational maximiser, and therefore postulates a demand for external and self-surveillance. Agency theory thus informs the shift to both external audit through ERO, and teacher appraisal. Both are tools of surveillance but both also require a form of Foucauldian self-management whereby Boards of Trustees self-report on their compliance with legislation and teachers set their own professional goals and self-evaluate their progress against these goals.

i. Education Review Office

The Education Review Office (ERO) replaced the inspectorate that existed to 1989. It is a government department that is empowered to visit schools and early childhood centres to conduct ‘reviews’ or ‘audits’ of those institutions so that it can report back to the Board and community of that school as well as to the Minister with responsibility for ERO (Education Review Office, 2009a). Under Section 28, Part 327 of the Education Act (1989), ERO is given sweeping ‘powers

of entry and inspection’ (New Zealand Government, 2009). The reports prepared by ERO are public record and are therefore available to any member of the public to read, either in hard copy from ERO itself (or the relevant school) or on the ERO website (www.ero.govt.nz). ERO visits can be a source of consternation and alarm for teachers, school leaders and Boards, particularly of low decile schools, in part because ‘ERO unreasonably disregards the often overwhelming difficulties experienced by such schools’ (Thrupp, 1997, p. 145).

The ERO use of ‘technical and decontextualised’ language in its reports (Thrupp, 1997, p. 147) confirms its commitment to neoliberal principles. The work of ERO supports the notion of parental choice through its reports, as its intention is to assist parents in choosing schools for their children (2010a). Simultaneously, ERO’s review of the implementation of state education policy ensures that any shifts in state thinking about the purposes of education as conveyed by its policies, will be entrenched by schools that must demonstrate compliance with these policies. Thrupp’s (1997) position is that ERO ‘hunts down’ failing or struggling schools, noting that it participates in the ‘politics of blame’ (1998). He argued that ERO has latched onto the school improvement and teacher effectiveness literature (2008) to support its own view that schools and teachers should be held accountable for student achievement and should not look to student socio-economic circumstances to justify low rates of student achievement. Thrupp has concluded (1998; 2008) that these ‘politics of blame’ merely act to support the neoliberal cause of marketisation that sees ‘failing’ schools as the authors of their own misery rather than considering the negative effects of ideologically driven policy on schools and teachers.

ii. Appraisal

A significant area in the daily lives of teachers that invites scrutiny of their work is through the performance management system or appraisal. The application of accountability and ‘quality assurance’ to schools hampers the work of individual teachers, most notably by engaging them in myriad tasks related to compliance. The volume of administrative paperwork associated with obligatory compliance has added considerably to teacher workload (Snook, 2003). Typical examples include demonstrating compliance with assessment procedures, including

moderation and appeals, writing departmental reports to the Board of Trustees that account for student results and writing comprehensive schemes of work that have to be revised annually. Teachers perform this work in the knowledge that they are under increasing surveillance by the emphasis on teacher effectiveness in the discourse of ERO and the Ministry of Education.

The concept of performance appraisal has been linked to a ‘low trust model’ characteristic of neoliberal politics that Snook related to extrinsic modes of motivation that in fact reduce moral autonomy (2003, p. 177), while Codd related it to ‘a culture of managerialism and performativity’ (2005d, p. 201). He also regarded teacher autonomy as a victim of this process. Performance appraisal entails surveillance of a narrow set of competences, denying the open-endedness of professional work (Codd, 2005d, pp. 201-202). One way of controlling the ‘provider capture’ that featured in the Treasury Brief and Picot Report would be through the system of performance management.

Piggot-Irvine (2000) documented the implementation of this accountability regime from its promulgation in the State Sector Amendment Act of 1989 through the establishment of Performance Management Guidelines in the mid-nineties to the official mandating of these Guidelines by the Ministry of Education in 1996. This was followed in 1997 with the establishment of professional standards in primary schools and the attestation process for secondary, linked to remuneration. In 1998 (primary) and 1999 (secondary) these standards became prescriptive and directly linked to pay awards in the collective contracts established in negotiations between state and teacher unions. Piggot-Irvine (2000) considered that this link to remuneration added to the negative perceptions of teachers to appraisal and its strong accountability focus.

Performance appraisal is now accepted as a ‘given’, even by its critics. Various writers have suggested ways of reclaiming performance appraisal from its technicist, neoliberal foundations. Snook (2003) argued from a Kantian point of view that performance appraisal must have the features of respect for persons, truth and honesty, and fairness. Codd (2005) spoke of ‘restoring a culture of trust’, requiring ‘a form of accountability which enhances...the professionalism of teachers’ (2005d, p. 203), that he linked to the development of moral agency. Piggot-Irvine (2000), a proponent of performance appraisal, expressed a desire

that appraisal have a more objective focus (presumably by detaching it from ‘high stakes’ pay considerations), receive more state support through adequate funding of training, and have a sustained link with professional development.

c) Secondary Assessment

The reform focus shifted to assessment with the Education Amendment Act of 1990, (Roberts, 1997). The establishment of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) attempted to create a ‘seamless’ system of portable qualifications based on a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) that demarcated eight levels of learning and achievement, which was increased to ten in 2001 (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2004). This outcomes-based system provided staircased learning that enabled students to work towards nationally recognised qualifications through ‘unit standards’ to be offered by a limitless number of providers. Standards would articulate a pre-determined range and level of achievement that a student would need to attain to demonstrate proficiency. Developing student competence would be measured against highly specified performance criteria.

Standards-based assessment systems are characteristic of international neoliberal reform, and were developed in vocational education to allow workers to develop a greater range of flexible skills that would allow them to better meet fast-changing employment requirements (Allais, 2007). Critics argue that a standards based system is hostile to academic learning and teaching, favouring as it does the more rigidly prescribed world of vocational learning and teaching (or, more appropriately, ‘training’). The requirement for example that a student show competency in a series of discrete ‘performance criteria’ that are assessed ‘as you go’ has a distinct work place flavour leading simply to teachers excluding any material or teaching outside the confines of the performance criteria (McKenzie, 1997). Roberts (1997) specifically rejected the idea that learning outcomes can be measured by reference to pre-determined assessment outcomes, a view echoed by McKenzie (1997). Both regarded these measures as instrumentalist, making of education some kind of ‘black box’ (Codd, 2005d, p. 197) that admits certain ‘inputs’ (teachers, students, curricula, and teaching) that then undergo

‘processing’ (learning, discussing, reading, writing and assessing), leading to certain ‘outputs’ (achieving/not achieving) and ‘feedbacks’ (teacher comments, modified assessment tasks, reassessment and reporting to parents and students).

Several writers (Alison, 2007; Codd, 2005d; Irwin, Elley, & Hall, 1995; Marshall, 1997; McKenzie, 1997; Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997; Peddie & Tuck, 1995; Roberts, 1997) have drawn attention to the focus on skills and the separation of the curriculum and learning process from the outcomes of learning in these reforms. According to Roberts (1997, p. 175), the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2004) was ‘positively saturated with the language of skills, and largely bereft of any meaningful conception of knowledge.’ Codd (1997) too reflected on the instrumentalist tenor of the NZQA’s epistemology and its commodification of knowledge, not to mention the steady breakdown of the division between vocational and academic subjects. This breakdown highlights the tension between a view of knowledge as enquiry and mastery of discrete disciplines that have their own internal coherence against one that regards knowledge merely as a vehicle to attain standards that do not necessarily require a structured, consistent and coherent induction over time to a unique discipline.

This view of knowledge has been supplanted by an outcomes or standards-based system in certain contexts for its democratising features. These include the flexibility to interpret outcomes statements to suit specific communities or stakeholders, to make use of content that would enable outcomes to be met, to dramatically widen the range of ‘providers’ able to offer qualifications, and to recognise prior learning, allowing portability of attained standards and qualifications (Allais, 2007, p. 71). Irwin, Elley and Hall (1995) and Roberts (1997) acknowledged some aspects of assessment reform, specifically the recognition of prior learning, the concept of setting clear criteria for assessment, the enhancement of fairness and consistency through an integrated qualifications system and the potential to build flexible programmes around the needs of learners. Rawlins et al. noted in their literature review, *Standards-Based Assessment in the Senior Secondary School* (2005), that despite division in the literature, curriculum and assessment reform have had positive consequences, such as a widening of curriculum choice (2005, p. 110).

Despite these affirmative points, critics suggest significant effects of reform on teachers' work and how that could come to be viewed. Codd (2005) argued that the process of curriculum reform largely excluded teachers. The greatest impact on teachers stems however from the shift to a standards-based and outcomes-based system of conceptualising the curriculum. While Roberts (1997) acknowledged the merit of knowing in advance what is required for a student to succeed, McKenzie (1997) highlighted that this results in assessment-led teaching that narrows radically the scope of what is taught. In the context of the preceding discussion around performance appraisal and McKenzie's warning that assessment becomes a 'high stakes' game, it is apparent that teachers will do what they can to ensure their students have success in assessments. There is therefore much less room for teaching critical thinking skills (1997) or for a teacher to stray from the 'performance criteria'. McKenzie suggested that this kind of assessment-driven teaching is 'miseducative' (1997, p. 52) as it places the focus of learning on the required assessment outcome thereby narrowing the teaching and learning project (Roberts, 1997, p. 182). Teachers will also tend to adopt 'fail-safe' methods and activities given the high stakes nature of this particular game (McKenzie, 1997, p. 62).

Irwin, Elley and Hall (1995) also noted that the simple 'pass/fail' approach of unit standards removed any concept of, or desire to strive towards, excellence of performance. Therefore, the result was a system that discouraged wide teaching, was inimical to the joy of superior attainment and reduced holistic knowledge to specific statements of competency. This system also required the establishment of an elaborate and time consuming moderation and audit system to attempt to provide assurance that judgements of competency were valid, reliable and consistent (Irwin, Elley, & Hall, 1995).

Several years of struggle by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) to gain credibility for itself, its qualifications Framework, and for unit standards assessment was supported by the Ministry of Education and successive Ministers of Education (Alison, 2007). Arguments in favour of the acceptance by secondary teachers of the qualifications system maintained the blend of social democratic and neoliberal arguments (2007, p. 149). In 1998 the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) was proposed, signalling some

progress. The new qualifications system for Year 11 – 13 was introduced in 2002 (Alison, 2007; Dobric, 2005; Philips, 2006). The NCEA is based on attainment of credits in ‘Achievement Standards’ that are a sophisticated advance on unit standards. Essentially however, the unitised, atomistic approach common to unit standards is evident in the Achievement Standards. Their introduction did not entail a change to the National Curriculum but rather extended the criterion referenced system of assessment to academic subjects, resulting in significant work load issues for teachers and school leaders. A comprehensive report by the Post Primary Teachers’ Association (Alison, 2005) documented the concerns of its members with some of the issues referred to here already.

Conclusion

In developing the textured understanding required to answer this chapter’s focussing questions it has provided a broad sweep of New Zealand education history from 1944 to 1984; considered the changing ideological landscape that was emerging by 1984; noted in particular that this changing landscape was characterised by neoliberal notions of managerialism and marketisation, intended to address the two significant perceived deficiencies in the areas of public accountability and consumer choice in public services such as education. However, it has also been noted that this ideological discourse frequently expressed concern with notions of equity, more in keeping with the long-standing tradition of New Zealand political, socio-economic and cultural ideology. In considering the immediate build-up to the reforms of 1989, the commitment of the 1984 and 1987 Labour governments to drastic reform has to be understood within a context of rapidly changing and demanding political, socio-economic and cultural circumstances. These circumstances are reflected in the education-related documents that were considered, namely the Briefing of the Director-General of Education to Labour leader, David Lange, the Brief of the New Zealand Treasury to the 1987 government and the Picot Report of 1988.

In considering the period from 1989 to 2002, this chapter also examined some of the salient impacts on teachers’ work and the lives of schools of the realignment of the aims of education toward more nationally-oriented economic goals, the accountability regime applied to schools and teachers, and secondary

assessment reform. This programme of educational reform in the post-1989 period appears to have progressed systematically and relentlessly. By some accounts, the effects have been to intensify and fragment the work of teachers, who are contractualised, accountable and under surveillance. By other accounts, reform provides teachers with the challenge to develop and demonstrate their effectiveness in ways the pre-reform period would not have required or encouraged. Education reform has reflected a neoliberal socio-political philosophy. As will be argued in later chapters, this position shifted in the late 1990s to a so-called 'Third Way' ideological position. First, however, the historical emergence of *The New Zealand Curriculum* in this reform context must be understood, and the next chapter will seek to establish whether it is merely 'more of the same' or whether it represents a real break with the earlier reform described in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Break or continuity?

It is timely at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century to consider the concept of ethical teacher professionalism because teachers' work is under intense scrutiny. As Chapter Three has shown, this scrutiny is not new, and its genesis should not be sought solely in the events of 1988 and 1989. Its genesis is more deeply rooted in the twentieth century history of New Zealand education; *Tomorrow's Schools* helped however to provide the administrative mechanisms that would formalise the scrutiny of teachers' work. As the history of New Zealand education continues to evolve, so do conceptions of teachers' work. Two such conceptions are both products of the reforms of 1989. One is born of the critique of those and subsequent reforms, and regards teachers as *deprofessionalised*. Another is the official conception of *effective teachers* that has developed in intensity in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Challenging these conceptions is one devised in Chapter Two of this thesis that defined ethical teachers as those who *seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work.*

The question of whether an alternative conception may exist and be developed is the subject of this thesis. The conception of *ethical teacher professionalism* may both describe many teachers as they *already are* (yet perhaps unrecognised as such) *and* provide an aspirational goal for other teachers, such as those first entering the profession. Both categories of teachers are significant, yet both require more than just words on a page to inspire and motivate those teachers to assume the responsibility to develop their ethical professionalism. Opportunities must be sought and found in their daily work to support this responsibility. Therefore this thesis considers the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* as one such opportunity and asks whether that process of implementation will encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism.

The notion of *professionalism* implies an understanding of teachers as actively being-in-the-world, developing and creating a particular conception of their work. An understanding of what it means to be an *ethical teacher* is developed in the context of teaching as an *ethical act*. It is appropriate for teachers to regard themselves as members of a clearly defined professional occupational group with strict rules around entry and forced exit; that clarifies for its members their obligations; and that develops an ideology that assists teachers to seal their place and role in society. The concept of ethical teacher professionalism makes a contribution to that ideological framework. This image is however disrupted by both the deprofessionalist and effective teacher conceptions. The former may suggest that ethical teacher professionalism is impossible as it regards teachers being pumelled by successive reform waves that rob them of autonomy and treat them with distrust. The latter lacks the conceptual framework or orientation to comprehend or see the relevance of ethical teacher professionalism. Both have to be confronted and challenged.

The notion of the ‘effective teacher’ is dealt with later in this chapter and subsequent chapters. The Introduction to this thesis and Chapter Three contributed to an understanding of why the deprofessionalist position has come about by examining the context and the conceptual tools that give deprofessionalisation meaning. It is assumed in this thesis that if the deprofessionalisation position is to be faithful to itself, it has to argue that all policy reforms since 1989 have contributed to the deprofessionalisation of teachers, due to the lingering presence of neoliberal frameworks underpinning these policies. Their effects have intensified, fragmented and contractualised teachers’ work, rendering teachers as subjects under constant surveillance. For *The New Zealand Curriculum* to function differently in its effects as a policy, it must be demonstrated that it breaks with the reform project and its effects described in Chapter Three.

This chapter asks: **is *The New Zealand Curriculum* merely ‘more of the same’ or does it represent a real break with earlier reforms?** In answering this question, this chapter attempts to establish if the antecedents of *The New Zealand Curriculum* differ from those discussed in Chapter Three. Put differently, what

may *cause* this recent policy to be different in form and thus lead to substantially different effects from earlier reform measures?

In this chapter therefore, consideration is given to the concept of change and continuity in historical accounts, providing a theoretical benchmark against which to assess the emergence in 2007 of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The move toward creating a revised national curriculum must be seen in the historical context of curriculum reform and development in New Zealand, of which the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* of 2002 is of central importance and will thus be critically examined. The strategic direction of that report will be considered in the context of the socio-political environment of New Zealand as it was developing in the early part of the twenty-first century. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the *Draft New Zealand Curriculum*. Both critiques suggest a discernible and defensible shift in socio-political thinking from a neoliberal state to a Third Way state. This chapter will therefore argue that *The New Zealand Curriculum*, mandated for use in schools since the start of 2010, is the product of a Third Way state, and that to this extent, this revised curriculum breaks with the post-1989 reforms. The way that it does so, offers up spaces that can be further explored for their ability to bring about ethical teacher professionalism.

Change and continuity

Consider the following summations of education reform, in New Zealand and in the United Kingdom:

[E]conomic rationalism and managerialism, combined with commercialisation and globalisation, have produced an erosion of trust and a degradation of teaching as a profession (Codd, 2005d, p. 193);

and,

Within English education we now see strict levels of control and assessment. It could be argued that this has been a factor in an apparent deprofessionalisation of teachers' work... they have become technicians... (Gray, 2007, p. 194).

These analyses reach essentially the same conclusion, although Codd refers to macro issues, while Gray draws attention to how those macro issues may play out at micro level. Chapter Three cited several similar examples suggesting that deprofessionalisation results from the application of neoliberal-inspired reform,

or reforms that can be shown to have a neoliberal influence. The argument seems to be the following:

- i. a characteristic of the work of a professional is the ability to participate in the conceptualisation, construction and execution of daily work, unlike a technician, whose task it is to effectively carry out a goal-oriented activity;
- ii. the reforms proposed by *Tomorrow's Schools* separated execution from conceptualisation and construction and furthermore excluded teachers from participating in the latter;
- iii. teachers are now confined to execution;
- iv. therefore teachers are now no more than skilled technicians

The quoted extracts above each reflect this kind of causal link. Causation is one aspect to keep in mind when considering the wider notion of continuity or change, as an understanding of causes may assist in detecting change. If policy shifts its direction significantly, there must be reasonable cause for that to occur (unless one believed policy-making was whimsical). Even if the essence of policy remained the same, and only the cosmetic details were amended, one might still seek causes – for instance, why did the government not change policy direction significantly, even though events or mood in the country or sector seemed to indicate this was necessary?

Causes may be found in what people (in this case, policy-makers and politicians) do to effect change in the current state of affairs, or to pre-empt a situation. The context in which those actions occur contributes to an understanding of causes but is not itself the cause. However it would be erroneous to imagine that a resultant state of affairs can be attributed only to the actions of one person or group of people. For example, it is a narrow view that attributes negative conceptions of teachers' work solely to the views of certain Treasury officials in the late 1980s exercising influence over the minds of the newly-elected Labour politicians of the time, who in turn enacted legislation that would change the face of the compulsory schooling sector. This is an instance of regular causality that has been rejected in historical accounts (Stanford, n.d.; Tucker, 2009).

E.H. Carr suggested in *What is history?* that causation has multiple sources and manifestations, and that not all causes are equally important (1961, p. 90;

105). That certain New Zealand Treasury economists of the late 1980s believed the compulsory schooling sector ought to do more to justify its share of tax revenue may not, ultimately, be as critical to the course of education reform in New Zealand as contextual circumstances, such as the 1989 collapse of the Berlin Wall (signifying a symbolic collapse of one of the final bastions of international socialism) and the *Washington Consensus* (see Introduction) of the same year. Carr challenges those who deploy causes narrowly in the form of single-cause explanations or explanations of events or outcomes of events that rigidly and mechanistically derive from a single assumption. In this class of explanation, can be located the Althusserian notion of a base-superstructure model of society that is determined entirely by economic factors (Althusser, 1971). Althusser's narrowly deterministic model of explanation leaves no room for understanding individual agency or free choice. Explanations such as a base-superstructure model reduce the individual actor to being a mere subject of events, and it is unlikely to see such models used in contemporary debates. For Carr, historians and theorists ought to take care by seeking multiple causes to explain events. This line of argument points not only to the power of multiple causes in bringing about events, but also to the role of the scholar in assembling and making sense of these causes. On their own, facts, happenings, events, directives, policies and decisions make little sense until scholarly treatment shapes them into explanatory models and arguments that draw out their implications for people and practices.

Causation is relevant to the notions of change and continuity. If, as argued in this thesis, *The New Zealand Curriculum* breaks with the continuity of the programme of education reform that has deprofessionalised teachers, then causes for such a break must be found. The following discussion considers the concepts of change and continuity by firstly attempting to characterise these, followed by a reflection on what might explain these concepts in history or the development of ideas. The notions of change and continuity are problematic (Burke, 1979). They could be seen as two sides of the same coin or as two differing conceptions. On one hand, continuity could mean that no change has occurred, or it could mean that change has occurred, but imperceptibly. It would be difficult to imagine however, even in the most stable society, no change occurring, and for Wood, 'the pursuit of history... is to show not how things have remained the same

through time but how they have changed' (2008, p. 81). A more likely scenario is that values or practices remain constant, subject only to modification and fine-tuning. This kind of continuity is characterised by stability (Gerschenkron, 1968) or equilibrium (Burke, 1979) that acknowledges all temporal realities are subject to change, but which considers continuity to be a constant (Stanford, 1998).

Change may also be regarded as a process of rise and decline (Burke, 1979). This view of history is one favoured by the French Annales School whose stock-in-trade was *la longue durée* that described 'patterns of long continuities' over great periods of time (Stanford, 1998, p. 79). This approach is amenable to periodisation (Gerschenkron, 1968), and favours a cyclical interpretation of history, that is, as the repetition of cycles of advancement and decay. *The New Zealand Curriculum* could not be considered as evidence of historical policy-making on this approach, as its making occurs in the context of a colonial education system that is perhaps only a century and a half old; indeed more significantly, it has to be contextualised against the Beeby-Fraser formulation that is a little over seventy years old. From an historical point of view, this is but the blink of an eye, so the notion of rise and decline is not one that will have any relevance to this chapter.

Change may also be characterised as abrupt (Burke, 1979). In this sense, one may speak of *rupture*, *crisis* and even *revolution*. Indeed, argued Runia (2010), historical examples demonstrate the almost suicidal intentions of people to 'burn their bridges' and plunge in to the unknown. Perhaps less dramatically, change can be characterised as *watershed* or *turning-point*, and although this may suggest the benefit of hindsight over a long period, in reality its dramatic obviousness to participants suggests that judgements could be made of a sufficiently different or novel event or shift. It is precisely the job of an historian (Wood, 2008) to seek to establish through a study of such changes how the past comes to influence the present. For an assessment of change or continuity, temporal comparisons are required (Gerschenkron, 1968), thus historians may for example consider wage levels or bread prices over a period. A social theorist must rely on other comparisons, such as changes in policy related to the ideologies of successive governments. As will be noted below, one could search deeply in history to find causes of abrupt change, although that determination and

decision must lie with the scholar. In addition, however, if an event is to be defined as a ‘watershed’ or ‘turning-point’, the temporal comparison is one that requires not only a looking-back, but also a looking-forward, in the sense that an assessment of the significance of the change requires that enough is known about its subsequent impact to make a rounded assessment. In other words, if little changes after the event, then it cannot have been a turning-point in the affairs of those whom it affected. However, this judgment can only be made if there is enough *post factum* evidence available, thus making interpretation of recent events problematic.

Why then does change occur, or do things appear to remain relatively stable? In what terms may change or continuity be explained? Burke (1979) suggested four explanations or models that will be noted here with some interpretation and reflection on these.

a) Evolutionary change

From an essentially conservative view comes this idea of gradual change that is non-revolutionary and assimilationist, whereby any threats to stability or equilibrium are absorbed and assimilated into existing practice. This would be a suitable definition of officially sanctioned Maoist historiography (Qiu, 2004) that provides *post-factum* justifications of earlier events and serves the function of maintaining the prevailing orthodoxy.

b) Class conflictual change

Marxist scholars (and those who would identify as critical theorists and post-Marxists) expose the inherently conservative nature of the evolutionary view of change. These various views suggest a second model of change emanating from a range of tensions within society, stemming from its inherently conflictual and adversarial class character. Societal change may eventuate from a synthesis of the antagonistic relationship between the relations of production (that is, class relations) and the means of production (capital and workers). Doctrinaire economic determinism goes further by seeking to explain change in relation to the

inevitability of economic stage theory and the resulting contradictions that cleave societies (for example see Harris, 1982). Other views of change within these positions argue that change occurs when oppressor-oppressed relations are challenged by efforts to transform the world (for example see Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997; Shor & Freire, 1987b).

c) Paradigm shift

The third of Burke's categories (1979) focuses on Thomas Kuhn's influential book, *The structure of scientific revolutions* (cited by Bernstein, 1976; Burke, 1979). Kuhn postulated that communities explain their world by reference to paradigms, which are theories or constructs of the world. Reflecting the evolutionary model outlined above, these paradigms are made to assimilate or accommodate changes in the world. However, more radical change becomes necessary when new anomalies can no longer be assimilated or accommodated by existing theories. As they lose their explanatory power, these paradigmatic theories are plunged into a state of crisis.

Once a paradigm loses its explanatory power, every effort is attempted to find a solution. Out of this crisis, new theories, perhaps hitherto rejected, may become the new prevailing paradigm if they aid to resolve the crisis. According to Richard Bernstein (1976), Kuhn saw this 'shift' as political, whereby a community agrees to shift its thinking about the world, rather than the shift occurring due to actual changes in the world. In this sense, the applicable description of change moves from evolutionary change to *watershed* change. This description captures the notion of 'crisis' that precipitates a 'turning-point', and will later be applied to the post-1989 education changes in New Zealand.

It must be noted however that Bernstein regarded Kuhn's notion of paradigm to be 'ambiguous' (1976, pp. 84-93), and argued that Kuhn had not intended the paradigm shift to be a model for social revolution (cited by Bernstein, 1976, pp. 91-92). Nevertheless, it is feasible to see why social theorists have made regular use of the notion of 'paradigm shift', becoming an established way of describing social and intellectual change requiring significant reorientation of practice or thought. In this respect, it comes to refer to 'profound

alterations in our fundamental understandings’ of the world (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 244).

d) Cumulative causation

This final model of change is also called the ‘snowball’ effect (Burke, 1979) and can be linked to ‘length of causal regress’ (Gerschenkron, 1968). Though not identical, these terms are related. A study of change (such as educational reform) may suggest an accumulation of causes that build up their own momentum, leading to a steady rush of change. The notion of ‘causal regress’ concerns the extent to which a scholar may drill down into the possible causes of change, often leading to the discovery of deeper, underlying causes that go back to yet earlier events and changes that may have influenced succeeding change. However, as Carr (1961) noted, historians select from an ‘ocean of evidence’ those events that may have caused subsequent events, thus they will prioritise events and causes. For instance, as noted earlier, the views of New Zealand Treasury officials in the late 1980s may have been influenced by neoliberal economic ideas of the time that may in turn have been related to the Thatcherism and Reaganomics of the United Kingdom and the United States of America of the late 1970s and 1980s. These ideas, though intended to diminish the role of government and to deal with a ‘crisis of capital’ that saw high domestic inflation (Brown & Lauder, 1996), were also a response to the gradual decline of European socialism, culminating in the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. One could go further back, possibly exploring post-war economic themes; however, these would have only tenuous links to New Zealand education reforms of the late 1980s.

Burke’s four models of change can be described in short-hand as *evolutionary*, *revolutionary*, *watershed* and *snowball*. While the first, third and fourth may variously be used to describe the *Tomorrow’s Schools* and subsequent education reforms, for many, the changes to education will be considered revolutionary in a negative sense. This thesis will suggest that *the main thrust of the post-1989 education reforms mark a watershed*. To demonstrate how that may be, the discussion will now contextualise New Zealand curriculum development

and focus on a critical analysis of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* of 2002, and the *Draft New Zealand Curriculum* of 2006.

New Zealand Curriculum Development, 1843 – 2000

Chapter Three reviewed several salient education reforms affecting the compulsory sector in the period 1989 – 2000, with a view to clarifying their philosophical underpinnings. The following discussion elaborates on the process and content of New Zealand curriculum development. A brief historical summary of significant curriculum developments provides a context for curriculum reform after 2002. The *Curriculum Stocktake*, (Ministry of Education, 2002a), and the *Draft New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2006) will receive more detailed treatment, with the objective of ascertaining signs of change or continuity. A concluding critical evaluation of each will foreshadow limitations or possibilities, particularly with regard to the concept of ethical teacher professionalism.

Although the first school was established in New Zealand in 1843 (Simon, 2000), it was not until the Education Act was passed in 1877 that primary education became compulsory. This legislation promoted social control and the creation of an appropriately skilled labour force as much as it did any egalitarian ideals (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004; Simon, 2000). In terms of the theme of continuity and change, it therefore is immediately obvious that New Zealand education has not come latterly to economic aims in education. Indeed, Simon (2000, p. 36) insists that the New Zealand education system was initially sharply *inegalitarian* and meritocratic. The 1903 Secondary Schools Act established the Primary Certificate of Proficiency that effectively delivered an elitist secondary education to those able to pass the examination. The first Labour government of 1935 would abolish the proficiency examination, as it aimed to prioritise the provision of equitable educational opportunities for all. This commitment was driven by Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education and Deputy Prime Minister, and Prime Minister from 1940. He appointed Clarence Beeby as Assistant Director of Education in 1938, and Director in 1940. Together they combined political vision and educational leadership to put in place the foundations for a truly democratic education system:

The combination of Fraser's political vision and Beeby's professional leadership was unique in New Zealand's educational history. Without Fraser's commitment to the removal of educational inequality, there would have been no political backing for the educational reconstruction that Beeby superintended. Without Beeby's singular qualities, it is scarcely likely that Fraser's reforming intentions would have been carried out so thoroughly (Renwick, 1998, p. 3).

On-going curriculum revisions in 1913 and 1929 ran alongside legislative and political developments. A period of inactivity was followed by more regular curriculum change after 1943 (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004). The Thomas Committee of 1944 established a core curriculum up to Fourth Form (Year Ten), introduced the School Certificate examination and extended the school leaving age to fifteen (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004; Openshaw, 2009; Simon, 2000). In these years, the curriculum is described by Anne-Marie O'Neill (2004) as becoming increasingly flexible, allowing teachers' significant room for individual initiative, and affording them opportunities to become engaged in thorough cycles of curriculum development that assured teacher support for new initiatives (Ministry of Education, 1993).

The Currie Report of 1962 confirmed the Beeby-Fraser formulation, although it acknowledged that there were groups in society not able to enjoy the full benefits of state education (Simon, 2000). By the 1980s, curriculum review increasingly recognised girls, Maori, Pacific Island and Special Needs students in particular (Ministry of Education, 1993). Although Marshall's widely consulted 1987 curriculum review was well received by the education community, and praised because it 'provoked extensive debate on the aims and purposes of education' (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004, pp. 36-37), it was largely disregarded by the Labour government that had embarked upon its 'rigid and extensive programmes of economic, social and cultural *structural adjustment*' (2004, p. 32. Emphasis in the original). In education, this 'structural adjustment' commenced when the well-known recommendations of the government's *Tomorrows' Schools* response to the Picot Report were promulgated in the Education Act of 1989.

The concepts of change and continuity can be applied in several ways to this legislative and subsequent curriculum reform. As documented in Chapter Three, these reforms set New Zealand education on to a neoliberal path, and thus *mark a watershed* (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997) and *break* significantly with the

liberal-humanist perspective (Vaughan, 1994) of the Beeby years. For instance, in the area of curriculum, the scope for teachers to initiate curriculum change and contribute to further curriculum development was nullified. This arose because of the concern that the (now defunct) Department of Education was too close to teachers and their profession to be a critical driver of change (Fancy, 2004), which was addressed by dissolving the Department and its Curriculum Development Division. After 1989, curriculum came to be developed behind a veil of contestable contracts awarded to virtually anonymous curriculum writers or those who were in the charmed circle of the Ministry of Education (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004, p. 37; 41). Burke's (1979) 'snowball effect' in causation can also be applied, in two ways. First, as suggested in Chapter Three, significant conditions and reasons had built up by 1984 to force the New Zealand government to respond to the emerging crisis in education. Second, since 1989 to the present, New Zealand education has been driven by an internal dynamic of constant change precipitated by statist allegiance to global neoliberal principles that informed the New Right thinking of the late 1980s Labour government.

This momentum of change and fundamental *break* with the past was continued by the National government in the 1990 – 1999 period. A significant watershed change in curriculum effected by the 1990 National government was a result of its focus on the creation of a 'seamless' curriculum framework. The New Zealand Curriculum Framework of 1993 constituted seven essential learning areas; students would progress through eight achievement levels, and would be assessed against defined Achievement Objectives. This Framework marked a shift in the New Zealand curriculum from an emphasis on content to an emphasis on outcomes. This move, by the admission of the later *Curriculum Stocktake Report* to the Minister, was due in part to the pressure felt by government to account for its investment in education by showing what students had achieved (Ministry of Education, 2002a). Accordingly, its development was subject to political control, and the involvement of teachers was restricted (Fancy, 2004). The Framework intensified teachers' work, deprofessionalising it by turning it into a joyless tick-box activity that stifled critical thinking (O'Neill, with Clark, & Openshaw, 2004, pp. 37-40).

The curriculum stocktake, 2000 – 2002

Although the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) was to have been fully implemented within four years (Fancy, 2004), in fact it was ten years before the last of the curriculum statements, ‘The Arts’, was gazetted in 2003. When a revised timeline for the publication of the statements was published in 1997, the Ministry of Education undertook to initiate a curriculum stocktake to reflect on a decade of reform (Ministry of Education, 2002a). This reflection focused on the purposes of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, its success in delivering positive student outcomes and its appropriateness (Ministry of Education, 2002a). A key motivation was the question: does the sum of the parts of the Curriculum Framework equal the whole? For some of those involved, it did not.⁵ This stocktake collected data between 2000 and 2001 by collating international assessment surveys and undertaking a National School Sampling Study of 4000 teachers in 10% of schools. The Ministry of Education commissioned a literature review and two international critiques, from the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) UK and the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) (2002a). In addition, a Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group of nominated stakeholders gathered for a number of meetings, and other stakeholders across the education sector and business community were consulted. One of its aims was to ensure that teachers were consulted⁶. What follows is a brief analysis of two of these sources, namely the First Meeting of the Reference Group and the critique by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) UK. This section will conclude with some analysis of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* itself.

a) The First Meeting of the Reference Group

This meeting gathered together several individuals representative of the compulsory and tertiary education sector, in addition to teacher union leaders, Principal’s representatives, School Trustees’ Association and the business sector.

⁵ Interview with Dr Airini, Head of School of Critical Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, University of Auckland 10/5/2010: She was involved as a participant to the stocktake.

⁶ Interview with Dr Airini, *ibid.*

‘Reference Group members were invited to bring a list of key strengths and key weaknesses of the national curriculum, and the positive changes and negative changes it ha[d] brought about’ (Ministry of Education, 2001). This open agenda led to the establishment of themes to be used as a starting point for the Curriculum Stocktake process and to inform the Minister of Education. In relation to this feedback, an important question to ask here is: what evidence was there in this feedback to support either change or continuity? Elements of both, virtually side by side can be noted. Two themes that will be discussed here are skills (which later evolved into ‘key competencies’) and the idea of school based curriculum development.

i. Change or continuity?

There are several instances of feedback in relation to skills. What is new here is the insistence on finding a closer match of skills and the essential learning areas and on the significance of teachers having an understanding of the conceptual basis of skills, and directly and explicitly teaching skills (2001, p. 5). Indeed, ‘lack of clarity about skills teaching was seen to be weakening the potential of the curriculum implementation’ (2001, p. 17). If the term ‘paradigm shift’ is an appropriate one to use in relation to change in the review of the New Zealand Curriculum, it is in this area. As will be seen in following chapters, the notion of the ‘key competencies’ and their dominant position in *The New Zealand Curriculum* requires a significant shift in how teachers approach their work in the classroom. Continuity on the other hand is retained in the unquestioned assumption that the purposes of curriculum should include preparation for the workplace, where skills are seen to be ‘desirable to employers’ and ‘a primary concern for employers’ (2001, p. 9).

The concept of school based curriculum development begins with the assumption that schools and their teachers have some flexibility over curriculum implementation. Although it was earlier suggested that the Thomas Report provided increasing flexibility and opportunities for teachers and schools to implement curriculum, the New Zealand Curriculum Framework was a prescriptive policy, especially in regard to the Achievement Objectives (AOs). A qualitative National Schools Sampling Study found that while many teachers and

schools were developing and reorganising the curriculum to suit themselves due to the broadness of the AOs (McGee et al., 2004, p. 215), some teachers, burdened by an overcrowded curriculum, had the view they had to ‘cover everything’, even though this was not government policy (2004, p. 218). This lack of clarity in policy was pre-empted by the Reference Group in 2000, when its members suggested that a revised curriculum should mandate only the Framework, not the curriculum statements (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 12), thus indicating a change in approach. Schools would have the freedom to implement their own version of the New Zealand Curriculum, when this process eventually began in 2008. This would go some way to remedy what the Reference Group felt was a lack of ownership and disenfranchisement of teachers over national curriculum development (2001, p. 14). While this may not be seen as a watershed change (some schools were already using the New Zealand Curriculum Framework flexibly), it may be regarded as an evolutionary one, whereby equilibrium is restored by assimilating changes already in practice, thus legitimating that practice.

ii. Limitations and possibilities

In considering limitations and possibilities in the work of the *First Meeting of the Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group*, comment will relate to questions of the underpinning philosophy and epistemology of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, the deprofessionalisation of teachers and possibilities for pedagogy.

The Reference Group gave out hopeful signs that the philosophy underpinning the New Zealand Curriculum Framework would be reviewed and reconsidered (2001, p. 5; 8; 12). This would surely have led to an engagement of interested groups in the neoliberal notions underpinning the curriculum; perhaps the lack of any real and rigorous philosophy at all could have been challenged. A more explicit statement was required of both the philosophy and epistemology of the curriculum, because Group members were unclear about the rationale of the curriculum and its particular structure. In particular, they found the levels to be arbitrary and not authentically linked to the learning process (2001, p. 15). These points will be returned to later.

Members of the Reference Group correctly identified that one of the consequences of the process of the development of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework was the marginalisation of teachers, who had been ‘disenfranchised’ by what was a politicised process (2001, p. 12). This realisation too was a hopeful sign as it represented an acknowledgement of the difficulty of building ethical teacher professionalism on such unstable ground. The politicised process, as seen already, was one that sought to promote neoliberal economic principles at the expense of a previously egalitarian education system. Significantly too, members of the Reference Group recognised that the ‘compliance culture’ had acted to deprofessionalise teachers’ work (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 17), and indeed members explicitly linked the Education Review Office (ERO) to this ‘culture’.

The concerns of the Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group with pedagogy, teaching and effective pedagogy focussed on matters of technical expertise. There is no evidence that the Group thought of relating the practice of teaching to the practice of ethical caring or listening for example. What the Stocktake Reference Group wanted was a clear spelling-out of the attributes of the ‘effective teacher’ (2001, p. 17). However, much more positive was a desire to see teachers use greater variety in their teaching that would, in particular, put ‘more focus on student creativity’ (2001, p. 17). In addition, several discussions occurred over the nature of curriculum integration, and the Group was in consensus on this issue. These considerations give more than a glimmer of hope, if developed in the curriculum review process, of opening the way to a critical approach to pedagogy and dialogical education (Freire, 1998, p. 79).

b) New Zealand Stocktake: an international critique

A second source of evidence contributing to the *Curriculum Stocktake Report*, commissioned by the Ministry of Education was *New Zealand Stocktake: an international critique* by Joanna Le Métails (2002), an international consultant, adviser and researcher. At the time she was Head of International Project Development at the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER). The NFER is a research body that was established in 1946. Its website claims that NFER is ‘the UK’s largest independent provider of research, assessment and

information services for education’ (http://www.nfer.ac.uk/nfer/about-nfer/about-nfer_home.cfm). Currently, it appears that Le Métais’ employment with NFER has ceased, and she works now as a ‘life coach’ (<http://www.jlcoaching.co.uk/>). Le Métais was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to ‘provide constructive critique on the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, and the seven national curriculum Statements with regards to:

- their educational integrity
- their potential for supporting effective educational practice
- the standing of the New Zealand curriculum in relation to international views of effective curriculum Statements (Le Métais, 2002, p. 1).⁷

i. Change or continuity?

In assessing the evidence in the NFER critique to support either change or continuity, it is helpful to consider John Clark’s critique of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report*, which suggested that the Ministry of Education was guilty of seeking to control critique, where he drew attention to the NFER report as an instance of such controlled critique (2004, p. 73). Le Métais reviewed several theoretical viewpoints that intersect with the themes that were the lenses for her examination of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework. She then demonstrated evidence of these themes in the Framework documents. There is however, as Clark suggests, little substantial application to the New Zealand curriculum of the critical viewpoints she reviewed in the literature. Nevertheless, attention can be drawn to certain features discussed by Le Métais.

In the second section of her report, Le Métais considered the ‘Purpose and Function of Curricula’ where she noted that inconsistent suggestions were made by the New Zealand Curriculum Framework for the transfer of the learning of essential skills. She also suggested a clearer relationship in the Statements between the learning areas and essential skills, echoing comments made by the Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group, and prefiguring the ascendancy of the notion of ‘key competencies’. Later on in her report, she noted:

⁷ Note that the report is not paginated. It is published in PDF form by the Ministry of Education at <http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curriculum/9137> and all page references to the report refer to the relevant PDF pages.

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework was set out in 1992, before the theories on learning styles, modalities and multiple intelligences were commonly accepted. To what extent should the Statements be revisited to take account of these theories, and research into their effectiveness? (2002, p. 24).

This question foreshadowed the rise to prominence of cognitivist perspectives that support the notion of ‘key competencies’ whose central place in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, as suggested above, requires significant reorientation by teachers of their practice.

In conclusion, Le Métais made just one, rather confounding recommendation, that there be a *declaration of a moratorium on curriculum change* (2002, p. 39). In fairness, a moratorium was suggested to allow other developments and consolidations. The moratorium idea echoed the suggestion of the Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group to ease prescriptiveness by not mandating the curriculum statements, enabling flexible implementation. Le Métais also suggested that some aspects of the curriculum be negotiated with students (2002, p. 41). This astounding suggestion in support of locally negotiated curriculum seems inserted as an after-thought, as the very last sentence of the report. In terms of change, this represents transformative change of the order usually expected from critical theorists who argue against curricula that alienate and demotivate students (Shor & Freire, 1987b) and who urge teachers to consider instead how schools can become places where students can decide what is taught and how it is taught (Giroux, 1997, p. 263).

ii. Limitations and possibilities

Essentially, the Le Métais ‘critique’ fails to be a critique, by accepting the New Zealand Curriculum Framework as is, and not seeking to challenge its premises. Its ‘guiding principle [is] that there is no ‘best’ curriculum, but rather a ‘best fit’ according to a country's political, cultural, social and economic context’ (2002, p. 2). Although Le Métais recognised that there were political issues in relation to the consultation process prior to the publication of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, and although she acknowledged that there were critiques of the curriculum document, her position was that it ‘is not the role of the present commentary to endorse or refute individual critiques’ (2002, p. 3).

c) The New Zealand Curriculum Stocktake Report

In September 2002, the Ministry of Education delivered the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Ministry of Education, 2002a) to the Minister of Education. The aim of the stocktake was to assure the Minister of the quality of the Curriculum Framework as a policy, that the Curriculum could deliver results and that there was a strategy for on-going curriculum development that was widely shared. It sought to address the issues raised in the early phase of the Curriculum Project. The Curriculum Project (Ministry of Education, 2007a) as a whole included the two documents analysed above, in addition to the range of reports and studies already referred to earlier, the Stocktake Report and the subsequent drafting of the New Zealand Curriculum. Issues considered in the Stocktake Report included:

- philosophical, epistemological issues
- pedagogical issues
- the capability of teachers to meet the demands of the curriculum
- manageability issues (including crowdedness of the curriculum)
- legal and official status of documents, including the status and nature of a foundation policy statement, and status of Māori statements
- a lack of objective information about the translation of the curriculum at the school and classroom levels from policy into practice and effect on learning and achievement
- curriculum (learning materials) support: what kind, how much done by the Ministry or by commercial publishers, teacher associations, or teachers themselves?
- the need for an agreed process for ongoing maintenance, review, and renewal of the curriculum, and the need to establish a clear future direction for curriculum development
- the status of second language learning (Ministry of Education, 2010a).

The Report was divided into sections that included a Background, an assessment of the Quality of the New Zealand Curriculum, the Nature of the Curriculum as Policy, and Recommendations.

i. Change or continuity?

What evidence was there in the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* to support either change or continuity? Some of the points have already been raised; however, the

Report did contain some interesting findings that had a later impact on developments in the Curriculum Project. Although some Report recommendations suggested little more than refinement to the existing Curriculum Framework, it noted at the outset that certain changes had occurred in the preceding decade, and later analysis of both the Draft New Zealand Curriculum and the final version will argue that some of these changes were taken into account in fundamental ways. These can be grouped in themes, namely a new awareness of the close link of pedagogy to student achievement; the growing significance of the digital revolution and globalisation; and changing socio-political patterns (Ministry of Education, 2002a). It will be argued that awareness and accommodation of these perceived changes informs the reprofessionalisation of teachers as ‘effective teachers’; gives impetus to the promotion of the rhetoric of ‘knowledge society’, ‘information literacy’ and ‘twenty-first century learning’, justifying a curriculum that promotes a model of perpetual learning underpinned by ‘key competencies’ that are perceived to be essential for successful adult life and work; and provides a manufactured moral crisis that requires schools to prioritise values education.

Synchronous with the Curriculum Project and the publication of the Stocktake Report was the publication in 2000 of *Making a Difference in the Classroom: Effective Teaching Practice in Low Decile, Multicultural Schools* (J. Hill & Hawk, 2000) and preparation of the *Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in Schooling: Best Evidence Synthesis* (Alton-Lee, 2003). The latter document has become a significant source of evidence supporting the Ministry of Education effective teaching policy. The writers of the Stocktake Report considered the role of pedagogy in student achievement to be sufficiently important to call for a new section on ‘effective pedagogy’ to be added to the revised framework (Ministry of Education, 2002a). Aspects of this section of *The New Zealand Curriculum* will be considered in Chapter Eight. Suffice now to say that its inclusion, stemming from the suggestion of the Stocktake Report, represents continuity of the emphasis on performativity and intensification of teachers’ work. Recommendation no. 10 noted that the curriculum statements (there was one for each learning area, such as English, Mathematics and so on) should be revised and that these revisions include more detail on effective pedagogy and ways to increase achievement (2002a).

Recommendation no. 4 of the Stocktake Report suggested that the list of fifty-seven essential skills in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework be modified to fit into five groupings (2002a). This would eventually become the ‘key competencies’ and as argued already, this recommendation signalled a massive ‘paradigm shift’ for teacher practice. The Report rationale for this recommendation is that skills of critical and creative thinking, literacy, citizenship and ‘soft’ prosocial skills are required by employers and for participation in a knowledge society and life-long learning (2002a). The recommendation also perpetuated an instrumentalist view of ‘digital literacy’ as a primary workplace function, thus essential to students. These rationales grew from the broader set of socio-political theories previewed in the Introduction and Chapter Three of this thesis. These will be briefly reiterated here.

Neoliberal policies of the 1990s modernised the New Zealand education system by emphasising marketisation and managerialism through local governance and a centralised accountability regime. The election of a Labour-led government in 1999 however marked a significant change as the state came to represent Third Way ideology. Although for some critics, ‘Third Way’ essentially continued the neoliberal agenda with a vigorous alignment to globalisation (Codd, 2005d, p. 193), defenders of Third Way define it as ‘an attempt to transcend both old-style social democracy and Neoliberalism’ (Giddens, 1998b, p. 26). For Third Way thinkers, the conservative values of neoliberalism put it at odds with the freedom of the markets it allows to flourish. On the other hand, old-style social democracy could not survive in the context of the individual freedom provided by the market (and the collapse of international socialism). However, the positive community values of social democracy still had a role to play. Third Way politics therefore attempted to provide greater individualisation, posited a modernising discourse, accepted a global economy and attempted to situate the nation-state and its citizens in a favourable relation to that economic reality (Giddens, 1998b, 2000; Latham, 2001). Human Capital Theory illustrates the fundamental shift evident in the emergent New Zealand Curriculum.

Human Capital Theory (HCT) has become a key argument for the ‘Left modernisers’ (read Third Way thinkers) (Brown & Lauder, 1996). Third Way modernisation seeks the development of ‘human capital’ to aid in the creation of a

'knowledge economy'. These thinkers regard the rapid growth and development of technological solutions as central to their vision of a mobile, wired, modern global economy in which it behoves even a tiny player like New Zealand to contribute to the global capitalist stage. Labour's 1999 Manifesto put it thus:

Labour's vision for the 21st century for New Zealand is of a knowledge-based, high skills, high income, high employment economy underpinned by an active government committed to increasing equality and building strong social services. To achieve this will mean stimulating world-class innovation and skills development capable of sustaining New Zealand as a leading knowledge-based economy. (Quoted by Hope & Stephenson, 2005, p. 29).

The appearance of Third Way ideology in New Zealand political thinking contemporaneous with the evolution of the revisions to the New Zealand Curriculum Framework makes sense of the notion of citizenship in the Stocktake Report that aligned it to so-called 'future focus' themes and views of the 'local, national and global' individual (2002a). However, many of these concepts are left largely unarticulated. Clark challenges the Report for its uncritical acceptance of the globalised economy and technological advancement (2004). He is correct, but fails to see this acceptance as a function of the Third Way thinking (Giddens, 2000) that had begun to permeate socio-political thinking in New Zealand by that time. This thinking places a premium on investment in education because the citizens of successful nation-states will be well-educated and highly skilled (Latham, 2001). Despite this functionalist thinking, there was nevertheless space for progressive and critical educators in the Stocktake Report.

The promotion of critical and creative thinking in the Report signals a significant and positive change. To the extent that the Report writers saw this kind of thinking in transformative terms, it may be made consistent with notions of transformative education, such as Freire's concept of 'problem-posing education' (1970). The emphasis on citizenship skills, notwithstanding their utilitarian use in the Report, when combined with the new emphasis on critical thinking, allows schools to serve their central purpose of providing students with public spaces in which the opportunity to learn democratic skills is made available to them (Giroux, 1997).

The final theme to consider in relation to change or continuity in the Stocktake Report is that of changing socio-political patterns. Critics of Third Way

political parties consider that in their effort to secure electoral success by occupying the centre, (such as Clinton's Democrats, Blair's 'New Labour', and Helen Clark's New Zealand Labour), they have been forced to move to the right (Kelsey, 2002). They have done so by aligning to a law-and-order and family-value morality, allowing Third Way politicians to profess a tough position on crime and promote strong values (Giddens, 2000). By doing so, they tap into the populist sentiment that society is in crisis and that the youth is particularly vulnerable to this crisis and/or responsible for it. Thus it is no surprise to discover that the Stocktake Report noted alarming statistics for violence, intimidation and youth suicide in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2002a). A solution was seen to lie in the ability of curriculum to positively influence classroom climate through its articulation of values and attitudes. The Ministry of Education could not assure the Minister that schools or teachers were reinforcing the stated values and attitudes of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, or that teachers had enough guidance in delivering these (2002a). Recommendation no. 4 that called for the essential skills to be revised, also called for the attitudes and values to be revised and integrated with the skills. This recommendation also called for the 'obligatory' reflection of values and attitudes, along with the essential skills, in all learning programmes in New Zealand schools. This prescriptive recommendation highlights not only the significant shift in practice that would befall teachers once the final Curriculum was implemented in schools, but also the Third Way agenda that seeks a greater degree of individual responsibility from citizens in return for the rights they enjoy (Giddens, 2000, p. 2; Latham, 2001, p. 27).

Clark (2004) saw a positive change in emphasis in the teaching of values, namely a shift from an exercise in values clarification to a mixture of moral guidance and values clarification and what the Report termed a more 'eclectic' approach (Ministry of Education, 2002a). This may include some enquiry, but also training by habituation (2002a). It is significant that the Report insisted that values and skills be integrated in learning programmes, and that flexibility be retained in the curriculum to allow schools and teachers to achieve this. The question of values will be dealt with in more detail in a subsequent chapter. Suffice to say that in regard to values, the Stocktake Report took a far tougher and

more conservative line than its forbears. This degree of prescription, it will be seen, was somewhat diluted by 2007; however the persistence of the place of values reflects a continuity with the earlier conservative neoliberal agenda, albeit now in Third Way form.

ii. Limitations and possibilities

What are the limitations and possibilities in the *Curriculum Stocktake Report*? Earlier it was noted that discussion would return to consider the intention of the Curriculum Stocktake to examine the philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework. As pointed out by Clark (2004) however, the Report writers withdrew this intention by noting that their review of a decade of curriculum development did not intend to go to ‘first principles’ (Ministry of Education, 2002a). For Clark, this is a fundamental flaw, an ‘abject failure’ and an ‘intellectual disgrace’ (2004, p. 74; 77). These criticisms may seem trenchant, especially to those who dedicated their time and energy to the Stocktake process. At the very least, however, certain epistemological challenges in the Curriculum Framework ought to have been confronted, such as its eight curriculum levels that have ‘no basis in research or teacher experience’ (Elley, 2004), and its lack of a ‘meaningful conception of knowledge’ (Roberts, 1997, p. 175). The Framework is contradictory, a characteristic that flows through aspects of the Stocktake Report and ultimately goes on to affect *The New Zealand Curriculum*. An example is its effort to balance the tension between a ‘domains of knowledge’ approach (as evidenced by the learning areas) and the value of integrated curriculum (as discussed in the Stocktake Report in its Part Two of Section Three) (Ministry of Education, 2002a).

Several points raised in the initial Reference Group meeting got lost along the way, such as the issue of teachers being disenfranchised when the Framework was created. This matter was superficially raised and dealt with by Le Métais. She attributed the lack of critical teacher response to the process of creating the New Zealand Curriculum Framework either to their personal commitment to establishing the Framework or their apathy. By this she intended that the perceived inevitability of the curriculum reforms discouraged teachers from

expressing an opinion (2002, p. 3). She also referred to a series of the *Delta* journal that published twenty five critical reviews of the process that led up to the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (see O'Neill, Clark, & Openshaw, 2004), but dismisses this important critique as lacking empirical evidence of the extent to which it may have been representative (Le Métais, 2002, p. 3). One needs only look, however, at the Ministry-commissioned Sampling Survey (McGee et al., 2002, pp. 142-147) to see significant evidence of teacher dissatisfaction with aspects of the Curriculum Framework, such as its unmanageability and the unrealistic nature of the levels and the Achievement Objectives, with one teacher labelling it a 'monstrosity' (McGee et al., 2002, p. 145). The writers of the Stocktake Report had an opportunity to address questions of an epistemological and philosophical nature, but chose to ignore even what their contracted researchers found.

This acceptance of the basic tenets of Framework as a starting point meant that its flaws would be carried over to the new curriculum, thus entailing more limitations in the Stocktake Report than possibilities. Some possibilities that exist have been already outlined. The emphasis on an 'effective pedagogy', although technocratic, would require greater self-reflection by teachers. Coupled with the emphasis on developing critical thinking skills in students, this would create possibilities for *critical* teacher self-reflection, an essential feature of developing ethical teacher professionalism. The inclusion of the citizenship concept, despite its Third Way ideological attachment, would open the way for schools to develop as places where students could learn and develop democratic decision making. This intersects with the notion of 'values', where opportunities could exist for the development of values such as tolerance. And the insistence on the maintenance of flexibility in the curriculum to allow schools and teachers to develop and implement programmes of learning that would make better connections with skills and values would lead to possibilities for unique school based curriculum development.

So far, this chapter has considered the notion of change and continuity, and it has provided a brief historical consideration of curriculum development in New Zealand, bringing this account up to and including the Curriculum Stocktake. To suggest that the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* will encourage

the development of ethical teacher professionalism requires that it be shown to break significantly with curriculum development from the neoliberal reforms of 1989 to 1999 that eroded the professional basis of teachers' work. Examination of background developments, such as the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* of 2002 leading to the drafting of what became the *New Zealand Curriculum*, show that changes have transpired, most significantly being those linked to Third Way ideology. All that remains now is to consider the draft New Zealand Curriculum of 2006.

The Draft New Zealand Curriculum, 2006

The New Zealand Draft Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2006) was presented in mid-2006 to the education community and the wider community for comment. It grew out of the Curriculum Project work following the *Curriculum Stocktake Report*. The Draft combined all existing Learning Areas into one document and added an eighth, Languages. Despite this significant overhaul and the likely implications of the intended curriculum, there was little informed debate in the media on this new policy. For instance, New Zealand's largest daily, *The New Zealand Herald*, carried only some initial response by its staff reporters followed a few months later by two responses critical of the Draft Curriculum (Benade, 2006a; Carpenter, 2006; Editorial, 2006; George, 2006; Oliver, 2006). (See also Benade, 2006b).

The 'Overview' section of the Draft clearly specifies the aim of the Curriculum, and, by implication, of schooling: on leaving school, students 'are equipped for lifelong learning and for living in a [constantly changing] world' (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 7). Key words and phrases from the section entitled 'A Vision', include 'lifelong learning', 'contribute to the growth of [New Zealand's] economy', 'education is the key' and 'knowledge based society' (2006, p. 8). A successful student would be 'entrepreneurial' and 'connected', that is, an 'effective user of communication tools' (2006, p. 8). School learning programmes would be planned around themes of 'sustainability', 'globalisation' and 'enterprise' (2006, p. 26). In its conclusion, the Draft indicates that:

For its future economic growth and success, New Zealand requires workers who are highly skilled, able to respond to continually changing demands, and can fill new kinds of jobs. A successful school leaver is prepared to face many economic

challenges, global competition, and technological change (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 33 Emphasis added).

i. Change or continuity?

What evidence was there in the Draft Curriculum to support either change or continuity? Many of the recommendations of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* are evident in the Draft. It rationalised, for example, the Essential Skills of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework into five *key competencies*, and included a section on *Values*. The *Principles* clearly set out the ‘beliefs that guide practice’ (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 9). As indicated earlier, the Draft condensed the existing multiple Curriculum Statements into this, one, document. The Draft reflected the Third Way concern that New Zealanders be economically competitive in a globalised marketplace, and social cohesion be developed as a priority. It is the influence of this thinking that brings the most change to the underlying rationale for the Curriculum. As indicated earlier, this change has significant bearing on teachers who have to devise and implement learning programmes that integrate values and key competencies. However, as more will be said specifically about both values and key competencies in Chapter Seven, the focus now will be on the notion of ‘effective teaching’ and its implications for ethical teacher professionalism.

Following the recommendation of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report*, the Draft Curriculum has a section entitled ‘Effective Pedagogy’. A fundamental neoliberal and Third Way policy driver is to remedy student underachievement so that New Zealand’s requirement for a highly skilled workforce can be met. It is argued that improved achievement outcomes for students can be delivered by the application of ‘evidence-based teaching’ and ‘quality teaching’ indicators (Alton-Lee, 2003). In the technical-reductionism of the teacher effectiveness movement, ‘quality teaching’ indicators are found by researchers observing effective classrooms, recording the evidence, abstracting effectiveness characteristics, and then applying these to all classrooms and teachers. Table 1 below compares the criteria of ‘Effective Pedagogy’ in the Draft Curriculum with Alton-Lee’s ‘Characteristics of Quality Teaching’. The titles from the Draft have been rephrased and rearranged for clarity and have been matched to Alton-Lee’s chapter sub-headings.

Effective Pedagogy (Draft Curriculum)	Quality Teaching (Alton-Lee)
1. Teachers teach students metacognitive reflection	(ix) Pedagogy promotes learning orientations, student self-regulation, metacognitive strategies and thoughtful student discourse ⁸
2. Teachers move students from the known to the unknown	(viii) Pedagogy scaffolds ⁹ and provides appropriate feedback on students' task engagement
3. Teachers repeat learning opportunities	(v) Opportunity to learn is effective and sufficient (vi) Multiple task contexts support learning cycles
4. Teachers are facilitators of 'learning conversations and partnerships'	(ii) Pedagogical practices enable classes and other learning groupings to work as caring, inclusive, and cohesive learning communities (iii) Effective links are created between school cultural contexts and other cultural contexts in which students are socialised to facilitate learning ¹⁰
5. Teachers make learning intentions clear and relevant	(x) Teachers and students engage constructively in goal-oriented assessment ¹¹
6. Teachers create positive learning cultures in the classroom	(i) Quality teaching is focused on raising student achievement and facilitates high standards of student outcomes for diverse learners (ii) Pedagogical practices enable classes and other learning groupings to work as caring, inclusive, and cohesive learning communities
7. Teachers integrate the use of ICT ¹² in their teaching	(vii) Curriculum goals, resources including ICT usage, task design and teaching are effectively aligned (iv) Quality teaching is responsive to student learning processes ¹³

Table I. A comparison of the 'Effective Pedagogy' of the New Zealand Draft Curriculum (2006, pp. 24-25) and the 'Characteristics of Quality Teaching' of Alton-Lee (Alton-Lee, 2003, pp. vi-x).

⁸This sub-heading relates to a number of ideas in the Draft, including the Key Competencies of 'Managing Self' and 'Thinking'.

⁹'Scaffolding' is the process of taking students in stages into new and unknown areas of learning.

¹⁰These sub-headings have a close link with the Draft principle of 'Connections'

¹¹ A characteristic of 'goal oriented assessment' is that there is clarity about learning outcomes, which is the point of establishing 'learning intentions'.

¹² Information and Communication Technology

¹³ This sub-heading cuts across several ideas in the Draft Curriculum.

The success of ‘quality teaching’ is measured by an on-going cycle of evidence collection, analysis, reporting and then further planning (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 27). Improved student outcomes, evidenced by student results, drives policy evaluation, through public accountability, following a cycle of schools reporting to Boards of Trustees, parents and the wider public. Variances between targets and attainment are reported by Boards of Trustees to the Ministry of Education. As this process intensifies teachers’ work, there is some degree of continuity with earlier neoliberal reform. That is, teachers continue to be *disciplined* by the curriculum, through the Achievement Objectives and through their responsibility to ensure that their students attain these standards.

Table I above indicated the degree of fit between *effective pedagogy* and Alton-Lee’s *effective teacher* profiles (2003). That this *effective pedagogy* is the only direct reference to teachers and teaching in the Draft highlights Codd’s (1997) ‘technocratic-reductionist’ image of an objectives driven teacher operating in a moral vacuum. The conception of teachers in the Draft aligns to the account of the *effective and reflective classroom practitioner* provided in Chapter One, closely linked to neoliberal reform and teacher effectiveness. The Draft describes teachers who have ‘expertise’, are able to ‘identify their students’ learning needs’ and who then use this expertise to decide what and how to teach. Teachers work with ‘students from diverse backgrounds and cultures’, responding to their needs while ‘constructively engaging’ all students in learning.

Despite the silence of the Draft concerning the moral or ethical nature of teaching, it yet remains to be asked whether its conception of teaching is at odds with the concept of the ethical professional. It is equally reasonable to question what is wrong with the account of the *effective and reflective classroom practitioner* given by the New Zealand Draft Curriculum. Some may consider that what the Draft suggests about teaching is eminently suitable. Indeed, to even question the assumptions of teaching made by the Draft is to suggest that one is part of the problem, so pervasive is the influence of the school and teacher effectiveness dogma in New Zealand, and indeed the Anglo-American West.

Wrigley (2004, p. 36) suggested that the terms *effectiveness* and *improvement* are so ideologically loaded that disagreement is a ‘sheer

impossibility... you could no more wish to be 'ineffective' or reject the call to 'improve' a school, than you could disagree with personal hygiene or kindness to animals'. Wrigley (2004) noted that school effectiveness is a quantitative attempt to measure a school's performance against certain criteria (e.g. exam results, hence so-called 'league tables') whereas school improvement is a qualitative study of the development of leadership, management, school culture and *teaching* to establish how these contribute to student attainment. In this sense, school improvement 'has meekly followed School Effectiveness by tacitly accepting quantifiable outcomes as the true purpose of schooling' (2004, p. 38). What makes this decontextualised approach problematic is its rendering of schooling as a technical-rationalist 'enterprise', thus removing any moral aspects from debates about schooling. Discussions about teaching as an ethical profession are null and void on this approach, because teaching is simply not *talked about* except in relation to what makes a teacher effective.

This passionless silence is perpetuated at all levels of education, including teacher 'education', with the result that teachers do not get to think about what the true purpose and value of their journey is, motivated only by their need to show, through appraisal and data collection, their effectiveness as teachers, and the extent of their personal improvement over the previous year, helped along by the 'tailored' professional development courses they attended the previous year. The 'politics of blame' (Thrupp, 1998) are central to the way teachers regard themselves in under-performing schools (read low decile schools). As the rhetoric of improvement and effectiveness disregards (indeed actively sidelines) socio-economic reasons for failure (Thrupp, 1998; Wrigley, 2004), any failure must be the result of teacher ineffectiveness and of low teacher expectations of students.

The Draft Curriculum has a concept of teaching that *is* at odds with a concept of teaching as an ethical profession. It proposes a state-sponsored and legitimated notion of what counts as a 'good teacher', one who is very possibly alienated from the purposes of schooling and hence, from teaching itself. The Draft proposes teaching as a neutral and objective activity amenable to control. It proposes an amoral profession. Despite this apparent continuity with neoliberal ideology, *change* to Third Way ideological thinking is also evident with respect to notions that teachers will develop critical thinking capacities in their students and

create ‘caring, inclusive [and] non-discriminatory’ classrooms (Ministry of Education, 2006, pp. 24-25), thus opening the promise of developing ethical teacher professionalism and an ethical profession.

ii. limitations and possibilities

What are the limitations and possibilities in the Draft Curriculum? It was a plan for a policy document of some considerable influence. As predicted (Benade, 2009, p. 16), little was changed by the four month ‘consultation’ process of 2006. The Draft provided an account of the teaching profession that has strong roots in the rhetoric of school/teacher effectiveness. Because of this particular ideological attachment, the Draft devoted only 5% of its total length to teachers and teaching. As will be noted later, this omission continues into *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The silences of the Draft reveal its view of teaching as an instrumental role that if carried out according to a particular formula, will lead to enhanced ‘outcomes’ for students, who are able to achieve regardless of their history or background.

The Draft also introduced Third Way notions to New Zealand education, particularly the ‘knowledge economy’ and the central role of values and key competencies, that would aid in the attainment of the dual aims of social cohesion and global economic success. As an intervention in the arena of public education, the Draft displayed characteristic power traits privileging the views of those with influence over the Ministry of Education. Succeeding chapters will suggest that despite these limitations, there are still spaces to seek out and develop for the purposes of developing an ethical education and for teachers to become ethical professionals.

Chapter Five: Policy

An underlying intention of this thesis is to argue that ethical teacher professionalism can grow and persist in the hearts, minds and actions of teachers because they are able to develop and exercise agency within the complexities and contradictions of policy. The concept of *ethical teacher professionalism* is not however dependent on policies, proclamations or codes of ethics for its attainment. Rather it is the outcome of the efforts of teachers, working individually and collectively, *to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work.* This definition, developed in Chapter Two, highlights the altruistic essence of ethical teachers who live out ethical teacher professionalism in their daily work, and indeed, in their private capacities. For when teachers discuss their students, school or work in social settings as they often do, they reveal their ethical compass. When such teachers use their private and personal time and resources to ensure that they can better the opportunities for their students, they are both developing and exercising their ethical teacher professionalism. This thesis suggests that critical implementation by schools and teachers of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that explores and develops the spaces opened by its internal contradictions will support the attainment of ethical teacher professionalism.

Chapter Four thus demonstrated that although *The New Zealand Curriculum* displays much continuity with its predecessor reforms, in several important respects it breaks with those reforms. It is these breaks that open potential spaces that enable critical and creative implementation of this curriculum and the development of agency of those affected by this policy. The critical engagement of teachers with curriculum implementation will support the development of ethical teacher professionalism. Conversely, an uncritical process of implementation will further alienate teachers from their work.

Following on from Chapter Four, which considered the role of causation in policy changes, this chapter asks the questions: **what is policy, what it is for and what does it do?** It also asks: **what insights are gained from a study of approaches to policy that can be applied to the New Zealand Curriculum?** The starting-point of this chapter is that *The New Zealand Curriculum* is a policy text. Yet it is also much more, and it reflects the notion that policy is ‘riddled with ambiguity’ (Prunty, 1985, p. 133). The notion of ‘policy’ will therefore be problematised in this chapter. There are ‘for any text a plurality of readers [which] must necessarily produce a plurality of meanings’ (Codd, 1988, p. 239). This characterisation reveals that policy is not a neutral text, and indeed, at a deeper level has discursive power (Ball, 1993; Codd, 1988), contributing to what is and may be said and done in the area over which it exercises influence. In this sense, policy is also an expression of power and contestation (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). Bell and Stevenson (2006) warn against regarding policy formulation and policy implementation as two separate processes. This argument is clarified by the insight that individual teachers are not victims of policy, which is developed by exploration of the concepts of agency, identity and discourse in relation to policy. Responses to policy can range from resistance to compliance, and critical discussion of this theme will add insight to the notion of space. *The New Zealand Curriculum* is characterised by its multiple and sometimes conflicting intentions and these contradictions create the spaces that are central to the overriding argument of this thesis, namely that the critical and creative implementation of this Curriculum can support the development of ethical teacher professionalism. This concept of space will be further developed in Chapter Six. This chapter will conclude by considering methods of policy analysis, and will in particular propose a strategy that will be employed in Chapter Six.

Policy: Insights and approaches

A general lack of clarity over what policy is and the absence of standard usage of the term led Prunty (1985, p. 133) to characterise policy as ambiguous. Furthermore, clarity is required regarding the intention of policy, not in the sense of what it *means*, rather in the sense of what it is *for*. Some policy may simply serve a ritualistic function of stating an ideal state of affairs. This is what Taylor,

Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997) refer to as *symbolic* policy. Other policy may be intended to set out clear guidelines for practice that will bring about material change, and will be supported by funding. Ball (1993), Codd (1988) and Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997) highlight the importance of viewing policy critically, as policy is not merely an objective document that attends to the fair distribution of resources among groups in society. Rather, policy serves specific interests, such as that of the dominant class in society, or a specific ‘way of life’, such as a capitalist mode of production. Policy analysis must therefore be clear as to the intent and type of the specific document or ensemble of documents being assessed. The following discussion will give some consideration to the following aspects: a demarcation of the concept ‘policy’; approaches to policy; policy in relation to the state and questions of power; policy as text and as discourse; the effects of policy.

a) *What is policy?*

There could be the expectation that policy is merely a statement of government intent in regard to a particular issue. For example, the subject of study here, namely *The New Zealand Curriculum*, makes a ‘statement of official policy’, that the ‘principal function [of the Curriculum] is to set the direction for student learning and to provide guidance for schools as they design and review their curriculum’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 6). In this sense, policy will ‘show the way’. It will define what is appropriate to consider in a given set of circumstances (and what is not – which will be considered later). Policy could be seen as a plan, and in this case one can assume that *The New Zealand Curriculum* document will outline its plan for student learning that schools should follow.

However, policy need not necessarily emanate from government only. Schools are required to have policies, teachers’ associations have policies and commercial companies have policies. In these contexts for example, a company employee may tell a customer that ‘it is not our policy to replace items that break down in the first year due to normal wear and tear’ In this sense, a policy could be a set of rules or established procedures. It is likely to be based upon certain principles, such as providing time limited guarantees against defective

manufacturing that is beyond a customer's control. It may be seen therefore, how 'policy' also comes to have a contractual element (such as providing a customer guarantee), especially used in the insurance industry. In that case, a client and a company enter in to a mutually binding contract that provides (limited) protection for the client against potential events named in the policy in return for a regular premium paid by the client.

So far, what is clear is that 'policy' refers to a definitive enunciation of what should and should not be the case within a context over which the policy has influence. Policy may be a plan of action or a guideline or it may present a solution to a problem (or be the procedures that either prevent problems reoccurring or guide action in the event of a reoccurrence). It should therefore also be evident that policy refers to an uneven relationship in which the policy maker appears to set the agenda. This point, which is about power, will be addressed shortly. Evidently too, this enunciation of principles, rules, standards and procedures appears in written form, and thus policy is a text. That being so, one may consider questions related to the authorship of policy text, and the intended audience of that text. This in turn could suggest questions about meaning, clarification and interpretation. These matters too will be considered shortly. If policy defines potential behaviour and action within a particular context for the persons associated with that context, it is also important to consider the shift from being an enunciation in text to an enunciation in the words, thoughts and behaviour of the people affected by that text. Policy, as will be highlighted shortly, therefore concerns questions of power, text *and* discourse, and thus is much more than a statement of required actions in a particular context given specific circumstances. Before taking those considerations further, it must be acknowledged that the concern in this chapter is not with insurance policies or the membership policies of teachers' associations, for example, but with *public policies*, that is, those that are formulated by the state and that have influence over public institutions, such as schools. It will thus be helpful to begin this analysis with a brief review what certain writers have said in the past about policy.

In one place, Codd (2005c, p. 30) suggested that policy refers to sets of political decisions that use power to preserve or alter the nature of educational

institutions or their practices. In an earlier piece, he suggested that policy outlines a course of action that selects goals, defines values and allocates resources (1988, p. 235). Ball (1993) takes a much more open-ended approach, not wishing to commit to one definition, but at one level (termed 'policy as text') he sees policy as an intervention in practice that calls for specific action to occur. For Bell and Stevenson, policy states what is to be done, who will benefit and why, and suggests who will pay (2006, p. 9). Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997, p. 25) acknowledged that policy resists easy definition, however they accentuate that it entails both the process and production of a text that has to be implemented and continually modified, occurring in a context that is complex, multi-layered and subject to contestation. An understanding of what policy is may however be enhanced by considering some specific *approaches* to understanding policy.

b) Approaches to understanding policy

A *technical-rationalist* approach may regard policy merely as an expression of government intent. From this perspective, policy is a problem-solving device. In the early twenty-first century New Zealand education setting for example, an on-going concern for the Ministry of Education relates to significant levels of underachievement in New Zealand schools (relative to other states in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)) (Ministry of Education, 2002a, p. 12). Acting on behalf of the government (and often on the instructions of government), it evolves policies that embody strategies for action to solve the perceived or identified problem. One such policy intervention is the 2008 *Pasifika Education Plan*. This policy sees itself contributing to the government goal of a 'high income, knowledge-based economy' by setting for the compulsory education sector a goal to 'accelerate Pasifika students' qualifications achievement'. The reason given for this goal is that 'although school leavers' qualifications rates are improving overall, 55% of Pasifika males and 46% of Pasifika females left school in 2006 without NCEA level 2 (or equivalent)' (Ministry of Education, 2008b). The policy details a number of strategic actions to deal with the problem such as the development of 'regional plans which support schools to set and report on achievement targets for Pasifika students'

(Ministry of Education, 2008b). As a policy, it has selected goals, defined values and allocated resources (Codd, 1988, p. 235).

Sometimes the impetus for policy, while still motivated by the need to solve a problem, lies in the election promises of a newly-elected government (Philips, 2005, p. 134), or public pressure for change (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). A controversial contemporary New Zealand example is the National Standards policy introduced by the National-led government in 2010. Its justification for this policy is not only to address a perceived problem (too many students failing to leave school even with a basic Level 1 NCEA qualification due to low literacy and numeracy skills) (Key, 2010), but also because it was given an election mandate to introduce this policy (Buutveld, 2009a). As indicated above, the *Pasifika Education Plan* was responding in part to a government strategic goal (a 'high income, knowledge-based economy') that had been placed on the policy agenda by the successive Labour-led governments of 1999 – 2008. Such a government agenda will focus research and development funding on policies that serve to meet those goals (Philips, 2005). Governments have their own unique policy agendas that reflect their particular values, as expressed in their manifestos and carried out in their various policies once elected. These policies, as seen in the *Pasifika Education Plan* example, set goals that reflect and support government values. These goals are achieved (or are intended to be achieved) through specific actions. These actions require material support that may, as in the example under discussion, come from the Ministry of Education.

Although the minimal definitions of policy provided earlier can be seen enacted in authentic policies, the account provided so far still portrays a shallow understanding of policy. A more textured understanding of the *technical-rationalist* approach is called for, which will provide greater grasp of the distinctions that exist between alternative approaches to analysing policy. A *technical-rationalist* sees policy (such as the *Pasifika Education Plan*) as the outcome of a rational process of problem identification; analysis of the problem and consideration of alternatives; budgeting; and finally packaging a solution. This rational-linear approach (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 15) is also termed *technical-empiricist* (Codd, 1988, p. 237). These labels each suggest that a positivistic epistemology underlies this approach (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and

Henry, 1997). It privileges an unproblematic understanding of policy, focussing on what policy is *for* (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Codd, 1988). It does not recognise conflict or the value-laden nature of policy (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997), and regards policy instrumentally as a mode of balancing competing social interests and allocating resources according to an ‘objective’ assessment of observable facts. The policy analyst is not a policy advocate on this approach.

In contrast is a *critical* approach to policy that is rather more concerned with the intent or effect *of* policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Codd, 1988). A more detailed discussion of critical theory as a basis of this critical approach will be considered later in this chapter when considering a strategy for policy analysis to be applied to *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Suffice it now to note that a critical approach rejects positivism as an appropriate epistemology, eschews the bifurcation of policy analysis and policy advocacy, and argues instead for recognition of the moral purpose and impact of policy (Prunty, 1985; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). Diverse theoretical perspectives (such as critical theory, feminism, post-structuralism, postmodernism and neo-Marxism) share a critical approach to policy. These approaches take the view that policy serves dominant interests and manufactures consent to that state of affairs (Codd, 1988; O’Neill, 2005). These approaches unite in their recognition of the value-laden nature of policy. As policy-making is subject to competing interests that often results in a compromise among these interests, critical approaches seek to ensure that the principles of social justice and democratic decision-making are prioritised. A critical approach is the one adopted in this thesis, evidenced by a focus on the effects of policy and problematisation of the process of creating and implementing policy. It is to a consideration of the effects of policy that the discussion will now turn.

c) Policy effects

For this discussion of policy effects, the comparison of technical-rationalist and critical approaches to understanding policy will again be used. A technical-rationalist approach would entail simply examining by empirical means whether policy was working to provide a solution to the problem the policy was written to

correct or whether it is effective as a guideline to practice. One way to achieve this is by setting a timeframe on the policy. The *Pasifika Education Plan* is an example of this, as its title indicates its timeframe to be 2008 – 2012. Milestones would be established and progress against the set targets monitored at each milestone. If required, policy can be amended during the implementation process, possibly by rephrasing certain targets or providing more resource. For instance, the Ministry of Education focus on raising achievement in relation to other OECD states requires that it constantly monitor the various international education assessments carried out by the OECD. These include the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Programme in International Student Assessment (PISA). Similarly, the Ministry of Education tracks data gained from the local National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP). Data from these sources and their analysis is significant in the on-going evaluation and review of New Zealand education policy (Philips, 2005, p. 136).

From a critical point of view, the question of policy effects is not quite so simple given that this perspective recognises that policy is neither neutral nor unproblematic. Questions that must be raised include counting the cost of implementing a policy. This cost is not only the material cost but the psychological costs to those on the receiving end of policy and the impact on the working life of those implementing the policy. Once again, the 2010 *National Standards* policy (Ministry of Education, 2009) is an illuminating example as it is considered by its critics to be likely to have very negative effects on children, labelling them as failures and subjecting schools to trial by media through the use of league tables (New Zealand Educational Institute, 2010). From this critical perspective, there may also be questions of the motivation or purposes of the policy. If its task is to shape or guide practice (which is in part what *The New Zealand Curriculum* claims its purpose is), then it is valid to inquire what it is about existing practice that requires this attention. So for example, as noted in the previous chapter, the Curriculum Reference Group could not assure the Minister of Education in the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* that teachers and schools were paying sufficient attention to the teaching of values (Ministry of Education, 2002a) therefore, *The New Zealand Curriculum* now stipulates that boards of trustees are to ensure that the values listed in the Curriculum are ‘encouraged,

modelled [by teachers] and ... explored by students' (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 44). Boards are bound by legislation, and therefore they have the right and obligation to enjoin their teachers not only to encourage these values, but to model them too. This example provides a further insight to policy, namely the issue of *power*.

d) Power

Even as a framework that provides a guideline for action, policy is the exertion of state power that manufactures consent (Codd, 1988) so that perceived problems may be solved, a desirable state of affairs may be brought about or behaviour modified. Power is reflected not only in policy formulation but also in its implementation. In New Zealand, the state relies on its decentred agencies such as boards of trustees to carry out its work. However, schools or boards may come in conflict with the state, due to contradictions and tensions created by this exercise of state power, which may be illustrated by some examples. The issue of values in the Curriculum cited above refers not simply to the possible failure of teachers to successfully or thoroughly transmit values. Rather, in a Third Way world, as noted earlier, a moral panic is manufactured that implicates the youth, requiring schools to undertake overt and explicit programmes of values education. Thus a board that took seriously its legislative responsibility to ensure its teachers were modelling the values listed by *The New Zealand Curriculum* would be required to act decisively against a teacher it found was not modelling one of these values. The list of values (which will be critically analysed in Chapter Seven) – excellence; innovation, inquiry and curiosity; diversity; equity; community and participation; ecological sustainability; integrity; and respect (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10) – is sufficiently innocuous not to disturb the general slumber of the profession, boards of trustees or general public. Indeed, one would expect a board to act against one of its teachers found to be dishonest or racist, values or no values. However, would a board act against a teacher (of whom there are many) who was only present when required, but who took no part in the school's community activities? Clearly, a board *could* build such a requirement

into its contracts with its teachers, and monitor each teacher's participation in community activities through the Principal.

A further example that more fully highlights the question of power exercised through policy and the tensions this creates is that already referred to, namely the 2010 *National Standards* policy. During 2010, a steadily brewing row over the introduction of this policy developed between the National-led government and the primary teachers' union, the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI). Other players, such as the New Zealand Principals' Federation (NZPF) became involved on the side of the union. While not taking up the government's side, the New Zealand School Trustees' Association (NZSTA), representing boards, however made comments suggesting it was not opposed to the concept of national standards in literacy and numeracy. These comments also revealed its anger with the NZEI and NZPF (Kerr, 2010). With the whiff of boycott in the air surrounding comments by the two professional bodies, the NZSTA reminded its members of their legal obligations to implement the standards and that employment action could be taken against principals who refused to comply (Hunt, 2010).

These examples demonstrate that policy is not neutral and that it involves certain power plays. As noted earlier, a likely source of policy is the promises made on the hustings by an incoming government (Philips, 2005). Policy formulation also results from on-going research and policy analysis focussed on solving problems, expanding a reform agenda, or responding to existing policies found wanting in some way (2005). A pluralist view of society would argue that government does not have either a blank slate or a free hand when producing policy, as it has to accommodate the interests of lobby groups and power blocs in society. Government may therefore be expected call on a range of stakeholders, as reflected by the Curriculum Reference Group that produced the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Ministry of Education, 2002a) discussed in the previous chapter. However Bell and Stevenson (2006) rejected the processes suggested here. They argued that such an interpretation firstly resembles a rational-linear approach that regards values and competition as unproblematic and secondly emanates from an idealist pluralist paradigm that believes intra-group conflict can be managed and competing values reconciled. Instead, their own view has a

postmodernist flavour, seeing the process of policy making as nonlinear and messy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 17). Ball made the same point thus: ‘There is ad hocery, negotiation and serendipity within the state, within the policy formulation process’ (1993, p. 11). The reality is likely to reflect all three positions. Governments do have a policy agenda; they are able to be systematic; their efforts can be stymied or slowed by lobby groups, who are equally likely to participate fully in formulating policy; they can be forced back to the policy table by force of protest or boycott; and they will use all the negotiation skills and levers at their disposal to get general agreement.

The point about power needs to be concluded, however. What the discussion above highlights is that in a democracy, certain groups have the power (mandated through an electoral process) to put proposed policy on to the agenda or to lobby in its favour or for its rejection or modification (all of these points richly illustrated by the national standards debate in New Zealand in 2010). Those in positions of power are able to determine what the policy will say, what it will require and what resources it will allocate (Ball, 1993, p. 14; Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 9; Codd, 2005c, p. 31). However, this power is not exercised in a totalitarian and brutish manner, but could rather be seen as providing the possibility to influence the actions of others, achieved in part because those in power have time to manipulate the policy field and sanitise it of controversial elements, thus narrowing the scope for contest and disagreement (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). This particular exercise of power was noted by Clark when protesting the manufactured consent process around the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Clark, 2004). Likewise, the consultation process related to the Draft New Zealand Curriculum reflected a similar use of power (Benade, 2009) by framing feedback questions whose required responses assumed acceptance of the draft policy. More complex still is the ability of those with power to influence others to alter their behaviour and thought so that they come to see congruence between their values and those represented by policy, a good example being the ‘effective teacher’ discourse. Vaughan (1994) traces this propensity to Foucauldian notions of subjectification and governmentality, whereby the individual agent willingly accedes to the policy and self-manages personal actions and discourse, so that these are reflective of policy. These concepts are linked to power and discourse.

e) *Policy as discourse*

The concept of spaces in a policy is clarified by a consideration of policy as discourse. Because the exercise of power in Western-style democracies is not brutally repressive, it has to be understood and theorised differently. The discussion of Foucault by Popkewitz (1999) and Vaughan (1994) highlights that insofar as power may be the ability to influence others, it can have a creative and productive force. This feature of the use of power by those who exercise it is evident in the manufacture of consent. This feature assures a high level of consent by the subjects of policy, who are drawn by its creative and productive possibilities. Power from a Foucauldian point of view can be creative because it enables change (Heller, 1996).

Foucauldian subjectivity is theorised as a binary notion relating to what the subject is *able* to say and what the subject is *permitted* to say (Bacchi, 2000), hence Ball's point: 'Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority' (1993, p. 14). Thus, even though those who have power may delimit the arena in which policy operates so that its subjects are able to produce a positive or creative outcome, certain conditions apply to those subjects, perhaps in the form of accountability mechanisms. This simple 'carrot and stick' notion can be seen in the Foucauldian idea of governmentality, represented by Vaughan (1994). This notion further develops the idea that power in a Western-style democracy does not exist in brutish forms, but places far greater emphasis on the individual to self-manage, a trend evident in Third Way writings (Giddens, 1998b; Latham, 2001).

However, linking Foucauldian governmentality to policy is more complex than what may be suggested by the Third Way notion of self-management. Foucauldian governmentality carries with it the concept of self-discipline and self-punishment (Vaughan, 1994) that reveals the individual as one who colludes with state power as it is exercised over the individual. Discursive power is conveyed through the text of a policy document when its readers and recipients become disposed to act and speak in the ways suggested by the policy. In this sense then, teachers take up *subject positions* (O'Neill, 2005a). They see

themselves and talk about themselves in the way policy articulates, thus perpetuating, through their own discourse, a production of truth and knowledge (Ball, 1993); indeed, it may be suggested, a *reproduction* of that ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’. In other words, ‘discourse’ is not just about what is written or said, but what is enacted. In this sense, discourse (or language) has effects on human behaviour and thought. However, this view of the power of discourse can be taken too far, to a point from which it is argued, as Ball does, that the subject voice is limited to echoing only the voice of authority (1993, p. 15). This is a bridge too far if we are to seek spaces in policy. It is a view that echoes the rigid economic determinism of Althusser (1971), and for Bacchi (2000), it highlights the point that some policy-as-discourse theorists are wedded to a politics of contestation that is derived from a notion of power as essentially repressive. So for example, on the question of manufactured consent, Codd’s view (1988) was that the notion of public consultation of policy drafts provides the illusion of a democratic process, allowing people to think that policy is an expression of public will when in reality it is nothing other than the legitimation of state control. On this interpretation, power is exercised through ‘distorted communication and false constructions of social reality’, which has a pervasive effect on those affected because they fail to recognise it for what it is (1988, pp. 242-243). This is a different interpretation to the one suggested earlier, namely that the manufacture of consent is the use of power to manage disparate views in a pluralist democracy to create consensus. Codd’s views expressed here serve as a reminder that policy can and should be acknowledged also as text.

f) Policy as text

In Codd’s portrayal of manufactured consensus, it should be clear that policy is not the work of one hand, reflecting instead negotiation and compromise (Ball, 1993; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). It is the result of bringing together representatives of the disparate views also mentioned earlier. Nowhere is this clearer than in the work of the Curriculum Reference Group that led the formulation of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Ministry of Education, 2002a) that provided the guiding recommendations for what is now *The New Zealand*

Curriculum. This group included such varied political-ideological interests as those of the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) on one hand and the New Zealand Employers' Federation (NZEF) on the other (Ministry of Education, 2001). The emphasis in a pluralist democratic state on achieving and attaining consensus across a broad front brings together a range of interest groups who will bargain, argue and negotiate their way to a compromise (Ball, 1993; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997), hence the view that policy does not reflect one hand (Ball, 1993). Furthermore, in a pluralist state, this range of interests and positions is reflected in the people and organisations at whom and which policy is aimed. Thus, when policy is considered as text, it should be apparent that this text is certain to be received differently, read differently and understood differently, leading Codd to the observation that 'for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings' (1988, p. 239). This insight is critical to the notion of spaces in a policy text like *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Codd later distinguished between policy as substantive and policy as procedural, where the former is the expression of political intent, and the latter is its implementation (2005c). However, while this may suggest that there can be unified authorial intent, Codd was at pains to deny that possibility, arguing for a complete suppression of the author (1988), a strain in postmodernist literary deconstruction noted by Bacchi (2000).

Whereas the focus of the earlier discussion of policy as discourse was on the potential social effects of policy on the subject, a consideration of policy as text places greater emphasis on textual deconstruction. Bacchi (2000, pp. 46-47) regarded both (policy as text/policy as discourse) approaches to be different branches of the discourse tree, consisting of social deconstruction and textual deconstruction. She demonstrated that social deconstruction is a positive and affirming position while textual deconstruction (having an origin in literary deconstruction) is negative or pessimistic. This is because textual deconstruction is more concerned with minimising authorship and questioning whether any truth is evident in text. Social deconstructionists, having a greater interest in power, will seek ways forward through negotiation, discussion and contest. Ball wanted to keep both forms of understanding open for consideration, believing such an approach to be appropriate to postmodern concerns that could highlight localised

complexity (1993, p. 10). Ball's approach does not, on reflection, take up the radical postmodern scepticism that regards all text incredulously and inherently untruthful. There is space for interpretation and action:

Policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, off-set against other expectations. (Ball, 1993, p. 12)

An approach to policy as text recognises the earlier points that policy texts have multiple authors, attempt to unify multiple intentions, and have multiple readers, allowing for multiple readings. Policy does not 'pop through the school letterbox out of the blue' (Ball, 1993, p. 11), but has its own history, as amply demonstrated in the case of *The New Zealand Curriculum* in Chapter Three. Likewise, policy is not implemented exactly as planned, because the reader of text, not the writer, is privileged by policy-as-text analyses. Schools and teachers have their own histories and priorities, and will make meaning of the text as they find it. The policy text is filtered through and mediated by several layers, beginning at the source, which may experience a change of personnel as policy implementation could span several administrations (Philips, 2005; Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997), each change giving rise to potential shifts in interpretation and emphasis at the top (Ball, 1993). Layers of mediation include policy implementation bureaucracies and groups established for that purpose (Philips, 2005), and boards of trustees (O'Neill, 2005a) that are legally obliged to ensure implementation occurs in their school. As trustees are elected volunteers, often with little direct experience or understanding of education, Principals and Heads of Department are a critical layer in any implementation process, who in turn rely on teachers to successfully implement policy. The space that exists between teachers and the policy source, with its multiple layers that allow for multiple interpretations and re-interpretations (Ball, 1993) enables teachers to develop agency, directing their own actions (O'Neill, 2005a), providing pivotal justification for believing that space exists to enable the critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

g) Spaces in implementation

An important lesson to be derived from the preceding discussion is that neither should policy making be privileged over policy implementation, nor should the product of policy making be privileged over the process of its making and on-going reshaping. This lesson is instructive in the search to understand the notion of spaces in implementation, for it helps to clarify that policy-makers are not totalitarian centralised planners, neither are the recipients of policy robotic automatons. Teachers may not necessarily read policy text first hand, or without confusion or misunderstanding, as noted by Ball, who pointed out that the resultant confusion may lead to ‘de-moralisation’ (1993, p. 12). Nevertheless, the ‘compromise, struggle and *ad hocery*’ (Ball, 1993, pp. 16, emphasis in the original) of each context ‘highlights the scope for actors in the policy process to exert agency’ (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 18). Policy implementation is not a ‘zero-sum game’ of constraint against agency, whereby the subject is either a loser oppressed by policy or a winner who resists policy (Ball, 1993). Rather, agency and constraint work together, shaping each other. An assessment therefore of whether the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* fosters ethical teacher professionalism should not view teachers as either oppressed technicians or as militant underground ‘cultural workers’, actively resisting the neoliberal onslaught. How teachers respond to a curriculum policy text will depend on a range of factors, including their willingness to have an open and critical mind, the spaces provided by their school leaders, who may not favour a critical reading of policy but could seek instead an uncritical adoption of the policy, and the degree of central control over the policy.

There is an inverse relationship between central control and school based freedom to interpret and implement. School based curriculum development was intended by the Education Act of 1989, and acknowledged by the New Zealand Curriculum Framework of 1993. However, its application in practice was weak and inconsistent (McGee et al., 2002), thus had to be reinforced as a central feature of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. This may have unintended consequences for the state, for a policy text, while it can shape behaviour, thoughts and actions, is not immutable nor is it immune from interpretation in ways not expected by policy-makers and legislators. While the emphasis on school based curriculum

development in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is not a break with earlier developments, Chapter Six will show that it has considerable significance by legitimately opening spaces to enable the critical and creative implementation of the Curriculum.

Policy analysis: a strategy

Chapters Six to Eight will undertake a critique of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Although the preceding consideration of what policy is, what it is for and what its effects might be did consider approaches to *understanding* policy, the following discussion will provide insight to policy *analysis*. In particular, the approach to policy analysis in this thesis is informed by some of the insights developed in critical theory. It will be seen how that particular position influences the two approaches to policy analysis that are subsequently outlined, the second of which will be applied to *The New Zealand Curriculum* in Chapter Six.

a) Critical theory

The discussion of policy in this chapter and subsequent critique of *The New Zealand Curriculum* is aligned to critical theory. However, as suggested earlier in this chapter, there may be several ‘critical’ approaches in education that take critical theory as a starting-point. Some of these, such as postmodernist and poststructuralist positions, are motivated in turn by their critique of ‘critical modernism’, which is a critical tradition seeking ‘to grasp the society as an historical totality constituted through social antagonisms of power, domination, and emancipatory potential’ (Popkewitz, 1999, p. 3). By rejecting this ‘totalising narrative’, critical postmodern positions have focussed more on individual subjects or localised groups, and have taken up the Foucauldian concern with the disciplining effects of knowledge (1999, p. 4). For the purposes of this and subsequent discussion, what Popkewitz calls ‘critical modernism’, will be termed ‘critical theory’, and any reference to other critical positions in education that may share similar antecedents, will be referred to by their usual name.

Critical theory has links to both Marx and the Frankfurt School, represented by a group of German thinkers linked with the Institute for Social Research at the

University of Frankfurt. These thinkers include Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas, whose normative antecedents lie in the works of Kant, Hegel and Marx. Their political interest in democracy stems from their critique of European fascism in which context they formed their own work. They rejected narrow interpretations of Marx (Gur-Ze'ev, 1999), but nevertheless drew inspiration from Marx (Berendzen, 2009). They in turn influenced many of the writers who contributed and continue to contribute to an understanding of critical pedagogy (Gur-Ze'ev, 1999). Critical theory must be explanatory, practical, and normative (Bohman, 2005). Its explorations and explanations are multidisciplinary, drawing on philosophy, sociology and broader social theories, and its methodology can include empirical research. It is practical in a moral, not instrumental sense (2005), and is normative in its prioritisation of human emancipation in a variety of forms. In its search for social justice, it is not unusual to encounter the terminology of 'struggle', 'contest', 'resistance', 'contradictions' and ideology, and an underpinning assumption in the power of dialectical reasoning that envisages disputes and differences to be settled by rigorous and rational debate (Bohman & Rehg, 2009; Popkewitz, 1999).

In this thesis, critical theory is used to problematise (for example, policy texts) by identification and analysis in which conflict, tension and contradiction are considered to be significant categories. Understanding of these categories is mediated by specific contexts and settings. Policy is regarded as a text characterised by anonymity and multiplicity of authorship. The critical analysis used here recognises that text has discursive powers, and can be read in multiple ways. It further assumes that policy intent is not unified, and that policy can be based on contradictory underlying elements and principles. This implies an interest in ideology and the power that stands behind ideology that is used to restrict freedom or contain critical thought or independent opinion. Critical theory has a commitment to social justice. Theoretical notions of praxis and critically reflective pedagogy used in this thesis are consistent with the approach to policy analysis taken here. This approach is concerned with action directed at the human fulfilment of those who work in the shadow of policy, explaining the motivation to critically locate and understand *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and devising a model of curriculum implementation that can develop ethical teacher

professionalism. Two specific approaches to policy analysis aligned to the interests of critical theory will now be considered, namely that suggested by Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997), and by Bell and Stevenson (2006).

b) Context, text and consequences

Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997, p. 42) suggested several approaches to policy analysis, including analysis of the policy life-cycle and ethnographic field studies. Such studies may consider the impacts of policy through participant interviews and focus groups. While these approaches are likely to be of relevance to the later application of the ideas contained in this thesis, for present purposes they can be set aside. Taylor and her associates highlighted some of the various critical possibilities that exist when analysing policy. They noted, for example, less reliance on establishing intent of policy and greater emphasis on understanding the effects of policy. Such approaches favour a critical approach to matters of discourse and power (1997).

i. Context

A focus on the *context* of a policy (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997, p. 45), allows a critical policy researcher to consider the historical antecedents of that policy and the local or global pressures that may have been applied to bring it about. Domestic pressure can combine with electoral success, thus leading to specific policies, as already demonstrated in this chapter. In considering context, the researcher is not, and ought not to be, confined to looking only at the policy in question, as policies often form an ensemble. It may be argued for example that a consistent policy discourse in New Zealand is aimed at achieving seamlessness in the New Zealand education system. However as policy making is a serendipitous process subject to compromise and reformulation, the end product may not resemble the early versions (1997, pp. 9-10).

ii. Text

Policy is presented as *text* (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997, p. 48) that must be addressed by the critical policy researcher. Earlier discussions in this

chapter in relation to policy as text and policy as discourse are pertinent here, because the text creates the parameters that define the scope for creative action. The text also delineates power by attempting to prescribe how individual actors may speak of the matters over which the policy has jurisdiction. The researcher thus looks to the underlying ideological interests that support and shape the policy. As earlier argued, policy is not the hand of one person, and this multiple authorship thus implies multiple contributions during the formulation stage. As noted in regard to context, policy reflects (but may not admit) compromise. Thus it behoves the researcher to investigate the text for its contradictions and its silences. A policy text may be as interesting for what it says and whom it refers to as it is for the contents it fails to include or the people it marginalises. Teachers occupy the shadow-lands of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, occupying a mere two pages of a forty-four page text. Thinking, critical thinking and reflective thinking is advanced throughout the text, yet is never applied to teachers.

Bacchi (2000), referred to earlier, distinguished between social deconstruction and textual deconstruction, the latter having close links to literary deconstruction. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry (1997) suggested the close examination of specific words or terms that may be used to cover over the contradictions just mentioned or to promote an ideological view that has power at a particular time.

iii. Consequences

Finally, Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry implied some difficulties in establishing the policy *consequences* (1997, p. 50), especially at the point of formulation and early implementation. Policy effects are difficult to establish from the point of view of postmodernist or poststructuralist positions, as there is no single reading of policy and thus no certainty over authorial intent, particularly as there are multiple authors involved. However, the critical researcher may consider the performance indicators demanded by the policy, or the public perception of the policy. This is not to say that policy effects or consequences cannot be established; rather that to do so will not follow a neat formula or a linear progression.

c) *A holistic model of formulation and implementation*

Bell and Stevenson (2006, pp. 12-13) followed the model outlined above, although they believed that it required certain refinements. In particular, they sought to link the context of policy formulation to the greater strategic direction of the state. In addition, they wished to consider policy effects more systematically, and focus more attention on the transition from policy formulation to policy implementation. They noted, however, that they were not positing a linear model, and as suggested earlier, dismissed what they termed a ‘rational-linear’ model of policy investigation. The framework of policy analysis suggested by Bell and Stevenson (2006) is one that can be fruitfully applied to *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Their starting point was the contention that it is more correct to speak of *policy development* than it is to make a firm distinction between policy making and policy implementation. This is not to say that the writers intended to minimise the significance of implementation, which is the crux of the central question of this thesis. Indeed, their model, as will be seen, makes use of the formulation-implementation distinction. However, in their view, a strong distinction between formulation and implementation is unhelpful, as it disguises the ‘influence [that] may be exerted at an institutional level... [where] policy is implemented’ (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 8). Thus they agreed with the view that what happens locally is fluid (Ball, 1993); and that teachers and leaders in schools are not to be seen as mechanical homunculi carrying out policy unthinkingly (Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p. 9), though some point out that many may do so (O’Neill, 2005a). Despite that (very real) possibility, Bell and Stevenson reiterated that ‘the crucial role of human agency in the development of policy must be recognised’ (2006, p. 9).

When considering policy formulation, Bell and Stevenson considered two aspects, the first being the *socio-political environment*. Important questions here are: what is the dominant discourse? What or whose interests are served? What are the big national issues of the day? There is thus an interest in establishing what might influence these national-level issues. Specifically, what does the government of the day have in mind for schools? Secondly, *strategic direction* outlines the direction of policy and the criteria whereby the success of the policy will be judged. It asks the question: what problem is being addressed by this

policy? At this, the level of policy formulation, the ideal vehicle for the communication of policy is decided and policy principles are articulated. For example, if social unity is the national goal, then inclusiveness might be a principle that policy calls for to be implemented where the policy has jurisdiction.

In relation to policy implementation, Bell and Stevenson also suggested two aspects, firstly *organisational principles*. The important questions here are: What are the criteria and the parameters for implementation of policy? How will we know the policy is successful? These principles may exist in the conceptual space between the area of centralised power and localised practice. They may be the dictates and measures put in place by central authority to enable some form of surveillance or accountability over the local level. However, the source of these principles is not limited to government. For example, while the Ministry of Education may require New Zealand schools to submit a Charter that includes their strategic plan and annual plans, the board of trustees of a school will want to know that the targets set in those plans are in fact being attained by the Principal and staff. Secondly, *operational practices* raise these questions: what are the values at local level shaping policy implementation? What mechanisms are in place at school level? How will policy be translated into action? Specific school resources, such as time and money are important at this level of implementation. Effective and committed leadership and a taste for change among the staff might be counted as factors that will impact on practices.

Conclusion

Given the purpose of this thesis, to argue that a desirable aim for teachers is to use their agency to develop as ethical teaching professionals, it is fair to ask what contribution the implementation of a significant policy, such as a national curriculum, can make to that development. It is therefore essential to clarify precisely what might be meant by the concept of ‘policy’ and how it might be approached. The investigation reflected in this chapter reveals that policy is not a neutral, unproblematic text that neatly defines a problem or desirable state of affairs, detailing a plan to solve the problem or bring about the desired state. When it allocates resources, a policy reflects particular power plays, and reveals who holds influence in society. Consequently, the task of raising the question of

whether *The New Zealand Curriculum* can assist in the development of ethical teacher professionalism is profoundly problematic, not least because that is not the stated intention of the policy. Therefore, to persist with this question requires that policy in general, and *The New Zealand Curriculum* in particular, must be addressed in ways that are critical and creative.

It has been suggested here that spaces exist that encourage the development of agency of those affected by policy. These spaces become evident due to the nature of policy, its making, and its implementation in contexts that are sometimes beyond the control of policy-makers. In order, however, to see and seize those spaces requires that policy be analysed in particular ways that in turn will yield pointers for its critical and creative implementation. This chapter has indicated that policy can be fruitfully analysed from the point of view of critical theory. It has gone on to suggest two particular, and related, strategies for policy analysis. The latter, which has just been outlined, will guide the analysis of the text of *The New Zealand Curriculum* in the chapter following.

Chapter Six: Seeking out spaces

This thesis has established that *The New Zealand Curriculum*, a policy mandated for use in all New Zealand schools from the beginning of the 2010 academic year, was developed in a policy reform context that broke in certain significant ways with reforms of the post-1989 period. That break was not complete, however, and the policy continues to endorse elements of the post-1989 neoliberal reforms. It is in this mix of both break and continuity that discernible contradictions are evident in the curriculum. This is no accident, because, as this thesis has argued, the breaks are consistent with an ideological-political shift to Third Way in New Zealand politics, and Third Way embraces contradiction.

Furthermore, this thesis has argued for a way of conceptualising teachers' work that confronts and challenges views that regard teachers' work as either wholly deprofessionalised by the post-1989 reforms, or as reprofessionalised by state-sponsored notions of 'effective teachers'. Instead, this thesis has presented a formulation of teachers as active agents, who *seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work.*

Preceding chapters have identified the theoretical underpinnings of post-1989 educational reform in New Zealand; considered the concept of professionalism, professions and rival conceptions of teachers' work; analysed the concept of ethical teacher professionalism, leading to the definition in the passage above; contextualised the post-1989 reforms and considered their impact on teachers and schools; shown that there is reason to believe that *The New Zealand Curriculum* is a policy that breaks with post-1989 reforms; and critically reviewed the concept of policy, suggesting certain analytical approaches to policy. One of those suggested approaches will be applied in this chapter to a critique of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that will reveal its possibilities for

critical and creative implementation, and thus the potential to develop the ethical teacher professionalism that this thesis has postulated.

This chapter will analyse *The New Zealand Curriculum* using the model developed by Bell and Stevenson (2006), discussed at the end of Chapter Five. The analysis relating to the *socio-political environment* of the curriculum will draw on material already well-worked in the Introduction and Chapters Three and Four, thus these ideas require only reiteration. The *strategic direction* of the policy is established by examining its components that highlight and emphasise aspects of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that set it apart from the 1993 New Zealand Curriculum Framework, such as vision, values and key competencies. This discussion also focuses on the criteria that will mark out successful implementation. Policy is implemented within parameters that are discussed under the heading of *organisational principles*; referring thus to the broad ‘rules’ that define and describe the space between policy formulation and policy implementation. Consideration of *operational practices* considers what might be found at the local level, the site where policy ‘lands’ and is interpreted. Finally, reflection on the application of each of the four analytical steps outlined above allows the question of possible spaces for creative and critical implementation of the Curriculum to be addressed.

The Socio-Political Environment of the New Zealand Curriculum

An understanding of the socio-political environment of the 1990s was developed in the Introduction, and Chapters Three and Four. Therefore, only some of the salient features of those arguments and discussions will be emphasised here, to reinforce that Third Way had become the dominant discourse by the time the revised national curriculum was being formulated. This will be achieved firstly by staging a series of debates to emphasise that Third Way ideology has to be distinguished from neoliberal ideology. Particular attention is drawn to the concept of ‘knowledge economy’. Human Capital Theory (HCT), central to Third Way, is further discussed in this chapter. *The New Zealand Curriculum* is strongly influenced by both concepts.

a) *Third Way – neoliberalism in disguise?*

The position taken up in Chapter Four suggested that the socio-political environment of New Zealand, although strongly influenced by the emergent New Right of the 1980s and its agenda of neoliberalism of the 1990s, matured by the end of that decade, as New Zealand transitioned to a Third Way state. Essentially, Third Way attempts to balance the extremes of welfare commitments on the one hand against an unbridled free market on the other (Codd, 2005a, 2005b), or to ‘transcend both old-style social democracy and Neoliberalism’ (Giddens, 1998b, p. 26). For Codd (2005b, p. xiv), even though the Third Way emphasis on ‘social inclusion, pluralism, and democratic participation within a cohesive society based on norms of trust and social responsibility’ accords with the Fraser-Beeby formulation (see Chapter Three), it is a vision that was not being realised in New Zealand education policy of the first decade of the twenty-first century. What he saw instead, was the persistence of a neoliberal emphasis on economic objectives, with education focussed on ‘creating a knowledge-based economy and preparing young people for the globalisation of markets’ (2005b, p. xv). However, Codd seemingly overlooked his own definition of Third Way, quoted above, and his comment that Third Way education policy forges ‘the link between economic prosperity and social cohesion’ (2005b, p. xiii). While he seemed happy to select those elements of Third Way rhetoric that he found agreeable (namely that which accords with Fraser-Beeby), he rejected those he found disagreeable (neoliberal economics), failing to see both as part of a whole. What Codd identified as the persistence of neoliberal influence on early twenty-first century New Zealand education policy, is *Third Way influence*. Indeed, his claim that ‘social inclusiveness, democratic citizenship or moral responsibility’ were absent in policy, is clearly contradicted by *The New Zealand Curriculum*, which was being formulated as he wrote.

The ‘knowledge economy’ Codd referred to is the stock-in-trade of Third Way politics: ‘In combination with the broader aspects of globalisation, [the knowledge economy] marks a major transition in the nature of economic activity’ (Giddens, 2000, p. 69). Third Way does not lay claim to creating the knowledge economy — rather, it understands the development of the knowledge economy as having its own internal drivers and requiring a response that allows societies to

better prepare for it and develop it: ‘Reform of government and the state, a core theme of Third Way politics, is closely related to the economic changes signalled by the knowledge economy’ (2000, p. 83). These changes include developing rapid responses to changes in the global market-place brought on by dramatic technological advances and ever-focussed consumer demand. Thus dexterity and flexibility in delivering niched goods has to be underpinned by appropriate and dynamic knowledge, to ensure success for individuals and nation-states. Whereas Codd suggested that the notion of the ‘knowledge economy’ is simply a further extension of neoliberalism that must also be challenged for its rejection of citizenship as an aim of education (2005b, p. xv), Jane Gilbert saw this phenomenon as a feature of postmodern, postindustrial thought. She argued, in typical Third Way fashion, for engagement with the demands of both ‘fast’ capitalism and the ‘emancipatory’ project that Codd believed to be lost to education, so that ‘the best from both’ is developed (2005b, p. 65).

The argument being developed here extends the argument of Chapter Four that challenged the view that Third Way thinking is merely neoliberalism in disguise. An example of that position was the contention of Peter Roberts that the ‘fact that so many terms and phrases from the 1984 to 1999 period remain in active use in recent policy documents shows just how deeply immersed we have become in the language of neoliberalism’ (2005, p. 44). Here he cited several instances of the language of managerialism (such as ‘outcomes’, ‘stakeholders’ and ‘strategic planning’). Although his comments pertained to tertiary education, they still have relevance to overarching government education policy. In conclusion he stated: ‘The ‘Third Way’ in tertiary education is still, in many important respects, a *neoliberal* way’ (2005, p. 50. Emphasis in the original).

However, he conceded to evidence of concepts of ‘citizenship, inclusion and social development’ and an emerging sense of ‘a more well-rounded view of the learning process’ (2005, p. 44) in the *Tertiary Education Strategy* (Ministry of Education, 2002b). Roberts revealed an approach amongst many critical thinkers that recognises the hallmarks of Third Way ideology, yet resists the use of the term. As noted in Chapter Five, policy is a *discourse* as well as a text. The terms Roberts concedes, reflect a particular ideological position taken up by the state at

the beginning of the twenty-first century that now makes a clear imprint on New Zealand education.

b) Human Capital Theory

Neoliberalism seeks to create conditions that allow a free market to prevail. The influence on education of Public Choice Theory and Agency Theory (see Introduction) that underpins neoliberalism can be recognised in the shift to discourses and practices of managerialism and marketisation. The adoption of Third Way ideological solutions by the Fifth New Zealand Labour government is underscored by contrasting the warning sounded by Giddens that unrestrained markets ‘breed a commercialism that threatens other life values’ (2000, p. 36) and Thrupp’s acknowledgement that this government ‘made a more concerted effort to pull back a market-led approach to education’ (2005a, pp. 106-107). An important reason cited by Giddens for exercising some control over market mechanisms is that failure to do so will disable the development of human capital, which is ‘central to economic success’. That success requires ‘extensive social investment’ in areas such as education (Giddens, 2000, p. 52).

Human capital was defined by Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 42) as the ‘sum of education and skill that can be used to produce wealth’. Chapter Four noted that Human Capital Theory (HCT) is central to Third Way arguments about education. The prevalence of HCT in Third Way educational policy making reflects a technical-rationalist notion that economic success can be purchased simply by investment in education. The development of human capital, either by state investment in education, or by the investment by individuals in their own ‘life-long learning’, is well established in contemporary educational policy, driven in no small measure by the link created between human capital and economic development by the World Bank (1998; 2003; 2010) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1996; 2010a; 2010b).

The discourse of HCT has thus become the legitimating discourse of contemporary educational policy making, and is presented as an uncontroversial *fait accompli*. This is no surprise, for as Giddens emphasises, education is the

‘key force in human capital development’, which ‘can foster both economic efficiency and civic cohesion’, breaking with the neoliberal focus on ‘deregulation and market liberalisation’ (Giddens, 2000, p. 73). This claim thus aligns human capital development in Third Way rhetoric to the development of what Chapter Four termed ‘a law-and-order and family-value morality’ (see p 144). Applied to Blair’s ‘New Labour’, Thrupp called this ‘social authoritarianism’ (2005a, p. 104). Giddens sketched a picture that combined an emphasis on values, economic development and human competencies when he noted that investment in human capital is not only a way of making ‘an onslaught on poverty’ (2000, p. 129), but develops in people ‘initiative and responsibility’ (2000, p. 109). This comes about when schooling and education is ‘redefined to focus on capabilities that individuals will be able to develop through life’ (2000, p. 74). The words of Giddens are vividly echoed by several pivotal statements in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. It is to these that the discussion will next turn.

The Strategic Direction of the Curriculum

When considering policy formulation, questions are raised concerning the purposes of policy. This suggests a concern with the direction taken by a policy and how its success is to be judged. A national curriculum is an ideal vehicle to achieve Third Way state objectives given the centrality of education in Third Way rhetoric. While the foregoing reflection on the socio-political environment provided a context for understanding the starting-point for the state, the following discussion will define more clearly where the state hopes to go with this policy.

The New Zealand Curriculum contains a ‘Purpose and scope statement of official policy’ that may be expected to clarify this question. It notes that its ‘principal function is to set the direction for student learning and to provide guidance for schools as they design and review their curriculum’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 6). A schematic overview of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (fig. 1) provides a visual sense of this purpose and scope statement. The critical reading of the policy below follows the headings in fig. 1, and will seek to provide clarity over the elements of student learning and school design and review of the curriculum, and suggest what further clues they provide to the strategic direction of this policy.

Overview

A schematic view of this document



Fig. 1: Schematic overview of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 7)

a) Vision

The modernised statement of vision of students ‘who will be confident, connected, actively involved, and lifelong learners’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8) provides a clue to the Third Way influence over this national curriculum. *The New Zealand Curriculum* conceptualises learners who ‘seize the opportunities offered by new knowledge and technologies’ and characterises schooling as a time when students will ‘develop the values, knowledge, and competencies that will enable them to live full and satisfying lives’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8), thus echoing Giddens’ ‘capabilities that individuals will be able to develop through life’ (2000, p. 74). Each of these elements of the vision is further detailed, clarifying not only its Third Way intent, but also its particular emphasis on the autonomous agent:

- Confident learners are resourceful, enterprising and entrepreneurial
- Connected learners are international citizens able to relate well to others
- Actively involved learners contribute to the economic well-being of New Zealand
- Lifelong learners are active seekers, users and creators of knowledge (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8).

This vision reflects the fashionable concept of ‘twenty-first century learning’ (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Hood, 1998; Warner, 2006) that has been used to market the curriculum and to assist in manufacturing the consent of the education community. It presents a fresh set of ideas that appear to challenge fossilised notions and practices in schooling, characterised by the following examples from the authors just cited:

Will today’s curriculum prepare secondary school students for life in the 21st century? Rachel Bolstad and Jane Gilbert propose radical new models for schooling that challenge long-held ideas about the purpose and structure of the senior secondary years (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008. Rear cover editorial).

If the schooling system does not rapidly close the gap between what it does, and what it should do in response to the demands of the 21st century, it will simply become irrelevant... All of the changes I have outlined are possible... [and]... will lead to the kind of change that is needed; schools will have projected themselves into the future ... (Hood, 1998, p. 138).

Schooling for the knowledge era needs also to redefine the standards for the 21st century. These standards have to relate to the knowledge era, not the industrial era. We need to embrace standards that demand schooling experiences and outcomes that reflect 21st century literacy, emotional intelligence, disposition and skill for learning for life, and the ability to self-manage (Warner, 2006, p. 13).

The vision of *The New Zealand Curriculum* sets a course that attempts to radically change school, and therefore teacher, practices. The content of some of these changes will become obvious as the discussion proceeds.

b) Values

The list of ‘values’, which has previously been mentioned, reflects the Third Way socio-cultural agenda aimed at developing greater self-responsibility, echoed by the following sentiment:

Common values help to glue society together... This is why the Third Way sees politics as an exercise in conviction and the teaching of values. It denotes a renaissance in the moral foundations of socialism: mutual trust and respect, social cooperation and connectedness, and the social capital of civil society (Latham, 2001, p. 27).

It comes as no surprise therefore to note that the list of values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* includes ‘diversity, equity, community and participation, respect’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10). As an imperative of Third Way thinking is the preservation of the nation-state in a globalised economy, democratic values, such as these, take on specific significance for education. As the ‘values’ receive substantial treatment in Chapter Seven, they will not be discussed further here.

c) Key competencies

Like the values, the ‘key competencies’ resonate with Third Way thinking (note Warner’s list above). Described as ‘capabilities for living and lifelong learning’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 12) the key competencies are detailed as ‘Thinking; Using language symbols and texts; Managing self; Relating to others; Participating and contributing’ (2007b, p. 7). This shift in emphasis to ‘key competencies’ (discussed in Chapter Four as a ‘paradigm shift’) is an epistemological one that has fundamental impacts on teachers’ work. It is a shift

premised on the idea that students have less need of knowledge and more need of strategies for acquiring and manipulating knowledge (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008, pp. 92-93). As a strategic direction, what this shift therefore also requires is a re-orientation ranging from teacher education through to the kind of support provided to schools, in addition to significant shifts in teacher practice. Like the values, the key competencies receive fuller treatment in Chapter Seven.

d) Learning Areas and Achievement Objectives

The ‘learning areas’ and their associated ‘achievement objectives’ reflect some interesting strategic shifts. Chapter Four noted that, in the Draft Curriculum, the original Curriculum Framework list of seven learning areas (English, mathematics, science, social studies, technology, the arts and health and physical education) was expanded to include an eighth, ‘learning languages’ and the requirement that a second language be introduced to students in years seven — ten. The rationale is that ‘languages link people locally and globally’, equipping students ‘for living in a world of diverse peoples, languages, and cultures’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 24). This rationale both resonates with Third Way priorities and recognises New Zealand’s increasing dependence for its future economic success on interactions with foreign nations, in particular in Asia.

A further shift is reflected in the condensation of the copious ‘essential learning area curriculum statements’ that comprised separate books for each learning area in the previous New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) into the very slim volume that is *The New Zealand Curriculum*. This gives added credibility to the greater emphasis on ‘key competencies’ and the reduction of the role of the learning areas to merely being ‘part of a broad, general education’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 16). The ‘achievement objectives’ (AOs) too are given reduced importance, as schools and teachers are encouraged not to use the AOs as their starting-point for classroom planning, but rather to use the generalised statements about each learning area (2007b, p. 38).

e) Principles

The ‘principles’ reflect a national education administration ‘bottom line’. These require schools to make socio-political commitments to developing and respecting New Zealand’s bicultural heritage expressed through the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of the nation; expressing and valuing cultural diversity; providing inclusive education opportunities to all students; and engaging with school communities. Three pedagogical principles discourage teachers from deficit theorising in relation to student underachievement; require them to develop reflective strategies in students; and to develop the themes of sustainability, citizenship, enterprise and globalisation. Finally there is a principle that seeks a seamless alignment of education purposes across all stages of pre-compulsory, compulsory and post-compulsory education (2007b, p. 9).

These non-negotiable principles have specific strategic intent. The matters that deal with pedagogy are central to the core concerns of this thesis thus have already had some attention and will continue to feature in later chapters. The principle of alignment across the education sector (referred to as ‘coherence’) is a function of the reform programme of the post-1989 period and was referred to in Chapter Three. Coherence reflects the integration of policy and various aspects of the education system (Philips, 2005, pp. 132-133), which may appear on the surface to be driven by economic or political efficiency. A different explanation comes from a perspective that sees this ‘coherence’ as providing ‘cradle to grave’ opportunities for learning that subject the individual to lifelong surveillance by the state (Vaughan, 1994). A Third Way explanation is more deliberate, however: the provision of lifelong opportunities will allow the state to develop emotional and cognitive competence in individuals (Giddens, 1998b, p. 125). This imperative is echoed by the socio-political principles (‘Treaty of Waitangi’; ‘cultural diversity’; ‘inclusion’; ‘community engagement’), which reveals the use of education by the state to cement in the minds of young people the desirable attributes of citizenship it requires. This effort echoes the significance of education to Third Way politicians to consciously cultivate attributes that contribute to social cohesion and national economic effectiveness in a global marketplace (Giddens, 1998b, p. 109, 2000, p. 73; Latham, 2001, p. 29).

The principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* thus provide a blueprint for a Third Way education policy. Indeed, as it has been suggested here, the ‘direction for learning’ taken together, is heavily influenced by Third Way precepts. Reference to fig. 1 will reflect that the document also has substantive statements of ‘guidance’ for schools, to which the discussion will turn. The guidance statements communicate more detail than the statements so far reviewed (apart from the learning areas). Besides the purpose and scope statement that was mentioned at the beginning of this section on strategic direction and requires no further comment, statements for guidance are those on ‘effective pedagogy’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 34-36) and ‘design and review’ (2007b, pp. 37-42).

f) Effective pedagogy

The intention to include effective pedagogy in the curriculum was discussed in Chapter Four with reference to the work of the Curriculum Stocktake Reference Group and the Draft Curriculum. There it was suggested that a linear relationship had been created between effective pedagogy and improved student outcomes, thus ensuring a return on the state’s investment in human capital. This relationship meshes with Third Way ideology in a particular way. It was earlier claimed in this chapter that the direction for learning is influenced by the fashionable Third Way message about twenty-first century learning. However, the notions of effective pedagogy and twenty-first century learning coincidentally intersect for the Ministry of Education, because successful participation by New Zealand in a global economy requires a competent workforce. The real concerns of the Ministry of Education were expressed in the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* thus:

There are wide variations in achievement within New Zealand schools and between groups of students in all national and international studies.

- Māori and Pasifika students, on average, achieve significantly lower scores than non-Māori and non-Pasifika students.
- Students in high decile schools achieve significantly higher scores than those in low decile schools.

- Students for whom English is a second language achieve lower scores than first language speakers. (Ministry of Education, 2002a, p. 12).

The same report suggests the solution:

Quality teaching makes more difference to student outcomes than any other factor. The effect of quality teaching on social outcomes, such as attitudes to learning, classroom morale and motivation is highly relevant given New Zealand's high rates of truancy and suspension. (2002a, p. 14).

School improvement and teacher effectiveness are sub-texts evident in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, revealing a primary strategic commitment to dealing with the problem of student underachievement, and only secondarily in the longer term, to meeting the need for New Zealand to successfully compete on a global stage. This sub-text is noted in particular in the pedagogical aspects of the 'principles' (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 9), 'effective pedagogy' (2007b, pp. 34-36) and the 'design and review' pages (2007b, pp. 37-42). The thinking of these sub-texts is that local context (in-school factors) is a significant factor in the improvement of student learning, but that local circumstances (such as socio-economic factors pertaining either to school or student) are of little or no consequence (recently challenged by Snook & O'Neill, 2010). This discourse promotes the idea of evidence-based teaching and of raising teacher and school effectiveness by following certain 'quality teaching' indicators and concentrating on 'what works' in respect of teacher professional learning (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007) and Principalship (Ministry of Education, 2008a).

Chapter Four noted that in its earlier form, school improvement was a qualitative approach that emphasised the cultural aspects of a school ('school ethos', for example), while school effectiveness was a statistical method that sought to find quantitative measures to evaluate the effects of specific 'inputs' on the outcomes of the schooling process. The former put the focus on what strategies in the classroom might assist to bring about improvement, while the latter sought to measure the 'value added' contribution of different variables within a school (Hargreaves, 2001; Hopkins & Reynolds, 2001). These two approaches developed independently, but began to merge their voices in the early 1990s, entering into a full partnership by the late 1990s when international evidence suggested that school reform in the English-speaking world had not yet resolved the problem of student underachievement (Hopkins & Reynolds, 2001).

The 1990s also saw a shift in emphasis from teaching to teaching and learning with much more emphasis on what the learner does than on what the teacher does. In this process, school improvement took on the quantitative methods of school effectiveness (Wrigley, 2004).

These approaches were developed alongside the reforms that called for increased accountability. Chapter Three highlighted that in New Zealand some of these reform efforts were aimed at avoiding ‘provider capture’ that allowed (in the minds of the reformers) the self-interest of teachers to dominate education decision-making. Accountability thus extended to the evaluation of teachers through appraisal against set standards. This development mirrored the shift in New Zealand (and elsewhere internationally) to ‘outcomes based education’ as a key strategic policy implementation paradigm (Hall, 2005) of reformist governments. Applied to curriculum learning, this paradigm supports and demands a focus on the outcomes of learning to be evaluated against pre-set standards of attainment, hence the use of achievement objectives.

As the effective pedagogy section of *The New Zealand Curriculum* is further considered in Chapter Eight, it receives no further attention here; suffice to say that it forms a powerful sub-text in the curriculum document, and shapes many other policy interventions. Its primary purpose is focussed on raising student achievement, which supports Third Way rhetoric in the longer term because of the assumption that all students must have the capability to participate in creating New Zealand’s future global economic success. The design and review pages also reveal the strategic intention of the state, and will bring to a close the analysis of that strategic direction.

g) Design and review: The criteria for successful implementation

The strategic direction of policy is concerned with the intentions of the state to solve a particular problem in a particular way and to determine a course of action with defined outcomes. Any policy must therefore provide an indication of how its success is to be measured. *The New Zealand Curriculum* is no exception and the section entitled ‘The School Curriculum: Design and Review’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 37-42) illustrates several examples of the demand for

accountability against measurable outcomes, and development of school-based ‘variables’ such as effective teaching and leadership:

- **Principles.** These are said to ‘embody beliefs about the nature of the educational experience’ (2007b, p. 37) and include the principle of ‘high expectations’ that all students learn and achieve ‘regardless of their individual circumstances’ (2007b, p. 9);
- **Key competencies.** These are the ‘capabilities young people need for working and participating in society’ (2007b, p. 38). Despite the obviously open-ended nature of key competencies, and the recognition that they do not represent stand-alone knowledge, schools are required to clarify the conditions for developing the key competencies, and to devise strategies for monitoring both the extent to which students demonstrate them and teachers effectively approach them (2007b, p. 38);
- **Achievement Objectives.** These are ‘clear statements of learning expectations’ that should be expressed in ways that progress can be measured (2007b, p. 39);
- **Assessment.** The focus of assessment is the improvement of teaching and learning (2007b, p. 39), thus it is highlighted that ‘schools need to know what impact their programmes are having on student learning’ — information which will be the basis for changing teaching, policies or programmes (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 40).

The success of the strategic direction (improving student achievement) of the policy will be measured by an on-going cycle of evidence analysis, reporting and then further planning. Improved student outcomes thus drive policy evaluation and are evidenced through student results. These are reported on, as they are now, to boards of trustees, parents, the wider public and variances are reported by boards of trustees to the Ministry of Education. The vehicle for establishing success is therefore public accountability.

This process of self-governmentality is officially referred to as ‘self-review’, and the Education Review Office (ERO), shortly to be considered in relation to policy implementation, has from 2010 deliberately shifted the focus of its review process in schools to this question: ‘How effectively does this school’s curriculum promote student learning — engagement, progress and achievement?’ (2010b, p. 5), noting that school ‘self-review information is a logical starting point for evaluating the effectiveness of the curriculum and teaching’ (2010b, p. 6).

An underpinning purpose of *The New Zealand Curriculum* as policy is the advancement of a Third Way socio-political modernisation agenda whose

outcome is a socially cohesive and competent workforce. Third Way thinkers consider such a workforce essential to the maintenance of the global competitiveness of the autonomous nation-state. A further, related purpose, but one not dressed in the evangelical cloth of Third Way, is the improvement of the educational outcomes of those New Zealand students currently failing to achieve to acceptable levels. Attention now turns to the policy implementation phase.

Implementation: Organisational Principles

It is so far evident that the state can and does have a powerful effect on setting the policy agenda, creating the policy and determining what will be deemed important in the policy. By virtue of these factors, the state also exercises its influence in the implementation of policy. Although the foregoing analysis appears to suggest a straightforward linear process from formulation to implementation, such a process is rejected by Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 17) whose policy analysis framework is being employed here. The following discussion considers two centrally mandated principles that have a direct bearing on policy implementation, specifically school-based curriculum development and school self-management, which is a logically related organisational principle.

a) School based curriculum development

The specific parameters of implementation are central to an analysis of organisational principles. School based curriculum development has been mentioned in Chapters Three, Four and Five. This approach to curriculum implementation has significant consequences for the core concern of this thesis, namely whether the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* will develop ethical teacher professionalism. For a critical and creative implementation of the national curriculum to be possible, schools must be in a position to develop their own curriculum. In this regard, it is helpful to quote in full the following text from the ‘design and review’ pages of *The New Zealand Curriculum*:

The New Zealand Curriculum sets the direction for teaching and learning in English-medium New Zealand schools. *But it is a framework rather than a detailed plan.* This means that while every school curriculum must be clearly aligned with the intent of this document, *schools have considerable flexibility when determining the detail.* In doing this, they can draw on a wide range of

ideas, resources, and models (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 37. Emphasis added).

This generous mandate reflects some movement in the role that can be played by schools and teachers. Chapter Four noted Anne-Marie O'Neill's view that by the mid-twentieth century, New Zealand teachers were experiencing deepening professional involvement in curriculum development and implementation (2005b, p. 118) that was arrested by the post-1989 neoliberal measures. However, Bolstad argues that these reform measures were motivated partly by a desire to make schools more responsive to their communities, and that 'the introduction of a new national curriculum framework in 1993 [allowed] for shaping the 'operational space' for school based curriculum development in New Zealand schools' (2004, p. 13). Furthermore, the National Administration Guideline on curriculum (so-called 'NAG 1'), which evolved from the National Education Guidelines established by the Education Act of 1989 (New Zealand Government, 2009), directs boards to provide, develop and implement teaching and learning programmes. However, although the opportunity for school based curriculum development has existed in theory since 1989, it had been inadequately grasped in reality (Bolstad, 2004; McGee et al., 2002). Now a shift in the role of teachers and schools in curriculum development and implementation of curriculum has been encouraged by the demands Third Way governments have begun to make of schools.

Third Way protagonists pursue supply-side policies that emphasise production over consumption, and thus prioritise investment in education (Driver & Martell, 2001; Giddens, 1998b, 2000; Latham, 2001), that sees schools and teachers being called upon to play an expanded role. They are drawn in to help implement the visions their governments have of students able to prosper in the 'knowledge society' and 'knowledge economy'. This expectation and reliance contrasts with neoliberal policies that strove to provide 'consumer choice' alongside accountability. The New Zealand Curriculum Framework was a product of this era, and despite its provision for schools to have flexibility (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 6), it required little of teachers but to put in to practice what was prescribed and to do so by means that heightened their 'effectiveness' to achieve improved 'outcomes' (O'Neill, 2005).

It was claimed above that Third Way governments place greater responsibility in the hands of schools (and thereby teachers) to assist them to achieve their dual objectives of attaining social cohesion and national economic success. The promise of this expanded role for teachers and schools was foreshadowed, as indicated in Chapter Three, by the Curriculum Reference Group that met in the years leading up to the 2002 *Curriculum Stocktake Report*. This group sought to correct some of the power imbalances associated with the New Zealand Curriculum Framework. The group desired to mandate only the new Framework (of *The New Zealand Curriculum*), not the actual curriculum content (Ministry of Education, 2002a, p. 12), thus freeing schools and teachers to make *local decisions* that would relate to the *specific needs* of the children and communities they serve.

This principle of school-based curriculum development contains several elements pertinent to the following discussion of school self-management as an operational principle in implementation of policy at the school level.

b) Self-managing schools are accountable

Boards of trustees embody the principle of school self-management in New Zealand. Some comments will first be made that links the work of boards of trustees in New Zealand to Third Way ideology. This is then followed by a consideration of the place of boards in the accountability regime.

This thesis has argued that the advent of the Fifth Labour Government (1999 – 2008) saw the full transitioning of New Zealand to Third Way processes and ideology, following the impetus begun in the late stages of the National government administration, as evidenced by such initiatives as ‘Bright Future’ (Roberts, 2005, p. 39). Writing at a similar historical juncture as these developments, Giddens advised governments to ‘encourage bottom-up decision-making and local autonomy’ that could be ‘monitored by government’, suggesting by way of example that ‘schools be given a range of new powers, but regulated by the state’ (1998b, p. 84).

Boards of trustees are drawn in to the attainment of Third Way aims, as the following illustrates. It has been amply demonstrated that Third Way is synonymous not only with notions of a ‘knowledge society’, but also with notions of creating a workforce enabling nation-states to compete in a global economy. In particular, individuals must develop the capabilities required to enable them to ‘adapt to a world characterised by change, complexity and interdependence’ (OECD, 2005, p. 7). *The New Zealand Curriculum* describes a ‘connected’ learner as an ‘international citizen’ (2007b, p. 8). This exemplifies the Third Way notion of ‘portability’ and places increasing pressure on governments to copy globalised reforms, particularly in the Anglo West. Giddens called for ‘[g]reater harmonisation of educational practices and standards ... [that are]... desirable for a cosmopolitan labour force ... harmonisation is not necessarily the enemy of educational diversity and may even be the condition of sustaining it’ (1998b, p. 125). Accordingly, advice to boards of trustees on the New Zealand School Trustees website (<http://www.nzsta.org.nz/>) is to consider ‘what makes the difference’ in ‘high performing schools and systems’, demonstrating that suggested globalised reforms are considered important in New Zealand. Although boards of trustees in New Zealand are positioned to attain Third Way purposes, they are however not the product of Third Way reform, having earlier antecedents.

The Education Act of 1877 established Education Boards as the administrative body mediating the relationship between primary schools (initially the core of the New Zealand compulsory sector) and the Department of Education. As secondary schools did not initially fall under the provision of the 1877 Act, and as their numbers were initially limited, their individual Boards of Governors dealt directly with the Department of Education. By 1989, there existed additional forms of educational provision subject to various forms of governance, leading the Picot Report to conclude that ‘the unco-ordinated (sic) development of education has resulted in a kaleidoscope of administrative arrangements’ (1988, p. 10). The Picot Report and subsequent ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ reforms remedied this defect by identifying self-managing schools as the overriding organisational principle of schooling administration in New Zealand.

School boards fulfil several statutory obligations in carrying out their mandate to the school community and the state. By these obligations, boards are accountable to the Ministry of Education, although the organisation boards most come in to contact with through the accountability process is ERO. The following directive in *The New Zealand Curriculum* highlights the obligation of boards: ‘Each board of trustees, through the principal and staff, is required to develop and implement a curriculum for students in years 1 – 13’ (2007b, p. 44). Boards are also reminded of their statutory obligations to gather ‘comprehensive’ evidence of student achievement and progress, identify students who are at risk and those with special needs (which includes ‘gifted’), and to consult with their Māori community (2007b, p. 44). This instruction is the core of the ‘NAG 1’ referred to earlier, and ERO typically audits and evaluates the performance of boards against the ‘NAGS’. Thus, devolution of power to the local level has not equated to complete freedom, and boards are the first link in an accountability chain that ERO calls the ‘Chain of Quality’ (Education Review Office, 2010a). The Ministry of Education may take a ‘hands-off’ role, but ERO ensures that boards comply with their legislative obligations. As noted above, boards depend on the principal and staff to ‘develop and implement a curriculum’, which is one of those obligations. Following the official gazetted requirement that schools follow *The New Zealand Curriculum* from 2nd February 2010 (New Zealand Government, 2010, p. 3812), ERO has revised its review process, and this amended focus was referred to a few pages earlier in regard to self-review.

The acceptance by ERO of the principle of school based curriculum development is captured by the following statement that appears in its handbook, *Framework for school reviews*: ‘Each school designs its own curriculum based on *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The school tailors its curriculum to suit its own particular context and to promote the achievement of its students’ (ERO, 2010b, p. 6). While ERO advances the view that local conditions, circumstances and values are important considerations, local control is always balanced by central surveillance. This recalls the notion of governmentality referred to in Chapter Five that brings about collusion of the subject (in this case the board of trustees that are required to conduct ‘self-review’) with the agents of state power in their exercise of that power.

ERO fails to recognise however that policy (either that which has created boards or that which creates a national curriculum, as in this case) is silent on many matters. In particular, policy fails to acknowledge that not all boards are equal in capacity, skill or knowledge. Effectively then, in order to ‘assure’ ERO that their schools are providing a ‘quality education’ and are compliant with the requirements of a national curriculum, boards rely heavily on their professional staff. Whether strong or weak, however, boards may and will look to their professionals to ensure that the national curriculum is implemented – a reliance that has significant implications for the question at the centre of this thesis.

Implementation: Operational Practices

Consideration is now given to the translation of policy to action. To decide how *The New Zealand Curriculum* will be implemented in schools, it is necessary to comprehend the conditions that ought to be in place for that implementation to occur. Operational practices will be influenced by organisational principles, thus it is reasonable to expect local conditions to reflect those principles. Two related key principles emerged from the preceding discussion, namely school based curriculum development and school self-management, through boards of trustees. Local practices will be influenced by the power and freedom offered by school based curriculum development. Self-management is bounded by potentially competing parameters, namely public accountability, mainly monitored by ERO, and the values of the local school community.

School based curriculum development and school self-management imply a degree of consensus building at local community level, comprising board of trustees, families, students and teachers. Both principles must recognise local values, some of which may not be unproblematic. These values will be reflected by the ‘culture’ or ethos of a school, which will include its appetite for change. The quality of school leadership is a critical operational factor that is required to direct implementation and to balance competing values and positions. The question of whether the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* will encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism does not assume teachers can undertake this implementation alone. Ethical teacher professionalism must exist in a community of practitioners, discussed in Chapter Eight. The

discussion in this part of the present chapter will reflect on the first two of these three critical aspects of local operational practice, namely community and professional leadership, setting aside for now professional community.

a) *The local community*

Although the intention of *The New Zealand Curriculum* is ‘to provide guidance for schools as they design their curriculum’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 6) it does not provide a step-by-step plan for school based curriculum development; rather it reflects the view that ‘[p]olicies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed’ (Ball, 1993, p. 12). Ball’s negative view should not preclude the possibility that the silences and omissions in *The New Zealand Curriculum* actually *create* options for schools. The strategy adopted by the Ministry of Education is a high-stakes one that demands greater trust than the approach that typified New Zealand education reforms in the 1989 – 2000 period, as the international effort of many nations, including New Zealand, to bring about reform aimed at improving student outcomes that will contribute to economic growth, demands system-wide *and* school level responses (Skilbeck, 1992). These efforts necessarily deepen the reliance of governments on their schools and the people and structures within those schools.

A shift to a *higher* trust model is articulated by Third Way theorists as an investment in social capital. This takes two forms; firstly by empowering those who experience inequality and disadvantage so that as many people as possible can participate equally in democratic social and economic structures, and secondly, by devolving power from the centre to local communities and forms of association and self-government (Szreter, 2001, p. 291). ‘Social capital refers to trust networks that individuals can draw upon for social support, just as financial capital can be drawn upon and used for investment’ (Giddens, 2000, p. 78). The use by the Third Way theorists quoted here of ‘social capital’ is taken to mean something like ‘high trust human relationships’. Despite the likelihood that these relationships have an instrumental purpose rather than a moral one and despite self-governing schools being a hangover of neoliberal reforms, the aspect of local

involvement Third Way governments seek to deepen resides in the notion of social capital that will be encouraged when school communities gather around such matters as curriculum development. This expanded role for communities is not a mere sop to community involvement; it is conceptualised as engaging key stake-holders in fashioning a curriculum for the demands of a new economy, thus developing social cohesion, seen as critical to national prosperity. This link between community-aided curriculum development, social cohesion and economic success therefore makes curriculum a ‘public responsibility’ (Kalantzis, Cope, & Harvey, 2003, p. 40). These points are amply reflected in a range of statements in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, such as the ‘community engagement’ principle, one of the eight on which curriculum is to be based:

The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages the support of their families, whānau, and communities (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 9).

Later, the following extract shows the links between curriculum design and development objectives and the communities that schools serve:

Curriculum design and review ... [will]... give effect to the national curriculum in ways that best address the particular needs, interests, and circumstances of the school’s students and community. It requires a clear understanding of the intentions of the New Zealand Curriculum and of the values and expectations of the community (2007b, p. 37).

For a school to ‘engage the support of communities’ and to ‘understand’ their ‘values and expectations’ as it goes about building curriculum requires more than simply the tacit support of its families. These statements imply the active consultation of a community at the least, and possibly its active involvement and participation in framing a school’s curriculum. Let alone that idea requiring high trust from government, it requires a school’s professional staff to trust and respect its community. From the perspective of developing ethical teacher professionalism, the opportunity offered by *The New Zealand Curriculum* to school communities to be involved in framing a unique curriculum for their schools tests the limits of democratic tolerance of ethical teacher professionalism. Indeed, many schools will be tempted or inclined to choose to ignore their communities or afford them minimal involvement. This would not be the course ethical teachers should choose, nor, it can be argued based on the earlier statements, would it be what *The New Zealand Curriculum* intends.

For many schools, ‘understanding values and expectations’ of their communities begins with the development of the school Charter. This document is a creature of ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’, and spells out a school’s vision, mission and strategic plan. Since the official implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, Charters may now also include a statement of values, although many pre-2010 would already have done so. Building a Charter, or reviewing a strategic plan, involves a community in spelling out its own hopes and desires for its school. These expressions will necessarily influence the development of a school’s curriculum. Specifically, the concluding chapter will indicate that a critical curriculum implementation process has the vision of building a knowledge democracy and develops values to support a democratic state as its starting-point, which will certainly influence the shape and direction of a school’s curriculum.

The present discussion is focused on features at a local, mainly school, level that will bear on policy implementation. The notion of school-based curriculum development has been reiterated, and its significance is considerable, especially when linked to notions of trust and the development of ‘social capital’ envisaged by Third Way governments, such as that which oversaw the development of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Trust plays an important role not only in the involvement of a community by a school, but also in the development of ethical teacher professionalism, because of the high stakes involved when going to the community for its perspective on the education of its children. There may be few certain outcomes in such a process, and teachers could find their own perspectives on what counts as ‘education’ for their students are in conflict with the school community perspective.

The theme of trust underpins a comment made by ERO in its *Readiness to implement the New Zealand Curriculum* report (2009b):

Keeping all members of the school community informed about progress and decisions is important, as it helps to maintain a sense of ownership and shared understanding among teachers, parents and whānau, students and the wider community. An inclusive ‘no surprises’ approach maintains support for the school’s curriculum design. Closely allied to this is having a culture that encourages and values contributions from all those connected with the school. (2009b, p. 14).

Ownership is therefore a further theme of local level implementation allied to trust, and is related to the idea of ‘public responsibility’ (Kalantzis, Cope, &

Harvey, 2003, p. 40) and here, by ERO, in relation to a democratic process that develops ‘shared understanding’ around an ‘inclusive’ approach to implementation. Thus even from the perspective of ERO, schools are commended to approach school-based curriculum development in ways that hold much potential for the positive development of ethical teacher professionalism.

b) School leadership

A critical operational dimension at local level is provided by school leadership, particularly in the person of the principal, although ‘leadership’ is not limited to that office. However, much of what has already been described will not successfully occur without the overt involvement and effort of the principal (Cowie et al., 2009; ERO, 2009b). The New Zealand Curriculum is largely silent on the role of the principal, except in one place, where it sets out ‘requirements for boards of trustees’. There it repeats four times that the board meets these requirements ‘through the principal and staff’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 44). Effectively then, the statutory obligations of the board become the responsibility of the principal, in this case the various actions associated with developing and implementing a curriculum. This reflects similar changes in England, as noted by Moore, George, & Halpin (2002), who comment on the greater devolution of management to local level by the state, while still retaining policy control at the centre, thus placing the principal in the position of key mediator between government policy and the school community.

The modern New Zealand principal is considered to be central to creating a climate of learning by providing, in collaboration with staff and community, a strategic vision that is focussed on attaining positive student outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2008a). This role requires leadership that is not personality-driven but which focuses on collaboration and ‘building capacity’ that is, providing a form of shared leadership enabling others within a school to take on responsibilities that in turn help them to develop both management and leadership skills and capacities. As a ‘leader of learning’ (Cowie et al., 2009), a principal is, above all, the curriculum leader of the school, and is therefore expected to

interpret curriculum and see it put into practice. ‘Effective’ principals are those who successfully manage that process by collaborating with teachers.

Because the role of the principal is so critical to the operational implementation of policy such as *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and because this thesis is attempting to validate the argument that the critical and creative implementation of the Curriculum can encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism, it is important to understand what kind of leadership and what kind of implementation is being referred to. More will be indicated later regarding implementation, suffice to say now that it must be led as a thoughtful process that gives priority to significant values and moral relationships, and that it is carried out by people of moral purpose who recognise others as moral persons and leaders in their own right.

The Ministry of Education *Kiwi leadership for principals* (2008a) adopts the dual Third Way goals for education of social cohesion and national economic success as its rationale for principalship, repeating the vision (2008a, p. 8) of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. This vision of ‘twenty-first century schooling’ is adapted to become the vision of ‘twenty-first century principalship’, whose qualities are described by *Kiwi leadership for principals* as *manaakitanga* (leading with moral purpose); *pono* (having self-belief); *ako* (being a learner); and *awhinatanga* (guiding and supporting) (2008a, pp. 22-23). Leading with moral purpose primarily constitutes moral commitment to student success and enhancing the ability of students in later life. Secondly it ‘involves a commitment to the professional growth and support of other school leaders and teachers’ (2008a, p. 22). Principals as learners (*ako*) ‘have a depth of professional knowledge’ and ‘take their own learning seriously’ (2008a, pp. 22-23). Two of the four ‘areas of practice’ detailed in *Kiwi leadership for principals* in which New Zealand principals are said to work, are culture and pedagogy. Culture is primarily concerned with values, while pedagogy is primarily concerned with the principal’s expertise and ability to lead learning (2008a, p. 18).

On the face of it, these textual references are cause for some optimism. *Kiwi leadership for principals* is a key text in the First Time Principal’s Programme that each new principal attends. Between 2002 and 2009, over half of New Zealand’s principals attended this course (Centre for Educational Leadership,

2010). The role of the principal is a critical factor in the operational practice of policy implementation and therefore exercises significant influence over the shape and direction of curriculum at a school. *Kiwi leadership for principals* emphasises this point: ‘Achieving the desired impact of the revised New Zealand curriculum will depend on the leadership and initiative of principals’ (2008a, p. 16). In the context of both school based curriculum development and self-managing schools, this ‘leadership and initiative’ may result in the simple maintenance of existing curriculum arrangements or may result in significant changes. Not surprisingly, ‘inadequate leadership’ is cited as a factor that will inhibit implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (ERO, 2009b, p. 12). Conversely, ‘active, hands-on involvement is [deemed] critical to successful and sustained curriculum innovation’ and is present when the process of achieving this innovation is ‘working well’ (Cowie et al., 2009, p. 15; 21).

The actions of the principal, it has been shown, are central to leading a process of policy implementation. It was suggested at the beginning of the discussion of organisational practices that teachers on their own will not be able to implement significant curriculum change; just as *The New Zealand Curriculum* authorises schools to design their own curriculum, so teachers need empowerment within their respective schools — the claim here is that such empowerment comes from the actions of the principal. Chapter Eight will consider the significance of a community of critical practitioners to a process of implementation that has positive implications for the development of ethical teacher professionalism. The discussion will now reflect on the salient aspects of the critique presented so far in the chapter with a view to suggesting the spaces that open up to allow for critical implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

Analysis of spaces in the curriculum

Codd’s view that ‘for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of meanings’ (Codd, 1988 p. 239) draws attention to the importance of reading *The New Zealand Curriculum* as a text that is open to interpretation. Additionally, it is a text that gives a clear direction to schools ‘to give effect to the national curriculum in ways that best address the particular needs, interests, and circumstances of the school’s students and community’, recognising that

‘schools have considerable flexibility when determining the detail [of their curriculum]’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 37). It has been argued in this thesis that *The New Zealand Curriculum* reflects the influence of Third Way ideology, which it has been shown and acknowledged to be a balance of contradictory elements. The discussion of Chapter Five drew attention to the multi-authorship of policies, and correspondingly, the likelihood of multiple intentions, rather than a unitary intention. *The New Zealand Curriculum* is such a policy, and the following discussion will highlight certain respects in which a critical and creative reading can suggest possibilities for implementation that will encourage the development of ethical teacher professionalism.

a) *The vision of The New Zealand Curriculum*

The vision of *The New Zealand Curriculum* defines learners as persons who are:

- Members of communities
- Contributors to the social, cultural and environmental well-being of New Zealand
- And, perhaps most significantly, critical and creative thinkers (2007b, p. 8).

Each of the above suggests possibilities for the ethical teacher. The many references in *The New Zealand Curriculum* to family, community and the responsibility on the individual (student) to be an active participant in these contexts, provides a basis for the development of democratic attributes and dispositions. These curriculum references echo a point made by Giddens, who suggested that democracy was being endangered by political complacency and the economic benefits of globalisation to the West. He noted however that a response to the facelessness of globalisation was already evident in what he termed ‘democratisation’ – a discernible trend for individuals, groups and communities to move away from traditional parliamentary-style democracy, and to embrace and demand individual and social freedoms, and the freedom of geographic mobility. This localisation and intensification of non-formal democratic activity requires that national governments ‘democratise democracy’ (Giddens, 1998b, p. 70), so as to secure their on-going relevance. A Third Way state attains this by ‘fostering ... an active civil society [which] is a basic part of the politics of the Third Way’

(1998b, p. 78). A role for the school and teachers with an interest in democracy is therefore to be an example of a ‘civil society’ at work, providing students and teachers opportunities to be active participants and to extend this participation to various local opportunities to connect with local groupings, interests and concerns – a concept clearly embraced in *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

It is also self-evident that a school actively involved as a community, and involved in its local community, will hold the promise of contributing to the well-being of that community, at the same time enhancing the democratic and cultural education of students, teachers and broader school community. In respect to these aims, and that of enhancing environmental awareness and education, there is however an obvious flaw in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, as it presents a confusing array of competing tensions, by balancing references to sustainability against references to enterprise and globalisation. These are surely two serious obstacles to developing environmental sustainability. However, here too an education that focuses on democratic and ethical decision making and rational, critical thinking, provides teachers and schools with a vehicle enabling students to steer their own ethical path through these contradictions. The incentive to attempt to do so is however not contrived, as this effort is a reasonable implication of a national curriculum that envisages precisely such students.

The New Zealand Curriculum encourages schools to share in a vision of students who are critical and creative thinkers, thus providing an opportunity for the teachers and students in schools to base all their cognitive and educative efforts on critical thinking. Freire reminds teachers of their responsibility to promote and develop critical thinking: ‘The teacher needs to model an active, sceptical learner in the classroom who invites students to be curious and critical ... and creative’ (Shor & Freire, 1987b, p. 8). A curriculum that has an interest in critical thinking opens the door for the ethical teacher to engage a pedagogy that is dialogical, critical and that stimulates criticism (Freire, 1973). Such methods, notes Giroux in his introduction to Freire and Macedo’s *Literacy: Reading the word and the world*, enable the development of a moral language of public life and individual and social commitment to living in a community (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Teachers are required to balance their life roles: they are more than simply teachers, they are also active citizens (Giroux, 1997). In New Zealand, teachers have a history of active involvement in education (Alison, 2007; Gordon, 1989). This history, coupled with the privilege of educating young citizens of a democratic state therefore imposes a personal *and* professional obligation on teachers to support, promote and extend democracy. The conception of a teacher as a gatekeeper of cultural capital (referred to in Chapter One), highlights the privileged access teachers have to the stored cultural capital of a society by virtue of their education (Seddon, 1997). This stored capital includes the belief in the theory and practice of critical and reflective democratic behaviour. From this perspective teachers have an obligation to speak out where education policy or practice endangers democracy or seeks to distort it. Likewise, they should seek out opportunities presented by policy (albeit as a consequence of tensions built in to that policy) to develop democratic dispositions and attributes. The influence of Third Way on *The New Zealand Curriculum* allows thought and action on that which is of particular interest to the development of ethical teacher professionalism: namely the modelling by teachers and development in students of critical thinking and democratic dispositions.

b) *The 'Direction for Learning' statements*

Chapter Seven will consider values and key competencies in some detail. However what may be considered now are some instances of the wide use of language in *The New Zealand Curriculum* text relating to values and key competencies that create openings for the development in students of principles that ethical teachers will regard as important.

The silences in the description or definition of the items chosen as values mean that it is left to schools and teachers to interpret them. Of interest to the development of democratic principles are certain specifically listed values, namely *equity* ('through fairness and social justice'); *integrity* ('which involves acting ethically') and *respect* (of 'human rights') (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10). In its discussion of the key competencies, the Curriculum notes in a simple two paragraph outline that 'thinking' is about 'critical processes' that will aid in

‘developing understanding, making decisions, shaping actions, or constructing knowledge. Intellectual curiosity is at the heart of this competency’ (2007b, p. 12).

The intent of these points in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is consistent with the Third Way aim of creating social cohesion and educating mentally and cognitively active school-leavers that have a self-reflective orientation, thus (presumably) enabling them to be successful in the future. The OECD research (2005, p. 8) underpinning the key competencies in *The New Zealand Curriculum* placed reflectiveness at the core of the key competencies (rather than treating ‘thinking’ as a discrete key competency as presented in *The New Zealand Curriculum*). The OECD research argued that a thinking person is capable of understanding that society is not equally balanced, that it places undue demands on certain people, provides unequal opportunities and rewards people inconsistently, and is constantly evolving, as are the people of whom it is composed. This thinking person is one who acts in several ways to address these inconsistencies. Such a person also recognises that knowledge is a social construct and that not all which is called ‘knowledge’ has equal status or value. These comments are entirely consistent with the representation in this thesis of critical thinking, critically reflective pedagogy and social justice.

It is feasible too that the values referred to above are developed through, and based on, growing critical self-reflection and reflection on the world. The student does not engage in this movement alone or without help, but requires an ‘educator with a democratic vision or posture [who] cannot avoid ... insisting on the critical capacity, curiosity, and autonomy of the learner’ (Freire, 1998, p. 33). Teachers can choose to gloss over or even ignore the values above, and limit notions of ‘thinking’ to cognitivist constructs that consider how students learn, or they can engage with the democratic meanings of the value labels above, and regard an invitation to engage students in ‘critical thinking’ as an opportunity to develop *critical* thinking. The latter options are an exercise in the development of ethical teacher professionalism.

c) *Organisational Principles*

The earlier discussion that introduced the organisational principles that shape policy implementation in New Zealand education argued that the principle of school based curriculum development, although technically put in place by the neoliberal reforms of the immediate post-1989 period, had not been fully developed by 2002. The change of emphasis encouraged by Third Way ideological thinking sought to emphasise and prioritise this principle in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Its generous mandate to schools to exercise their ‘considerable flexibility when determining the detail’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 37) of their curriculum reflects the possibilities for a critical and creative implementation of the national curriculum by schools and teachers. This implementation occurs however in the context of a further operational principle, namely school self-management, exercised through boards of trustees. That being the case, in what way can the role of the board in the implementation of the curriculum have a bearing on the development of ethical teacher professionalism? The answer lies in the already quoted directive that ‘Each board of trustees, *through the principal and staff*, is required to develop and implement a curriculum for students in years 1 – 13’ (2007b, p. 44. Emphasis added). In effect, as previously indicated, boards thus rely heavily on the educational and professional expertise of their staff for assurance that the curriculum has been implemented.

The potential exists for a collaborative partnership between boards of trustees and the professional staff in their schools. Similarly, the boards are in partnership with, and accountable to, the communities they serve. *The New Zealand Curriculum* acknowledges this by recommending that implementation balance the intentions of the curriculum with ‘the values and expectations of the community’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 37). These values and expectations may be expected to feature strongly in the school Charter the board produces to comply with section 61 of the Education Act (1989). The Charter will outline a board’s vision for the school, and translate that into action through its mission statement and strategic plan, setting a direction for the school, according to its own values and vision. It is thus feasible that a board could choose to adapt and reshape the vision and values of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and so set its own

agenda. Clearly there is bound to be some tension between local values and national values in certain communities. This is managed, however, through a reminder to boards to ensure their implementation of the curriculum ‘is underpinned by and consistent with [its] principles’ (Emphasis added, 2007b, p. 44). The point has already been made that these ‘principles’ (2007b, p. 9) are non-negotiable, whereas the directions to boards concerning the ‘values’ and ‘key competencies’ are associated with the more open language of ‘encouragement, modelling and development’ (2007b, p. 44). It is this process of boards making meaning of the policy text, in collaboration with their teachers and communities, that the essential ideological ambiguity and contradictions within that text are exposed (Codd, 1988). It is the gap *between* contradictions that provides a space for an alternative interpretation and implementation of the policy.

Conclusion – Organisational Practice

The guidance provided to schools (i.e. teachers and school leadership) in the design and review pages of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 37-42) indicates that curriculum design is ‘a continuous, cyclic process’ that will ‘address the particular needs’ of the students, and clarify ‘priorities for student learning’. Furthermore, the ‘values, key competencies, and learning areas provide the basis for teaching and learning’. How schools decide to ensure that this basis is created is something they ‘need to consider’, but they can approach this task ‘in different ways’. Although some approaches are suggested, schools ‘may use another approach or a combination of approaches’ (2007b, pp. 37-38). This open-ended language is a double-edged sword, placing both significant pressure on the professional staff of schools that are assumed to have curriculum development knowledge and expertise, while also providing significant opportunities for teacher development. Many schools will choose however simply to opt out, and not take this opportunity, as was discovered in the initial phases of implementation where some schools had sought merely to comply in a rigid and technical manner (ERO, 2009b, p. 14).

It is however evident that there is a reading of the statements in *The New Zealand Curriculum* text authorising or endorsing approaches that would not be expected of a neoliberal policy. This specific policy text invests greater

responsibility and trust in local level policy implementation and provides significant flexibility. It has been suggested here, and will be demonstrated again later that this flexibility may be used to develop ethical teacher professionalism. This flexibility also lends itself to an implementation process that reflects the unpredictable and serendipitous nature of policy implementation (Ball, 1993; Bell & Stevenson, 2006) and the open-ended, relational and cultural influences on curriculum implementation (Hargreaves, 1994; Skilbeck, 1992, 2005). These characteristics are evident in the realisation by New Zealand teachers that school-based curriculum development has multiple starting-points (Cowie et al., 2009, p. 7), does not deliver a 'quick fix', but requires an 'iterative adaptive process' (2009, p. 12), is 'a nonlinear process with no end point' (2009, p. 14) and occurs in 'a trusting environment' (2009, p. 19). The existence of this potential for positive realisation of a critical and creative process of implementation does not mean however that there are no challenges or impediments in the text of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. A selection of such challenges to the development of ethical teacher professionalism will thus be the critical focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Seven: Challenges to ethical teacher professionalism

On-going education reform in New Zealand since 1989, which has mirrored similar reforms internationally, has had corrosive effects on teacher professionalism. This damage does not occur simply in the observable daily business of teaching — in reality, the effects are more deeply felt, in the very mental and moral conceptions teachers have of their work. This thesis has however contemplated the prospect of reclaiming some of that lost moral ground through the implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The contention underpinning this claim is that this curriculum is the product of Third Way policy-making, breaking with earlier neoliberal reform. This thesis thus challenges the conventional critical view in New Zealand and international education scholarship that denies Third Way as an ideological framework distinct from and independent of neoliberalism. This chapter will further illustrate *The New Zealand Curriculum* as a Third Way policy that attempts to reconcile aims of education that have a principles-driven and social outcomes agenda and those that stress preparation for successful participation in the economic life of the country. It proceeds by posing the following question: **In what ways does *The New Zealand Curriculum* challenge the development of ethical teacher professionalism?**

Key drivers in Third Way rhetoric shaping *The New Zealand Curriculum* include globalisation, the knowledge economy and new forms of personal identity, which are presented in Third Way rhetoric as significant challenges to students, the citizens of tomorrow, who are conceptualised in radically different ways than in the past. This altered conceptualisation of students and the world they are entering also challenges schools and teachers. Third Way ideology emphasises the development of lifelong learners who will come to hold highly portable cognitive and emotional skills (Giddens, 1998b, p. 125) enabling them to adapt easily to the economic demands of life in a globalised society. As globalised societies cannot guarantee full employment, sensible governments ensure that their citizens develop entrepreneurial skills and a spirit of enterprise,

enabling them to manage transitional periods in their future lives and to create new opportunities for themselves and their communities (1998b, p. 124). For Giddens, people with these skills were previously spurned by the old left (which sees them as selfish and driven by profit motive) and the right (whose fundamentalism believes the market is the key to economic development) — but a Third Way perspective sees enterprising people as risk takers and innovators (Giddens, 2000, p. 75). The development of a reinvigorated concept of civil society and social cohesion is critical to the future health of both democracy and effective national economy (Giddens, 2001a, p. 7). The rise of individualism has to be countered by encouraging social responsibility (Driver & Martell, 2001; Giddens, 1998b; Latham, 2001; Merkel, 2001), and here schools have a significant role to play, making investment in education an ‘imperative’ for Third Way governments (Giddens, 1998b, p. 109).

Chapter Six concluded by suggesting that despite the existence of opportunities in *The New Zealand Curriculum* for implementation that will encourage a vision of ethical teacher professionalism, certain features of this policy challenge the work of ethical teachers. It is thus important to consider some of these features, and their challenge to those who *seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work*. The aspects of this definition of ethical teacher professionalism developed in Chapter Two that are particularly challenged are the desire of ethical teachers to serve the holistic interests of their students, and to do so without being compromised. This chapter will consider how the concepts of key competencies, enterprise and values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* challenge ethical teachers on one or both counts.

Rapid technological change characterises the context of contemporary schools and teachers. These changes include the development of the Internet, the spectacular growth of cellular and digital communications and the significance of social networking, and the trend to globalisation that has led to the rapid re-

categorisation of traditional work roles in to a multiplicity of jobs, many yet to be designed and developed. This context creates significant demands for a reappraisal of the content or knowledge focus of a curriculum; a shift from curriculum shaped by Industrial Age thinking to a curriculum shaped by Knowledge Age thinking (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a; Warner, 2006) that sees knowledge as constantly forming and re-forming and students as ‘highly capable learners, collaborators and teachers’ (Warner, 2006, p. 3). *The New Zealand Curriculum* is regarded by its creators as a positive policy initiative designed to enable schools and teachers to respond to this new and rapidly changing context. It does so by articulating key competencies that will provide students with the capabilities that will allow them to become lifelong learners able to adapt to the challenges they will face; by resting on a set of principles that includes a ‘future focus’ on enterprise; and by promoting a set of values that will shape the responsible, successful and contributing citizen of the future. Thus, the role of schools and teachers in New Zealand has to be dramatically reshaped to assist in the education of an entirely different kind from that envisaged in the twentieth century.

Key Competencies

‘Each board of trustees, through the principal and staff, is required to develop and implement a curriculum... that supports students to develop the key competencies...’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 44.). This opening statement of instruction to school boards includes two other directives, namely to ensure that school curricula are based on the principles (one of which is enterprise) and that schools model the values of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. These three considerations are given priority over what may traditionally be regarded as ‘knowledge’, represented in *The New Zealand Curriculum* by the Learning Areas. This bifurcation is anecdotally referred to among teachers and education professionals as the split between ‘the front of the book’ and ‘the back of the book’, and is a physical reminder of the uneasy compromise that may be expected of a Third Way solution. On one hand is an approach characterised by notions of a globalised postindustrial, postmodernist knowledge economy and the emergent reorientation of personal identity in that context. On the other hand is the traditional industrial modernist notion of mass education that differentiates

academic and vocational. The former has a radically different understanding of knowledge, essentially giving it ‘new meaning’ (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a). The latter represents the ‘mental models’ Gilbert suggests must be changed if New Zealand is to have a postmodernist and postindustrial education that emphasises knowledge creation and the development of a knowledge economy (2005a, p. 75). It will be helpful to review the salient notions regarding knowledge that are in the background of contemporary curriculum debates.

a) Competing views of knowledge

One view of knowledge is grounded in the notion that certain types or branches of knowledge are intrinsically valuable, and inherently superior to others. In particular, ‘knowledge that’ or propositional knowledge is considered superior to ‘knowledge how’, or skill-based and vocational knowledge. In Aristotelian times, knowledge represented the perfection of human nature. Teaching guided the pupil toward a transcendent ‘good’, replaced in more modern times by Reason. The pursuit of rational activities was thus also an end in itself. Such notions of intrinsic ‘self-realisation’ were adopted by thinkers such as Dewey and Piaget who regarded the human mind as a naturally evolving endowment and education as a process of problem solving as the mind fulfilled its ultimate potential.

Extrinsic outcomes have also formed around the teaching and learning of knowledge. Examples include the preservation and continuation of cherished tradition through oral history. The replication of texts in the Middle Ages preserved knowledge but also controlled its access and dissemination by the Church (Macdonald, 2005, p. 16). The domination of learning and teaching by the privileged classes indicates the political nature of knowledge. The shift to mass education in the Industrial Age was underpinned by the recognition of the politically and economically powerful that value could be extracted from wider access to learning, not only for the inculcation of habits and behaviours appropriate to the shop floor, but also for purposes of social control (Simon, 2000). The adoption of a factory model for mass schooling has, despite significant efforts to elevate its content and processes, dominated schooling to the present.

Approaches to curriculum design have drawn on the traditions outlined in the broad sweep above: content-driven, child-centred and much more recently, outcomes-based (Killen, 2005). Content-driven curricula focus on the acquisition of specific knowledge in a clearly demarcated, centrally controlled and regimented system that encourages rote-learning and mechanistic teaching, leading to what Freire called ‘banking education’ (Freire, 1970), a wasteland of meaningless narrative by the teacher depositing a static reality in the mind of the student. Child-centred notions that limit outside interference in learning have been influenced by biological images of natural maturation (White, 1982, p. 25; 30). This progressivist position lingers in concepts of the teacher as facilitator and co-constructivist models of learning. The appearance of outcomes-based or standards-based or objectives-based curricula is linked to patterns that emerged in vocational education in the 1980s (Killen, 2005). Essentially, desirable standards of performance that can be visibly displayed by a student are specified as the objective of a programme of teaching. This vocational approach has now come to predominate over academic approaches (Young, 2008). A disadvantage of these various approaches is their emphasis on *knowledge*, which is regarded by some to be a limiting factor for its failure to address wider competencies for future life.

b) What are key competencies?

The foregrounding of key competencies in *The New Zealand Curriculum* takes its lead from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), of which New Zealand is a member state. The OECD sought a tool to ensure an underlying unanimity of approach to its testing programmes, such as its Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Hipkins, 2006). International assessments such as PISA have captivated the imaginations of education policy-makers globally who have sought to establish the qualities of high-performing nations with a view to policy implementation at home (Hipkins, 2006; Sahlberg, 2007).

Work on key competencies at the OECD level dates to the high level of interest that its member states showed from the 1980s in attempting to isolate and track the individual knowledge, skills and competencies that would make for

successful societies. However, as no ‘explicit, overarching conceptual framework’ existed, the *Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations (DeSeCo)*, programme was initiated by the OECD, becoming the responsibility of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and the United States Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (Rychen & Salganik, 2000, p. 5). The following statement by Rychen & Salganik, the researchers representing these two bodies, vividly illustrates the shifting power balance in education:

To date, the major impetus in OECD countries for efforts in the area of key competencies has come from the business sector and from employers. From a purely economic viewpoint, competencies of individuals are seen as important because they contribute to:

- boosting productivity and market competitiveness;
- developing an adaptive and qualified labour force; and
- creating an environment for innovation in a world dominated by global competition.

From a broader social perspective, knowledge, skills, and competencies are important because they contribute to:

- increasing individual understanding of public policy issues and participation in democratic processes and institutions;
- social cohesion and justice; and
- strengthening human rights and autonomy as counterweights to increasing global inequality of opportunities and individual marginalization (2000, p. 5).

Later OECD research defined key competencies as ‘more than just knowledge and skills. [They] involve... the ability to meet complex demands, by drawing on and mobilising psychosocial resources (including skills and attitudes) in a particular context’ (OECD, 2005, p. 4). The same report notes that the OECD Ministers understood competencies ‘to cover knowledge, skills, attitudes and values’ (2005, p. 4). Competencies are therefore regarded not to be synonymous with skills, but to include ‘knowledge, cognitive and practical skills, as well as social and behaviour components such as attitudes, emotions, and values and motivations’ (OECD, 2003, p. 2). Competencies are ‘key’ if they are significant to individuals, contribute to valued individual and societal outcomes and help individuals meet

complex demands and challenges in a range of contexts (2003, p. 3). ‘Possession of the key competencies contributes to a higher quality of life across all areas’ (The World Bank, 2003, p. 22). The ‘key competencies’ are categorised by the OECD as individuals *acting autonomously, using tools interactively and interacting in socially heterogeneous groups*, all considered essential to the maintenance of a successful and sustainable economic life in a democratic society (OECD, 2003, p. 2). Finally,

At the centre of the framework of key competencies is the ability of individuals to think for themselves as an expression of moral and intellectual maturity, and to take responsibility for their learning and for their actions... An underlying part of this framework is reflective thought and action (OECD, 2005, p. 8).

The New Zealand Curriculum represents the three OECD key competency categories as ‘thinking, using language, symbols and texts, managing self, relating to others, and participating and contributing’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 12). The OECD concern with reflective, critical and metacognitive thinking is a theme that can be traced throughout the Curriculum. Its deployment of ‘key competencies’ is echoed by Third Way researchers, who link lifelong capabilities with government investment in education, highly skilled national workforces, and success in a globalised, highly technological economy (Giddens, 2000, p. 74; Latham, 2001, pp. 32-33). Third Way rhetoric expresses a belief that ‘supply side’ investment in education brings about economic growth, social cohesion and social equality (Driver & Martell, 2001, p. 39). In this regard, the key competencies are also focussed on the development of ‘soft, prosocial’ skills, enabling individuals to respond to the challenges of globalisation by being competent ‘self-managers’ or effective citizens who ‘participate and contribute’, showing that they can ‘balance rights and responsibilities’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 12-13). This echoes recurrent themes underpinning Third Way discourse, namely that individuals bear some responsibility in exchange for welfare and social benefits in an egalitarian society; that ‘civic democracy’ encourages notions of local decision making and individual involvement; and that ‘opting out’ of civic democracy is as unacceptable for the wealthy as it is for social beneficiaries (Driver & Martell, 2001, pp. 38-39; Giddens, 2001a, p. 8; Latham, 2001, p. 26; Merkel, 2001, pp. 52-53).

c) *A hollowed out curriculum for the networked team-player of tomorrow*

The preceding discussion clarifies that the scope for the development of teachers as ethical individuals is severely restricted by several aspects of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. This can be attributed in part to the hollowing out and reshaping of curriculum, shifting the focus from knowledge for social justice, individual autonomy and critical and rational thinking, to one where knowledge is valued as a performative and tradable commodity. This shift in focus in *The New Zealand Curriculum* to key competencies, (and enterprise and values), echoes a policy tussle identified by ‘social realist’ theorists (Moore, 2007; Moore & Maton, 2010; Moore & Young, 2010; Young, 2008; Young & Muller, 2010) involving ‘technical-instrumentalism’, ‘neo-conservativism’ and postmodernism. They argue that at the centre of curriculum should be knowledge, understood to exist independently of the knower, capable of being known, and the truth claims of which can be adjudicated against codes of practice developed by communities and networks of practitioners. Finally, they argue that the economic instrumentalism and social constructivism underpinning contemporary curricula are bereft of a concept of knowledge as intrinsically important or as potentially more or less valuable than other knowledge.

These trends are equally present in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and have negative implications for the development of ethical teachers. The prominence of key competencies challenges the previously privileged dominance of knowledge understood as a corpus of truths, evidence, understanding, arguments and conclusions pertaining to a particular collected tradition, and the skills related to engaging with that corpus. It is suggested that those skills encouraged by or which are a prerequisite to serious engagement with traditional knowledge are inadequate to enable the average person to cope in the future (Bolstad & Gilbert, 2008; Gilbert, 2005a; Hood, 1998; Warner, 2006). Instead, a *meta-knowledge* is required that uses knowledge as a vehicle for developing a higher-order battery of *dispositions* more freely and autonomously taken up than is the case with skills that are a by-product of traditional knowledge engagement. Knowledge thus serves no intrinsic purpose; rather its purpose is to aid in the development of the key competencies that in turn equip the individual, working in networks and

teams, to add value to knowledge by applying it to different uses and using it in different ways (Gilbert, 2005a). Moore and Young argue that this is a conception of knowledge as having only extrinsic value and no foundations other than within the interests of particular groups or individuals, thus lacking any permanence or inter-subjectivity (2010).

The neoliberal self-actualising and autonomous chooser is displaced by a Third Way notion of teamwork (what Warner (2006) calls ‘teaming’) that conceptualises the individual as one who associates with networks, groups and communities. This image is an outcome of the development of postmodern society prefigured by Lyotard, who suggested that the ‘emphasis placed on teamwork is related to the predominance of the performativity criterion in knowledge’ (Lyotard, 1984, p. 52). Lyotard discerned in the principle of performativity that deepening technology brings with it a sense of efficient production, namely maximal output or results for minimal input or outlay of expenditure. Ideally, the results of technology produce a surplus value from the task to which the technology is applied. A portion of this profit may be recycled to further develop the technology (1984, p. 45). What is true of technology becomes true of knowledge, and Lyotard’s suggestion was that teams are likely to improve performativity. Competent individuals thus come to regard knowledge for its use value, for its ability to be marketed and on-sold in different form, and are able to combine effectively with others, either locally or remotely, to ensure this occurs. By implication, ‘competent’ individuals must be ‘enterprising’ ones.

Enterprise

The concept of ‘enterprise’ and the existence of an ‘enterprise culture’ in New Zealand education is not a creation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, as the idea of education being inclined toward business dates back at least to the time of the 1944 Thomas Report (Openshaw, 2009, p. 29), when business interests voiced concerns at the apparent lack of skills among school leavers and bemoaned the direction being taken by secondary education. Several writers however associate the development of an ‘enterprise culture’ in New Zealand education with the election of the National Party to government in 1990 (Codd, 2005a; O’Neill, 2005a; Stuart, 2005). Anne-Marie O’Neill notes that ‘during the 1990s National

placed the school curriculum at the centre of the promotion of ‘Enterprise Culture’, nurturing a climate in which students were to become more open to the values of business, industry and the economy in general’ (2005a, p. 78). This development in education policy, following the Labour Party ‘Rogernomics’ reforms of 1984 – 1989, reflected the neoliberal orientation of the National Party in the 1990s. During the 1990s, trends to ‘human capital’ conceptualisations of the individual and the importance of education as an investment in the future economic success of New Zealand on the emerging global stage were becoming evident. The Fifth Labour government (1999 – 2008) reflected a further development of enterprise, now from a Third Way perspective, revealing the more sophisticated links to notions of ‘knowledge economy’ and ‘knowledge society’.

a) *What is ‘enterprise’?*

‘Enterprise’ as it has evolved in New Zealand curriculum policy and support documentation (Ministry of Education, 2008c) categorises a set of dispositions that has as much to do with creativity, being willing to think and act laterally, and taking initiative, as it does with economic ideas such as entrepreneurial risk-taking and exploiting business opportunities. In *The New Zealand Curriculum*, enterprise is embedded in the key competency of ‘Managing Self’: ‘Students who manage themselves are enterprising, resourceful, reliable, and resilient. They make plans, manage projects, have strategies for meeting challenges [and] know when to lead, when to follow, and when and how to act independently’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 12). This suggests that the disposition of ‘enterprise’ can be attained by inculcating habits, behaviours or ways of thinking through learning experiences that will treat students as independent learners who have pre-acquired knowledge and are taught to be resilient and self-reflective.

When considering school curriculum design, the Curriculum guides teachers to ‘future focused issues’ that make ‘connections across the learning areas, values, and key competencies’ (2007b, p. 39). One of these suggested themes is ‘enterprise’ (the others being sustainability, citizenship and globalisation), that should enable students to explore ‘what it is to be innovative and entrepreneurial’ (2007b, p. 39). At the draft stage, enterprise had a more prominent place, and an

‘economic focus’ was identified as one of the ‘common themes’ among submissions on the Draft Curriculum (Watson, Bowen, Tao, & Earle, 2006, p. 20). However, of 133 submissions that commented on these common themes (and some commented on more than one theme), only nineteen (or 14%) actually referred to the ‘economic focus’ of the Curriculum (2006, p. 20). Unsurprisingly, the positive views were expressed by stakeholders such as Business New Zealand, Enterprise New Zealand Trust and the Employers and Manufacturers Association (EMA), while reservations were expressed by schools and academic institutions (Watson, Bowen, Tao, & Earle, 2006, pp. 27-28), where individual or group respondents may be expected to hold views more critical of government economic policy intruding into schooling.

Despite the lack of importance that the concepts ‘enterprise’ and ‘entrepreneurialism’ appear to have in submissions on the Draft Curriculum, the following words that appeared in the Draft Curriculum did not find their way into the final document, although some of its flavour is retained: ‘Through their learning experiences, [students] develop the understandings, skills, competencies, and attributes that equip them to be innovative. They can identify, create, initiate, and successfully manage personal, community, business, and work opportunities, including working for themselves’ (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 26) Although these words may not have found their way into the final curriculum document, they have not been lost, nor has their intent, as evidenced by the ‘Education for Enterprise’ pages of the Te Kete Ipurangi (‘TKI’) website (Ministry of Education, 2008c). Here it is noted that the Ministry of Education defines

Education for Enterprise as: ...a teaching and learning process directed towards developing in young people those skills, competencies, understandings, and attributes which equip them to be innovative, and to identify, create, initiate, and successfully manage personal, community, business, and work opportunities, including working for themselves (2008c).

This definition is a verbatim copy of that offered by the Australian Commonwealth Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR, formerly the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST), a change in nomenclature by the Rudd Labor government that emphasises the link between education and the economy) (DEEWR, 2010). This definition by the Australian Commonwealth dates back to at least 2002 (Robb, Kenway, & Bullen,

2003, p. 48), therefore predating *The New Zealand Curriculum* version. What this similarity illustrates, besides a lack of creativity or diligence on the part of the writers of New Zealand curriculum resources and policy, is that there is a high level of unanimity globally on the matter of enterprise, specifically promoted through international agencies such as the OECD. Its Enterprise, Industry and Services webpage (OECD, 2010) for example notes that it ‘helps governments formulate micro-level policies to foster the development of industries and enterprises’.

b) Enterprise is linked to the key competencies

The New Zealand Curriculum provides minimal detail of what it is to be ‘innovative’ or ‘entrepreneurial’, which are the ‘enterprise’ indicators. Presumably an innovative student is creative, resourceful and able to sense an opportunity where perhaps others may not. Furthermore, such a student, it may be imagined, is able to be novel or unique or to develop a novel or unique concept that could become a tangible asset or that may have a tangible effect in policy or action. Similarly, a successful entrepreneur ought to be innovative. In addition, it may be suggested that an entrepreneur is a resilient risk-taker willing to venture capital to grow and develop an opportunity for personal gain and hopefully, for the benefit of others, possibly by providing employment. More detail is however forthcoming on the aforementioned *Education for Enterprise* website (coined as ‘E4E’ by the Ministry of Education). Fig. 2 below depicts pictorially the relationship between the key competencies and ‘enterprising attributes’. There it may be seen that most of the attributes indicated above in relation to innovation and entrepreneurialism locate themselves as enterprising attributes related to the key competency ‘thinking’.

Key Competencies and Enterprising Attributes

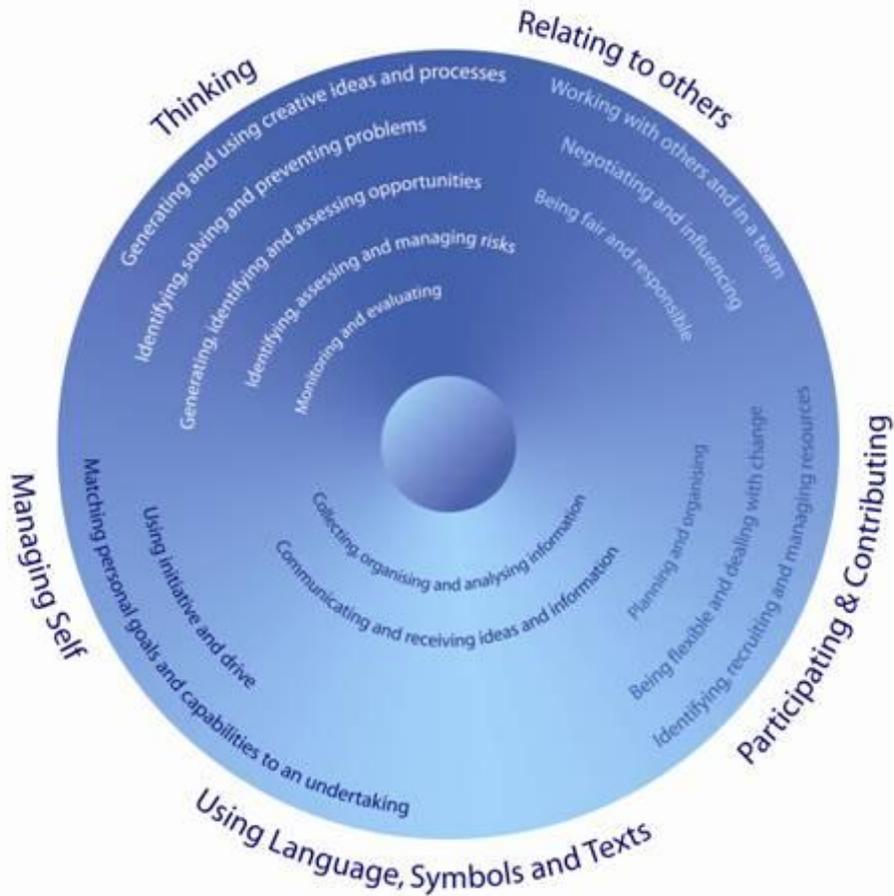


Fig 2 The relationship between key competencies and enterprising attributes (Ministry of Education, 2010d)

Notwithstanding the instrumentalism underpinning taxonomies of ‘attributes’ and relating these to further taxonomies of ‘key competencies’, it is unclear why many of these attributes would be necessarily limited to students who are ‘enterprising’. Rather, it may be suggested, these constitute any successful student or adult, *and have done so for many people for many years*. The emphasis draws attention to the inherent notion of deficit implied by these attributes. Another perspective some would argue, is that these attributes are redolent of a

‘rugged individualism’ (O’Neill, 2005a) that may be associated with the stereotypical ‘kiwi bloke’ projected by the popular media. Additionally, they reflect Third Way thinking that adults should be flexible, self-managed makers of personal destiny in an uncertain global economy. These enterprising attributes alone are not, however, indicative of an *educated* student, as they exclude a range of other attributes that one may expect of a critically thinking, rational and autonomous decision-maker motivated by attributes of social justice and care.

A final word of caution on this display by the Ministry of Education that links ‘key competencies’ and ‘enterprising attributes’ – at some point in the future, the ‘key competencies’ may cease to have the central place they currently enjoy, to be replaced quite easily and seamlessly by the ‘enterprising attributes’. This possibility echoes a process that certain commentators believed to have occurred in Australia (Shacklock, Hattam, & Smyth, 2000, p. 51), leading to a radical blurring of the line between school and workplace. Enterprise concepts mirror vocationalisation of curriculum, a process resonating with education policy changes in the United Kingdom and Australia (Shacklock, Hattam, & Smyth, 2000; Young, 2008). In New Zealand schools, this is evidenced for example through secondary programmes such as ‘Gateway’ that places students in the workplace environment to obtain work experience and to be assessed (Vaughan & Kenneally, 2003). Chapter Three noted the increasing likelihood that secondary teachers in New Zealand are now more likely to have at least some teaching responsibility in vocational areas, contributing to a curriculum that can be narrowly tailored, potentially restricting future student life choices dramatically.

c) The significance of enterprise in The New Zealand Curriculum

The significance of enterprise in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is its acknowledgement of the pressure global knowledge trends bring to bear on traditional schooling, and its reflection of the Third Way modernising ideology of the New Zealand Labour government in power at the time the Curriculum was being prepared. By including ‘enterprise’, the curriculum writers acknowledged both business interests and knowledge age futurism. The intention that schools and teachers will aid in the creation of an enterprising and entrepreneurial

workforce that would keep New Zealand globally competitive is echoed by Giddens, who noted that ‘Government has an essential role to play in investing in the human resources and infrastructure needed to develop an entrepreneurial culture’ (1998b, p. 99). This claim rests on his view of the importance of states being competitive wealth generators in a global economy, a position he acknowledged to have strong neoliberal links. However, he warned that safeguards be put in place so that individuals would not be swept away by ‘an economic whirlpool’ (1998b, p. 99). He later clarified this point by suggesting that Third Way governments should simultaneously provide financial support for small business startups while legislating creative taxation measures to give these businesses the opportunity to succeed as insurance against business failure (1998b, p. 124). This also echoes the theme of greater individual responsibility in return for welfare benefits, a characteristic of Third Way ideology — and a feature of the ‘values’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

Values

Values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* are ‘To be encouraged, modelled and explored’ (2007b, p. 10). These ‘Values are deeply held beliefs about what is important or desirable’, and specifically,

‘Students will be encouraged to value:

- excellence, by aiming high and persevering in the face of difficulties;
- innovation, inquiry, and curiosity, by thinking critically, creatively, and reflectively;
- diversity, as found in our different cultures, languages and heritages;
- equity, through fairness and social justice;
- community and participation for the common good;
- ecological sustainability, which includes care for the environment;
- integrity, which involves being honest, responsible, and accountable and acting ethically;
- and to respect themselves, others and human rights’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10).

The Curriculum suggests that the list can be expanded to categories of related attributes, such as ‘*community and participation for the common good* [that] is associated with values and notions such as peace, citizenship, and manaakitanga [community caring and guardianship]’ (2007, p. 10. Emphasis in the original). The determination of the final ‘list’ and how ‘these values find expression in an individual school will be guided by dialogue between the school and its community’ (2007, p. 10). Later, the Curriculum states that: ‘Schools need to consider how they can make the values an integral part of their curriculum and how they will monitor the effectiveness of the approach taken’ (2007, p. 38), highlighting firstly that these values be integrated in to daily operations and programmes, rather than being taught as stand-alone content, and secondly that an outcomes, accountability model underpins the thinking about these values.

a) *Values reflects Third Way discourse*

This thesis has consistently argued that *The New Zealand Curriculum* reflects Third Way ideological discourse, and the inclusion of values represents that discourse. Third Way has appropriated a traditional, even conservative agenda, ironically in a manner that permits toleration of the perturbations of postmodernism and associated socio-political pluralism. This point is emphasised by Latham, who speaks of the values of *interdependence, responsibility, incentives and devolution* (2001, p. 26). These pertain to closer cooperation of individuals, communities and nations; reciprocal individual responsibility for the ‘rights and benefits of citizenship’; individuals striving to be well equipped to progress in a world of flux; and increasing responsibility for democracy to function away from the centre. ‘These values fit the politics of our time... In an era of permanent change, universal values are the most effective means by which politicians can unite and inspire the electorate’ (2001, p. 26). Here Latham reveals Third Way as a cynical political and electoral device, reviled by many of its critics, who see it in precisely these terms, believing that electoral success has meant a lurch to the right from traditional left principles (Faux, 1999) or the mining of ideas that are a century old (Ryan, 1999).

Less damning critiques acknowledge Third Way as an ideology that has been able to appeal to an electorate grown weary of neoliberalism (which it may be suggested applied equally New Zealand as it did for the United Kingdom), by adeptly bringing together a long-held view that individuals desire to realise their full human potential within a state context that flattens inequalities (Woods, 2002, p. 135). Nevertheless, no matter how one chooses to adjudicate upon these arguments, it is clear that there are close links between Latham's representation of Third Way values and those projected by *The New Zealand Curriculum*.

It has been noted that an important dual goal for Third Way proponents is the achievement of national economic success and social cohesion (Driver & Martell, 2001; Latham, 2001). The achievement of social cohesion is a priority in Third Way ideology because of the social and economic benefits to a country of stable families and personal relationships and safe communities (Giddens, 2000, p. 49). This prioritisation is a reaction to neoliberal market-led policies that had eroded and threatened social cohesion (Giddens, 2000, p. 4) and old leftist politics that turned a blind eye to crime (Giddens, 2000, p. 50). This has led to claims by critics that Third Way advocates social authoritarianism (Thrupp, 2005a), but its proponents argue that they have a valid concern with the decline in family life, escalating crime, and decay of community (Giddens, 2000, p. 4) that they attribute to boundless welfarism on one hand and laissez-faire neoliberalism on the other. This has not deterred critics from claiming that the appeal to law and order has merely been a ruse to convince the electorate to return left parties to power (Faux, 1999).

Related to the commitment to the attainment of social cohesion by Third Way governments has been the interest of Third Way ideologues in the renewal of democratic citizenship and their wish to deepen citizenship education. This line of thinking regards full involvement in the economic life of the country to equate to the responsible acceptance by individuals of their rights of citizenship. Indeed, that involvement is regarded to aid the development of responsible citizenship (Merkel, 2001). It is thus no surprise that one of the themes of the 'Future Focus' principle in the *New Zealand Curriculum* is citizenship (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 9).

b) *Why values?*

It will be helpful now to recall reasons for the prominence of ‘values’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, and then to consider aspects of the debates that informed their inclusion. The findings of the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (Ministry of Education, 2002a) referred to in Chapter Four included the ‘recognition of the importance of balancing the social outcomes of education with a focus on academic achievement, triggering an international resurgence in citizenship and values education’ (2002a, p. 1). This statement echoes the Third Way dual goals of social cohesion (social outcomes) and economic success (academic achievement). The framers of this report recommended that values ‘have a more explicit role in frameworks and support materials. [However, they] should not be presented as an exclusive list’ (2002a, p. 3). The writers of the report believed that values were not well understood, did not think the values listed in the Framework had kept pace with broader contextual changes, and could not provide the Minister of Education with a guarantee that the ‘attitudes and values’ of the predecessor New Zealand Curriculum Framework were being adequately taught, a view echoed by the Education Review Office (2001). However, the stocktake writers helpfully suggested that a continuous association between values and curriculum could be traced by arguing that i) school climate has the power to influence students; ii) school climate is a product of student and teacher values and attitudes; iii) the curriculum, as policy, ought to be able to positively influence school climate (2002a, p. 21). The report noted international trends regarding values, specifically indicating, in line with Third Way ideology, an interest in developing ‘global human responsibility’ (2002a, p. 22).

Although noting that whatever values were to be chosen should not be ‘exclusive’, the report writers did recommend that it be *obligatory* for the skills (later, key competencies) and the values to be reflected in teaching and learning programmes (2002a, p. 22). In its rationale to the Minister for the revision of the outdated ‘attitudes and values’, the report clearly aligned itself to Third Way rhetoric by noting that:

Attitudes and values have the potential to aid the effectiveness of the curriculum by *strengthening social cohesion, developing a stronger sense of civics,*

citizenship and more enterprising attitudes, and fostering a culture of innovation, respect for others and critical thinking (2002a, p. 23. Emphasis added).

The imposition of values through *The New Zealand Curriculum* raises substantial questions: to what extent do ‘values’ blur the division between private and public? Should values be the subject of study? Are they a device to influence the thinking of students and teachers? Will teachers *teach about* values, or actually *teach values*? Prior questions exist however concerning clarification over the epistemological status of values in the Curriculum and their purpose. This allows questioning over *whose* values and *which* values before considering *how* they may be ‘encouraged, modelled and explored’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10).

The questions about *whose* values and *which* values are answered in part by the question, *why* values. This latter question has already been partly addressed by suggesting that Third Way ideology provided a context for the Curriculum Stocktake participants. This is an incomplete answer, however, and deeper insight is required. Third Way thinking provides a political response to intellectual postmodernism and to rapid technological change and globalisation. These trends highlight increasing diversity and pluralism at all levels. Individuals in a position to benefit by technology and economic globalisation are experiencing changes in personal identity, leading to heightened individualism. Taken together, and with a steady uncoupling in Western societies from traditional and religious values in the mid – late twentieth century, it is no surprise that these trends have led to ‘moral panic’ embedding itself in the popular mind. Snook, referring presumably to the New Right and neoliberal reformers of the late 1980s and 1990s, suggested that the call for values comes from the very people who have helped to turn New Zealand in to a materialistic, anti-altruistic, competitive and cynical society (2000). Evidence from the writing of Third Way proponents has been put forward in this chapter to suggest that Third Way governments, such as the Fifth New Zealand Labour-led government post-1999, were motivated to deal with precisely these negative results of neoliberal policy-making to which Snook referred. The recommendation for values inclusion in the Draft New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2006) was supported by Labour, which was reflecting popular concerns.

Kelsey (2000) credited the Fifth Labour government with endeavouring to engage in nation-building through its concept of a knowledge *society* that, she argued, has a greater sense of social capital than the (neoliberal) emphasis on knowledge economy. ‘This [knowledge society] implies a social and economic environment, fostered by the state, which celebrates and rewards the acquisition, generation and application of knowledge by all its members’ (Kelsey, 2000, p. 4). What Kelsey failed to recognise here is that the creation of a knowledge *society* is considered by Third Way proponents to be essential for successful participation in the global knowledge *economy* (Latham, 2001, pp. 32-33). This relationship is central to the dual Third Way goals of economic growth and social cohesion. It is towards the development of this cohesion that values in school curricula play a central role.

c) *Can schools be communities?*

It may be questioned whether the goal of social cohesion can be attained by the implementation of a list of common values, a position taken by the *Curriculum Stocktake Report* (2002a, p. 42). In particular, these questions are raised in regard to state schools, which are meant to serve the full diversity of society and avoid what Brian Hill calls ‘enclavism’ (2000). The ‘expert’ reference groups that were engaged after the stocktake to study the values issue in more detail also wrestled with this issue (Ministry of Education, 2005), finding a solution in a concept of ‘big tented values’ detailed by Kenneth Strike, in a paper entitled *Can schools be communities? The tension between shared values and inclusion* (1999). Strike debated the inevitable, but unacceptable conclusion that state schools could not be communities. This is so because the notion of a ‘community’ presupposes that it is constituted by specific values *and* accords with the principle of ‘liberal inclusion’. ‘Constitutive values’ have the characteristics of a common, but exclusive end or purpose, and the inspiration provided by a shared project, while ‘liberal inclusion’ assumes both free association and non-discrimination. The latter principle is essential to the conception of a state school, while the former is essential to the conception of a community. However, as the two principles work against each other, and because Strike wanted to conclude that state schools could

be communities, he sought reasons enabling state schools to pass both tests. He believed he could find a solution to the dilemma by searching along a continuum of values for constitutive, 'big tented' values that are 'thick, but vague' enough to gather diverse points of view (1999, p. 46).

To what extent does *The New Zealand Curriculum* actually achieve what Strike set out to do? He used Catholic schools as examples, as their exclusive religious identification unifies them as communities, yet they are inclusive insofar as they invite like-minded people to freely associate with their values, and do not discriminate among those who so associate. Strike noted that their 'humanistic neo-scholasticism' (1999, p. 57), emphasises the pursuit of academic knowledge for intrinsic reasons for all students in the belief that it contributes to the attainment of the 'good life'. Because these values have a history independent of the development of Catholicism, they could be a model of 'big tented' values. Strike qualified his position by rejecting instrumental and competitive aims as candidates for values that could motivate a community of purpose.

The New Zealand Curriculum fails Strike's tests on at least two counts. These are the values of 'excellence', followed by 'innovation, inquiry, and curiosity' (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10). Both 'values' imply competitiveness and presuppose that differentiation will be an outcome. 'Excellence' presupposes the attainment of a standard of performance (such as top of the cohort, or exceeding personal best) as a consequence of participation in a particular set of activities. However 2006 figures (the most recent at time of writing in 2010) show just over 4% of New Zealand students are daily truants, a problem especially prevalent among Maori and Pacific Island students at low decile schools (Education Counts, 2007). The truancy problem is compounded for these students by hunger and poverty-related issues, including high rates of school transience that further impacts on school success (Child Poverty Action Group, nd), making these values meaningless to such children.

Both values accord with the already expressed intention of building an education system enabling students to prepare for success in a global market economy that is governed by notions of a knowledge economy. It has been pointed out repeatedly that this economy privileges the privatisation of knowledge and encourages proprietary behaviour over personal individual

‘knowledge capital’. Indeed, to the extent that an entire curriculum policy is significantly influenced by such extrinsic aims, it is difficult to see how any of the so-called ‘values’ pass Strike’s twin tests of inclusiveness *and* community-building.

Strike’s conclusion that the middle ground between two extremes be explored as it allows the articulation and development of important ideas like tolerance, which can be constitutive of state schools without excluding anyone, resonates strongly with Third Way reasoning. Mechanisms that enable Strike’s big-tented values ‘can create something of civil society in public space. Such institutions can be ways to have schools that are more like congregations and less like banks’ (1999, p. 69). Thus the questions of *why, whose and which* values are answered: the motivation to develop social cohesion is strongly articulated in *The New Zealand Curriculum*; consent is manufactured by the assertion that the listed values ‘enjoy widespread support [and] it is by holding these values and acting upon them that we are able to live together and thrive’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10), although some of the ‘big tented’ values may be doubtful starters. The Ministry of Education has designed an inspiring vision by developing values aimed at building community, but this effort is offset against the lingering aspect of an instrumentalist national vision, in which students are seen only in terms of the value they can add to the nation’s economy. Nevertheless, it will later be suggested that the remaining values on the list offer more potential when read in light of the suggestion that the specifics of the ‘expression [of values] in an individual school will be guided by dialogue between the school and its community’ (2007b, p. 10).

Addressing the challenge of key competencies, enterprise and values to the development of ethical teacher professionalism

Does the subordination of knowledge to key competencies in *The New Zealand Curriculum* deny students a holistic educational experience and thus discourage ethical teacher professionalism? Are the requirements and demands of an education system focused on economic objectives over the commitment to democratic citizenship and the moral values of social justice compromising ‘good teaching’ and ethical teachers? What are the beliefs that all students can and ought to be brought to hold that will instil specific attitudes and motivate

congruent conduct? These are the kinds of questions that go to the core of the concerns of this thesis. These are questions that all teachers should ask. These are questions that undergraduate recruits to the teaching profession should be challenged with by their teacher educators. The concepts of key competencies, enterprise and values generate a discourse, a unique language, syntax and semiotic system that fundamentally shapes and alters the way teachers think about their work and themselves (Shacklock, Hattam, & Smyth, 2000, pp. 49; 54-55). The following discussion attempts to address these questions in reference to the specific commitment of this thesis to the elaboration of a concept of ethical teacher professionalism. This will be achieved in two ways: first by considering ways in which each of the three aspects of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that have been the focus of this chapter challenge the concept of ethical teacher professionalism; and second by challenging in turn the Curriculum itself to demonstrate how its own words leave open spaces in which the concept of ethical teacher professionalism may be developed.

a) *Key competencies*

The key competencies are a product of Third Way human capital, postindustrial discourses that echo postmodern notions of discrete ‘knowledges’. Specifically, Third Way knowledge discourse seeks to commodify and privatise knowledge, regarding it as a tradable item of value to individuals. What is required of individuals is that through education they acquire the competencies to harness, modify and adapt that knowledge. This is a direct challenge to those teachers seeking to fulfil the vision of ethical teacher professionalism. Their faith in the transformative power of education is based on a holistic understanding of knowledge, firstly as unitary and thus meaningful when understood as the whole being the sum of its parts; secondly, in terms of the relationship of knowledge to questions of its creation, acquisition, interpretation, re-creation and transmission; and thirdly in terms of such knowledge giving power to those who have been denied it. These questions are central to an epistemology or theory of knowledge. The ‘social realist’ critique of the ‘technical-instrumentalist’ and postmodern approaches (essentially what is evident in *The New Zealand Curriculum*) is their

lack of an epistemology (Moore, 2007; Moore & Maton, 2010; Moore & Young, 2010; Young, 2008; Young & Muller, 2010). This is because these approaches privilege the learner and learning over knowledge, which is considered to be the constructivist product of personal and group-interests. While socio-historical context is important in the formation of knowledge, the reduction of knowledge to personal student experience or group interests has untenable relativising consequences (Moore & Young, 2010; Young, 2008), and is a disservice to the marginalised who have most to gain by access to ‘powerful knowledge’ (Young, 2008).

Awareness of ‘the other’ demands that although ethical teachers recognise themselves as present in the life of each student (Freire, 1998, p. 59), they respect the autonomy of each, validating their personal ‘histories’ (Giroux, 1997). In this comment, Giroux contemplated the possibility of bridging modernist notions and postmodern concerns, by relating the concept of the transformative power of education to concepts of difference and individual histories. Giroux’s speculations are significant, for as noted, postmodern, globalist, and Third Way perspectives on knowledge as merely instrumental to the acquisition of key competencies contradicts what is appropriate to the work of ethical teachers. They should therefore seek to locate content in contexts approached critically by teachers and students, which are explored and developed for their moral, ethical and democratic implications. This approach challenges the reality of standards-based teaching and learning in which knowledge is fragmented and detached from its conceptual moorings. It is difficult to imagine younger students particularly, developing the ability to think critically and autonomously, when all they have to work with are disjointed fragments whose only purpose is to serve as a vehicle to develop key competencies.

Although key competencies, OECD tests and achievement objectives persist, spaces for ethical teachers exist primarily because *The New Zealand Curriculum* is a policy text written to manage the perturbations that are manifest in self-contradictory Third Way rhetoric:

The New Zealand Curriculum ... is a framework rather than a detailed plan. This means that ... schools have considerable flexibility when determining the detail ...

[and,]

When designing and reviewing their curriculum, schools will need to consider how to encourage and monitor the development of the key competencies. They will need to clarify their meaning for their students (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 37; 38).

This open invitation to schools and teachers to ‘clarify’ the meanings of the competencies for ‘their students’ (2007b, p. 38) must be actively taken up. Competencies will have radically different meanings to schools or teachers who are merely passive functionaries than to those committed to ethical teacher professionalism. Such an approach will be mindful of ways that educational experiences can develop those meanings. Schools could deconstruct the key competencies, recasting them in light of the unique value positions of the school, developing an alternative discourse. Thus, it can be imagined that there could be a subtle shift from an individualist definition of ‘relating to others’ that ‘includes the ability to listen actively, recognise different points of view, negotiate, and share ideas’ (2007b, p. 12) to a definition emphasising a strong focus on the other person, always seeking to understand the other person’s point of view and need to be respected and accepted.

The critical and reflective thinking underpinning the competencies could be combined with the postmodernist call in the Curriculum for learning to be contextualised in student life experience (2007b, p. 34), providing ethical teachers with opportunities to engage in critical and transformative education of a kind that has perhaps not been possible for decades. Students may come to a critical realisation and understanding that grows from an appreciation of the socio-economic and political context in which they are maturing. This too will place in perspective the techno-rationalist notion of perpetual or ‘lifelong learning’. Ethical teachers will ensure that there is a minimum knowledge content that each student should have to be equipped for a gainful and meaningful life. Similarly, students can be shown that their relationships with teachers, families and wider society are governed by several ethical influences. Ethical teachers, understanding that there is no value-free pedagogy (Shor & Freire, 1987b, p. 13), would use dialogical pedagogy to explore these relationships in with their students, problematising concrete human relations as a precursor to the development of critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Finally, such teachers seeking

transformation of student lives to critical adulthood, committed to the growth and development of a vibrant democracy, will seek to derive the most useful lessons from the so-called 'key competencies', to ensure that their students are 'confident, connected, actively involved, and lifelong learners' (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8).

b) *Enterprise*

Ethical teachers may find themselves compromised by the obligation that 'enterprise' be a defining principle of school curricula. This raises the fundamental question of whether teachers can be ethical professionals when performing the legalistic obligations of their roles. Chapter Two noted that these obligations are extrinsically imposed upon teachers, rather than being freely taken up by them. While this implies a reduction of autonomy, it was also previously noted that the idea of public service retains a sense not only of what a profession gives or offers, but also of what the public it serves may expect when taking up what the profession offers. By choosing to work in a schooling system, teachers accept their role in delivering on the promises made by the schooling system to the society it serves, and to fail to do so would be unethical. The problem faced by individual teachers is that they do not always get to decide what the content of those promises will be. In the case of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, one of those promises is to prepare students to be 'enterprising'. The grim interpretation of this reality for an ethical teacher is to become a mere service functionary in schools that 'are set up as delivery systems to market official ideas and [that do] not develop critical thinking' (Shor & Freire, 1987a, p. 8).

'Enterprise' poses some practical difficulties for teachers implementing *The New Zealand Curriculum*. In its economic sense of exploiting potentially viable commercial opportunities for gain and taking some financial risk to do so, it is difficult to imagine how this may be taught, other than through practical experience. While it is possible to teach students about opportunity, risk and challenge and how to respond to these, it is another matter altogether to seize opportunities, take risks, meet challenges and employ learnt responses to exploit and manage these. This is particularly so if there is a financial consideration at

stake. One of the foundations of the classical notion of profession is esoteric knowledge, while the notion of ethical professionalism is based on altruistic commitment to 'the other', duty and service. None of these measures is commensurate with inauthentic teaching or pretence; yet this is the position taken up by teachers who attempt to teach and facilitate learning in areas where they have no practical experience or knowledge. The knowledge domain of commercial enterprise is one that requires such experience and knowledge, and only teachers with requisite prior experience should therefore be engaging their students in enterprise studies. It is conceivable, particularly in secondary schools, that business studies courses may be taught by teachers who previous to entering teaching were engaged in business in a capacity that would provide the required background. Indeed, some schools have established specialist units or departments that have the attainment of enterprise skills by students as an expressed goal. An example is Onehunga High School in Auckland that established its Business School, spearheaded by a past student who had attained success as an entrepreneur. It has its own Board, composed of active business people, and its courses are supported by active business people. However, this situation may be considered exceptional rather than general and need not trouble an ethical teacher to the same extent as should school-wide commitments to promote enterprise, because these require whole-staff collaboration and consensus. This places the ethical teacher in a problematical bind for the reasons already outlined, and indeed for other reasons too.

Altruistic service implies a wider community focus for the ethical teacher, assisting to meet its needs and expectations. 'Service' suggests one is working for others and in their interests, placing these above or beyond one's own, and that this work is carried out for reasons other than extrinsic, material ones. This idea of 'service' is sometimes conceptualised as 'social responsibility' (Brien, 1998), which heightens the sense of vocational mission, and may bring teaching in to conflict with the matter of financial rewards. Although some professions regard the ability to set and charge fees to be constitutive of their professional status, this is irrelevant for teacher practitioners (and indeed other state service professionals). As teachers are neither self-employed nor able to dictate their rate of pay or other terms of work, it is questionable how they will successfully teach

their students to ‘identify, create, initiate, and successfully manage personal, community, business, and work opportunities, including working for themselves’ (Ministry of Education, 2006) . Thus an ethical teacher who lacks the required business experience and knowledge, who is committed to working in service of a community, and who accepts that teachers’ work has a non-materialist orientation, faces a dilemma in a school that chooses to be an ‘enterprise school’. It is at this intersection that ethical teacher professionalism is tested by requiring a teacher to prioritise the accountability implications of ethical duty over responsibility to students.

Thus far, some speculative comments have been made showing the potential for conflict between the aims of ethical teacher professionalism, and the aims of ‘enterprise’ as a principle on which to base a national curriculum. Some brief reference will now be made to actual statements regarding both ideal teaching contexts for ‘teaching enterprise’ and being an ‘effective Education for Enterprise’ teacher. First, typical contexts relate to the ‘enterprising attributes’ depicted in Fig. 2. The comments made there require no repetition, bar that many of the attributes describe effective learning, teaching and research activities *in general*, yet find themselves domesticated to the service of ‘enterprise education’. These sleights of hand redefine the terrain on which ethical teachers have typically operated, either leaving them without their moral compass or reconstituting them as alien identities. The ‘Education for Enterprise’ website features a teacher self-evaluation that asks: ‘Are you a teacher that takes an Education for Enterprise approach to teaching and learning?’ (Ministry of Education, 2010c). A sampling of questions reveals their competitive and individualist orientation:

Do I encourage my students to develop a ‘can do’ attitude?

Do my students recognise the benefits of working independently, being self-motivated and accepting setbacks as learning experience?

Does my classroom practice enable my students to be creative, flexible and resourceful in managing change?

Do I offer my students the opportunity to take the initiative and lead when the opportunity arises?

Do I empower my students to take imaginative and informed approaches to problem solving, involving calculated risks? (2010c).

Here one sees Anne-Marie O'Neill's 'rugged individualist' (2005a) writ large as a 'can do' self-starting pioneer, resiliently recovering from set-backs, leading creatively and imaginatively to solve complex problems with little more than a roll of no. 8 fencing wire, emerging in the style of a cinematic cult hero and saviour.

Precisely how teachers will accomplish these outcomes is not immediately clear, although a further resource, billed as 'best practice principles for teaching Education for Enterprise' suggests some of the following:

Teachers make the purposes of learning explicit and reinforce these

Students feel that they can take risks as learners

Teachers have a relationship of 'first among equals' with students

Teachers address the broader life skills that students require as they make their transitions through and from school

Teachers provide students with continuous opportunities for self-analysis and reflection.

Teachers broaden the learning environment so that students make connections across their school learning and apply their learning in authentic contexts beyond the traditional school (Ministry of Education, 2010b).

Once again, two points of note are that some of these indicators are typical of the work 'good' teachers typically perform. Second, some of these indicators sit comfortably with the practice of *critical educators*, in particular notions of the 'teacher as learner' who assists students to see links between school and society by becoming engaged in society. Also in evidence is the Third Way approach of appropriating and domesticating ideas to its own purposes in a pragmatic fashion, thus redefining and legitimising 'good' teaching' in the semiotics of 'enterprise' as 'best practice for Education for Enterprise'. Teachers who do not fit this profile are thus rendered deficient.

Domestication of elements of the curriculum and teaching practice call for action by ethical teachers who can reassert their identity and role as ethical professionals by taking a positive approach, exercising the right to be a critical voice and to practise critically reflective pedagogy. The notion of *critical voice* relates to the concept of 'public intellectual', whose actions include active engagement in multiple public spheres to advance the construction of a radical

democracy (Giroux, 1992, p. 225). By acknowledging a commitment to being a critical voice that they articulate through a range of public forums, ethical teachers are able to place into a meaningful context the tension created by prioritising accountability to policy over responsibility to students. In this respect, ethical teachers ironically have a range of tools available, including those that have a significant influence on the 'knowledge economy' and 'knowledge society' such as on-line discussion groups.

The exercise of critically reflective pedagogy may support ethical teachers compromised by working in a school that requires its teachers to follow a curriculum advancing 'enterprise' as valid knowledge when they personally lack the requisite knowledge or experience. For these purposes, this ethical dilemma can be coupled to the matter of the materialistic and individualistic nature of enterprise. The opportunity exists for ethical teachers and students to learn co-operatively and collaboratively *about* commercial enterprise and its associated risks, firstly at a theoretical in-class level, and then by devising a strategy to seek out suitable opportunity, calculate risk and to accept a challenge that will lead to enterprising behaviour and experience. The intended outcome of 'enterprise education' implies that students ought to be ready and able to enter business for themselves, essentially a selfish motive. Further implications include profit-making and profit-taking, sometimes seen in the real world to occur at the expense of consumers and workers. An ethical teacher using critically reflective pedagogies would guide students to explore the socio-economic implications of the intended experience in enterprise, considering for example what becomes of profits and who bears responsibility for losses.

c) Values

Ethical teaching necessarily engages teacher and student in a common enterprise that has a moral basis. In light of vexatious questions around the possibility of indoctrination, cultural imposition and grand narratives that privilege unitary perspectives that are at odds with a plural society, a prior question for a teacher striving to be an ethical professional is to ask: what beliefs can and ought all students be brought to hold that will instil specific attitudes and motivate

congruent conduct? The instruction to boards of trustees that their school curriculum provide students the opportunity to ‘encourage, model and explore’ the values set out by the Ministry of Education (2007b, p. 44) must be considered against the backdrop of teachers seeking to fulfil a vocation to ethical teacher professionalism.

The concept of ‘values’ is not value-free. In their literature review on values in *The New Zealand Curriculum*, Keown, Parker and Tiakiwai (2005, p. 5) accept the view that values are abstract, generalised principles by which to judge ideas, actions and events. In contrast, and with much less precision, *The New Zealand Curriculum* considers values to be ‘deeply held beliefs about what is important or desirable’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10). The Curriculum is therefore expressing a preference for learning *about* particular kinds of values, and *The New Zealand Curriculum* specifically notes these to be those that govern socio-political and economic attitudes, relationships among people and personal dispositions. These two definitions call for a distinction to be drawn between a representation of values as prescriptive or ‘normative’ (that is, stating what ought to be a desirable position to take up or way of life), and as non-prescriptive or ‘descriptive’ (that is, statements of value positions or way of life without judgement).

A normative position that emphasises traditional, classical virtues is one taken up by character educators such as Galloway (2007) and Heenan (2000). Character education is defined by Stengel and Tom as the development of virtues that they describe in turn as good habits and dispositions (2006). Galloway suggests that character education has long been a goal of education in New Zealand schools, dating back to at least 1877 (2007, p. 10), and is based on the idea that students must know the good, desire the good and do or act accordingly. It is clear from this discussion that there is a divide between an approach to ethics and moral education that prescribes attitudes and congruent behaviour and requires adjudication between competing values, and one which is purely cognitive, rationalist and that would seek only to describe value positions, which is what *The New Zealand Curriculum* seems to suggest.

The epistemological status of values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is scantily illuminated, although consideration of each of the following four areas provides some indication of the content of the values:

Through their learning experiences, students will learn about:

their own values and those of others

different kinds of values, such as moral, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic values

the values on which New Zealand's cultural and institutional traditions are based

the values of other groups and cultures (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10).

It then goes on to suggest the outcome of learning is that students will develop their ability to:

express their own values;

explore, with empathy, the values of others;

critically analyse values and actions based on them;

discuss disagreements that arise from differences in values and negotiate solutions;

make ethical decisions and act on them (2007b, p. 10).

On one hand, these statements suggest the rationalist certainty of cognitive knowledge required to produce desirable citizens who can 'make ethical decisions and act on them'. On the other hand is a postmodernist inclination towards portraying all value positions as equally valid and important. The latter appears to support an approach akin to values clarification that focuses on how individuals come to hold certain values, rather than the content of those values. This is a position rejected by Galloway:

The 'values education' movement made popular at this time [the 1960s] with its strong opposition to instructing which values people should develop, is still evident. But teaching how to develop a set of values without any intended behavioural outcomes has been shown to be confusing for teachers and unhelpful in terms of actual student conduct (Galloway, 2007, p. 10).

The framers of *The New Zealand Curriculum* do not provide a definitive approach to values. The Curriculum Stocktake writers hovered between adopting a clarification approach that steered clear of inculcation and an 'eclectic' approach that combined clarification with 'moral guidance'. Their advice was however that

‘certain values need to be promoted’, listing several, including those finally settled on for the Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2002a, p. 22). In a later document, curriculum writers responsible for the values area claimed to have adopted ‘character/socialisation and thinking/counter-socialisation approaches to values in the curriculum’ (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 2).

Any response to the notion of ‘values’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum* has to take account of the chief concerns of this chapter: first, the hollowing out of a curriculum in which knowledge is replaced with key competencies that are advanced by the discourse of postindustrial and postmodern knowledge economy and knowledge society. Second, the logical extension of that discourse to establish ‘enterprise education’ as one of the principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that underpins the ‘design, practice, and evaluation of curriculum at every stage’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 37). Third, the presentation of evidence that argues that this policy is a product of Third Way thinking that accepts, and seeks to respond to, globalisation and its attendant notions of knowledge economy and knowledge society. Taken together, *these are the values*. Those items listed as values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007b, p. 10) represent the glue holding together the dual Third Way aims of economic success and social cohesion.

The possible responses of an ethical teacher to the requirement that values be evident in schools may begin with Freire’s comments that related the teaching of content to student moral formation (1998, p. 39). Stengel and Tom, in their book, *Moral matters* (2006) describe five frameworks for dealing with moral education and the relation between the moral and the academic, namely *separate, sequential, dominant, transformative and integrated*. Their core argument is that the moral in schooling *does* matter, and their inclination is to an integrated framework. On the face of it, this is the framework suggested by *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Ethical teacher professionalism may be articulated as *moral language* (to paraphrase Stengel and Tom 2006, pp. 24-29), which concerns the search for right relation through action (2006, p. 25). In contrast, *The New Zealand Curriculum* articulates values in the *language of morality*, a meta-language that attempts to consider objectively what might be the right course of action in a given circumstance. Seeking the right relation through action *is praxis*,

a process that allows people, who are both *in* and *with* the world and its multiple relations, to reflect on that world and to transform it by their reflective actions (Freire, 1973).

Teachers, as critical thinkers who exercise critical voice, and are committed to the development of an educated democratic citizenry, have to seek right relations with others. Attaining their vocation to ethical professionalism by a constant process of becoming and moving-toward, and guided by an altruism that is motivated by respect for ‘the other’, duty, and service, calls for a deep commitment to the moral. This is an arduous task and while talk of ‘values’ and moral education may be articulated in and around schools, it seems that the rigorous thought or analysis required to equip teachers with the background or tools to engage in this moral discourse is absent, hence the popularity of ‘quick fix’ ‘ready-to-go’ programmes. To further complicate matters, schools are asked to teach values (or about values) chosen because they are sufficiently ‘thick, but vague’ (Strike, 1999) so as not to offend anyone. Simultaneously, some are ‘motherhood’ statements intended to build social cohesion, which stand in contradiction to the neoliberal economic heritage of Third Way, while others identify too closely with economic aims to pass Strike’s tests.

Because *The New Zealand Curriculum* is an instance of contradictory Third Way policy-making, it opens space for critically reflective pedagogies to integrate values content. The statement that values ‘should be evident in the school’s philosophy, structures, curriculum, classrooms and relationships’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 10) is a truism, yet requires significant coordination and development of shared beliefs, understandings and practices in a school community. The Curriculum agrees that this process will be ‘guided by dialogue between the school and its community’ (2007b, p. 10). Values such as ‘diversity, equity and respect’ are the currency of a critical, education for democracy, and should be diligently explored to mine their true value. In doing so, it may pay to consider the ‘moral’ in terms of what Stengel and Tom call the attempt to achieve ‘right relations’ between people: ‘the moral encompasses any effort to achieve the right relation with others and the world through action, to (inter)act in ways that make sense out of self and life’ (2006, p. 24). If education has a moral purpose, then teaching cannot be divorced from that moral purpose. For this reason, the

content of moral education should not be treated as a stand-alone, or as part of what Stengel and Tom (2006) refer to as *separate, sequential* or *dominant* frameworks. Rather, the transformative nature of a critical education requires that moral content be integrated in critically reflective pedagogy, which is the subject of the final chapter.

Chapter Eight: Building a knowledge democracy

This thesis has concerned itself with whether ethical teacher professionalism can be encouraged by the critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Ethical teacher professionalism is a significant concept, because teaching is an ethical activity due to its *equifinality* (it is a complex activity whose questions are never closed, thus allowing a range of alternative choices), *diversity* (its people and activities are heterogeneous), and because it demands and fosters *relational trust*. Teaching is not a technical activity but a moral one guided by rules about right action. Teaching is also a political activity, because its concerns cannot be divorced from wider social concerns, and may even be at odds with those social purposes. An ethical teacher is altruistic, focussed on ‘the other’, duty and service. Chapter Two defined such teachers as those who *seek to use their knowledge and skill critically and reflectively, motivated by empathetic care, service to the holistic interests of the students in their school beyond minimal requirements (such as duty of care and minimisation of harm) without compromising themselves, finding reward in the successful education and moral formation of students and the realisation of the intrinsic goals of professional work.*

This image of the ethical teacher conflicts with the view of teachers expressed by those theorists who argue that the processes of marketisation and managerialism have had a debilitating effect on teachers’ work, which has become ‘deprofessionalised’. These processes have also been said to minimise the capacity of education to enhance community and advance the interests of the social democratic welfare state. Although this thesis accepts that teachers’ work has been deprofessionalised by initial post-1989 reforms that laid a foundation for much current education practice, it questions whether it should be assumed that *The New Zealand Curriculum* neatly fits the model of neoliberal reform. Rather, a strong case has been made to suggest that it does not, and that it may be seriously considered as a policy that could have *professionalising* consequences for teachers’ work. The claim made in this thesis for the critical and creative implementation of the Curriculum does not equate to an instrumental suggestion

that curriculum implementation will guarantee ethical teacher professionalism. *The New Zealand Curriculum* is foremost a policy text that has to be interpreted and implemented critically to achieve such an outcome. Policy is not regarded in this thesis as a neutral text, but an expression of power and contestation (Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry, 1997). Consequently, the task of raising the question of whether *The New Zealand Curriculum* can assist in the development of ethical teacher professionalism is profoundly problematic, not least because that is not the stated intention of the policy. However, informed by critical theory, this thesis has taken an approach to policy analysis that seeks to problematise the text of *The New Zealand Curriculum* by identifying conflict, tension and contradiction. This analysis is contextual, considering the Curriculum as a text with discursive powers that can be read in multiple ways, and which recognises the anonymity and multiplicity of authorship. Analysis of *The New Zealand Curriculum* in this thesis has recognised ideological influences acting on it, and despite the constraints of ideology, has sought to analyse how the Curriculum could be implemented to secure ethical teacher professionalism.

Although much of the thesis to this point has attempted to make the case outlined above, thus challenging the conventional critical wisdom that all post-1989 education reform is necessarily underpinned by neoliberal ideology, it has frequently referred to the reprofessionalisation of teachers by the Ministry of Education discourse of ‘best practice’, ‘evidence-led teaching’ or ‘effective pedagogy’. These notions too are confronted and challenged by this thesis, and a critical reading of *The New Zealand Curriculum* points out possibilities for the development of strongly reflexive communities of critical professionals contributing to building ‘knowledge democracies’ in their schools. A deeper consideration of this possibility is the subject of this final chapter that is guided by the following question: **What approach is intended by a ‘critical’ implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that would provide for the development of ethical professionalism?**

The New Zealand Curriculum limits the significance of teachers to its conception of ‘effective pedagogy’. This thesis has expressed scepticism of this concept because it is central to the school improvement and teacher effectiveness positions (Ellett & Teddlie, 2003; Thrupp, 2005b; Wrigley, 2004) that are

associated with both the deprofessionalisation of teachers by reform and their reprofessionalisation by the state. The notion of ‘effective pedagogy’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum* fails to consider how teachers will develop and model the competencies and values in students. The Curriculum neither considers how teachers will develop a self-critical and thoughtful conception of the Curriculum, nor does it engage teachers’ thinking about how they may meaningfully develop an as an engaged and critical professional learning community.

Slim opportunities for critical engagement by teachers are however evident in two sub-sections of the effective pedagogy pages of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, namely *Encouraging reflective thought and action* and *Teaching as inquiry* (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 34-35). The former is an invitation to teachers to develop the critical thinking of their students, while the latter sketches an instrumental, individualist model by which teachers self-reflect on the impact of their work. Although the bare bones of a meaningful praxis is offered by these sub-sections, it will be suggested that *The New Zealand Curriculum* does not go far enough to provide a strong foundation for either the development of ethical teacher professionalism or the changed teacher practice that a critical and creative implementation of the Curriculum demands. Instead, it will be argued, curriculum implementation that will develop ethical teacher professionalism and bring about changed teacher practices occurs in a school that envisages an ethical and democratic purpose, and nurtures a community of critical professional enquiry. This professional community establishes itself in relation to the larger community it serves, and develops a praxis that is informed by critical teacher action research.

Critique of ‘effective pedagogy’

a) Encouraging reflective thought and action

Referring to ‘well-documented evidence’ (without citing any), *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007b, p. 34) suggests that students will be successful when teachers ‘encourage reflective thought and action’. From the relevant passage, points of interest include:

- Developing the ability to ‘stand back’

- Objective thinking about ideas and information
- Adaptation of knowledge
- Developing creative ability
- Developing the ability ‘to think critically about information and ideas’
- Developing metacognitive ability
- Students critically evaluating the material they use (including its purposes)

Critical thinking is a desirable educational aim in contemporary schooling because a disposition to critical thinking is the mark of a rational and autonomous person. However efforts at strictly defining critical thinking are soon followed by taxonomies, lists and outcome statements. A simple statement of critical thinking was made four decades ago when Postman and Weingartner, reflecting on an Ernest Hemingway comment, referred to an ‘... education that would set out to cultivate ... experts at ‘crap detecting’’ (1969, p. 16). They went on to suggest that this meant schools should ‘cultivate the anthropological perspective’ (p. 17). What they had in mind was a person adept at both living in the world and being able to step back from it and to signal warning bells at signs of decay. Such a person is an active agent in the process of meaning making. The point is illustrated by Freire when he speaks of the subject being not in the world as an animal may be, but with the world; not adapting to the world, but actively seeking to transform the world (Freire, 1985, p. 68) through the creative power of thought and work.

So it may be suggested that ‘critical thinking’ has the elements of creativity, impartiality, reflectivity, and fortitude. The disposition to critical thinking will mean that the individual takes nothing for granted and constantly questions and enquires. This is discomforting, hence the virtue of courage. For Bailin and Siegel, this disposition is defined by i) the value of good reasoning to critical thinkers, ii) their search for reasons and assessment of those reasons, and iii) the willingness to be guided by this process (Bailin & Siegel, 2002).

The earlier comment regarding taxonomies was partly in reference to the vast range of commercially available programmes that ‘tend to focus on improving cognitive processes ... rather than forming the habit of acting and believing in accordance with reasons’ (Winstanley, 2008, p. 90). The definitive comments above about ‘critical thinking’ group together several items that are

separately treated in the enunciation of the ‘thinking’ key competency in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 12), which enumerates creativity, metacognition, reflection and critical thinking as separate ‘kinds’ of thinking. This is echoed in the ‘effective pedagogy’ pages under present discussion. This is the approach underpinning taxonomies and that fails to recognise first that the other ‘types’ of thinking are actually contexts for critical thinking (Bailin & Siegel, 2002), and second that one could be engaged in reflective, metacognitive or creative thought without being critical. Lipman has commented that metacognitive thinking or ‘thinking about thinking’ is not critical unless it is used in community and in reference to the thinking of others. Until that happens, it is merely ‘thinking about thinking’ (1988).

What opportunities are presented by the section in *The New Zealand Curriculum* on encouraging reflective thought and action? In particular, how may an ethical teacher respond? Surprisingly, this section offers a great deal — more so than the ‘thinking’ key competency. The ethical teacher is a critical and self-reflective educator who seeks to serve the holistic interests of students, and it may well be argued that these interests are best articulated through a rational, autonomous and democratic decision-maker. Provided this section of the ‘effective pedagogy’ pages is not taken to mean that ‘critical thinking’ is one type of thinking among many, but is rather the underlying premise of all thinking, and provided that pedagogical approaches that privilege taxonomies and the treatment of thinking as propositional knowledge are avoided, then there is much scope for the ethical teacher here. The ideal pedagogical vehicle for developing critical thinking (and democratic dispositions, which will be considered later) is the process of critical enquiry using dialogical methods (Cam, 2008; Morrow, 2009). Freire proposed dialogical and ‘problem-posing’ education when he rejected ‘banking education’ (1970), a transmission style of teaching that he regarded as little more than the teacher issuing communiqués. A problem-posing pedagogy requires the teacher to treat the student’s life experience and prior knowledge as text, using this text as an authentic context for learning. Problem-posing teachers ‘model an active, sceptical learner in the classroom who invites students to be curious and critical... and creative’ (Shor & Freire, 1987b, p. 8).

b) *‘Teaching as inquiry’*

‘Teaching as inquiry’ is offered as a characteristic of ‘effective pedagogy’ by *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007b, p. 35). It consists of three separate processes: ‘focusing inquiry’, ‘teaching inquiry’ and ‘learning inquiry’. These processes engage teachers in asking what their students need to know, what the strategies are whereby teachers can attain these learning goals, and whether these strategies have been effective in enabling students to learn.

The focus of these characteristics is narrowed to impacts on student learning and reveals that ‘teaching as inquiry’ has epistemological links to positivism, which recreates scientific methods that separate facts from values, and attempts to disengage the researcher from the researched, thus positing a value-free, neutral approach to social issues, education and politics. This approach leads to a narrow technical-functionalism with a singular focus on results gained from norm-referenced assessment as measures of whether teaching is effective or learning has occurred. Such an approach encourages the contemporary reductionist assumption that the ‘problem’ of student underachievement can be ‘fixed’ by teachers closely adhering to lists of criteria of ‘effective pedagogy’. It has a tendency to prioritise individual teacher effort and refuses to recognise the validity of a range of pressing socio-economic factors that influence student achievement, which themselves require a range of systemic responses beyond the scope of education.

Pine (2009, pp. 253-254) provides a list of over sixty data sources for use in conducting teacher action research, of which only three refer to norm referenced or standardised tests. Elliott (2009, p. 175) points out that teacher effectiveness research abstracts co-relational variables from particular contexts, which provides teachers no certainty within their unique contexts. Snook and O’Neill (2010, p. 3) argue that effective pedagogy discourse is related to the neoliberal ideology of marketisation and managerialism, and they doubt that education policy alone can shift the pattern of underachievement in New Zealand schools. They go on to argue that a further reason for the dominance of effective pedagogy discourse in New Zealand is that the research underpinning this discourse begins from the assumption that social factors will be discounted, therefore focussing only on

school factors, of which it is obvious, teacher effects will be the most significant (2010, p. 10).

Therefore, some degree of scepticism is required when considering the references to ‘evidence’ and ‘research’ in the section of *The New Zealand Curriculum* dealing with ‘teaching as inquiry’. Both terms are used loosely in effective pedagogy discourse to provide legitimacy to the discourse, yet rarely is actual ‘research’ cited, beyond the ‘Best Evidence Synthesis’ series commissioned by the Ministry of Education. Such examples of ‘meta research’ are contested (see for example, Snook, Clark, Harker, O'Neill, & O'Neill, 2010; Snook, Clark, Harker, O'Neill, & O'Neill, 2009; Snook & O'Neill, 2010; Thrupp, 2010). Often ‘research’ and ‘evidence-led teaching’ refer simply to analysis of assessment data and discussion of ‘next learning steps’ aimed at driving up student achievement results (Elliott, 2009, p. 179).

In this vein, ‘teaching as inquiry’ calls on teachers to decide on strategies that are ‘evidence based’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 35). Vaguely, ‘the teacher uses evidence from research and their [sic] own past practice’. Success of ‘the teaching’ (presumably the methodology or strategies) is gauged by reference to ‘prioritised outcomes, using a range of assessment approaches’. These outcomes will have been determined in the first phase of the ‘inquiry’, when the teacher asks: ‘What is important (and therefore worth spending time on), given where my students are at?’ What is self-evident in the wording of the ‘focussing inquiry’ is that this significance is established by individual classroom teachers over matters that are strictly limited to that one teacher and her classroom, thus deepening the privatisation of teaching. The ‘teaching inquiry’ confirms that the only matter of importance seems to be a technical-functionalist question of whether teachers can engineer the methods appropriate to ensure that their students attain at or above the national norm, be the determinant National Standards or the National Certificate of Educational Achievement. The ‘learning inquiry’ confirms the narrowness of assuming that the only ‘learning’ that occurs in a school is that taking place inside the classroom, in the context of transmission of content or programmes.

The banality of the ‘teaching as inquiry’ suggestions is underscored by the space afforded them: a mere 240 words in a document of forty-four pages

(discounting the Achievement Objectives fold out pages at the back of the document). Nevertheless, despite this light entrée to action research, it opens the door to teacher self-reflection. This slim space for critical implementation of the curriculum is given much more promise however by a recently added site within the Ministry of Education ‘Te Kete Ipurangi’ website, entitled ‘*Ki te Aotūroa*’ (Ministry of Education, 2010e), which is billed as ‘a set of learning materials for in-service teacher educators’. The site provides an introductory analysis to topics such as ‘conducting inquiry’ and ‘knowledge and theory’. However, its relative isolation from the mainstream New Zealand Curriculum webpages, and target audience means it is susceptible to the charge of ‘top-down research’ that will be referred to shortly. Furthermore, its silences on matters of democracy and social justice highlight its implicit acceptance of the status quo, and its dichotomising of research and enquiry lessens the credibility of the process and findings of such enquiry. On balance, therefore, it may seem that the critical educator, seeking to fulfil a vocation to ethical teacher professionalism, will have to be in a community of like-minded individuals who can agree to collaborative styles of work, problem-posing, reflection and action, before much of substantial, critical value can be extracted from the ‘teaching as inquiry’ approach. If such conditions exist, however, this approach provides a starting-point for a nascent community of critical professional enquiry, which is critical to a school that seeks to build a knowledge democracy.

The vision of building a knowledge democracy

The New Zealand Curriculum suggests that implementation may occur from a range of perspectives or starting-points (Ministry of Education, 2007b, pp. 37-38). Seminal curriculum theorist, Ralph Tyler (1949) suggested four concerns that should provide the focus of any curriculum, namely its objectives, the learning experiences provided by a curriculum (the content of the curriculum), how those experiences are organised, managed and arranged (teaching or pedagogy) and questions of evaluation (of learning and of the curriculum). The *Tyler Rationale* was widely critiqued by curriculum theorists for its systems-oriented, behaviouristic and instrumentalist view of curriculum planning (Hlebowitsh, 1992, p. 533), its ‘conciliatory eclecticism’ (McNeil, 2006, p. 103) at best, and its reduction of ‘curriculum to objectives measured by examinations’ (Pinar, 2004, p.

19) at worst. Despite the simplicity of Tyler's view (Kelly, 1982, p. 12), Kelly acknowledged in later years that it 'alerted us to the possibility of adopting any of several planning models' (Kelly, 2004, p. 15). Notwithstanding the criticisms of Tyler, his four questions or concerns continue to provide an efficacious framework for considering what should be the focus of a curriculum, the first of which leads to a consideration of beginning critical implementation with a vision.

a) A knowledge democracy

A 'knowledge democracy' describes a vision of curriculum development in schools that value both knowledge and the people within those schools who gather together for the collective purpose of critically researching, analysing, interpreting, constructing and applying knowledge. Knowledge democracies validate the voices of all engaged in these pursuits, encourage the development of critical thought and social conscience, and provide opportunities to develop democratic dispositions. In knowledge democracies, student voice is sought, encouraged and valued. So too is community voice, because local concerns and interests must be reflected in the school's curriculum. Bringing these voices to the fore requires the active participation not just of students and community, but particularly teachers and their leadership, a point made in Chapter Six.

If contemporary curriculum discourse demands a focus on the learner rather than on knowledge, and if student voice must be acknowledged and validated, as just suggested, does this not necessarily require that a critical implementation of the curriculum *abandon* knowledge? The response to this question is shaped by the Freire's call for rigour, the role of the teacher as an authority, and the importance of teachers constantly seeking new knowledge (see for example, Freire, 1998; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Macedo, 2000). It is furthermore shaped by Freire's caution not to limit literacy learners to the use of vernacular in literacy, as to do so would be akin to confining those students to a linguistic ghetto. Rather, it 'is through the full appropriation of the dominant standard language that students find themselves linguistically empowered to engage in dialogue with the various sectors of the wider society' (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 152). Finally, the response to this question is shaped by McLaren (1989/2003) and Bartolomé

(1994/2003, p. 418) who remind critical teachers that the validation of student life experience and knowledge does not equate to a denial to those students of the knowledge, skills and ways of speaking that are desirable in the dominant society. A critical implementation that honours both teachers who strive to be ethical professionals and the possibility of a transformative education for students will favour *powerful knowledge* and reject the relativising postmodern mono-focus on competencies and individual ‘knowledges’ that denies ‘to oppressed communities the possibility of knowledge that goes beyond their experience and might play a part in enabling them to overcome their oppression’ (Moore & Young, 2010, p. 22).

A knowledge democracy therefore foregrounds knowledge. The notion of a hollowed out curriculum referred to in Chapter Seven reflects the shift from knowledge that contributes to the development of social justice, individual autonomy and critical and rational thinking, to knowledge as a performative and tradable commodity. However, a school seeking critical implementation of the national curriculum meaningful to both students and teachers will treat knowledge and its acquisition as a central feature of that curriculum. Validation of student voice does not necessarily assume as a starting-point the relativist assumption that there are multiple ‘knowledges’ of equal value. That position assumes a bifurcation of absolute and value-free knowledge on one hand or knowledge constructed in unique contexts by individuals on the other. The consequence in contemporary curriculum debates of this bifurcation is that ‘the only important factor is either transmitting knowledge or valorising the learner’s experiences. One approach neglects the social in favour of focusing on the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of knowledge; the other neglects knowledge in favour of focusing on the ‘who’ is speaking or learning’ (Moore & Young, 2010, p. 5).

b) Critical knowledge community

The members of a knowledge democracy constitute a critical knowledge community, or what Kincheloe calls a ‘learning community’ (2008) and Pine (2009) a ‘centre of enquiry’. Therefore, realising a vision of a knowledge democracy requires a conception of the school as a community, rather than as a

bureaucratic organisation (Scribner, Cockrell, Cockrell, & Valentine, 1999). This distinction is signalled by the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* theoretical framework postulated by Tönnies (1887/1988 cited by Strike, 2000), whereby community (*Gemeinschaft*) is a place of kinship, while public life (*Gesellschaft*) is a place of contracts and negotiations (Scribner, Cockrell, Cockrell, & Valentine, 1999). Strike (2000) however objected that this simple dichotomy is a function of liberal thinking that causes people in a democracy to treat their fellow citizens as strangers. Strike's view was that liberal notions of impartial justice are overly contractualist and likely to emphasise *Gesellschaft* relations and that what is required is the development of ethical notions of empathy, sympathy (2000) and caring (1999). Although these norms are constitutive of *Gemeinschaft* communities, they can be expressed broadly enough to appeal to all.

Communities are characterised by their shared values, norms and commitments, their sense of unified purpose, the sense of solidarity experienced by individual members (1999), high levels of collaboration and a willingness to be critically introspective (Scribner, Cockrell, Cockrell, & Valentine, 1999). A critical knowledge community challenges the view that marginalised students are destined to failure, because it is committed to a concept of social justice that focuses on the alleviation of human suffering and the transformation of the lives of those in the school community. It rejects the deskilling of teachers by requiring teachers to take responsibility for research (Kincheloe, 2008). The knowledge that is developed by critical teacher action research is at the heart of on-going school and organisational improvement but knowledge may also be sought and developed for intrinsic reasons and to enhance theory. Finally, a critical knowledge community places the acquisition of democratic principles and dispositions at the forefront by engaging across a wide front that includes university researchers, students and families (Pine, 2009).

c) Community of critical professional enquiry

The critical knowledge community has a community of critical professional enquiry at its centre, namely the teaching staff of the school (see fig. 3 below).

This is not intended to be understood as a hierarchical relationship, but reflects the role of teachers as the professional experts in the school.

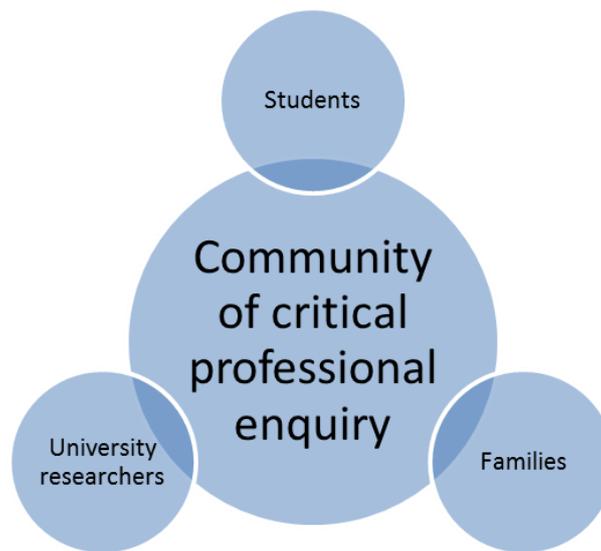


Fig 3: The critical knowledge community

The aim of the community of critical professional enquiry is to provide leadership in the five purposes of the critical knowledge community outlined above (challenging failure; professionalisation of teachers; organisational improvement; seeking knowledge for knowledge's sake; enhancing theory). Its functions are guided by the dual commitment to social justice and democratic practice, belief in the power of education to enrich lives, and by focusing on its notion of the 'student in the future' it is motivated to seek ways that will develop the autonomy of students. Therefore, the knowledge it seeks through critical teacher action research contributes to human development, or the attainment of the good life (Pine, 2009).

The community of critical professional enquiry flourishes in those schools that respect democratic principles through their use of flattened authority structures and the encouragement to share resources and validate the pre-existing knowledge and expertise of all teachers. As a team of critical action researchers, the community of critical professional enquiry focuses on teacher development and organisational improvement, promoting scholarly enquiry away from the academy. For Pine, 'teachers as researchers can advance and enhance the professional status of teaching, generate theory and knowledge, improve student

learning, increase the effectiveness of reform efforts, and promote teacher development' (2009, p. 92). Certain basic commitments should be in place for a community of critical professional enquiry to lead its critical knowledge community. These commitments are reflected by Kemmis (2008), Kemmis and Wilkinson (1998), Kincheloe (2008) and Pine (2009). They may be loosely grouped as epistemological, ethical and methodological.

i. Epistemological commitments

This commitment calls for a sceptical attitude to the instrumental rationality or technical functionalism underpinning 'best practice' solutions. Similar scepticism is applied to the efforts to manufacture consent to various policies. Policies are treated by their sponsors (such as the Ministry of Education) as instances of 'official knowledge'. In contrast will be the effort to give validity to all the voices in the critical knowledge community of the school, including teachers, students and families.

ii. Ethical commitments

A commitment to individual autonomy is linked to a view of the good life, promoting the belief that persons should be able to exercise independent control over their lives. The good life is one in which not only are the principles of social justice and democracy actively maintained, but instances of injustice, inhumanity and irrationality are acted against (Kemmis, 2008). Pine (2009) emphasises systemic and relational trust as essential to a healthy community, but in particular should be the development of what Kemmis (2008) calls *solidarity* amongst its members.

iii. Methodological commitments

Matters of methodology or practice require that the community be committed to on-going enquiry, critical teacher action research and decisions based on unforced consensus. This enquiry and research is motivated by a mutual desire for critical knowledge gained through thoughtful approaches that develop praxis – morally informed and committed action. Central amongst these approaches is a commitment to critical discussion and dialogue (conversation, as in 'learning

conversations' is not enough). Dialogue is a critical search for answers, not mutual approbation. This critical mutuality grows out of strong collaboration and collegiality, and supports the deprivatisation of practice.

With these commitments in place, a nascent community of critical professional enquiry will seek to develop rules and strategies as it becomes familiar with critical teacher action research. The insights of Habermas' notion of 'communicative action' illustrate the aims and procedures of the community (Habermas, 1984; , 1987 cited by Kemmis (2008), p 127). Such action successfully occurs when there is inter-subjective agreement, mutual understanding and unforced consensus. For Habermas (2003, pp. 106-107 cited by Kemmis (2008), p 128), the basis of argumentation should be inclusiveness, equal speaking rights, the exclusion of deception and falsehood, and the absence of restriction on allowing argument to develop and improve. Following Kemmis (2008, p. 131), a school may have to suspend its usual hierarchies, roles and rules in its pursuit of inter-subjective agreement, mutual understanding and unforced consensus.

The community will consider issues of immediate concern and establish research questions that emerge from this initial reflection. These questions are problematised as *ethical* (why should it be done this way? Is it right or just to accept this result/situation? What is wrong here? Who does this hurt most? What will be the best outcome?); *epistemological* (how do we know? How will we know that we have acted correctly? Who will contribute to this debate/action/result? How will we account for our actions/results?); *metaphysical* (what are our purposes? What do we desire as an end point? Why is this goal better than that one?); and *logical* (does this make sense? Is it coherent? Do we all understand? What will ensure that this message is clear and precise?). This philosophical approach is relevant to the community of critical professional enquiry as it aims for transformations that will render the circumstances of its workplace and the world it affects more just, rational and humane (which is a positive application of Kemmis, 2008, p. 133). A philosophical approach permits the kinds of questions required to direct such activity. Furthermore, as claimed by Kemmis (2008, p. 133) an explicit aim of critical teacher action research is to

engage in praxis, leading to *phronesis* – wise, prudent and considered action. Reflection on theory and practice is essentially a philosophical approach.

Growing familiarity with its own rules of enquiry enables the community of critical professional enquiry to become more critically reflective, thus posing substantial questions of relevance to teachers, students, school and community. It will begin to identify strengths within the student body and school community and seek to engage different individuals with different strengths. As the community of critical professional enquiry grows in confidence, it will seek to draw on those who do not appear at first sight to have strengths, so that those persons too may have the opportunity to develop strengths. Its initial efforts to solve problems, remedy situations and transform circumstances may be halting, but as action research is a recursive activity, it invites precisely such processes of search and struggle. Confidence is further strengthened by the development of growing knowledge and self-knowledge, and its communication to a wider audience.

Communication by the community of critical professional enquiry takes the form of publication inside and outside the school community, through professional meetings, conferences and publications. Engagement in such communication shows its respect for its audience by its rigour, self-imposed standards of enquiry and scholarship, and its willingness to be held accountable for its research. Links and networks with expert academic practitioners who find common ground with the community of critical professional enquiry can then be forged. Thus as the community of critical professional enquiry develops, so too does the broader critical knowledge community, realising the vision of a knowledge democracy.

d) The values that guide a knowledge democracy

An effective critical knowledge community, which is primarily the school and secondarily the school community, requires a set of guiding values. The discussion of values in Chapter Seven pointed out that the thoughts of Kenneth Strike had some influence over the formulation of the concept of values in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Of particular interest was his concern with the problem

of how state schools could formulate a set of values that would be narrow enough to constitute a community yet broad enough to include the plurality expected of a state school (1999).

Strike's solution (rather like his views on community expressed above) was to seek out the middle ground of a spectrum of values that ranges from constitutive ('thick') but exclusive on one end to 'thin' but inclusive on the other. The middle ground of the spectrum is populated by 'thick, but vague' values (1999). Rather than opting for Strike's compromise, it is argued here that schools motivated by the vision of building a knowledge democracy mirror the deep commitment of ethical teachers to the moral dimension of their partnerships (particularly with students) reflected in their altruistic actions that respect 'the other', duty, and service. It therefore follows that the commitments of teachers and school ought to be supported by appropriate values around which a critical knowledge community can be built.

The *preservation, maintenance and perpetuation* of democracy is a core premise of a democratic nation, thus specific value sets must be found that are able to cross cultural, ethnic and economic divides, deny the possibility of indoctrinatory content and privilege an entire nation. The kinds of democratic values selected and way they are developed in a school will subtly inform students of the classic liberal divide, taken up for example in the respective positions of Mill and Locke (see Introduction) that emphasise the rights of the private individual versus the prioritisation of social and communal life. Related to this debate is the question of whether 'democracy' implies minimal involvement by the individual (such as voting at elections) or whether it demands a greater level of social responsibility and therefore greater personal involvement by the individual in the daily life of a democratic nation. The former may be regarded as an account of 'thin' or 'minimal' democracy, whereas the latter is a 'thick' or 'strong' account. The potential of schools to develop democratic dispositions is significant, if one abandons 'thin' or 'minimal' notions of democracy that focus on elitist representation of a passive majority through the electoral system (Cevallos-Estarellas & Sigurdardottir, 2000; Enslin & White, 2002). These writers express a preference for thinking about democracy as a deliberative act demanding greater communal participation by citizens. *Education for democracy*

occurs when schools engage their students in developing service, outreach or social action, which is more likely to encourage democratic dispositions than *citizenship education*, which entails exercises in citizenship or civics, and is thus preparation for a ‘thin’ democracy. The call in the *New Zealand Curriculum* for a focus on citizenship is preparation for precisely such an education, and is thus inadequate, for the following reasons.

It will be recalled from earlier chapters that an underlying ideological emphasis in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is the focus on developing the dual Third Way goals of national economic success in a global marketplace and social cohesion. This latter goal depends on developing attributes, skills and dispositions that point the individual toward a notion of the good life that resides, in part, in a conception of the socially responsible individual who takes great interest in the communal life of the nation. This vision of ‘active involvement’ (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8) in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is not one that will be attained merely through learning about citizenship. However, to attempt more than this (as suggested by this thesis) is likely to offend the principle of liberal inclusiveness, because it promotes a particular vision of the good life (Strike, 1999).

In relation to Strike’s deliberations on the question of community, the paradox was noted that liberal inclusiveness is an underlying principle of state schools, yet constitutive values, which offend inclusiveness, are required to create a community. Any attempt to sketch out particular values that may develop democratic dispositions (such as outlined below) is an attempt to sketch a set of constitutive values. However, as Cam (2008) notes, a society may claim to be democratic (by virtue of a public electoral system) yet simultaneously uphold a repressive social system and discriminatory laws (as was the case in pre-1994 South Africa), which, in the case of that example, re-define the concept of ‘citizenship’. Therefore, to limit schools to a focus on ‘citizenship’ will not develop community within the school, nor will it provide a guarantee of the future of democracy.

The democratic state relies on qualities of openness, a willingness and ability to engage in critical dialogue with all others, and structures that not only protect these qualities, but actively encourage them. Thus democratic life is

promoted through interaction and rational discussion that precludes the possibility of a privatised ‘thin’ democratic life. It is important to note then that an approach to ‘values’ in education is not narrowed to a concept of ‘virtues’ or ‘habits of mind’, for as helpful as they may be to the *individual*, they do little to encourage the dispositions necessary for a democratic *community*.

Some writers go further in their critique, for instance Nash (1997, p. 10) who argued that character education is based on flawed notions that imitation and training are enough to instil moral character and that its approach is nostalgic and authoritarian. Morrow (2009, p. 3) was of the view that character education by its emphasis on the qualities of character is necessarily based on the *individual* character, thus reinforcing the idea ‘that a society is a contingent collection of human individuals who happen to find themselves living in the same geographical space’. Rather, schools should engage students and teachers in such a way that they come to see that ‘there can be no virtue without a profound sense that my neighbour is my obligation and that communal life, along with the qualities it encourages, necessitates shared ideals and common dreams’ (Nash, 1997, p. 90). For this reason, Nash has argued for ‘a morality of conversation’ that does not privilege specific values and encourages openness. Morrow preferred ‘discussion’ to ‘conversation’ for its clearer purpose and direction (2009, p. 9), noting that ‘inquiry’ (along with ‘dialogue’ and ‘debate’) is one kind of discussion that leads to warranted knowledge and is ‘irreducibly social’ (2009, p. 10), thus requiring and encouraging ‘communities of inquiry’. In this respect, Morrow echoed Cam, for whom ‘collaborative inquiry is made to order when it comes to endowing students with the social dispositions that support a democratic way of life’ (2008, p. 18). It thus follows from the preceding discussion that to commit a school to a vision of a knowledge democracy requires that vision to be attained by the active building of a critical knowledge community. Such a community will be characterised by its specific attachment to democratic values that avoid the paradox highlighted by Strike as they presuppose an acceptance that a democratic way of life is preferable to a totalitarian one.

A starting-point for thinking about such values is to consider how to critically implement *The New Zealand Curriculum* by appropriating its spaces. The Curriculum envisages active involvement by participation in New Zealand

society (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 8), emphasises the principle of citizenship (2007b, p. 9), and values ‘equity (social justice), community and participation (for the common good) and respect (human rights)’ (2007b, p. 10). In addition, the key competencies include ‘relating to others (recognise different points of view, negotiate and share ideas); and participating and contributing (active involvement in communities)’ (2007b, pp. 12-13). Finally, the key competency of ‘thinking’ emphasises critical thinking, and from the ‘effective pedagogy’ pages is the view that teachers must ‘encourage reflective thought and action’ in their students (2007b, p. 12; 34). From these starting points, it is possible to suggest the kind of values that support the vision of a knowledge democracy.

i. Participation

Participation is central to democratic life, for a democracy cannot survive or prosper without an active citizenry participating in its institutions and practices. The ethical teacher who participates in the full range of possibilities on offer, both within a school, such as curriculum committees and beyond a school, such as professional associations, academic committees and union activities, models participation. The dialogical classroom that emphasises critical enquiry also encourages and makes possible the participation of all students in a way that transmission teaching does not. This attribute is deepened to the extent that students share in the task of shaping the direction learning takes and becomes preparation for participating in activities in the wider school.

ii. Altruism

As necessary to the life of the ethical teacher, altruism is equally necessary to the development of democratic traditions. Altruism tempers unfettered individualism by focusing the individual on other individuals and groups of individuals. Altruism is a reminder that democracy is for all and should not privilege specific individuals or groups. It displays the following features:

Service: The teacher who acknowledges that teaching is a service to students, the school, community and broader society, understands teaching as an ethical enterprise. These actions become a model of democratic behaviour in

schools that provide many opportunities for students to learn the virtue of service and its rewards, either in the form of service in school, such as peer support, or in community service like visiting the aged.

Care: Democracy cannot survive without people who care enough to ensure its survival. This same certainty of moral purpose can be applied to care for the common good and for individual welfare. The focus for the ethical teacher on ‘the other’ is a focus of care. Applied to the natural environment and issues of ecological significance, students can learn the importance of caring about resources that have common value. Care is also applied to the search for truth through dialogue and enquiry.

Cooperation: The uncontrived and non-manipulative collaboration of ethical teachers is a feature of a critical knowledge community. This cooperation is motivated by sharing in the pursuit of educating students to be active, critical participants in a democratic society by first participating in a critical knowledge community. Classroom-based learning experiences that require students to collaborate, share and jointly problem-solve, through dialogical enquiry provides them with the experience of cooperation towards the common purpose of building a knowledge democracy.

iii. Tolerance

Tolerance is necessarily demonstrated by ethical teachers in their mutual dealings and in their approach to their students. Tolerance in an open democratic society goes beyond what Strike (1999) calls ‘forbearance’. It is a key feature of democratic life, to be prized for its capacity to give democracy wide appeal. The school yard is a microcosm of social diversity, with its richness and potential for conflict. Classroom communities of enquiry provide a structured environment where students may learn to listen patiently to the views of others and to defend their own views in a rational environment.

iv. Justice

Even-handed and non-punitive justice is dispensed in ethical schools by ethical teachers. Notions of restorative practice, for instance, develop more greatly a sense of justice in students than irrational forms of punishment do. As a

democratic corner stone, justice implies notions of fairness, equity and due process and the school context should provide multiple opportunities for the exercise of justice. Justice also implies non-domination (avoiding the arbitrary exercise of authority). The development of open enquiry in the classroom encourages openness of discussion and thought and, if coupled with notions that teacher and students are engaged in a cooperative search for knowledge, discourages domination, while the rational search for truth ensures that good reasons are given in the settlement of disputes.

v. *Determination*

Determination resides in the zeal, fervour and deep self-belief in the significance of the democratic project modelled by the ethical teacher, who points out to students the significance of the democratic life and displays passion for its attributes. Classroom approaches that are dialogical and collaborative require students to actively pursue knowledge rather than passively accepting it from the teacher.

vi. *Discernment*

Discernment is the end-point of the pursuit of the values discussed here. Apathy endangers the democratic life, whereas critical autonomy and the active search for the truth are attributes of the discerning individual. The critical teacher is one who is active, involved, passionate, and motivated to provide students opportunities in the classroom to acquire knowledge in a way that will encourage these democratic dispositions. Through critically reflective pedagogies that allow students to be partners in the learning and teaching process, and analysis, dialogue and constant questioning, students can come to discern the causalities and relationships of their world. In this way they learn to think for themselves (Cam, 2008).

These values are at the basis of a critical and creative curriculum implementation process that prioritises the significance of social justice and the development of democratic dispositions. Unlike the apparently supplemental nature of values in *The New Zealand Curriculum* where they are treated as expressions ‘to be encouraged modelled, and explored’ (Ministry of Education,

2007b, p. 10) or as items of propositional knowledge, the democratic values discussed here are the foundation and the result of critical dialogue in the classroom and school – dialogue that contributes to the vision of a knowledge democracy. An essential component of that dialogue is critical teacher action research.

Critical teacher action research

A discussion of knowledge in the curriculum should not be confined to students alone. The question of teacher learning and development will be dealt with in the following discussion of critical teacher action research. This discussion provides an alternative model to ‘teaching as inquiry’ in *The New Zealand Curriculum* to ensure an on-going focus on rigour and the attainment of the vision of building a knowledge democracy. Critical teacher action research is based on the following assumptions: the ethical teacher is always a learner, and should reflect self-critically on experience in the light of theory; thus, teachers can and should be researchers, particularly of their students; to be so requires that they form research partnerships; and traditional ‘professional’ development and learning has deprofessionalising consequences. The discussion will examine these assumptions in turn, and then provide some salient features of how critical teacher action research may function.

a) Assumptions underpinning critical teacher action research

Building a knowledge democracy requires ethical teachers to transcend the elitist view that teachers have all knowledge and students none. Nevertheless, a tension exists between teachers and learners, by virtue of differences in age, experience and knowledge. ‘Recognising this situation as reconcilable, and not antagonistic, [however] qualifies us as democratic educators, not elitists and authoritarians’ (Freire, 1985, p. 177). Remembering that they are learners will remind teachers that they are to reflect on their own work and practice, especially in relation to their students, but also in relation to existing theories and research evidence.

Praxis is a union of theory and practice in a cycle of reflection (Kincheloe, 2008), leading to informed practice; it is critical self-reflection that is

fundamental to the concept of action research being considered in this chapter. Within a school setting, ethical teachers work closely together to reflect on their practice, and do not shy away from critical self-examination. They treat problems of any size and significance with the same level of critical analysis and reflection. This activity is supported by a discourse and practice that is ethical in its intent and conduct. Praxis is a corrective to the technical rationality that pervades contemporary notions of practice and robs practitioners of the moral basis of their work (Kemmis, 2008, p. 124). Critical and ethical teachers are sceptical of efforts to create false bifurcations of theory and practice, such as associating theory with university research and practice with classroom teaching (Kincheloe, 2008). In contrast, praxis is the resolution of dialectical tensions and thus enables the development of new approaches to knowledge and understanding, based on an interpretation of existing knowledge and contexts.

As self-critical learners, teachers research their students. For Kincheloe (2008, p. 19) students are 'living texts' the teacher can and must attempt to understand, particularly in reference to the meanings they construct. Freire claimed with greater force that teachers should even attempt to understand more about the complex socio-economic realities of the lives of their students if they sought a richly textured understanding of them:

It's impossible to talk of respect for students ... without taking into consideration the conditions in which they are living and the importance of all the knowledge derived from life experience, which they bring with them to school. I can in no way underestimate such knowledge (1998, p. 62).

It would however be an error to conceive of students as passive subjects of teacher research. As researchers of their students, ethical teachers engage their students as researchers too (Pine, 2009).

Because critical teacher action research is carried out 'with', not 'on' others, partnerships with students are essential (Grundy, 1995; Kemmis, 2008; Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998; Pine, 2009). Not only do students see the world (and the school) from a unique perspective, but hearing and thus validating student voice is at the heart of critical practice (Giroux, 1992, 1997; Kincheloe, 2008). In particular, teachers have an ethical obligation to reach out to those who are marginalised and typically unheard. Also often unheard is the body of parents and families whose expertise provides an opportunity to collaborate and share towards

the growth of knowledge within the school. Therefore, a critical process of curriculum implementation will ensure that the voices of the entire community are heard.

If school-based research activity is to be at the centre of the activity of a critical knowledge community, then teachers must cultivate partnerships between and beyond themselves. It is helpful to make the distinction between ‘researching *for* the profession’ and ‘researching *with* the profession’ (Grundy, 1995, p. 38). The post-1989 education reforms in New Zealand encouraged commercialised research activity whereby ‘contract research’ is conducted by universities on behalf of the Ministry of Education, for example. This research constitutes ‘top down, research and development’ (Pine, 2009) that does not enhance ethical teacher professionalism. In contrast, critical teacher action research underpinning teacher development and school improvement in the curriculum implementation process being proposed here develops knowledge and solutions to the unique problems and local concerns of relevance to specific schools. This ‘research with the profession’ engages teachers, university researchers, students and families (Grundy, 1995; Pine, 2009). The partnerships with academic researchers raise some interesting difficulties that will be considered shortly.

‘Research for the profession’ characterises ‘professional’ development and learning, and has the effect of deprofessionalising teachers. It renders teachers as passive subjects of hierarchical research that affects and even governs their own work lives. Such research often occurs as ‘expert’ researchers apply ‘disinterested’ research in which design often precedes the setting of a question or questions (Pine, 2009). Consequently, matters are researched that may be of greater interest to the funder (such as the Ministry of Education) than to teachers, yet become an agenda that teachers are required to adopt. In some other cases, researchers may be perceived to be pursuing their own private, scholarly agendas.

Like Pine, Kincheloe rejects ‘top-down’ research (2008), reasoning that teachers are researchers who should regain their voices through research that will both address their direct concerns and give them greater understanding of the workings of power in education. Both writers emphasise that teachers have an advantage over visiting researchers by virtue of their experiential knowledge of the classroom and its complexities, but are degraded to the position of passive

consumers of irrelevant research whose opportunities for critical self and collaborative reflection are denied.

Challenges cited by both writers include the negative scepticism among many in the academy to the notion that any form of action research is able to generate 'knowledge'. Furthermore the democratic principles that underpin action research are tested as academics clearly have a superior advantage over practitioners in the field of research. Finally, one of the hallmarks of a profession has been said to be the development of knowledge away from the field by experts, not practitioners (see Chapter One). How can these points be reconciled with the argument advocating critical teacher action research as a vehicle for both teacher development (and thus the development of ethical teacher professionalism) and school improvement?

These challenges will be considered in reverse order. The development of a knowledge base for a profession as a focus for experts in the profession whose role is also to provide pre-service education must be understood as part of the demand for an extended period of education away from the workplace as a bar to limit entry to the profession. There seems however to be no rational reason to limit the *further* development of the knowledge of practitioners to the academy. Indeed, the notion of praxis would seem to encourage such development.

The democratic principles of action research demand that hierarchical divisions (such as those between academics and practitioners) be flattened (Grundy, 1995; Pine, 2009). This is a challenge to both parties to re-think their personal identities in relation to the social, to each other and to critically consider the meaning of their own work (Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998, p. 23). Humility, not arrogance, is the mark of an ethical teacher (Freire, 1998), thus it behoves both academics and teachers to work in collaborative spirit alongside each other. Working collaboratively will also counter the first of the objections above, by allowing academics to develop a greater critical appreciation of the potential of action research.

b) The salient features of critical teacher action research

Several key points of difference exist between critical teacher action research and 'teaching as inquiry'. The first of these is its political and moral purpose. Action research has its origins in social justice research carried out amongst native American Indians in the 1930s, an idea furthered by the social psychologist, Kurt Lewin who challenged discriminatory practices by developing democratic community initiatives in the 1940s (Elliott, 2009, p. 170; Pine, 2009, p. 39). A recursive process, the action research is a cycle of:

- Identification and selection of a specific problem area requiring action
- Formulation of a hypothesis
- Specification of a goal and procedure to reach it
- Recording the actions taken and gathering results data along the way
- Inferring from this data generalisations about the relationship between the action and the goal
- Retesting the generalisations and recommencing the cycle

Several approaches can be taken to action research. The *teacher as researcher* involves a 'systematic, intentional inquiry' by teachers into their own classroom work (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, pp. 23-24 cited by Pine, 2009, p. 50). Such a study can be conceptual or empirical. It can focus narrowly on the outcomes of teaching and its effects on learning, or more broadly on the idea of teacher learning and practice in the context of reform. This approach is most akin to 'teaching as inquiry'. It lacks both scope and opportunities for collaboration, thus does not go far enough. *Collaborative action research* requires teachers to work together as critical friends, focused on the common objective of improvement. It has a moral and ethical component: 'Embedded in action research is a moral/political ethos that evokes congruence between inquiry and service to improve the human condition' (Pine, 2009, p. 75). This account too, does not go far enough to describe the process and underpinning philosophy of a *critical teacher* action research paradigm.

Participatory action research is closely allied to social justice and transformation of teachers, students and/or communities (Atweh, Kemmis, & Weeks, 1998). It focuses on changing social realities by investigating them in collaborative and participatory ways. These writers argue that action research is

best carried out with others, rather than in isolation. It is particularly important that change challenges the status quo. It is critical, as it takes nothing for granted, and investigates prevailing relationships. It is also critically recursive, that is, looking at itself (the process and the people involved) in self-critical ways (1998, pp. 23-24). This latter account advances the first two by its intent to widen the scope of action and research of those who collaborate, hence the emphasis on participation. It is thus contingent on the existence of groups such as the community of critical professional enquiry. This community has the purpose of attaining a knowledge democracy through education, challenge and transformation. The essence of critical teacher action research is therefore self-education, educating the wider critical knowledge community, and alleviating, ameliorating or removing to the greatest extent possible limitations preventing the development of a critical knowledge community.

Critical teacher action research draws on the insights of critical theory, which has the attainment of social justice as a key goal (Kemmis, 2008). Although 'social justice' has multiple meanings (Rizvi, 1998), it goes beyond simple questions of fair and just distribution of goods to include rights, culture, race, gender, difference and identity (1998, p. 54). In an educational setting the social justice concerns of critical teacher action research are focused on ensuring equity, and diminishing differences of race, gender and ability (Pine, 2009, p. 88). By virtue of its participatory nature, critical teacher action research has the quality of developing democratic dispositions. However, because it is concerned with questions of challenge and change, it also has the potential to create conflict; hence it is considered to be a political process. It is deeply self-critical, thus does not shy away from asking difficult, awkward or challenging questions of teachers, teacher practice, student achievement, student life, school community life, the organisational structure of the school, its programmes, or the purposes the school serves. Members of a community of critical professional enquiry thus seek accountability through critical teacher action research, yet are themselves accountable, because fundamental change goes beyond simply changing the knowledge of individuals and the school, to changing deep structures on which practice is based (Kemmis, 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* is required if this process is to have a positive influence on the development of ethical teacher professionalism. In particular, by providing an examination and critique of two sections of the ‘effective pedagogy’ pages of the Curriculum, it has been suggested that there is scope for the development of critical thinking in schools, and for encouraging critical self-reflexivity on the part of teachers. The chapter went on to argue that this may take place by firstly establishing a vision of a knowledge democracy representing a critical knowledge community. This community will be centred on a community of critical professional enquiry that consists of the professional teaching staff of the school, but will include students, families, and ultimately academic partners. A critical knowledge community is guided by values that develop democratic dispositions and a commitment to social justice. Placing such values at the very basis of a school’s efforts will determine pedagogical approaches to teaching and knowledge.

The results of curriculum effort are usually evaluated through standardised tests or national qualifications. However, these may be peripheral to the more fundamental approach of evaluating a curriculum by the process of critical teacher action research. This, it is argued, is the very lifeblood of a successful community of critical professional enquiry, and furthermore, provides a thoughtful and philosophical alternative to the technical-functionalism of the ‘teaching as inquiry’ model proposed in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The community of critical professional enquiry, by self-education, challenge and transformation is able to simultaneously evaluate all aspects of curriculum, and engage in a critical and creative implementation of *The New Zealand Curriculum* that will contribute to the development of a critical knowledge democracy, allowing in particular, the flourishing of ethical teacher professionalism.

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