

Globalization, "Glocal" Development, and Teachers' Work: A Research Agenda

Everard Weber
University of Pretoria

Abstract:

The author discusses the evolution of ideas about the relationship between national and international development and educational change since World War II. He critically reviews relevant literature in comparative and international education, focusing on the concept of teachers' work. The analyses draw on theories of postcolonialism. The author argues that virtually without exception, studies of, and theories about, teaching as work are based on the experiences of the northern hemisphere, particularly developed countries. He calls for qualitative methodologies and fieldwork to analyze teaching and teaching as work in modern South Africa and other subaltern countries. The research agenda seeks to revise existing notions of teachers' work emphasizing conditions in industrialized countries and to interrogate their utility given the profoundly different conditions in developing countries. It also seeks to make problematic conventional understandings of globalization and glocal development, arguing that these too should be revised given empirical data on teachers and teaching in poor countries.

KEYWORDS: teachers' work globally, industrialized and poor countries, postcolonial theory, calls for further qualitative research.

In 1994, democratic elections were held in South Africa for the first time in the country's history. A Black majority government headed by the African National Congress came to power. In common with other underdeveloped countries, the postapartheid government's policy texts and legislation have viewed education as critical to development. In these documents, development is defined as the pursuit of modernity and economic growth and the emulation of leading Western, capitalist democracies. This article begins with an analysis of the interrelationships between global and national development and educational change in the new South Africa. Against this "glocal" (Bauman, 1998) backdrop (i.e., the dialectic of the local and the global; Amove & Torres, 2003), I describe the policy context for teaching in South Africa and other developing nations today. I chose South Africa as a specific case because I find it to be exemplary of similar forces in other underdeveloped countries. The specific reforms affecting teachers relate to school governance, curricula and pedagogies, education budget cuts, new norms and standards for educators (NSE), and the implementation of quality assurance procedures for working in public schools. The overall trajectory of education reform can be explained by drawing on these discursive signposts:

One cannot adequately understand the dynamics in nation-states or localities without taking into considerations developments in the world system. . . . We need to investigate how the global structural and ideological contexts constrain and enable group actors' transactions concerning education [However, this] does not require that we ignore national- (regional- and local-)

level cultural, economic and political dynamics. (Ginsburg, Cooper, Raghu, & Zegara, 1990, pp. 493-494; see also Wells, Carnochan, Slayton, Allen & Vasudeva, 1998)

Because ideas about development and education reform have "migrated" to many countries around the world (Edwards, Nicoll, & Tait, 1999; Wells et al. 1998), what is presently occurring in South Africa is far from unique. I shall pay special attention to the origins and evolution of these ideas since World War II. For example, the emphasis in the 1950s and 1960s on state investments in public education systems has given way since the 1980s to cuts in spending and privatization.

Globalization refers to the increasing social, economic, financial, cultural, and technological integration of different countries and regions, especially in recent decades. This process articulates with and is mediated by national and local forces, social circumstances and conditions, and histories. The phrase "glocal development" refers to the dialectic of the global and the local. It is an abstraction, useful to understand and explain social change in a general and theoretical sense rather than in concrete, empirically specific ways that highlight the patterns and contradictoriness of human experience in contemporary times.

I shall work with the idea of glocal transformation in two principal ways in this article. First, I shall discuss how social, including educational, developments in underdeveloped countries have been influenced by events, policies, and ideologies emanating from more powerful, industrialized countries. The relationship between rich and poor nations has been an unequal one, and I shall show how, especially since World War II, it has changed over time. Understanding this process explains why, for instance, the state has introduced decentralized school governance in South Africa. Second, I shall operationalize glocal development epistemologically. The strengths and weaknesses of teaching as work, in the current scholarly literature, will be reviewed. This concept has been used to examine the nature, contexts, and conditions of teaching. It is instructive in explaining current developments, particularly in the analysis of teachers' perceptions, day-to-day experiences, and actions, against the background of globalization. However, it remains an analytic tool designed with the social contexts of industrialized, northern hemisphere countries in mind. The problem is how, through further research and fieldwork, to gain greater conceptual coherence and bridge the divide in scholarship between North and South (i.e., the northern and southern hemispheres) and construct a more universal and representative analytic tool.

I shall propose a research agenda and appropriate methodologies that aim at building and testing a new conceptual framework for the analysis of teaching in other subaltern countries, using South Africa as an example. Contemporary international development entails an increasingly integrated world. The changes and events in one part of the world are often acutely felt by the rest of the world. Our conceptual frameworks cannot exclude, and through their exclusion silence, the majority of humanity. This means the use of appropriate methodologies such as critical, qualitative case studies and teacher practitioner and action research to build on existing knowledge bases and develop the idea of teaching as work to embrace the histories, voices, and social realities of teachers in poor countries.

Method:

To assess the status of the concept in the existing literature, the Education Resources Information Center database was examined for studies of teaching as work published between 1985 and 2005. The search yielded 500 items. Abstracts were scanned to isolate readings. Various categories of research were identified. A large number of studies (n =285) dealt with specific issues that had little relevance to the topics discussed in this article. For example, the descriptors of one study included *Grade 4, statistical distributions, mathematical models, mathematical instruction, and teaching methods* (Petrosino, Lehrer, & Schauble, 2003). There also was a category on mentoring (n =11). Other readings (n =66) were related to the concept of teaching as work, but the authors used the concept in the commonsense usage of what teachers do, as opposed to situating it within a specific genre of scholarly writing. The most significant subcategory in this group (n =23) consisted of studies that defined teaching in terms of academic achievement, accountability, and standardized tests, often reporting on empirical findings. The research in this subcategory overlaps with the topics dealt with in this article, in particular the way in which teaching has been defined in recent decades. Seven studies discussed teaching as work in terms of research, a theme I shall develop and one that is important in addressing shortcomings in the existing literature. Eighty-five studies dealt with teaching as work roughly in the sense used in this article, focusing on the globalization and marketization of education and their implications for teaching; macropolicy changes affecting teachers; the managerial control of teaching; and the conditions, contexts, and politics of the job. Not all these writers dealt with the concept of teacher work in the same way, and here too, several studies examined specific topics in particular settings. Nevertheless, this was the category most relevant to my research purposes. It contains discursive analyses on the meaning of teaching as work, studies that have examined the concept's historiography, and others that sought to develop it theoretically. I shall focus on the contributions of these authors and explain how this article and its call for research seeks to build on these writings especially.

Globalization, National Development, and Educational Change

Both the evolution of ideas about national and international development popular after World War II and the contemporary ascendancy of neoliberalism provide a starting point and context for analyses of teaching at the grassroots level. They demonstrate the broad historical lineage of the relationship between globalization, national development, and education reforms. I shall discuss the major shifts in ideas and how they have influenced scholarly writing.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s (Parsons, 1966), the structural-functionalism of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton paved the way for modernization theory and the primacy of economics in developmental studies. Rostow (1960) advocated linear, progressive development, equated with processes of capital formation, and

identified five stages (the traditional society, the preconditions for takeoff, takeoff, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption) all societies were said to follow in attaining self-sustaining growth and prosperity.

Development was seen in an evolutionary perspective, the state of underdevelopment defined in terms of observable differences between rich and poor countries. Development implied the bridging of these gaps by means of an imitative process, in which the less developed countries gradually assumed the qualities of the industrialized nation. (Blomstrom & Hettne, 1984, p. 20)

In this view, development is commonly viewed as a series of actions and events involving special institutions. Gardner and Lewis (1996) wrote that for Escobar (1995), it was above all a discourse, a specific way of thinking: "It has also become professionalized, with a range of concepts, categories and techniques through which the generation and diffusion of particular forms of knowledge are organized, managed and controlled" (p. 6).

McClelland (1961) believed the key to the economic and technological success of modern, Western societies to be the achievement ethic of individual citizens. Social institutions such as families and schools were indispensable in shaping modern values. Education prepared students to function in the modern world, molded good citizens, provided leadership, and contributed to the attainment of equity and equality of opportunity. Politically, education "aids in generating a sense of national identity among people living in a country . . . the diffusion of certain knowledge through formal education is believed . . . to intensify the modernization or development of traditional societies" (McGovern, 1999, p. 8). According to Inkeles and Smith (1974) and many others, during this period, there was a causal relationship between modern institutions, modern values, modern behavior, modern society, and economic development. Modernity and progress were synonymous with the quantifiable development of Western capitalism, with its principal and reliable indicator the gross domestic product. Economists examined how the productive capacity of the workforce might be developed as a means of capital investment. National development and economic growth were viewed as the development of human capital. Education played a key role not as consumption but as investment. Technological improvement resulted in better production. And formal education provided the required skills and attitudes for improved production. Western liberal democracies justified their large expenditures on education after World War II by the handsome social and economic returns that such expenditures could be expected inevitably to create.

There have been several critiques of modernization and human capital theory, notably by dependency writers from Latin America, neo-Marxists, and postmodernists during the 1970s. Perhaps the most well known of the earlier works were the studies of Jencks et al. (1972) and Bowles and Gintis (1976), who argued that, far from promoting equality of opportunity, schooling in capitalist societies reproduced unequal class and power relations and buttressed the status quo by preparing students for the world of work. Similarly, Carnoy (1974) analyzed seven case studies (India, 1700-1930; colonial West Africa; free-trade colonialism in Peru;

the United States, 1830-1970; the education of African Americans in the United States; and neocolonialism in the United States since the end of World War II) and argued that schools cannot be separated from the social and productive relations of the capitalist system: "The educational system reflects the relation between different social classes, and changes and reforms in a particular school system reflect the changes being effected or desired by the groups in power" (p. 355). More empirically oriented studies questioned specific claims, such as whether a nation's level of economic wealth could indeed be correlated with enrollment growth at the primary school level. The evidence points out that in many nations, early industrial expansion retarded, rather than, as the modernists expected, promoted school enrollment. In this context, capital appears to compete with the schools and the state for students' labor (Fuller, 1991). The advocates of modernization and human capital theory, as well as organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, posited far too strong a link between education and economic development during the 1950s and 1960s. "The degree of theoretical conviction was so high, while the level of empirical evidence so scant, that the belief in the benefits of education has been called [by Adams] 'one of the most romantic tales of the century'" (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989, p. 44).

By the mid-1990s it has become clear that the supposed benefits of modernization are largely an illusion: over much of the globe the progressive benefits of economic growth, technological change and scientific-rationality have failed to materialize . . . it has been suggested that the concept is embedded in neo-colonial constructions of the world and is a key ideological tool in global power relations. (Gardner & Lewis, 1996, p. 1)

While retaining crucial features of theories about modernization, there has been a pronounced shift in developmental thinking in today's world. Unfettered economic liberalism, stripped of the heresies of Keynesianism, or neoliberalism, lies at the heart of the current meaning of globalization. Gray (1998) saw neoliberalism as an Anglo-American extension of the European Enlightenment, predicated on hegemony and homogenization and, I may add, various forms of violence and coercion. Gardner and Lewis (1996) also took a long historical perspective: "Notions of development are clearly linked to the history of capitalism, colonialism and the emergence of particular European epistemologies from the eighteenth century onwards" (p. 6). The central assumptions are "(a) because ... the operation of human reason is the same everywhere, (b) all reasonable people will abide by the version of reality that reason draws and maps for them" (D. G. Smith, 2003, p. 39). Faith in the power of reason has, in the new millennium, been replaced by faith in the universalization of economic theory-macroeconomic, financial theory-with "The Market as God."

Education reforms in modern South Africa and other developing countries are broadly in line with globalization (i.e., the increasing integration of worldwide social relations currently under way in developed and underdeveloped countries). The international trend over the past 20 years has been characterized by the replacement of state-led systems with neoliberal strategies, dominated by the idea that *Homo economicus* is an appropriate model for all of human behavior, regardless

of the culture in which it may be found. The post-World-War II vision, albeit in theory if not in practice, held that the modern state was responsible for the expansion of access to public schooling, for promoting equality of opportunity, social justice, and democracy. Well-known right-wing government documents during the 1980s such as *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) led the attack on public schooling, teachers, and teacher unions; propagated the commercialization of education; and sought to persuade parents, students, and teachers that schools are businesses and must function as such. The contemporary discourse is exemplified by arguments that schooling must respond to the workplace and calls for "accountability"; an atmosphere of competition that stresses "performativity," "outcomes," and achievement based on selected "indicators" and high-stakes tests; free-market programs such as school choice and vouchers; and the language of cost cutting in social services, including in education. In the wake of the worldwide recession of the 1970s and 1980s, debt, periods of "negative growth," financial crises, and international organizations (notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, particularly through structural adjustment programs) played crucial roles in setting policy agendas and carrying out the restructuring of public sectors in Africa and elsewhere. They promoted and enforced as panaceas in all situations, and in all countries, ideologies calling for a tiny state apparatus, shrinking bureaucracy, and stingy fiscal policies; privatization; decentralized governance; and currency devaluation.

Chisholm (1997) explained that in postapartheid South Africa, education reform has been driven by a "perceived link between education, economic growth and international competitiveness" (p. 54). The economy is seen to be suffering from a lack of a skilled, properly trained labor force, resulting in low, sluggish productivity. Global competitiveness and new modes of production dictate the need for new, multiskilled, flexible, value-adding, and problem-solving workers. Such workers can help the nation, or rather the captains of industry and commerce, carve out new market niches. The adoption of novel technologies and the change from industrial and capitalist to postcapitalist methods of production in developed countries has meant abandoning a distinct division of labor and hierarchical management in favor of flatter mechanisms of labor control; smaller, more flexible production units; and the manufacture of innovative, quickly obsolesced products. Gone are the days when labor was viewed as an expensive commodity; it is now a key resource that must be educated and trained. Rather, the leaders of developing countries such as South Africa seem to believe that economic woes can be fixed by following the example of the leading industrialized countries, by focusing on training and retraining its workers (see, e.g., African National Congress, 1994; Department of Education, 1995, 1997; Department of Finance, 1996). Framing the trajectory of national development in South Africa in these terms has been a politically contested process (Lodge, 2003), in no small measure because of the historical and ideological legacies of the antiapartheid resistance, but its outcome, hitherto, has basically been in sync with international development. It goes to the heart of the perceived crisis in schooling and teachers' work globally: Schools are viewed as "annexes of industry, spot welded to the economy" (Smyth, Dow,

Hattam, Reid, & Shacklock, 2000, p. 3). When schools do not perform as such annexes, crisis abounds.

Thus, the older, problematic one-to-one correspondence between education and economic growth has been given new meaning. The shift from the social democratic ideals of the post-World War II period to the neoliberalism of the 1980s and 1990s has been substantive. Yet at the same time, as we have seen, there has also been continuity in change regarding the central ideas about the relationship between modernity and education.

Teaching in Modern South Africa: A Case in Point

What have been the major policy initiatives that contextualize teaching in the new South Africa? How has the relationship between national and international development and education translated into specific reforms affecting teachers and their classroom practices? What are the similarities and differences with developments elsewhere?

I shall review the major reforms that have affected teachers in South Africa: changes in school governance, curricula, the rationalization of teacher resources, and the new identities the state has formulated for its teacher employees. In a discussion of the international experiences of teaching reform in 10 mainly industrialized countries, Calderhead (2001) referred to common policies as relating to the marketization of schools; the introduction of new curricula; accountability measures for teachers, students, and schools; and teacher education. The South African experience in general has more policy commonalities with these countries than differences. Although many governments worldwide have cut spending on education, in South Africa, this has taken the form of reducing the number of teachers within the system. In underdeveloped, especially African, countries, cutting the education budget and other social services was often a consequence of the imposition by lending agencies of structural adjustment programs. South Africa implemented such a program voluntarily in the mid-1990s, perhaps because the government wanted to indicate to the world that its policies and programs were in line with globalization and developments elsewhere. Sarnoff (2003) wrote about the role of international agencies (e.g., the World Bank) in the aid relationship and the "institutionalization of international influence." Through research, they influence public policy and the objectives and priorities of education reform in Africa:

Their mass is truly astounding--thousands of pages, many of them tables, figures and charts. These externally initiated studies of education in Africa undertaken during the early 1990s are most striking for their similarities, their differences--of country, of commissioning agency, of specific subject notwithstanding. With few exceptions, these studies have a common framework, a common approach, and a common methodology. Given their shared starting points, their common findings are not surprising. African education is in crisis. . . . The recommendations too are similar: Reduce the central government role in providing education. Decentralize. Increase school fees. Expand private schooling. Reduce direct support to students, especially at the tertiary level. Introduce double shift and multigrade classrooms. Assign high priority to instructional materials.

Favor inservice over preservice education. The shared approach of these studies reflects a medical metaphor. Expatriated study teams as visiting clinicians diagnose and then prescribe. The patient (i.e., the country) must be encouraged, perhaps pressured, to swallow the bitter medicine. (p. 51)

Decentralized Governance and Funding

The South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa, 1996) provides for the governance and funding of public and independent schools. In a policy trajectory that decentralizes educational governance and establishes the bases for increased inequality, this law is consistent with international trends in countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Holland, the United States, Brazil, and Chile (Bash & Coulby, 1991; Bates, 1995; Espinola, 1992; Gordon, 1995; McGinn & Pereira, 1992; O'Donoghue, 2000; Pascoe & Pascoe, 1998; Perris, 1998; Schiefelbein, 1991; Slegers & Wesselingh, 1993). The law devolves power and control to schools at the local level through the establishment of school governing bodies (SGBs). SGBs are given various functions, such as levying school fees and collecting and raising funds for school development. These measures are likely to result in deeper racial and class divisions within an already deeply divided education system. For example, the ability of rich schools to raise funds, over and above the money they receive from the state, from private sources, and the rich communities in which they are located, differs from the attempts and outcomes of poor communities (Motala, 2005; Weber, 2002).

The law also frames political relations within school communities and the governance roles teachers are supposed to play. SGBs are small, elected committees consisting of parents (the majority), teachers, and, at high schools, students. This is a major step in the democratization of the apartheid system that gave communities and teachers little or no say in how their schools were run. However, the law depoliticizes school governance and favors reaching consensual agreements. It implies that the different, often divided, constituencies that make up school communities are united and will work together and with the state to support education reforms initiated and driven by the state (Grant-Lewis, Naidoo, & Weber, 2001). Although teachers constitute a numerical minority within SGBs, they wield power in terms of their formal education and knowledge of state policy in relation to parents, who often are illiterate and have limited practical experience in the day-to-day management of schools. At a series of parent-teacher-student meetings I attended at one high school in Cape Town, parents were informed about certain state policies and about decisions made by teachers. They did not debate them, nor did they express any disagreement with the way in which the principal and teaching staff were managing the school. Most of the teachers I spoke to stressed the democratic nature of decision making at this school. However, when I asked one teacher about this, she replied by laughing and asking whether the interview was really confidential (Weber, 2006). The teaching staff can, in theory, be as divided as it can be united and can form informal and/or formal alliances with parents and students. Principals play crucial political roles in terms of the leadership styles they bring to the micropolitics of schools. Analyses of who wields what power over

whom and how this occurs could account for the fact that despite the formal rhetoric about shared governance and decentralized decision making, crucial, systemic policies are often carried out uncontested at the local level.

Cutting State Education Spending and Rationalizing Teacher Resources

If the South African Schools Act sought to extend democracy within the education system and give teachers a voice in school governance, the manner in which the state embarked on the rationalization and redeployment of teachers did not. A top-down policy was enforced, despite opposition and protests from local communities. In 1996, the government attempted to implement two policy goals: the realization of a more equitable distribution of teacher resources nationally to redress the inherited racial and provincial inequalities and the reduction of educational spending by voluntarily implementing a structural adjustment program. Reducing the financial support for social services, including public education, has occurred worldwide, with devastating consequences, particularly in Africa (Carnoy, 1995; International Labour Organization, 1996; Sarnoff, 1994). By 1997, the South African government admitted that neither of these two goals had been achieved and that cost cutting in education had become more important than achieving equity. The result was that thousands of teachers were effectively retrenched. Teachers who had tenure were given the option of accepting voluntary severance packages or could retire early, and many did. Principals had the power to fire teachers who had short-term contracts by not renewing contracts when they expired. Thus, teaching at many schools in the new South Africa now occurs within the context of a severe depletion of human resources, increased workloads for the teachers who remain, and uncertainty, real or imagined, regarding future retrenchments (Chisholm, Soudien, Vally & Gilmour, 1999; Vally, 1999; Vally & Tleane, 2001).

Changing Curricula and Pedagogies

By the 1990s, there were worldwide trends in curricular reform. In Britain, the key government document was the white paper *Choice and Diversity*; in the United States, the key documents were *National Goals Project* and *America 2000*. Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and other developed and underdeveloped countries initiated similar curricular reforms (Chitty & Lawn, 1995; Jacobs, 2000; Pinar, 2003). In South Africa, the government also has sought to transform teachers' classroom practices and methods of assessment, ostensibly to better prepare students for the world of work and to forge closer ties between schooling, the workplace, and the economy. The minister of education officially launched outcomes-based education (OBE) in March 1997. The National Department of Education announced that new curricula would be implemented in January 1998. OBE represents a paradigm shift from content-based teaching to a focus on outcomes, from teacher-centered methodologies to learner-centered pedagogies, and from an emphasis on examinations to continuous assessment.

OBE has its origins in restructuring the global economy. Competitive, value added

production has become more important than the production of primary goods in international trade. This highlights the need for creative thinking and problem-solving skills in settings in which teamwork is deemed important. Reformers argue that those leaving school must be equipped with new skills and more sophisticated educational outcomes if they are to be effective in the contemporary workplace. Furthermore, the new economy has a vested interest in promoting vocational and technical training. OBE also is rooted in behavioral psychology. The basic definition of the main idea, outcomes, is "results from learning processes." Students must be able to demonstrate that they understand and can apply the desired outcomes in certain contexts (Spady, 1994, 1998). In addition,

to "identify and solve problems . . . using critical and creative thinking" may involve . . . either an active commitment to solving the problems of society, or competence in dealing with commercial problems. To "work effectively with others" raises visions equally for a vibrant civil society and of "flat management structures." (Skinner, 1999, p. 119)

New Teacher Identities

New NSE have been developed that articulate the state's vision of the good South African teacher (Department of Education, 2000). They are rooted in the basic tenets of OBE. In stark contrast, Ginsburg (1995) stressed the quite different political and social roles that teachers have played historically, citing examples in several African countries. This has been the case in South Africa and in the neighboring countries, where the resistance against apartheid and British and Portuguese colonialism, notably since World War II, was often spearheaded in local communities by schoolteachers.

The new roles and accountability measures for teachers in the present period ~ cannot be separated from the failure of the government to provide generally enabling environments for human resource development in education. Any curricular reform, including OBE, needs to operate within a supportive school culture and structures that could promote the transformation of teachers' traditional classroom practices. The South African government employs about 400,000 teachers in the country's nine provinces. By determining and defining teachers' roles and responsibilities, workloads, and human resource in general, the state "has been able to exert a strong influence on what it means to be an educator within the public education system and put in place the symbolic and regulatory elements of a policy aimed at creating an 'ideal educator'" (Parker, 2003, p. 31). The essential image is that of a compliant technician, worker, and civil servant who implements OBE in the classroom. In the rural areas of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, it was found that the main "strategy adopted by these teachers [in classrooms] is one of mimicry in an attempt to 'look modern,' and that this reflects a broader pattern of mimicry adopted by . . . policymakers in their attempts to make South African education 'look modern'" (Mattson & Harley, 2003, p. 284).

Greater Control and Accountability

Complementing the NSE has been the implementation, since 2004, of what is called the Integrated Quality Management System. International discourses about accountability, managerialism, and the market have influenced the ways in which the state presently is assessing teachers' work in countries as different as South Africa, the United States, and Australia (Newmann, King, & Rigdon, 1997; Sachs, 2001; Weber, 2005). The use of the principles of scientific management in industry has a long history and was first advocated by Taylor (1911) to increase control by employers over workers (see also Robertson, 1997). However, unlike industrial workers, teachers have traditionally enjoyed a large measure of autonomy over their work. That autonomy and their status as professionals are challenged by transplanting ideas from industry and business to schools.

Teacher Voice in Education Reform

A problem extensively discussed in the academic literature on South Africa concerns the translation of idealistic goals contained in policy texts and legislation into transformative practices on the ground (Chisholm, 2000; Christie, 1999; Jansen & Sayed, 2001). Like human beings, what governments say often does not square with what they actually do. And policies are notorious for their unintended effects. Still, it has not helped that the teachers who are supposed to implement change have been marginalized and alienated in different ways. The comments made by Torres (1996) in a different context are relevant to South Africa: The dominant approach is that teachers must adapt to the reform process, rather than the other way around. In postapartheid South Africa, this has gone hand in hand with the imposition of education reforms and, on occasion, their forcible implementation, despite resistance. Teachers are usually invited to workshops on OBE to listen, in silence, to departmental officials and/or experts about what they are henceforth required to do; they are not invited to contribute, debate, challenge, or modify the new curricular reforms. These are regarded as a *fait accompli* (Baxen & Soudien, 1999; see also Chisholm, 2000). Commenting more generally on the situation in the rest of the developing world, Villegas-Reimers and Reimers (1996) noted that 60 million teachers have had little voice in contemporary education reforms. There are at least two likely consequences: Teachers' substantive knowledge about the work they do every day is ignored and counts for little or nothing, and policy makers (and academics) fail to understand the contexts and conditions in which change is supposed to occur.

Hegemonic global forces have had a profound impact on the modalities of policy change at the national level of education reform in countries such as South Africa. Teachers' ideas, views, feelings, and actions in turn influence how national and international forces work at schools and inside classrooms. The concept of teaching as work can be used and applied to problematize the local realities with which teachers engage on a daily basis, in the context of national and global change.

Teachers' Work: Strengths in the Literature

One of the strengths of the idea of teaching as work is its capacity to portray the deteriorating conditions under which teachers labor today. Seddon (1997) wrote,

Unions are under pressure as a result of changes in industrial relations; salaries have declined; teachers' work has intensified as social and organizational demands have increased; teachers feel less valued in the community; teachers' work has become more routinised and subject to accountability; and, as a result of cuts in education funding, teachers work in increasingly poorly resourced workplaces. (p. 230)

Poppleton (2000) collected English teachers' views in 1991-1992 and 1995-1996 about their experiences of change, its impact on their working lives, and how government aims were incorporated into school programs. This research was carried out against the background of the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act. The law introduced national standards, testing and assessment, and new governance structures at schools. British teachers did not resist the reforms, compared with teachers from other countries and older teachers were more affected than younger teachers. According to Lawn (1990), these far-reaching curricular changes revolved around the relationship between the curriculum industry, education markets, and teachers' work. Meiser's (2000) synthesis of the literature on teachers and educational change considers the difficulties and obstacles to new reform initiatives. She discussed lack of time during the day, the intensification of work, conflict, and the cultural contexts of schools. Regarding the implementation of education policy, she examined teachers' different perceptions of change, personal and collective experiences concerning ambivalence and uncertainty, and the need for training and resources. Hargreaves (2001) looked at five emotional geographies of Japanese teachers' work regarding relations with students, colleagues, and parents. Elsewhere, he reviewed the intensification thesis, which, among other things, argues that teachers do not have time for relaxation or interaction with colleagues or for keeping up with developments in their fields of expertise (Hargreaves, 1994). They suffer from chronic work overload, depend as a result too much on outside experts, and cannot offer quality services (see also Popkewitz & Lind, 1989). Writing on teacher stress, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, burnout, and alienation is relevant, but such discussions sometimes fail to locate teachers' experiences in the global and national policy and social milieus in which teachers work (Barak, Nissly & Lewin, 2001; Dinham & Scott, 2000; Varvus, 1987). There are, however, important exceptions. Research carried out in the United States found that between one third and one half of the teachers surveyed felt alienated from their jobs, colleagues, and students; were burned out; wished to quit their work; and thought that it was a mistake to choose teaching as a career (Dworkin, 1997; LeCompte & Dworkin, 1991).

The value of these kinds of studies lies in their focus on the views and real-life experiences of teachers. "In the process of perceiving and interpreting, the teachers

are guided by their immediate experiences in the workplace culture of the school" (Acker, 1992, p. 160). This research includes discussion of teacher development in terms of self-reflection, biography, careers, identity, and classroom practice (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992), as well as the "rising teacher dissatisfaction in many countries." Empirically, it tells us of the social realities of everyday teaching. A good example of more analytical approaches is the development of models about the "quality of teacher work life," which include "overall job satisfaction," "work centrality," and "job-related stress" (Evers & Kremer-Hayon, 1999, pp. 53-54).

These writings can be complemented by studies that speak of teachers as researchers and practitioners (Schon, 1983, 1987). With reference to action research and the traditional separation between theory and practice in Western philosophy, D. L. Smith and Lovat (2003) stated, "The only research (theoria) which is of any use is that which arises in action (Praxis); conversely, the only action which can be effective is that which results from research. The two are in unity" (p. 136). They furthermore drew a distinction between being critical and reflective in a micro sense (e.g., teaching strategies, planning, classroom practices) and in a macro sense (e.g., historical, social, political; see also Goodson, 1997; Zeichner & Noffke, 2001; Zuber-Skerritt et al., 2000). An instructive way to understand the global better is to take seriously the reflections and actions of the actual participants at the local level, marshaling the research they themselves have conducted.

The absence of analyses of globalization and the sociology and politics of teaching is striking in a large category of the literature that views teaching simply as what teachers do, not in a broader social or cultural context. In contrast, the concept teaching as work scrutinizes the conditions of teaching in industrialized countries as part and parcel of *global* economic, social, cultural, and political realignments that include new processes and ways of work (Helsby, 1999; Robertson, 1997). With regard to Australian natural scientists, Connell and Wood (2002) wrote, "The most useful focus for a broad examination of intellectuals in globalization is their labor process and its location in [the] workplace and workforce" (p. 169). Teaching as work is a tool that can be applied to deconstruct writings on the basis of asocial and apolitical perspectives.

One set of texts about the teaching strategies to be implemented in the classroom in line with OBE is practical and offers a "how-to," technicist perspective that promises, in the South African context, to improve the realities that the massive volume of policy documents have been unable to transform. Insofar as it has an intellectual home, it is that of behavioral psychology. The methods teachers are advised to master and then implement include "direct instruction, discussion, small-group work, co-operative learning, problem solving, and research" and are based on, as one group of writers put it, a "model for teaching" that encompasses "learner-centered planning," "learner-centered instruction," and "assessment" (Jacobsen, Eggen, & Kauchak, 2002; Killen, 2000). These writings and the work of William Spady (1994, 1998) have influenced teacher training at tertiary institutions and the practices and implementation of OBE in South Africa (see, e.g.,

Jacobs, Gawe, & Vakalisa, 2000). They are based on the assumption that teacher development by "experts" and nongovernmental organizations will result in changes in classroom pedagogies and the social relations between teachers and students and ultimately produce better "performativity," competitiveness, and *werkgereedheid* (readiness to work) in students. These texts sharply contradict the scholarship on teacher professionalism and development, which stresses the importance of teacher autonomy and authority and has pointed out that although the recent reforms affecting teachers have formally advocated greater professionalism, these have not been the outcomes and consequences (Ingvarson, 1998; Richardson & Placier, 2001). The role of the teacher as technician is often bulleted literally or figuratively as advice about what to do in implementing a variety of prepackaged teaching methods. During a discussion, for instance, two writers instructed teachers to, among other things, "ensure" that students understand the topic and procedures of the discussion, that everyone participates, and that it does not "degenerate into a meaningless conversation" (Mahaye & Jacobs, 2000, p. 179; see also Killen, 2000).

People in contemporary developed countries are increasingly experiencing a loss of social capital. This loss has been promoted in education reforms that regard teachers' work in technical terms (Ross, 1992; Smyth, 2000). Cheng and Couture (2000) studied teachers' work in the context of what they called a "global culture of performance," characterized by cuts in education spending, accountability through high-stakes testing, and a loss of control over work, which they found to be recurring themes in the literature. The teaching strategy called lesson study is derived directly from the world of big corporations (Wilms, 2003), and the intention to use standards-based tests as guides to improving instruction in the process defines the essential nature and purpose of teaching (Black & William, 1998). These approaches, ranging from the technical and linear to the emphasis on assessment, and the lessons for teaching to be learned and transplanted from the world of business can be contrasted with alternatives, such as John Dewey's teaching for an informed citizenry and social democracy, Paulo Freire's education for liberation, and the antiapartheid People's Education Movement in 1980s South Africa.

Globalization has produced tension in teachers' work between teachers' professional autonomy and increased managerial control (Dudley-Marling & Murphy, 2001; Fischman, 2001; Forrester, 2000; Kubow & DeBard, 2000). To understand how this can be so, one can study schools as organizations and workplaces. The structures of power, control, and accountability; the relationships between teachers and school administrators; and teacher participation (as well as their involvement in the workplace) are all relevant to the new ways in which teachers are controlled (Ingersoll, 2003). The changing labor process in teaching has two aspects:

The first is a relational aspect which involves the set of social relations which exist between teachers and others in the education community including managers, bureaucrats, non-teaching staff, parents and students. The second is a practical aspect which involves the employer, that is, the state, bringing the three factors of production into a productive relationship . . . this means

ensuring that teachers use their skills and the educational resources available to them, to try to develop the capacity for social practice of their students. . . . Teachers' work has been organized in such a way as to facilitate the kind of outcome that is required by the state. (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 25)

As I noted above, similar reforms have been introduced in South Africa. The Integrated Quality Management System for teachers and Whole School Evaluation for schools were implemented in 2004. Managerial discourses in teaching are central to these reforms (Weber, 2005). In other parts of the world, such as England and Wales, similar developments have occurred (Ball, 1997; Ross, 1992). These policy initiatives are based on two assumptions: that sound management can be applied to any institutional problem or difficulty and that private sector practices are appropriate to education bureaucracies and schools (Sachs, 2001, p. 151).

The study of schoolteachers in relation to the state that employs them, as well as the study of their work (Apple & Teitelbaum, 1989; Connell, 1985; Day, Fernandez, Hauge, & Moller, 2000; Densmore, 1987; Ginsburg, 1988, 1995; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Helsby, 1999; Larson, 1980; Ozga, 1988; Robertson, 1997; Smyth, 1991; Smyth et al., 2000; Spencer, 2001), owes a great deal to the pioneering analyses of Blauner (1967) and more especially Braverman (1974) regarding the work of industrial workers and their relations to the state. Blauner portrayed factory workers as powerless, as objects controlled and manipulated by other people or by technology. Such images resonate with and find strong echoes in arguments that the widespread use of prepackaged teaching materials in North America has resulted in teachers' losing autonomy over the content and methods of their classroom practices (Apple & Teitelbaum, 1989; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Robertson, 1997; Smyth, 2000). Braverman's early writing has been the center of several controversies; his analyses privileged class and ignored race and gender. Furthermore, Taylorist control and scientific management were not the only methods of worker control, as he implied; workers both were coerced and consented to control by their bosses. Despite these criticisms, Braverman's influence has persisted. It is evident in the way in which social relations in industry are implicitly or explicitly said to correspond with the work teachers are perceived to perform. A significant development in recent years has been that the discussion has taken place against the background of globalization and in the context of the changing relationships between economic development and education reforms. If these are areas of strength in the existing literature, what are the areas of weakness?

Teachers' Work: A Critique of the Literature

The image of the teacher as a critical, reflective practitioner, or one who laments the loss of control over the content of the curriculum he or she teaches, or who develops his or her own learning materials as required by OBE, is understandable in well-resourced teaching and learning environments. In poor countries, different conditions prevail, and it is doubtful whether the concerns of teachers would be the same, or whether their stories about work would be similar to those of their colleagues in rich countries. The "deskilling" of teachers' work is unlikely to be a

concern in situations in which teachers are underqualified or unqualified or in which their academic mastery of languages of instruction or knowledge of Newtonian physics is problematic. The realities mentioned below have been taken at random and refer to the education of the majority of Black South Africans:

- Many communities live in poverty and, especially in rural areas, do not have access to water, sanitation, and refuse removal.
- Poverty determines access to education. Students in rural areas often must travel long distances to attend school.
- Learner/classroom ratios are often high, sometimes reaching 1:100. There is also a need to upgrade existing school buildings and to build more schools.
- Almost half the schools do not have water or electricity. Most schools do not have libraries, laboratories, or access to learning materials.
- Unemployment levels are high and can be correlated with educational attainment.
- The extent and spread of HIV /AIDS and other diseases such as malaria affect communities, including students and teachers (Bot, Dove, & Wilson, 2000).

These conditions are not limited to South Africa. The job of teaching in poor countries is defined by the struggle to cope in the absence of basic resources and the consequences of structural adjustment programs rather than issues relating to the philosophic goals of OBE, the implementation of progressive classroom pedagogies, or the NSE. Whereas in North America, the use of prepackaged teaching materials might be construed as an attack on teachers' professional autonomy, in African countries, it might be welcomed as a scarce resource. The question, then, is where and how do these educational realities fit in with teachers' perceptions of work and daily actions or with the concept teaching as work?

A crucial problem, hardly ever mentioned or alluded to, concerns the fact that the existing literature is lopsided in favor of discussions about the situation in industrialized countries over the past two decades. This is evident from even a cursory study of key contemporary texts. The silences in these accounts about what is occurring with regard to teaching in underdeveloped nations are troubling, particularly in the light of the emphasis several of these writers place on deconstructing modernity and globalization. In introducing conceptual issues to their comparative study of teaching in nine countries (Canada, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Israel, Japan, Poland, Singapore, the United States, and the Soviet Union), Menlo and Poppleton (1999) reviewed the basic ideas that inform their work. Their identification and discussion of different types of research (comparative, crossnational, and cross-cultural) excludes any engagement with the very unequal economic, power, and military relationships between North and South, both historically and contemporarily (pp. 3-6; see also the discussion of the "implications of the study for theory and practice," pp. 225jf). Comparative, cross-national, or cross-cultural research about education ought to problematize in fundamental ways that in our global village, some nations are more equal than others. Bauman (1998)

stated that glocalization is

a redistribution of privileges and deprivations ... of resources and impotence, of power and powerlessness, of freedom and constraint . . . a process of world-wide re-stratification, in the course of which a new world-wide socio-cultural hierarchy is put together. . . . What is free choice for some is cruel fate for some others. (p. 43)

A collection titled *The Life and Work of Teachers: International Perspectives in Changing Times* (Day et al., 2000) discusses in its three parts teacher professionalism and the conditions of change, the lives and work of teachers, and dilemmas of school leadership by focusing on the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, the United States, Australia, Norway, Malaysia, Sweden, Austria, and Canada (see also Calderhead, 2001; Hargreaves, Lieberman, Fullan, & Hopkins, 1998). Bauman's discussion of glocal inequity applies to differences between rich and poor nations. This "inequity" also applies to the existing knowledge base on teachers' work. We know almost nothing about the theoretical efficacy of the labor process of teachers' work as a genre of analysis aimed at understanding teaching in emerging democracies and transition states such as Brazil, China, Namibia, and Argentina. With the exception of literally one or two studies (e.g., Chisholm, 1999; Carrim, 2002), there is no scholarly tradition of comprehending teaching as work in South Africa. It is therefore possible that conceptual frameworks designed by researchers such as Helsby (1999) in Britain and Smyth et al. (2000) and Connell and Wood (2002) in Australia might be applied to poor countries in ways that amount to little more than factual add-ons or adaptations of the theories of scholars from the developed world. Amove (2001) wrote about the future of comparative and international education as follows: "To develop a critical stance on one's own existential world and that of those in distant lands, as the German philosopher Hegel pointed out over 190 years ago ... one 'must make a home in the other'" (p. 500). Broadfoot (2000) expressed similar ideas about the incorporation of Otherness. In a critique of academics for whom diversity of paradigm and method is anathema, she proposed "a radical, neo-comparative education" as a "critical engagement [that] would challenge the legitimacy of established discourses; it would provide a new reading of the global" (p. 368).

Teaching as work, as a scientific abstraction in the field of education within the context of globalization, must reflect the realities, similarities, and differences of the underdeveloped, postcolonial world and must make substantive intellectual contributions to the predominant paradigms. "I also believe," wrote Mulenga (2001), "there has been a tendency by scholars concerned with pedagogical and political issues in the North to exclude, ignore or even trivialize, contributions, writings and texts from the South" (p. 447). In place of the reproduction of intellectual sameness must come epistemological development. How, concretely, might this be achieved? One way is through empirically based anthropological and ethnological work that analyzes lived experiences on the ground and gives voice to them as well. We need to deconstruct what amounts to a Northern conceptual framework about teaching as work through the analysis of data collected in the field and through learning from and observing local teachers. Involvement in research projects in education policy in recent years has led me to

conclude that too many South African policy makers and academics put the cart before a bewildered horse by viewing factual data as objects to hang onto a priori interpretations, opinions, and/or "the literature." The latter have invariably been developed and refined by intellectuals overseas. The inability to carve out a diversity of autonomous, indigenous know ledges frustrates progress at different levels and ultimately impoverishes debate. Like the "African renaissance" (Makgoba, 1999) that paradoxically mimics Western modernity, it is cut off from the lives and thought of the majority of the continent's peoples. Novelists such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1978,1986) and filmmakers such as Sembene (in 1968's *Mandabi* and 1975's *Xala*) have shown that this has everything to do with African elites in power aping the former colonizers who educated and socialized them. A crucial caveat must be made: To argue in favor of studies grounded in a "Third World" reality does not imply abandoning or refusing to engage with scholarship originating or located in industrialized countries. Teaching as work, as it presently stands in the literature, describes, explains, and critiques much of what we see in state education policy discourse and practice in South Africa and around the world. Said (1993) argued in favor of international scholarship, a unity of epistemological differences as opposed to its geographical or discursive separation. He highlighted the nuanced nature of "national" interrelationships today. His argument about worldwide trends within and among nation-states cautions against the construction of crude dichotomies regarding North-South academic work in the social sciences:

We face as a nation [the United States] the deep, profoundly perturbed and perturbing question of our relationship to others-other cultures, states, histories, experiences, traditions, peoples, and destinies. There is no Archimedean point beyond the question from which to answer it; there is no vantage outside the actuality of relationships among cultures, among unequal imperial and non-imperial powers, among us and others; no one has the epistemological privilege of somehow judging, evaluating, and interpreting the world free from the encumbering interests and engagements themselves. We are, so to speak, of the connections, not outside and beyond them. And it behooves us as intellectuals and humanists and secular critics to understand the United States in the world of nations and power from within the actuality, as participants in it, not detached outside observers. (pp. 55-56; see also Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996; Spivak, 1993)

Nevertheless, the problem of current writings on teachers as workers from the perspective of the South remains, and to genuflect in the direction of its complexity or ambiguity ought not to invalidate the problem about how to fill these gaps. An extreme form of antistructuralist postmodernity posits that we can know nothing and, by implication, that social experience knows no "structure," no specificity. Thus, "objective 'truth' has been replaced by emphasis on signs, images and the plurality of viewpoints: there is no single, objective account of reality, for everyone experiences things differently" (Gardner & Lewis, 1996, p. 21).

As we have seen, the literature on the labor process of teaching fails to address the absence of material resources and particular contexts of teaching in underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, it theoretically does not have a historical dimension. It cannot speak to the momentous changes that have occurred in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and South Africa over the past 30-40 years, reversing as they did several centuries of colonialism and apartheid.

How can it map the current changes affecting teachers and teaching if it abstracts those changes from national development (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989)? Several scholars illustrate the political and historical dimensions of teacher's work in relation to social change in South Africa. Soudien (2002) discussed the different responses of teachers to the introduction of apartheid education in the 1950s. He recorded that some teachers resigned in protest, others chose to remain because teaching provided economic security, and others still were motivated by an idealism that wished to defend Black children against the new onslaughts of indoctrination. The apartheid state rewrote syllabi. The new textbooks preached the virtues of racial segregation and White supremacy. The Black teachers who remained in the apartheid schools defined their identities in terms of their resistance to racial and ideological oppression expressed in the curricula. Wieder (2002) wove these themes into the portraits and life histories of two prominent teachers in the Western Cape Province who were members of the Teachers' League of South Africa and the United Democratic Front. Wieder explained that his methodology drew on the work of Studs Terkel, who quoted John Steinbeck's *Pa Joad* as follows, "He's tellin' the truth awright. The truth for him. He wasn't makin' nothing up" (p. 197). During the 1970s and 1980s, antiapartheid activists in the Black Consciousness Movement and the People's Education Movement were influenced by the publication and translation into English of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire's writing influenced the thinking of prominent Black intellectuals such as Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, and Neville Alexander; a variety of literacy organizations; as well as political literature (Nekhwevha, 2002).

The omission of history from studies on teaching as work amounts to depoliticizing the contemporary nature of the job in the countries of southern Africa. On the other hand, inserting local and national history at the conceptual level would underscore the empirical and anthropological point of departure of the studies I wish to propose. This raises awkward questions about the degree to which structuralist and economic analyses rooted in the labor process of teaching, despite important qualifications and contemporary critiques of Braverman (1974), continue to inform our understanding of teaching as work. They continue to take precedence over cultural, historical, racial, or gender influences (Carrim, 2002; Tikly, 1999). In South Africa, race is important in defining both teacher identity and relations with students. The excerpt below is from an interview conducted with a teacher working in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, in 2000.

It's right, it's great . . . this integration, I can say it is. It's a good, it's a good thing because now they mix Xhosas and the coloureds . . . it's different cultures, right? So now some students and even me-I'm a Xhosa-we can learn from another culture. I know another culture, like if you can ask me about the Muslim culture, I can tell you. And then even there are students in the class, they used to ask me about our culture. At least now they can know about our culture and that is very good when you know somebody's culture ... to understand ... other people. (quoted in Weber, 2006, p. 183)

However, some of her colleagues were not as enthusiastic about the degree of multicultural integration at their school and complained about teachers' racist attitudes

and behaviors. Soudien (1996) reported on a different school in the same city. Almost three quarters of the student respondents said that they had been racially harassed, such as being shouted at and sworn at. "While teacher anger was often stimulated by student tardiness or failure to comply with a particular expectation, it happened on a few occasions that teachers expressed themselves in ways which were deeply offensive to [African] students" (p. 140). Balagopalan (2004) wrote that caste is to India what race is to South Africa and the United States: "Its pervasive, invisible and multivalent presence ensured the hegemony of the upper castes in the post-independent Indian bureaucracy, business, institutions of higher learning, multinational corporations and within civil society organizations" (p. 125). Her research concerned how the everyday practices of formal schooling shape children's experiences. For example, in Ujjain, the Valmikis are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Upper-caste teachers discriminate against Valmiki children, often referring to their poor home backgrounds, rather than their willingness to learn. The Valmikis traditionally clean night soil, scavenge, and sweep. A third grade teacher said that they were illiterate and had no mahoul (atmosphere or environment) for studies. Parents drank and fought and were unable to assist their children with homework and generally did not care about the education of their children.

There are at least two epistemological contributions from debates on postcolonialism that are relevant to this discussion. First, the experiences within and among poor (and rich) countries are, of course, enormously diverse, and empirical research should portray these complexities and avoid essentializing or homogenizing them (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996). What is important here is to be sensitive to the level of abstraction and generalization at which the analysis is located (Tikly, 1999). Second, emphasizing and foregrounding the local, in opposition to its present marginalization in master narratives on globalization and teachers' work, ought not to imply that we must romanticize it either empirically or intellectually. Mulenga (2001, p. 446) regarded Julius Nyerere as "one of Africa's greatest postcolonial thinkers" but argued that this acknowledgement ought not to result in an uncritical appraisal of his life's work. For instance, Nyerere portrayed the Tanzanian past as unchanging and idyllic, in which there were no divisions or conflict on the basis of class or caste. His philosophy of education tried to re-create this mythical past in the present. On the other hand, Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" arose from a rejection of the kind of colonial education that taught Africans to reject and be ashamed of indigenous cultures and identities and to conform to the traditions and ways of life of the colonizers.

What the postcolonialists are talking about is a theory of mediation and articulation between North and South in an epoch of global integration, tumult, and conflict. Globalization has meant greater interdependence, communication, movement, and migration across cultural, identity, financial, racial, and "national" boundaries. Borders have blurred. Homogeneity has collapsed under the pressures of hybridity, multiplicity, and difference. The future of global education lies in how we bring in the Otherness of social experiences from the underdeveloped world

into the more established Northern-based theories and how in the process those canons of knowledge rupture and are reconfigured. The result ought to be a recognition of the universality of knowledge and the diversity of forms it can assume, the various parts of the world in which it can be located, and a critical stance toward the claims of Western, African~ Asian, Southern, Northern, First World, or Third World social science. Such know ledges within and among different parts of the world might complement one another, might mediate one another, or might develop in antithesis, controversy, and contradiction to one another.

Further Research

In underdeveloped countries, we need to develop appropriate concepts and describe their interrelationships through qualitative studies that will help redefine our current understandings and misunderstandings about teaching as work, as well as the meanings of globalization and glocalization. We need to explain the world more from the bottom up and less from the top down. Generic questions that could inform future research are listed below. They were formulated with the South African experience in mind, particularly the earlier discussion about the policy and implementation contexts of teaching in the country, but I argue that they are relevant to developing countries in general.

- How does the national educational policy context relate to policy development internationally?
- What administrative, pedagogical, and extramural work do teachers perform at school?
- What political and management relations exist at schools?
- What identities of selfhood are forged by teachers, and what life histories are told in regard to teaching?
- How is work experienced, perceived, and carried out by teachers?
- What is the meaning of teaching? How can it best be explained and understood theoretically?
- What are the implications of empirical findings in regard to the existing Northern and international literature?
- Where might further glocal research be profitably directed?

Research on topics related to the nature and specificities of work should focus on

- school governance, politics, and history;
- management and administration;
- workloads and conditions;
- rationalization and redeployment;
- curricula and pedagogy;
- stories about and attitudes toward the job; and
- professional and cultural identities.

Posing these research problems will produce new insights if they are viewed as

guides to fieldwork, not as the actual outcomes or conceptual frameworks about teaching as work. This can be achieved if theory is seen as growing out of empirical data and if careful attention is paid to important methodological issues.

The phenomenological approach characteristic of qualitative research is useful in theory building because of its promise of discovery and yielding novel and surprising results (Husserl, 1958; Spradley, 1980). The open-ended, often descriptive, analyses can be seen as reinforcing another major thread running through the contemporary qualitative literature: the problematic relationship between researchers on one hand and participants and topics investigated on the other. This dialectic can encompass critical self-reflection that facilitates the generation of new theories. Critical qualitative methods acknowledge that no research is value free. Over the past 25 years at least, partly as a result of the influence of postmodernism and partly as a reaction against anthropology's close association and complicity with colonialism, a great deal of attention has been paid in the literature about the rights of the "subjects" researched and about giving voice to the silenced Other. Glesne (1999) made the point that although it is customary to match the research methodology with the research problem, "we are [also] attracted to and shape research problems that match our personal view of seeing and understanding the world" (p. 8). Schwandt (1989) averred,

We conduct inquiry via a particular paradigm because it embodies assumptions about the world that we believe and values that we hold, and because we hold those assumptions and values we conduct inquiry according to the precepts of that paradigm. (p. 399)

Thus, part of my justification for calling for qualitative methods is that they are appropriate; in South Africa, as elsewhere, teachers have had policies imposed on them rather than having a decisive say in their formulation, planning, and implementation. Smyth et al. (2000) wrote about research on Australian teachers' work:

It is storied data ... and it is told in the teachers' voice. The interview data is rich in detail about what it is like to be engaged in the work of teaching: the tasks, the demands, the interactions, the feelings, and the complexity. It is told using the words, metaphors, and conceptual frames that teachers like to use when they talk about their work. It is told in "teacher-speak," the shared language which teachers use to share, and make sense of ... [their] common experiences ... [and it] has the multi-tonal character of reflection, hope, humour, anger and despair . . . the "feel" of working as a teacher comes across strongly in such stories. (p. 68)

The case study method is appropriate for the research agenda for at least three reasons. First, it facilitates the in-depth analysis of the contexts, conditions, and processes of everyday teaching, as well as the construction of concepts. Second, it addresses the shortcomings in the academic literature as well as problems that underscore the gap in South Africa and elsewhere, for example, Namibia (O' Sullivan, 2002), between official and governmental policies and their delivery at grass roots level. Third, the methodology facilitates learning about policy implementation through close examinations of what occurs and is unfolding in real-life situations (Yin, 2003).

Going one step further, critical qualitative research moves beyond the empirical, the descriptive, or participants' commonsense views of their world and studies how social reality and perceptions are decisively influenced by global structures-historical, social, political, economic, cultural-outside the research setting. Thus, a critical approach to the labor process of teachers' work would ask qualitative questions to elicit information about questions such as the following:

- What is occurring in teaching?
- Why is it happening?
- What is wrong with it?
- How did it come about?
- How have teachers been affected?
- What do they say about their work?
- What lies behind the surface appearances?
- Are the relations of social justice and democracy promoted?
- Are there alternative visions, policies and practices (see Smyth, 1997)?

The manner in which these questions inform grounded qualitative inquiry ought to be consistent with the work of cultural anthropologists over several generations: "You must learn to sit with people," he told me. "You must learn to sit and listen. As we say in Songhay: "One kills something thin only to discover that [inside] it is fat"" (Stoller, 1989, p. 128).

Action and practitioner research also holds great promise because it challenges existing know ledge by asserting that the purpose of research is not only to build on or extend current knowledge bases but to improve and change the practices and understandings of research participants. Such work cannot therefore be politically neutral and is very often closely associated with advocacy, activism, and the pursuit of social justice. "But can you expect teachers to revolutionize the social order for the good of the community? Indeed we must expect this very thing. The educational system of a country is worthless unless it accomplishes this task" (Woodson, quoted in Zeichner & Noffke, 2001, p. 306). Thus, validity and trustworthiness, for example, are judged by, among other criteria, the degree to which the status quo is contested and change occurs. The relationships of power between researchers, often associated with institutions of higher learning and/or funding agencies, and "subjects" occupy center stage and are problematized. What is studied and the research process are based on dialogic and collaborative practices that can be used to judge the merits and ethics of action learning and the political and practical outcomes that result from its implementation (Zeichner & Noffke, 2001; Zuber-Skerritt, et al., 2000).

Conclusion

This research agenda has focused on how current analyses of global development and education transformation can be reconceptualized in the light of empirical studies at

the "classrooms" (O'Sullivan, 2002) level in postcolonial societies. I have discussed the theoretical efficacy and shortcomings of the present understandings of teaching as work and have suggested how the idea might be applied, through fieldwork, to policy changes affecting teachers in modern South Africa. The particular research problems that were formulated were derived from analyses of the policy and implementation contexts in South Africa, but these, broadly, overlap with other countries. The actual empirical work will no doubt deepen and enrich our understanding of the similarities, diversity, and complexities of teachers' work worldwide.

The rationale for this perspective is that scholars and practitioners around the world are grappling with what it means to live in an increasingly integrated, unequal, and dangerous world. Our conceptual and analytic tools must acknowledge the importance of the local. This is a call for a multiplicity of critical case and teacher practitioner studies, across nation, race, region, class, gender, and local circumstances

that highlight the contexts, conditions, and processes of teaching; learn from them; and feed the findings back into grand theory and the state of the art in education. Research that speaks to a common humanity can be further refined, replicated, and critiqued.

One of the characters in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (1978) *Petals of Blood* talks about racism and oppression in Kenya and the United States as follows:

Is this not what has been happening in Kenya since 1896? So I said to myself: a black man is not safe at home; a black man is not safe abroad. What then is the meaning of it all? Then I saw in the cities of America white people also begging ... [and] white women selling their bodies for a few dollars. In America vice is a selling commodity. I worked alongside white and black workers in a Detroit factory. We worked overtime to make a meager living." I saw a lot of unemployment in Chicago and other cities. I was confused. So I said: let me return to my home, now that the black man has come to power. And suddenly as in a flash of lightning I saw that we were serving the same monster-god as they were in America . . . I saw the same signs, the same symptoms, and even the same sickness. (p. 166)

Several decades of research in education since World War II have left us with contradictory legacies regarding the interrelationships between national and global development and education change. In academic writing, the hegemony of the North over the South was reflected in the ideas about modernity that were popular during the 1950s and 1960s. Critiques of modernity in education since the 1970s evolved into the contemporary discussions about global development and globalization. Postcolonialism seeks to explore the epistemological "third space" in the dialectic of global and the local.

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Author

EVERARD WEBER is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria, Aldoel Building, Leyds Street, Groenkloof Campus, Pretoria 0002, South Africa; e-mail: eweber@gk.up.ac.za. He is presently conducting research at high schools in Mamelodi, South Africa.