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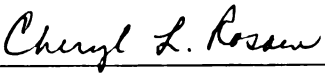
ON BECOMING A MENTOR:
INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTION
OF THEIR IDENTITIES AS MENTORS

presented by

Mehrunnisa Ahmad Ali

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Teaching, Curriculum,
and Educational Policy


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**ON BECOMING A MENTOR:
INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTION
OF THEIR IDENTITIES AS MENTORS**

By

Mehrunnisa Ahmad Ali

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

ON BECOMING A MENTOR: INFLUENCES ON TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR IDENTITIES AS MENTORS

By

Mehrunnisa Ahmad Ali

Mentoring as a form of teacher education is gaining currency worldwide, but how mentors define themselves and their work varies in different contexts. This study traces the development of six experienced teachers' construction of their identities as mentors during their participation in a master's degree program at a Pakistani university. The program purported to prepare them as mentors of practicing teachers, whose professional development they were expected to facilitate when they returned to their schools/institutions. A mentoring practicum, cast as a research project, anchored their early experiences as mentors, while seminars and observation of mentors in a different cultural context provided additional support.

Since the study was designed to identify the process of constructing a professional identity and factors that shaped it, the search for more appropriate questions was as much a part of the inquiry as the quest for answers. Qualitative research methods were therefore used to collect and analyze the data.

The novice mentors' identities were strongly influenced by their prior selves-as-teachers and their concurrent selves-as-students in the program. Their association of authoritative knowledge with people in positions of authority prevented them from attending to what schoolteachers wanted or needed to learn. They tried to teach their mentees what they had learned in the program, using "habits" of thought and action as schoolteachers and students at the university. On the basis of their participation in the program, the mentors assumed expertise they did not have, which stymied their own and their mentees' learning in the areas where it was most required. Separating authority and expertise by conceptualizing mentoring as joint inquiry is presented as an alternate model for promoting the professional development of both mentors and teachers they work with.

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**To Mona, Shehryar and Saad
in whom I continue to live and grow.**

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First, I wish to thank my parents, whose faith in me continues to help me to take the risks that I do in my life. My husband Adnan supported me in many ways during my academic pursuits that people find “unusual.” Besides proof-reading this document and reassuring me that I can write coherently, he patiently endured our long separations several times. I also wish to thank my friends Stella Jafri and Jeremy Greenland for their encouragement and support for my professional growth over the last twelve years.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE INQUIRY

The impetus for the present inquiry came from my interest in a novel situation. A new master's degree program in teacher education (M.Ed.) was initiated by a prestigious private university in Pakistan. Twenty-one experienced teachers from local public and private schools, as well as one representative each from schools in four other developing countries were selected to participate in it. The program purported to prepare these teachers for three related roles: as "exemplary" teachers; as part-time instructors for inservice courses to be offered at the university; and as school-based mentors of practicing teachers. The M.Ed. candidates had access to the practice of schoolteachers and university instructors, which they could refer to in thinking about their new roles. However, they had no access to models of school-based mentors working with practicing teachers, in their own context or in contexts similar to theirs. This study was therefore designed to investigate how the teachers conceptualized their emerging professional identity as mentors and what factors contributed to the construction of this identity.

Since the context of this study is central to its purpose and design, I begin this chapter with a description of the general setting

in which the M.Ed. candidates conceptualized their emergent identities as mentors. I will follow this by laying out the main purposes and questions that frame this study, and then describe the key concepts that undergird it.

The Context

Pakistan is a developing country in South Asia with a population of approximately 120 million. Its economy is largely dependent on agriculture, although industrial growth has been rapid in the last decade or so. For a variety of reasons the distribution of wealth in the country is very uneven. A very small number of families own much of the land and related industry in the cities. About seventy-five percent of its people still live in rural areas with very inadequate facilities for health and education. In the cities and towns access to the better facilities is available only to those who can afford private sector fees while access to living space, clean water, transport and other public services is severely limited for the poor. In short, there is enormous variation in the quality of life of the people of Pakistan.

Pakistan gained its independence in 1947. As the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent it had been a British colony

for almost two hundred years. Since it separated from India on the basis of the claim that the sociocultural values of Muslims were very different from the Hindu majority of India, religion is very much a part of public policy and the media. In everyday life the segregation of genders is its most obvious manifestation. Women are not very visible in the streets, markets-places and public offices. Women's work and men's work is sharply divided as are their roles in income generation, community life and parenting. Women and men sit in separate rows in coeducational classrooms at universities and colleges, and with the exception of a few private schools, all secondary and primary schools are segregated by gender¹.

The adult literacy rate in Pakistan is estimated to be 34% which is among the lowest rates in the world. For males the literacy rate is 47% and for females only 21%. Nearly half the children enrolled in primary school drop out of school before grade six, and the reason for this is attributed by many people to poor access and low quality of teaching in public schools. A nation-wide study conducted in 1989, drawing upon science and mathematics achievement tests of 11,000 fourth and fifth graders in five hundred schools, found that pre-service professional education of teachers had no impact on

¹ According to a recent policy directive, however, gender segregation in primary schools is to be gradually phased out.

students' achievement (BRIDGES/AEPAM, 1989). This and other evidence from developing countries (World Bank, 1986) regarding the greater impact of teachers' inservice education on student achievement has persuaded policy makers and financiers of education in Pakistan to put greater effort into in-service education of teachers and school improvement projects rather than reform of pre-service education.

Schools and Teachers

It is estimated that 70% of all schoolchildren in Pakistan attend public sector schools (Ministry of Education Government of Pakistan, 1992). The schools are divided into two levels: grades one to five form the primary school and six to ten form the secondary school. In some schools grades six to eight are attached to the first five grades, and is then referred to as a middle school. At the end of primary schooling some children take an examination conducted by the District Education Office which qualifies them for merit scholarships. In some districts such an examination is taken by all students routinely, in others a few selected candidates take this test. At the end of grade eight further local examinations can be taken to qualify for formal certification. Girls in rural areas who drop out of school at

the onset of puberty often study at home and then take the grade eight examination as private candidates. At the end of grade ten students take the matriculation examination which is administered by the Directorates of Education. Marks obtained by students in the matriculation examination are the only criterion for admission to professional and other "good" colleges in the public sector. Primary school teachers in the public sector schools have to be matriculates,² middle school teachers need the Intermediate Certificate (which requires two years of college education), and secondary school teachers need a bachelor's degree (which requires four years of college education). Teachers for all three levels of schools in the public sector need professional certification, which requires one additional academic year. However, both the general educational qualifications as well as the professional certification can be earned without attending school or college on a regular basis. The candidates can just take the examination by registering themselves as private candidates. Because the examination only requires evidence of ability to reproduce memorized text, it is quite easy to pass by memorizing the local equivalent of "Cliff Notes". Thus the system allows people who may not have attended an educational

² Since the last few years new recruits require the Intermediate Certificate, but a vast majority of primary school teachers are only matriculates.

institution at all to become teachers. Indeed, amongst the twenty-one students in the M.Ed. program (called Course Participants or CPs) three individuals had not attended a regular school or college beyond the primary level.

Teachers in public schools usually belong to lower middle income groups. Their salaries are equivalent to those of typists and clerks in government offices and everyone receives a fixed annual increment regardless of performance on the job. Teachers have flat careers with very few opportunities for promotion to jobs associated with greater responsibility within or outside the schools. Men in particular have additional jobs or give private tuition to supplement their incomes.

“Private school” is an ubiquitous term used for all non-public sector schools. This term masks the enormous variation among the financial and management structures, the quality of schooling, and the socioeconomic backgrounds of students who attend these schools. Some private schools are run in a few rooms in the private homes of lower middle income families. Other private schools are a part of national networks with their own buildings and cadres of financial, personnel, and academic managers. Individuals as well as non-profit agencies can own private schools. Religious minority groups often set

up schools for children of their own community but may also admit children from outside the community as well.

Candidates affiliated with private schools who participated in the masters' degree program represented two distinct groups. One group came worked for the Aga Khan Education Service (AKES) which owns and manages a large network schools in the urban areas of Southern Pakistan, and the rural areas of Northern Pakistan. The AKES schools were set up mainly to meet the needs of a particular Muslim sect called Ismailis. Students and teachers at AKES schools in Pakistan come mainly from lower middle income groups. Their graduates usually work at clerical level jobs, small family businesses or farms. The five non-Ismaili private schools in the program were non-profit schools, also owned by religious groups or philanthropic bodies. Most of the students in these schools are from middle to upper income families. English is the medium of instruction in these schools and most of their students expect to go to college. Teachers in these schools also come from middle to upper income groups. As they teach in English, by implication they themselves have normally had a private school education. Most of them have bachelors' degrees but are not professionally certified because private schools do not require their teachers to be certified.

The Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development

The program offered by the Aga Khan University (AKU) is one of the most recent initiatives in teacher education and school improvement in Pakistan. The university is the first private university in Pakistan, established in 1985 with funding mobilized mainly by the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF). Both the University and the Foundation are a part of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), headed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan, the 49th Imam (spiritual leader) of the Ismaili branch of Shi'ite Muslims. Drawing his inspiration from Al-Azhar the world's oldest functioning university set up by his Fatimid³ forefathers in Cairo, the Aga Khan planned to establish "a world class" university in a developing country. For the first ten years the university concentrated on building its reputation by offering high quality education in the Health Sciences. The Aga Khan Foundation then commissioned a Task Force to propose plausible institutional and programmatic structures for a program in Education. Health and Education were the fields

³ Descendents of Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima, who established a dynasty with a capital in the new-found city of Cairo (950-1159).

selected by the university partly because a network of health and education facilities were already supported by Ismaili communities in several developing countries, and partly because these two sectors receive insufficient support from governments in these countries.

The Task Force recommended that an Institute for Educational Development (IED) be set up by the AKU, in “partnership” with two other Western universities, to help design and teach its first few programs and to validate its credentials in the early years.

IED was initially given two major charges for which funding was procured from various donor agencies. Its first charge was to conduct a master’s degree program in Teacher Education for a cohort of experienced teachers selected from amongst government and private schools in Pakistan, and AKDN institutions from Bangladesh, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Tajikistan and Tanzania--countries where a significant numbers of Ismaili Muslims reside. Its second charge was to begin a series of eight-week subject based courses, soon after the completion of the master’s program. This was called the Visiting Teachers’ Program and would be offered to teachers from the “cooperating schools” from which participants of the master’s program had been drawn. Although the Task Force did not envisage

offering another master's degree program, the need for subsequent versions of the M.Ed. emerged before the first one had ended.

While details of the program and its participants are given in the next chapter, two things are important to note here. First, in sharp contrast to the medical college at AKU (where only 2.5% of the applicants are admitted each year) IED selected its M.Ed. students not as individual candidates but from a list of nominees from pre-selected schools/institutions. These schools/institutions had already been identified on the basis of their affiliations, financial and management structures, physical location, and their managers' readiness to financially support their candidate during the program and share her/his services with IED afterwards. Secondly, school teachers in Pakistan, as in other developing countries, are poorly paid and have low social status. School teaching is therefore often considered the last resort by job-seekers, especially by men. As some of the male research participants in this study claimed, those who do not get jobs anywhere else, end up as teachers. IED thus faced an enormous challenge in helping its M.Ed. candidates perform at "world class" levels, which faculty from the IED and the partner universities and the Board of Graduate Studies at AKU were charged to ensure. In addition, the CPs' portfolios were examined by three

external examiners from other countries before the grant of degrees. It was an amazing achievement for IED and its first cohort of students, that all them qualified for an M.Ed. degree to be granted by the AKU.

Another noteworthy point at this stage is that most of the CPs had worked as teachers for a minimum of five years and had observed the work of instructors at colleges, universities and at the IED. Through their “apprenticeship of observation” (Lortie, 1975) the CPs had many opportunities to develop ideas about the roles of teachers and university instructors. However, they had had no regular opportunities for mentoring or being mentored by other school teachers because neither formal structures nor tradition normally supports mentoring arrangements in Pakistani schools. Some components of the M.Ed. program were designed to help them learn about mentoring by exposing them to models of mentoring in other contexts. For example, during their nine-week visit to either of the two partner universities (in Canada and the United Kingdom), they read literature, attended seminars and observed samples of interactions between pre-service teachers and their mentors. They also took a six-day course at the IED which included study of the theoretical basis of mentoring in schools; approaches to mentoring;

case analyses and simulation exercises, mostly based on Western models. The most substantial mentoring experience for most of the CPs was the research project or practicum. For this project they were asked to try to teach something to a teacher, analyze their experience and document it in a report which would serve as their master's thesis. The CPs were allowed to conduct research in other areas if they presented strong reasons for their choice, and two of them chose not to focus on mentoring.

Conceptualization of Self-as-Mentor

The CPs' brief overseas exposure during the program to theories and practices of mentoring in Western contexts and their lack of prior mental models in local schools seemed to beg the question of how they would conceptualize their identities as school-based mentors. The heads and teachers of their schools did not know what to expect from the CPs. The program instructors were uncertain about how models developed in the West would fit into the local context. And the CPs themselves seemed to be grappling with questions about the purpose of their work, their practice and their relationships with their potential mentees. At the beginning of the mentoring seminar they asked the following questions:

What will the teachers and the Head expect of me? How long should I stay with my mentees [before moving on to work with other mentees]? How far do I go [in terms of intensity of commitment to mentee]? Will experienced teachers accept me? Will teachers think of me as the administrator's agent? How will I find out what they need? How many teachers am I supposed to mentor at a time? How will I balance my own work [of teaching] with mentoring? Which teachers will I mentor and who will decide this? How will I know how I am doing? (Observation, 1/26/95)

What they seemed to be asking here is "Who am I as a mentor?" The CPs did not have a ready-made reference group for defining their self-as-mentor, as they did for defining their self-as-teacher and self-as-instructor. Their questions indicated an effort to identify the scope of their work and behaviors, patterns of thinking, relationships and values that would characterize them as mentors. By raising questions that would help them assess what their instructors, Heads and potential mentees expected from them, they were trying to negotiate their identities as mentors through a discourse with the significant "others" in this context. The others, as in most social contexts, consisted of many voices: authors whose works they had read during the program, instructors and colleagues, teachers and Heads in their schools, and administrators in their workplaces.

Just as the others consisted of many voices, the CPs' "self" did not consist of a single composite identity, but a shifting set of "selves" (Steinem, 1992). Each CP had a personal history; socioeconomic status;

professional experience; and affiliation to ideologies and institutions associated with professional, political, religious and linguistic communities. And each of these identities was associated with particular paradigmatic ways of thinking and behaving. It seemed reasonable to assume that the CPs' multiples selves and their multiple significant others would be involved in the construction of their new identity as mentors. As a researcher, I was interested in finding out which of these identities were involved in the new dialogue. Whose voices among the others did the CPs hear? And what meaning did they construe of the interactions between their selves and the others? I expected that answers to questions such as these would help me understand how the CPs were constructing their identities as mentors.

Purpose of the study

This study was an attempt to understand the CPs' conceptualization of their emergent identities as mentors of practicing teachers. This identity was being constructed as they interacted with various aspects of the M.Ed. program. It was important to document the process and to identify the factors that influenced their concept of self-as-mentor, for two major reasons: First, it was important because "how mentoring is defined determines the extent of mentoring found"

(Merium, 1983, p. 161). The CPs' evolving identities as mentors could help us predict how they were likely to think and act as mentors in their own schools. Second, and more importantly, their conceptions of their selves-as-mentors had the potential to influence a much larger population of future mentors. As explained later in this chapter, identities are the seeds of roles, which eventually guide the actions of all occupants of the role. In the absence of an existing role for school-based mentors, the CPs could potentially play a very important part in the creation of that role.

The purpose of this study then is to inform three groups of educators: the CPs, the designers and instructors of the M.Ed. program at IED, and the larger community of educators interested in issues related to mentoring. Firstly, it could help the CPs learn what they knew by articulating their tacit knowledge (Schön, 1987) about their selves-as-mentors. It could stimulate their thinking about *who* they were, *what* they wanted to become and *how* this "becoming" took place. According to Schön (1983):

When practitioners are unaware of their frames for roles or problems, they do not experience the need to choose among them. They do not attend to the ways in which they construct the reality in which they function; it is simply the given reality. . . .When a practitioner becomes aware of his [sic] frames, he also becomes aware of the possibility of alternative ways of framing the reality of practice. (p. 310)

This study was designed to make the CPs' tacit knowledge available for them to reflect upon. Secondly, this study could provide the program designers and instructors at the IED a perspective on how the form and content of the first M.Ed. program influenced the CPs' identities as mentors. It could help them "see" elements of the program that were helpful or not in preparing the kinds of mentors they wanted in schools, and redesign subsequent versions of the program accordingly. Thirdly, it could help educators, broadly defined, understand how various factors shape mentors' conceptualization of their identities: the skills, knowledge, beliefs and values they bring with them; their experiences in programs such as this; and the historical, cultural and institutional contexts in which they work. Feiman-Nemser and Paine (1992) writing about their cross-national study of mentoring in the United States, Britain and China pointed out:

[T]he contrasts help us understand how novices' learning with and from mentors is shaped by institutional and programmatic arrangements as well as by broader social and cultural contexts. . . . The cross-national dimension enables us to learn how notions of learning and professional roles are artifacts of organizational cultures, social values, and constraints. (p. 3)

This study will add another perspective to this body of knowledge, albeit from a situation where mentoring in schools is a recently introduced phenomenon.

This study does not propose to provide definitive answers to questions such as who should be a mentor or what should be included in a program that prepares mentors. Its purpose is to make the CPs' conceptions of their emerging identity accessible to educators to enable them to hold a dialogue about identity formation and to contribute to its further development. In order to participate effectively in such a dialogue, they need to know how this identity was constructed. The study therefore attempts not only to trace the development of this identity, but also to identify the characteristics of this identity and the major factors that shaped it.

The Research Questions

Based on the above, the central questions of this study are:

What were the characteristics of the emergent conceptualized identity of the prospective mentors of practicing teachers? What factors contributed to its construction and how?

The subsidiary questions that follow from the central questions are:

i) What did the CPs think about:

- their professional goals as mentors of practicing teachers?
- the nature, scope and characteristics of their practice as mentors?

- their relationship with mentees?
- ii) How did the CPs perceive their purposes, practices and relationships as novice mentors? And what did they think they had learned about mentoring from their early experiences?
- iii) What factors (e.g. personal beliefs, values, knowledge and skills; socio-cultural background; educational and professional experiences) influenced the CPs' conceptualization of their emergent identity? Which factors were more influential than others and why?

Key Concepts

This section describes some of the key concepts that undergird the current study. These concepts framed my initial questions and guided this inquiry into the various dimensions of mentoring that I explored. Subsequently, they served as analytical tools for making sense of the data I had gathered.

Identity

Gee (1990) defines identity in terms of a Discourse⁴ which is “a way of being in the world” (p. 142) characterized by particular sets

⁴ Gee uses the word with a capital ‘D’ to distinguish it from “discourse.” He uses it to mean “a socially accepted association among ways of using language, thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that is used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group...” (1992, p. 143)

of words (in speech and writing), actions, values and beliefs. The use of a particular Discourse displays an individual's membership of a particular social group. In this case, the M.Ed. program intended the CPs to construct a new Discourse that would distinguish them as mentors of practicing teachers. Gee claims that Discourses are inherently ideological in the sense that they involve a set of values and viewpoints about relationships and distribution of social goods. He contends that all Discourses are products of history. Individuals acquire a "primary" Discourse within the family or community into which they are socialized early in their lives. Gee suggests that the primary Discourse serves as a base that influences acquisition and learning of subsequent Discourses. Discourses that are developed outside the primary social group are "secondary" Discourses and may be associated with educational institutions, work places or other public spheres of life. Gee claims that a congruence between the primary and some secondary Discourses gives certain advantages to individuals because competence in secondary Discourses often leads to acquisition of social goods. As adult learners the CPs came into the program with their primary Discourses well in place. In the M.Ed. program they were trying to develop secondary Discourses that

would distinguish them as exemplary teachers, university instructors and school-based mentors.

Gee (1990) states that Discourses are both *acquired* subconsciously and *learned* consciously (pp. 146-147). He contends that acquisition takes place in natural settings through scaffolded and supported interaction with those who have already mastered the Discourse. Learning involves conscious effort and overt teaching and includes some degree of meta-knowledge. Gee claims that mastery in performance of a Discourse comes through acquisition but the meta-knowledge that enables people to reflect upon, and thus control, the Discourse comes through learning. In this case, the CPs did not have the opportunity to acquire the Discourse of school-based mentors in Pakistani schools because such Discourse did not exist previously. Instead they had to construct a new Discourse using other Discourses they were familiar with and with what they were learning about mentoring in other contexts. In the program the CPs were asked to display their meta-knowledge about mentoring but not necessarily to use it to scrutinize the Discourse they were creating. In the absence of opportunities to acquire a Discourse that was already available, or to use their meta-knowledge to critique their own emergent Discourse, how did the CPs construct their identities as mentors?

Gee (1990) further claims that individuals belong to several groups at a time, and thus engage in several Discourses. He says:

The various Discourses which *constitute* us as persons (or subjects) are changing and often are not fully consistent with each other; there is often conflict and tension between the values, beliefs, attitudes, interactional styles, uses of language and ways of being in the world which two or more Discourses represent. (p. 145; italics in the original)

The Discourse that we invoke at a particular time depends partly on the situation in which we find ourselves at that time, but also on the choices we make in that situation. Because Discourses are associated with social power, some Discourses become more dominant than others in particular contexts. In the context of this study, for example, the Discourses associated with the university were likely to be considered more important than those associated with schools because people who learn and teach at universities have higher social status than those who learn and teach in schools.

Bereiter (1990) also points out the context-related nature of the patterns of thoughts and actions that people develop (Gee, 1992), but he emphasizes the tendency of these repeatedly invoked patterns to become “habits,” thus implicitly reducing individuals’ control over them. Bereiter calls the person-environment relationships “contextual modules” and suggests that they serve to activate particular attributes or responses of individuals in particular

situations. The responses thus evoked may include procedural knowledge or skills ranging from the general to the specific; declarative knowledge which is a repertoire of relevant patterns of thoughts; goal structures that gradually get more elaborate; problem models that represent recurrent problem situations; affect; a persona and related self-concept; and a code of conduct. He explains that we develop “contextual modules” for each significant person in our lives, or recurrent situations that we come across. These modules function as cognitive structures that guide perceptions and actions in our encounters with particular persons or situation. Many of teachers’ actions, for example the way they respond to students’ questions, are guided by the contextual modules of classrooms. The cognitive structures that the CPs will develop as mentors are similarly likely to guide their perceptions and actions in the “contextual modules” of mentoring interactions. What contextual modules would the CPs draw upon in the construction of their new identity? How would their experiences as teachers, for example, influence their self-concept as mentors?

I have used the purposes, practices and relationships of the CPs to describe and understand their conceptualized identities in this study based on the Guided Practice Framework developed by

Feiman-Nemser and Rosaen (1994). This framework identifies five interacting elements, with practice placed centrally for analysis of guides' (or mentors') work with teachers. These elements are: participants and their relationships, goals, practices, contexts and conceptual underpinnings. In the context of this study, the CPs' purposes captured the intentionality of their work, which may not be visible in their practice, and included their goals, problem models and declarative knowledge. These purposes were presumably undergirded by the values and beliefs that Gee (1990) refers to as the tacit theories or ideologies of a Discourse. The CPs' practice focused on their procedural knowledge and skills as well as some aspects of declarative knowledge. Their actions were an enactment of their emergent identities and their reasoning for these actions displayed their interpretation of the Discourse they were developing. The CPs' relationships illuminated the affect involved in mentoring, and the mentors' self-concept and code of conduct. In Gee's terms, their "ways of being in the world" straddled both their practices as well as their relationships because this is how they constructed as well as displayed their identity. Together, these perspectives helped to focus my attention on the general patterns and the range of the characteristics of the CPs' emergent identities. They helped me raise

questions such as: What ideological perspectives, values and beliefs did the CPs display in their identities as mentors? What habits of thought, skills, and problem-setting did they use? Which Discourses did they invoke in constructing their new identity and why? What opportunities and resources did they have to acquire and/or learn a new Discourse? What conflicts did they experience, if any, and why? While Gee and Bereiter (1990) helped me frame the questions about the characteristics of the CPs' emergent identity, I was left wondering how the CPs' identities as mentors would get constructed in the first place, especially in the absence of other school-based mentors to enculturate them into ways of being a mentor.

Construction of Identity.

Current research on how identities evolve is based on the work of social psychologists Cooley and Mead, who in the 1920s articulated the theory that each person's sense of self, or identity, is created through interaction with significant others in particular social settings. Other researchers have since built on and elaborated their theories. About fifty years later Schwab (1975) stated:

Identity, in brief, is not discovered by introspection but created through involvement with others--involvement in problems, involvement with the elements of culture. Individuality takes form only in continuous interplay with the persons and

situations in which it comes to be. . . Even experience as a form of learning becomes experience as it is shared and given meaning by transactions with fellow human beings. (p. 35)

And Blumer's work on symbolic interactionism (cited in Bullough, Knowles and Crow, 1992) expanded this notion. He built his theory on three main premises, which are: human beings act towards things (i.e. objects, people, phenomena, abstractions) on the basis of meanings that the things hold for them; these meanings arise from interactions between people; these meanings are interpreted in idiosyncratic and personal ways when individuals interact with their situational contexts.

As Blumer says:

First, the actor indicates to himself the things towards which he is acting; he has to point out to himself the things that have meaning. . . . Second, by virtue of this process of communicating with himself, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings. The actor selects, checks, suspends, regroupes, and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his action. Accordingly, interpretation should not be regarded as a mere automatic application of established meanings but as a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action. (p. 2)

The significance of the other in terms of ideas, objects, contextual situations as well as persons, was obviously an important piece in the creation of one's identity. I realized that I needed to explore who (or what) the significant others were for the CPs and how they contributed to the construction of their identities. But I was not convinced that the actor in each situation arbitrarily selects what or who will hold

significance for her, or interprets the interaction between herself and the other entirely in an idiosyncratic and personal way. I asked myself why the CPs considered some “others” more significant than others. And on what basis did they “use and revise” the meanings they created from their interactions with them? Gee’s (1992) concept of the association between Discourses and social goods raised for me the question of what would count as “social goods” for the CPs in this particular context and why.

Britzman (1994) claims that identity is both constructed and invented on the basis of how an individual interprets an experience. She describes the construction of identity in the following words:

How one understands experience depends upon what it is that structures one’s capacity to name something as experience in the first place. And in naming something as an experience, the “I” of that experience must also be constructed. . . . [T]he fashioning of identity is not a matter of free-floating individuals merely deciding who they want to become or which real they want to construct. Rather, identity always signifies relationship to the other in specific historical contexts. . . . As each of us struggles in process of coming to know “the self” through “the other” we struggle not as autonomous beings who single-handedly perform singular fates or as free agents who merely choose the discourse of the day. Rather, the fabricated nature of identity suggests the vulnerability of social subjects who produce and are produced by culture, history, language, and the social positions inhabited. This orientation to identity refuses the singularity of the term, concentrating instead on how we come to take up positions, make alliances, perform practices, and weave the justifications for the things we do. (pp. 57-58)

There seem to be three important claims made in the above statement. First, that we bring to any experience a prior self in order to make meaning of that experience. In the process of that meaning-making we ourselves undergo change. Thus the self and the experience are continually reconstructed in a dialogic process. This makes identity a fluid construct, never complete or fixed because it is always in the process of being reconstructed. And it makes the construction of an identity an iterative process. Second, the construction of self (and thus the meaning of experience as well) takes place in relation to others with whom we have something in common, such as a shared history, culture or language. We are created and also create others through this process. And third, because we relate to multiple entities, operate in multiple contexts and have multiple experiences, our identity cannot be conceptualized in unitary terms. Instead of a single consistent identity we have many selves (Steinem, 1992) that shift with our histories, contexts and particular situations.

Britzman's work highlighted for me the importance of the relationship between the primary and secondary Discourses that Gee (1990) had referred to. In emphasizing the iterative, two-way connection between the self and the experience she directed my attention to the question of how the CPs' biographies would shape what

they learned in the program and how the program experiences in turn would form their emergent selves as mentors. I became curious about how their past selves, for example as students and teachers, influenced their present experiences in the program. The literature on life histories of teachers and teacher educators (Huberman, 1993; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Knowles and Holt-Reynolds, in press) is rich with examples of how their life experiences shape their professional identities. But I also wanted to know how their concurrent selves, for example as IED students, shaped their selves-as-mentor. Sociologists (e.g. Handy, 1993; Mullins, 1993) have pointed out that experiences from one social system influence the interpretation of another system, and personal and professional identities influence each other in important ways. I wondered which identities of the CPs would engage in this interplay and in what manner they would influence the construction of their new identity.

Some of the literature on learning to teach drew my attention to the significance of the selves that students bring to teacher education program and how these selves influence the creation of their new identities as teachers. For example, Holt-Reynolds (1991) suggests that pre-service teachers bring to the program beliefs and values, often based on their self-as-student, that shape their meanings of experiences

in teacher education programs. Because they consider personal experience to be “typical” experience, their arguments for pedagogical choices are often based on insufficient and inaccurate data. The beliefs and values they bring with them, however, are powerful enough for them to distort or ignore the intended messages of the program. Other researchers who have talked about teachers’ beliefs as implicit theories (Clark & Peterson, 1986), metaphors (Carter, 1990), or images (Connelly & Clanidinin, 1985; Elbaz, 1983) have also pointed out how teachers’ beliefs filter the information they receive, how they interpret and organize it, and how they define and limit their range of options for action.

Anderson and Bird (unpublished) put teachers’ beliefs into four different categories⁵, i.e. educational values, prescriptive principles, conceptual categories and empirical claims. This concept helped me appreciate that teachers have different categories of beliefs and that some of them are more resistant to change than others. Experiences designed to influence people’s beliefs would need to take into account the experiences that created them in the first place and prove them to be inaccurate or inadequate ground for the actions being considered. Thus making a distinction between the different kinds of beliefs

⁵ These categories are further discussed and used as analytical tools in Chapter Four.

teachers have could lead to a more sharply focused approach towards changing those beliefs.

While this body of literature provided some helpful constructs in thinking about the interaction between beliefs and experiences in learning to *teach*, there seemed to be a gap in the literature on how teachers learn how to *mentor*. Although teaching school children and mentoring prospective or beginning teachers have much in common, they are also two very distinct activities. We know that many of the theories, metaphors and images that guide teachers seem to come from their experience of “studenting” (Holt-Reynolds, 1991). We don’t know what the main sources of theories, images and metaphors for mentors are. The expectations of students, parents and colleagues, as well as curriculum and textbook writers and examination boards, guide the purposes and practices of teachers. Whose expectations do mentors’ respond to? Having been students for many years of their lives, prospective teachers get socialized into ways of interacting with students (Lortie, 1975). What are the sources and mechanisms for mentor socialization? Teachers already have a role. The increasing literature on teaching helps to set normative standards for their practice, and the literature on teacher-learning helps us understand how teachers learn to fulfill this role. But mentors do not have a role

yet. The literature on mentoring (Feiman-Nemser et al. 1994; Feiman-Nemser, Parker & Zeichner, 1993; Feiman-Nemser & Paine, 1992) tells us school-based mentoring is conceptualized and enacted in very different ways in different school districts, states or countries. For example, a tradition of experienced teachers working with novices is common in Chinese schools, but in American schools the concept of mentoring has developed more recently in response to initiatives by school districts or other external interventions. In some American schools mentors act like “local guides” focusing on socializing the novices into classroom and school norms, while in others they behave like “educational companions” who wonder about teaching along with their mentees (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1992). In the context of this study the CPs did not have any particular “models,” real or imagined, to guide their thinking about what they should try to do as mentors of practicing teachers. This study contributes to our understanding of how teachers learn to mentor in the absence of given models. It identifies some sources of mentors’ beliefs, knowledge and skills and shows how they knit the patterns of their purposes, practices and relationships as mentors from various strands of their other identities and from the contexts in which they construct their practice as mentors.

Identity and Role

Britzman (1994) suggests that it is important to distinguish between identity and role because identity is a subjective and individual construct while role is a notion “overburdened with the meanings of others” (p. 54). The defining characteristics of a role are known to the role holders as well as lay-people with little room for idiosyncratic interpretations of what the role holder is supposed to do and how. Roles are relatively stable and therefore more prescriptive: they are constrained by norms and expectations that have already been established by consensus among large social groups. In contrast in the process of establishing an identity, goals as well as means are under negotiation. Britzman contends that there is often dissonance between the two, as individuals negotiate the personal and the social meanings of the ways in which they think and act.

While keeping the distinction between “role” and “identity” in mind it is also important to recall that both role and identity include psychological and sociological constructs and refer to interactions between and among individuals and groups. They both refer to “ways of being in the world” (Gee, 1992) and thinking, believing, valuing, acting in particular ways that are defined by the social group in which they occur. Having closely observed many teachers,

and having been teachers themselves, the CPs may well understand their “role” as teachers. But we don’t know what ideologies, goals, ethical and technical standards they invoke in the creation of their identity as mentors nor what referents they use for defending their conceptions of this identity.

Buchmann (1987) claims that roles serve as regulatory mechanisms that specify the standard for professional goals, the means for achieving these goals and the measure for evaluating the performance of holders of the role. She argues that the development of a role is critically important, especially in education, because it serves the normative function of framing the nature, scope, technical and ethical standards of performance in the profession. Roles legitimize the imposition of commonly shared expectations about goals, functions and standards of performance upon the role holders. They provide social mechanisms for guiding the actions of role players towards their immediate as well as remote communities. For example, a teacher’s role obliges her to teach students, but also to work within the constraints of a given curriculum and the structure of a school. There was no agreed upon “role” into which CPs could fit as school-based mentors. But the stakeholders invested in the preparation of school-based mentors very likely had expectations

that had not yet been articulated. Similarly, the CPs had ideas and experiences that would influence their conceptualization of themselves as mentors. How would the CPs respond to their own and others' expectations? How could others try to help them in this endeavor?

Since the CPs will be the first cohort of formally installed school-based mentors in the local context, with their credibility boosted by their association with a prestigious university they could make important contributions to what may eventually become a new educational "role" in Pakistan. Webster and Foschi (1988), drawing upon the work of Joseph Berger and his colleagues at Stanford University, use the term "expectation states" to describe the evolution of roles. They claim that "patterns of unit evaluation would lead to formulation of relatively stable expectation states held for future performances. . . . [and] expectation states would affect future interaction in predictable ways" (p. 74). In the case of the CPs, the kind of beliefs and actions they portray could become "customary and internalized" by them and by others with whom they are in interaction and gradually turn into "bundles of expectations without reference to particular persons" (Dahrendorf, 1968, p. 36). The idea that the original members of a new social group have much more freedom to create rules

of conduct and therefore expectations, and that later members have fewer opportunities for role creativity is also supported by Zucher's (1988) work in the sociology of roles. This study "freezes" the evolution of the CPs' identity and affords an opportunity for reflections before the expectation states of those involved in this endeavor become stable. What insights could we gain into the sources of knowledge that inform mentors' decisions and their own considerations influencing these decisions? How could we support mentors in making the transition from teaching schoolchildren to mentoring teachers?

Mentoring

Roles and identities illuminate each other. In the absence of agreed upon norms that define school-based mentors, we do not have templates to use in the characterization of the CPs as mentors. Furthermore, this study is about mentors of *practicing* teachers in a particular institutional and cultural milieu which has not been studied before. It is therefore necessary to first define the concept of mentoring in the cultural context of this study and in school-based practices as documented in the Western literature, and then consider how they frame the questions for this study.

Culturally Defined Mentoring.

In Western educational research literature the term "mentor" has gained currency not very long ago (Anderson & Shannon, 1988), but in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, the word *ustaad* is used synonymously for teacher, mentor and expert. In English, the term closest in meaning to *ustaad* is the word "master" which according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is used for "leader or director"; "one regarded as a model of excellence"; and "teacher." Although the term "mentor" was used consistently in the M.Ed. program at IED, possibly because the instructors were familiar with this term, *ustaad* was an alternative term that most of the participants would have understood. In Pakistan, a scholar in a particular religious tradition could be the *ustaad* of a young adult, just as an experienced tailor or motor mechanic could be the *ustaad* of a young boy. In either case, the purpose of the *ustaad* would be to pass on his "expertise," whether it was wisdom, knowledge or skill to the novice, and "act at his surrogate father" while doing so (Mahmood, 1994, p.129). The learner served his *ustaad*, for example, by running errands for him, and was accountable to him for personal as well as professional conduct. In turn, the *ustaad* looked out for the novice, advising, protecting and sponsoring him. Thus the

relationship between the two was very similar to that of Mentor and Telemachus, as described in Homer's *Odyssey*. Would either the practicing teachers or the CPs' as adult professionals want such an asymmetrical relationship? What would be the gains and losses for each party if it were possible to establish this relationship?

Mentoring in Pakistani Schools.

In the current context of schools in Pakistan the term *ustaad* would not be applicable to teachers in the multi-dimensional sense implied in the above description. Schools do not have designated mentors for pre-service or beginning teachers, and informal mentoring relationships are not common (Interview, 11/12/1994). One reason for this is that the availability of professional training of teachers, despite all its inadequacies, has reduced teachers' reliance on colleagues as sources of knowledge about teaching. Secondly, increased emphasis on disciplinary specialization, and centralized control of curricula, textbooks and examinations has limited the need for teacher interaction. Thirdly, the increasing number of students, subjects, and topics to be "covered" in each subject, have reduced the time available for teachers to engage in professional discourse. Fourthly, the feminization of the profession of teaching has lead to a

reduction in the status of teachers. Reflecting societal attitudes, teachers typically do not look upon themselves or each other as “experts” in teaching and therefore do not believe they are qualified to mentor other teachers. This raises the question of how the CPs would reflect others’ expectations from them in the construction of their identity. For example, would teachers perceive the CPs to be “experts” and if so, what kind of expertise would they expect? Subsequently, would the CPs think of themselves as experts, and if so, on what basis. In a context where teachers typically do not think of other teachers as experts, nor draw upon each others’ expertise, how will the CPs define and use their knowledge and skills as mentors?

The term “mentor” as it is used in Western educational literature does not apply in the Pakistani school context either. In the Western literature experienced schoolteachers involved in the induction of pre-service or beginning teachers are usually called “mentors” but more recently university-based teachers who supervise novices have also been referred to by the same title (McIntyre, Hagger & Wilkin, 1993). In Pakistan schoolteachers are not involved in pre-service training or induction of novices in any significant way. Teacher Training Colleges officially require pre-service teachers to teach forty lessons in a school,

but more often than not, prospective teachers “arrange” to have working teachers give them certificates commending their teaching, without working in a school at all. In cases where they do try to fulfill this obligation, the classroom teacher either leaves the prospective teacher on her own and takes time off for other work such as checking notebooks, or refuses to let a novice take over the class because she does not want her students’ time to be wasted. None of the CPs had a mentor during their own training, nor had they acted as mentors to other pre-service teachers. How would the CPs define themselves as mentors in this particular context?

The fact that the CPs would not necessarily work only with novices in the profession raises the question of whether they should be identified as “mentors” at all. The argument for using this term rather than others such as “staff developer” or “advisor” according to IED is as follows: The M.Ed. program was designed on the basis of an understanding between planners of the program, IED faculty and heads of schools, that the CPs would gradually develop in each of their schools a core of teacher-learners who would bring about qualitative improvement in their school. Designers of the program believed that this core group of teacher-learners could grow professionally with individualized support given to them by the CPs, in a personal,

nurturing, and relatively long term relationship. The organized experiences offered to the CPs on mentoring, school cultures and the processes of change reinforced these expectations from the CPs. IED faculty did not expect the CPs to work with pre-designated groups of teachers, promoting a particular teaching strategy or redesigning a curriculum, or leading workshops, study groups or action research projects. While they could work with their mentees on particular strategies or projects, using some of the above mechanisms, the development of individual teachers rather than projects was expected to be the focus of their attention. In collected definitions of mentors and mentoring (e.g. Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Bey, 1990) the nature of mentors' work is described as advising, sponsoring, teaching, leading, supporting, guiding and counseling, which the CPs were expected to do. There was no indication that only those who worked with pre-service or beginning teachers may be labeled as mentors. The CPs' relationship with the teachers, their anticipated commitment to the teachers' professional growth, and the multiplicity of functions they were expected to perform in the service of this goal would qualify them as mentors. Designers of the program hoped to communicate their vision of mentors and their work to the CPs, a vision that itself was an

adaptation of Western models. How do the CPs interpret this vision? What personal, socio-cultural and institutional factors transform it?

Mentoring in Western Schools.

According to Western researchers conceptions of mentoring in schools are in a flux. Researchers (Feiman-Nemser et al.,1994; Galvez-Hjornevik, 1986; Gehrke1988; Healy & Welchert, 1990; Kay, 1990 ; Paine, 1990; Speizer, 1981) point out that current practices and the literature on mentoring in the context of schools show that there is little consensus on the role of mentors. Some researchers refer to the archetype of Mentor in Homer's Oddysey (e.g. Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Cochran-Smith & Paris, 1992; Gray & Gray, 1985; Tharp & Gallimore, in press) in talking about teacher-mentors and compare them to similar professional relationships among scientists, psychologists, sociologists, nurses and business executives. But other researchers (Cochran-Smith, 1992; Little, 1990) also question the viability of this relationship for school-based teacher development, given the tradition of classroom autonomy and the organizational structures of schools in Western countries. Different researchers have focused their attention on different aspects of mentoring, for example, on definitions and principles of mentoring (Gehrke, 1988; Galvez-Hjornevik, 1986 Kay,

1990;); mentor-mentee relationships (Little, 1987, 1990); mentor and mentee characteristics (Hulin-Austin, 1990; Odell 1986, 1990); knowledge base for mentoring (Bey, 1990;); functions and practices of mentors (Odell,1990); supportive organizational structures (Hargreaves, 1994; Fullan, 1992); and psychological and sociological processes associated with mentoring (McIntyre & Hagger, 1993). But the literature on how these dimensions of mentoring help to define the role of mentors in relation to mentees in a particular context is sparse (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; McIntyre, Hagger & Wilkin, 1993; Merriam, 1983; Speizer, 1981). Despite the lack of consistent and well-developed definitions there are some common assumptions in the Western literature about mentors and mentoring. Firstly, there is an assumption that mentors are always older, more experienced and implicitly more competent teachers, who work with pre-service or beginning teachers in dyadic and short-lived relationships (Anderson & Shannon, 1988; Gray, 1985; Feiman-Nemser et al.,1993; Schein, 1978). Secondly, there is an assumption that school-based mentors focus mainly on classroom management issues (Feiman-Nemser et al., 1993; Hulin-Austin, 1992; Odell, 1986), which may have something to do with the idea that that is what novices are most concerned about (Calderhead, 1987; Fuller & Bown, 1975; Veenman, 1984).

In this study the mentors were not necessarily older and more experienced teachers working with novices on issues related to classroom management. Some of the CPs were newly-appointed, young teachers, who will still be expected to help older and more experienced colleagues improve their teaching. In a culture where age, experience and wisdom are closely associated, how would younger and less experienced teachers act as mentors of older, more experienced teachers? What will this mean for their relationship?

Since the CPs will not necessarily work with novice teachers, it is unlikely they will concentrate on classroom management issues only. In the absence of prior norms, how will they develop an agenda for their work with the mentees? Feiman-Nemser, Parker and Zeichner (1993) contend that mentors focus largely on procedural matters and do not engage novices in addressing more central questions about students, the subject matter and the curriculum. Furthermore, they do not engage novices in pedagogical thinking, nor reveal their own reasons for recommending what they do. The limited range of their dialogue may lead novices to believe that teaching is simply a matter of procedural knowledge, and this knowledge is constructed on the basis of “what works” in particular contexts, according to individual preferences. This and other articles (e.g. Feiman-Nemser and Parker, 1992) raise some

important questions about what novices currently learn with mentors, what else they could learn and how that learning could be facilitated. Teachers' inadequate understanding of subject matter is widely recognized in Pakistan as a fundamental issue in their ability to teach effectively. Will the CPs address an issue such as this? If so, what kind of support would they be willing and able to offer? If not, why not?

Researchers have only recently begun to produce what Little (1990) called "fine-grained descriptions" of mentoring (e.g. Dembélé, unpublished doctoral dissertation; Feiman-Nemser et al. 1994 ; Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1992) which provide some examples for choosing our mental models. The earlier work on mentoring focused mainly on normative definitions that mentors could use selectively and interpret in multiple ways. For example, Gehrke and Kay (1984) characterized mentors by eight possible roles, and Gray and Gray (1985) identified eight "types/levels" of "functions/roles" that mentors play. None of these researchers discussed the tensions that mentors manage in trying to meet competing notions of what they ought to be doing as mentors or the contexts which evoke the different purposes, practices and relationships.

One set of tensions that the CPs are likely to face early in their careers as mentors is to manage the multiple and possibly conflicting

perspectives of teachers, the school Heads and IED representatives about the nature of their work with their mentees. McIntyre, Hagger and Wilkin (1993) claim that novice teachers usually want social and emotional support from mentors, while Heads want support for staff management. In this case, experienced teachers will have needs that are different from novices, Heads of schools may have agendas that are different from the teachers, and IED instructors may also play a role in directing the CPs' work in schools. Whose expectations will the CPs try to meet and why?

A second set of challenges will arise from the CPs' need to particular ideas about teaching and learning and particular ways of interacting with the mentees, while keeping their minds open to other ideas and other kinds of interaction. To test the boundaries of the content and processes of their work with the mentees, they would have to make a wholehearted commitment to working on a particular agenda in a particular manner, while maintaining a critical stance towards both. Perry (1988) calls this "the paradoxical necessity to be both wholehearted and tentative" at the same time (p. 96). By making this commitment the CPs will risk the possibility of coming to believe that "such and such is true" (Polyani, cited in Perry, 1988) and trying to lead their mentees to believe the same. This risk could be much greater in

the contexts where the CPs will work because intellectual skepticism and professional autonomy are not widely shared values among teachers and teacher educators (Raina, 1995; Ginsburg & Chaturvedi, 1988). In a context where it is widely assumed that expertise and authority must concurrently reside in the same individual, it is all the more important that the novice mentors consider what this assumption could mean for them. What claims to authority will the CPs make and on what basis? How will they try to inspire their mentees' trust and yet communicate the fallibility of their own knowledge? How will they themselves manage the tension between the need to be whole-hearted and skeptical at the same time?

A third set of tensions could be related to the CPs' gender. In the area of adult learning most of the current research is based exclusively on the experience of men (Daloz, 1986). Gilligan (1979, 1982) and other researchers (Harding, 1991; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg & Tarule, 1986; Noddings, 1986) draw our attention to women's ways of conceptualizing and creating knowledge, and of learning and teaching it, that are distinct from men's conceptions, which have historically been considered "the norm." These authors suggest that women's concern for attachment and intimacy conflicts with men's desire for autonomy and achievement. When only men's values are represented as the

normative goals, women's needs and their experiences are perceived, both by men and women, as developmental failures. Since this body research draws mainly on the experiences of women in the Western world, its application in the context of this study needs to be investigated. While it is conceivable that women CPs may have different ways of conceptualizing their professional identities than men it is also possible that the men in this context display characteristics that are stereotyped as "feminine" and women take positions that labeled "masculine." Will the women CPs differ from the men, for example, in the question of their primary affiliations? Will they pursue ideas such as "cooperative learning" from a utilitarian or a Kantian perspectives, or focus on individuals and their relationships on the basis of the "ethics of caring" (Noddings, 1984)? Will their purposes define their relationships or with their relationships frame their purposes? Will they want to promote ideas and styles that they espouse, or let the teachers develop their own? Will they see the pursuit of collegiality as a value in and of itself or as a means to other ends?

Another Perspective.

In their study of mentoring practices researchers have found major differences among mentors' perspectives and practices which

could be attributed to formal institutional structures, informal traditions, or preparation of mentors (Paine & Ma, 1994; Ali et al, 1994; Feiman-Nemser & Paine, 1992; Feiman-Nemser & Parker,1992). This study will help to unravel some of the influences that could be attributed to personal histories, cultural contexts, institutional affiliations, perceptions and interpretations of the situations in mentors find themselves and also draw some connections among these influences. Its location in a culture that has not been studied before could provide some new perspectives on why some mentors think and act the way they do, and what this could mean for their mentees, for themselves, and for mentoring as a role.

The purpose of this study, then, is to trace the construction of the CPs' identities as mentors in a particular socio-historical context to illuminate how personal and contextual factors intersect in the creation of a new professional identity. Its significance lies in its potential to inform those who are a part of this context, and to raise sharper questions for others to consider in similar investigations.

In the second chapter I describe the details of the M.Ed. program and the CPs who participated in it to locate the specific context of this inquiry. The third chapter shows how my role as a researcher and the research processes I used "evolved" as the program unfolded, in a

manner similar to the emergence of the CPs' conceptualized identities. Chapter four discusses the emergence, categorization, and reasons for the CPs' purposes as mentors. I contend that the CPs' identities as teachers and the dominance of the Discourse they learned at IED shaped their purposes as mentors. They were guided by their habits of thinking like teachers, trying to fulfill the vision of "good teaching" defined by the program, rather than the particular needs of the mentees and their schools. Chapter five concentrates on the CPs' practices as novice mentors, highlighting how their prior knowledge and experiences intersected with the program in their practice as mentors. In one case the Cp's effort to train her mentees in the use of a particular teaching strategy was validated and prematurely solidified by her experiences in the program; in the second case the scope of a CPs' work was narrowed because of inadequate support for his more ambitious goal; and in the third case the focus of the CP's effort shifted because of the kind of support that was available to her in the program. Chapter six discusses the CPs' relationships with their mentees and presents some reasons for the major characteristics of this relationship. The strong association between expertise and authority in this context poses a special challenge for the CPs. In response to others' and their own expectations, they try to assert the validity of their knowledge and their

authority as knowers at the risk of losing the skeptical stance they need towards the knowledge and their own understanding of it in order to become “expert” mentors. The final chapter lays out the implications of the study for the stakeholders in the mentors’ emergent identity in this particular context, and for educators in general. Reviewing how mentors’ identities are constructed, I make some suggestions for how mentors such as the CPs could define themselves more usefully, and how they could be helped to do so.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PROGRAM, THE PARTICIPANTS AND THE DISCOURSE

The Program

Historical Background

The promotion of better education and health services in developing countries has long been an area of interest for Ismaili communities. In some places they finance and manage schools and hospitals, at others they support individuals or institutions by providing project financing, scholarships for higher education or research grants. At the time of setting up the AKU, a planning committee led by Derek Bok, then President of Harvard University, was asked especially to consider the feasibility of including Education as a field of study at the university. The committee recommended that the new university, aspiring to offer world-class education in a developing country, needed to first concentrate its effort on establishment and sustaining a few high quality programs. Education as a field did not attract the best candidates and individual returns on investment in higher education were low for teachers or teacher educators. The field of Health Sciences was, therefore, considered a

more attractive option for a university aiming to set high academic standards and breaking new ground in research.

However, in 1992 the continuing interest of the Aga Khan and the demonstrable success of educational institutions and projects supported by the Aga Khan Foundation persuaded the University Board of Trustees to reconsider the decision taken a decade ago. AKU by that time had a well-established reputation for the quality of its programs. Almost all of its medical students were accepted in prestigious Western universities for post-graduate studies. Graduates of its school of nursing were in high demand for local jobs, as well as in the Middle East and Western countries, and reports about the program claimed that it had changed public perceptions of nursing as a career in Pakistan. Its department of Community Health Sciences attracted many grants from international agencies for innovative projects and research.

Ensuring the quality of IED's programs was an important concern for the university because it was understandably jealous of the reputation it had established as a premier educational institution in Pakistan. Consultants were engaged and affiliations with Western universities were sought, as had been done before, to help develop

the program according to “international” standards. The Task Force envisaged that faculty from the Western partner universities, as well as their affiliated schools and school boards, would loan their staff for short periods to work at the IED, and that IED faculty and students would visit the universities for study tours or award bearing courses. Representatives of the partner universities would actively participate in designing and teaching the program, thus ensuring its academic rigor and lending their credibility to the award of its degrees.

Another way of ensuring academic rigor was for IED to engage faculty with doctoral or master’s degrees earned in Western universities. In Pakistan, schoolteachers normally do not have access to higher education at foreign universities, and those who can attend such programs usually do not teach in schools. Three of the four local faculty employed by IED the time of the first M.Ed. program did not have any experience of teaching in schools. While they had occasionally led in-service courses for schoolteachers, none of them had taught accredited courses to schoolteachers, worked on long term school-based teacher development programs, or formally studied teacher learning and teacher education. The expatriate faculty

brought some teaching experience from other countries, but were unfamiliar with local needs. Thus faculty from the partner universities as well as from the IED were trying to construct a Discourse for the CPs as M.Ed. students at AKU, based on their prior knowledge and skills, and their perceptions of what was expected from them.

Program Goals

In a paper outlining IED's future plans, the Director wrote that the purpose of IED was to work towards school improvement and "[T]he first step [in this direction] is the preparation of a number of [CPs] who, on completion of their training will return to their schools with the appropriate skills, knowledge, attitude and professional commitment to bring about school improvement" (Bacchus, unpublished). Through the many faculty meetings (Observations, 1994-1995) it gradually emerged that the M.Ed. graduates were being prepared for three overlapping roles: As university instructors they were expected to teach eight-week in-service courses at the IED. As exemplary teachers they were expected to continue teaching with reduced teaching loads, testing innovations and demonstrating

“good” practice. And, as mentors they were expected to help other teachers in their schools become more knowledgeable and skillful teachers, regardless of whether they were novices or veterans. The program designers envisaged that the CPs would mentor other teachers on a one-on-one basis through regular interactions, although the possibility of their occasionally leading larger study, research or curriculum development groups was not ruled out.

In the various papers the Director wrote for different audiences, he consistently identified the field-based nature, the emphasis on “reflective practice” and the focus on classroom based research as the most distinguishing features of the M.Ed. program. This indicated the IED’s desire to promote a vision of teacher education characterized by responsiveness to the context, reflection and inquiry. However, as pointed out later in this chapter, given the challenges faced by IED, this was indeed a very difficult goal to achieve.

Program Structure

About eight months before the program was scheduled to begin, potential faculty from the IED and faculty from the partner

universities, along with consultants, met for a week-long workshop to develop the “building blocks” of the M.Ed. program. Having laid out the main components of the program, they left the details of the program to be developed by the IED faculty and individual instructors. As it turned out, IED found it very difficult to recruit local faculty with the appropriate experience and educational background to teach in the master’s program. Individual faculty members from the partner universities were also unable to spend several weeks at a stretch away from their home base. The program was, therefore, taught in several “modules” by different instructors and went through many iterations along the way. Eventually, the following became the major components of the program:

Modules / Components	Duration
1. Introduction to the program	4 full days a week for 3 weeks
2. English & Cooperative Learning	4 full days a week for 6 weeks
3. Mathematics	4 full days a week for 6 weeks
4. Social Studies	4 full days a week for 6 weeks
5. Term at “partner university”	5 full days a week for 9 weeks
6. Mentoring Seminar	6 full days, once a week for 6 weeks

7. Research Methods Seminars 2 hour sessions 6 times
8. School Improvement & Change 4 full days a week for 7 weeks
9. Educational Issues Seminars 2 hour weekly sessions
10. Research Project / Practicum about six months¹

Faculty members from the partner universities did most of the teaching usually for three weeks at a time, but for the practicum each CP was allocated a local faculty member as supervisor, with additional support occasionally provided by faculty from the partner universities.

The Course Participants (CPs)

According to the terms of the grant, IED had to allocate an equal number of places in each of its programs to teachers from government schools/institutions, private schools and AKES/AKF schools/institutions--within or outside Pakistan. Seven of the twenty-one final candidates were from government schools/institutions, nine from AKES/AKF schools/institution, and five from other private schools. The schools or institutions to be represented in the program were thus selected before the

¹ 28 days were assigned for the fieldwork in schools. The analysis and writing was spread over six months and carried out in conjunction with nos. 6-9

individuals. In the fall of 1993, the CPs were recruited through a series of nominations, interviews and classroom observations by a small number of newly recruited IED faculty, along with contracted consultants. A lot of time and effort was invested in this process because the program designers believed that the success of the model depended on the kinds of teachers who were recruited as the first cohort of CPs.

Eight men and thirteen women completed the M.Ed. program². The youngest of the CPs was twenty-four and the oldest forty-seven. Two of the CPs did not have any teaching experience in schools and four of them were not working in schools but in administrative, supervisory or training jobs at the time of their recruitment. Four of the CPs had teaching experience at the primary level while the rest had been secondary school teachers.

While the negotiations with the various parties were in progress a study was commissioned by the Aga Khan Foundation to assess the implications of having teachers from these three different types of schools participate in a program which did not offer any choice in courses and only English as the medium of instruction. The

² One male government school teacher dropped out of the program after six months.

study found that teachers in government schools were the least comfortable in using English and unfamiliar with concepts often referred to in current educational literature; teachers in the AKES schools were relatively more comfortable in using English and familiar with some educational concepts; teachers from private schools were fluent in English but not necessarily familiar with the language of educational literature. In all three groups understanding of subject matters seemed to be thin, but the private school teachers seemed to show a better understanding of general educational issues and were more articulate in expressing their views (Ali, unpublished). The competencies displayed by the CPs who were eventually recruited for the M.Ed. program largely confirmed the findings of this study, although there was less difference than anticipated in the level of English proficiency of teachers in government schools and the local AKES schools.

Language Skills

The CPs' proficiency in English varied enormously. At one end of the continuum was a CP who had graduated from a prestigious women's college in the United States and at the other end was a CP

who at the beginning of the course explained his difficulty with the language in the following words:

Here for the first time I have come in direct contact with foreigners. I use all my body to listen, not only my ears. Suddenly an activity starts and I have no idea what is happening. I am a different [person] now. I have a much lower self-esteem. My confidence level is much lower here. First, I did not know the language that is used here, but also how I learned [in the past] is very different from the way they expect us to learn here. I had to start from zero. Not even zero but minus because I can't even ask the question I want to ask because I can't express myself. So, starting from minus, I first have to reach zero, and then begin to learn something. . . . My problem was that that I could not fully understand what they wanted to tell us and I could not even frame the question to ask what I wanted to know. What choice did I have? Trying to learn the language became my main focus. I could not follow what most of the handouts said (Partially translated interview, 2/11/94).

This statement captures the poignancy of the difficulties faced by the CPs who struggled with the English language, with the language of educational literature, with study skills and with the kind of class participation expected by instructors from the partner universities.

Subject Matter Knowledge

In terms of subject matter the CPs with secondary school experience thought of themselves as teachers of particular subjects but the primary school teachers thought of themselves as “generalists.” All the CPs had bachelor's degrees at least and some of

them had master's degrees in education or in other fields. The secondary school teachers taught the subject they had as majors at college but also other subjects. For example, teachers who had studied chemistry were labeled as "science teachers" and also taught physics, biology and sometimes even mathematics. The primary school teachers taught the major school subjects, such as English, mathematics, social studies and science themselves, but often had "specialist" teachers come in for Urdu, Islamiat, art and craft and physical education.

As it had been anticipated, the CPs' subject matter knowledge was inadequate for the kind of teaching they were asked to do. They recognized that they did not have sufficient content knowledge to be able to use the pedagogy that was advocated in the courses they were taking. In the social studies module they repeatedly expressed their need to learn more subject matter. They said they could not "go beyond the textbook" and ask "open-ended questions" as they had been asked to do by the module instructors, if they themselves did not know the subject matter (Interviews, 6/12/94). The CPs' need for subject matter content was also evident on other occasions. For example, a CP who taught mathematics in high school was unable

to explain to his colleagues why a negative number multiplied by another negative number gave a positive number, while a negative number multiplied by a positive number gave a negative number. Similarly, another CP could not give an adequate explanation for why a drinking straw, partially submerged in water, looked crooked.

Pedagogical Knowledge

Although the CPs did not have many opportunities to articulate their knowledge about learning and teaching, indirect references to their pedagogical beliefs were made in their writings. Early in the program, most of them identified abstractions such as “love,” “commitment” and “sincerity” as the most important factors in helping students learn (First Assignments, 1/94). They also identified material resources, facilities, personal characteristics of their Heads, or aspects of the “the educational system” as critical factors that supported or impeded their work as teachers. A CP making a comment about students’ learning wrote, “a child is like an empty vessel, to be taught and guided by both parents and teachers.” It appears from this statement that she was thinking about teaching as a process of transmission. But not all of the CPs shared this view.

One of them wrote, "I have always considered students' background experiences to be a very important factor in the process of teaching. I believe that learning is basically about resolving contradictions of experience" (First Assignments, 1/94). It seems that he was developing a constructivist perspective on learning although he did not use this term in describing his work.

When the CPs were asked what they expected from the program, almost everyone expressed the need to learn "modern teaching techniques." Some of them used jargon they had very recently heard at the IED but could not yet grasp the intended meanings. For example, the CP mentioned above who had admitted to having severe problems in English, wrote "I want to become a 'reflective practitioner' so that I can use modern methodology of getting maximum learning outcomes" (First Assignment, 1/94).

The Discourse

The interactions between and among the CPs and the IED faculty characterized the Discourse of the M.Ed. program. Described below are some features of this Discourse.

Language

The CPs' varied levels of fluency in English were anticipated (Ali, unpublished) and acknowledged by everyone involved with the program. However, it was often difficult for the instructors, especially those who came from the partner universities for short periods of time, to anticipate the CPs' difficulties and adequately respond to them. For example, in a session early in the program the word "pedagogy" had been used many times over by the instructor when a CP hesitantly raised his hand to ask what the word meant. From the expressions of several CPs it was obvious that the instructor's explanation was welcomed by most of them (Observation, 2/17/94).

Special classes in English were arranged to help the CPs who felt the need for more support during a two-week break between the modules. These classes were taken quite casually, both by the instructors and the CPs, and eventually abandoned because the CPs said they did not find them helpful in improving their performance in the program. Those who were supposed to benefit from these classes were resentful about being labeled as students with additional needs, having to attend "extra" classes while their

colleagues were on holiday. The instructors were generalists in English as a second language and did not know enough about the CPs' particular needs as teachers and teacher educators. They could not tailor their program to the CPs' needs and the CPs felt they were inappropriately being treated as school students when asked to do exercises in writing (Interview, 9/20/94). One of the two instructors initially engaged canceled her contract and the other was often absent without prior notice. Meanwhile, all instruction continued to be given in English. In class, the CPs formed two distinct groups: those who were fluent in English performed better in all the modules and were often openly impatient with the others; and those who were less fluent, consistently performed at a lower level, and often sought help from each other or members of the other group. Since fluency in English has a strong association with social class, the less fluent CPs claimed that their academic experiences at IED also served to sharpen their class differences (Conversation, 5/12/95).

Despite their difficulties, many of the CPs made remarkable gains in learning English during the course of the program. They listened to radio and television programs and asked friends and acquaintances to "check the English" before submitting their papers

(Conversation, 9/15/94). With encouragement from the faculty they also began to speak it in class, not always according to “standard” grammatical structures. However, at the time of writing the theses, four editors were especially employed to cast their ideas into language that was considered acceptable for a master’s thesis. Some of the CPs found the editors helpful and appreciated the opportunity to learn how to write “correctly.” Others complained bitterly about the editors “taking over” their work and changing the meanings they had intended. On the whole, the emphasis on the form of writing at this time, which had not been given much importance in their earlier work, caused a great deal of anxiety and frustration among the CPs (Conversations, Spring 1995).

Subject-Matter

As mentioned above, during the social studies module, the CPs had begun to articulate their need for subject matter knowledge. A faculty member’s response to this demand was to remind the CPs that this was a program in Education, not school subjects, and that they would have to identify resources and develop mechanisms for learning subject matter on their own (Observation, 6/7/94).

Nevertheless, during the mathematics and science modules in particular, an effort was made to engage the CPs in learning subject matter as well as the recommended pedagogy through experiential learning (Documentation & Evaluation Report, 1995). The instructors organized their study of selected topics from the mathematics and science school textbooks in the pedagogical style they recommended. For example, they set up experiments in magnetism, electricity and reflection, which the CPs first engaged in themselves and subsequently set up for school children. However, the instructors acknowledged that they could only explore a few topics in the six weeks they had for their module, and that the CPs needed much more time for studying other topics that they were responsible for teaching (Interview, 8/11/94). Toward the end of the program the CPs claimed that they could teach other teachers the particular topics they themselves had studied in the modules but were not yet prepared to help them with other topics (Conversation 4/13/95). For example, a CP who had been a science teacher said he still could not help his colleagues with topics such as forces or genetics, which he had not explored during the program, because he realized that he himself did not know enough about them. Similarly, a CP who taught

secondary school mathematics said that although she could now teach fractions differently, she would still teach logarithms in the same “chalk and talk” manner she had used before the M.Ed. program because she did not yet know how else to teach it (Observation, 6/11/95).

Pedagogy

Throughout the program there was a strong emphasis on teaching strategies. For example, in the first module which was labeled “Language,” half of the time was spent almost exclusively on “cooperative learning.” The instructor was asked to use examples from language instruction to illustrate the strategy, but it was the strategy itself which remained in the foreground throughout his instruction. He engaged the CPs in cooperative learning tasks and explained what he had done and why; he demonstrated the strategy with school children; and then he asked the CPs to try it out in pairs in classrooms and give each other feedback. In their evaluation of the module the CPs talked at length about the five essential components of cooperative learning and the power of learning about these through demonstrations by the instructor, exercises with peers,

and practice in classrooms. A similar pattern was followed for helping the CPs learn about the “circus” format for conducting experiments in the science module, and how to ask “higher order questions” in the social studies module. These experiences were identified by them as the most memorable components of the two modules (Ali, Murphy & Khan, 1995).

The fact that most of the CPs had planned their practicum around teaching these strategies to their mentees is evidence that they themselves had found them valuable and felt confident enough to teach them to other teachers. However, the limitations of the strategies, particularly in the contexts in which they were to be used, were less clear to the CPs. For example, a CP who conducted a science workshop based on the circus format for colleagues in his school, said that the teachers had enjoyed it a great deal, but did not expect to use the format in their classrooms because of “the system of examinations and the syllabus.” When asked whether he himself would use this format in his class, he said he was doubtful because he, too, would ultimately have to consider the students’ need to do well in the matriculation examination (Conversation, 5/7/95).

Context

In the second part of the program where the CPs were trying to learn about mentoring, school improvement, change processes and research methods, the discourse was much more theoretical. The CPs read articles written by Western researchers and discussed them in class, occasionally drawing upon their personal experiences to illustrate a point. The papers they wrote centered on displaying their understanding of what they had read than on using their reading to analyze their own experiences or to confront their prior beliefs (Conversation, 5/12/95). For example, the sessions on mentoring began with the presentation of various definitions of mentoring in the literature from North America. After explaining these the instructor selected one that she considered the most comprehensive and talked about it at length. The definition was faithfully copied into the CPs' notebooks. In the following conversation the definitions and their application to local contexts were raised:

CP 1: When we talk about a definition of mentoring, let's think of it as a map. It gives us some idea, some guide, it doesn't say everything about where we are going.

CP 2: How to do mentoring is something we must know, to be able to answer when someone asks us what we do as mentors.

CP 3: Maybe we should ask each other our own meanings of mentoring and come to a common understanding.

Instructor: An important thing to understand is to ask "What is the purpose of mentoring?" If you look at the history of education, you see that mentoring is a very new role. In England it started only a few years ago, in the States, in the eighties... (Videotape transcript, 12/22/95)

In this conversation the CPs' attempt to construct their own common meaning was thwarted by redirection of their attention to abstractions drawn from other contexts. It seemed that the instructor assumed that there was already a consensus about the purpose of mentoring; that it could be identified by tracing the history of education in Western countries; and that it applied in the local context as much as it did in the context of its development.

Although the above incident is not necessarily illustrative of all the interactions that took place around this and other modules, insufficient attention was paid to the local schools as contexts for the CPs' work, especially in the later part of the program when it was necessary to do so (Documentation and Evaluation Report, 1995). For example, in response to suggestions by IED faculty, most of the CPs' research projects were cast as experiments in mentoring. What the faculty did not suggest is that they draw up their proposals in

consultation with their mentees, keeping in view the mentees' and their schools' wants and needs. The CPs' research proposals were written even before they had identified their potential mentees. For their preparation as researchers this may have been of little consequence, but for their preparation as mentors this was a critical omission. It may have led the CPs to believe that it was IED's agenda or their personal agendas that should guide their work as mentors, irrespective of the wants and needs of their potential mentees or their Heads.

The lectures and assigned reading during the School Improvement and Change modules urged the CPs to pay attention to the contexts in which change was proposed. However, when they visited the schools for a whole day once a week, neither the instructors nor the Heads of schools were available in the field to help them gather data or analyze the context specific issues of the schools they were studying. Many of the CPs complained that they did not know what they were supposed to do in their schools during this period (Conversations, 6/1995).

Communication with the Schools

Fourteen of the schools represented by the CPs were located in Karachi. The Heads of these schools were invited to IED about once in six weeks for what was called “The Heads’ Seminar.” Foreign visitors to the IED, local faculty and groups of CPs made presentations at these seminars. The purpose of these seminars was to prepare the Heads to facilitate the CPs’ work once they returned to their schools. Through a series of lectures on curriculum, school improvement, in-service education and student assessments, they were asked to help the CPs enact the vision of school improvement as intended by the IED. The agenda for the seminars was always selected by IED, and its representatives (including the CPs) invariably made the presentations.

During a discussion on mentoring, IED’s relationship with the schools came up in the following conversation:

CP1: Mentors should give what they know--the strategies--as a gift to the mentee. This is how we are learning here. We have learned so many new things from our tutors here.

CP2: But mentoring is different. They will not come to us like we have come here. How can we go and teach them all these new things without asking what they want?

CP3: IED is already imposing its ideas--when they call the Heads here on Saturdays. They don’t ask what you need.

CP4: Schools obviously need something, that's why they have joined IED.

CP3: But what is that something?
(Silence, followed by a change in the topic).

(Videotape transcript, 12/22/95)

As the above conversation illustrates, it seems that the distinction between students in accredited programs, such as the M.Ed., and Heads and teachers as autonomous professional was not made obvious at IED. The seminars for the Heads were held with the assumption that people at IED already knew what the Heads should learn. The only occasion when the Heads contributed their own ideas was when logistical arrangements for the eight-week in-service program were being made (Observation, 4/15/95). This lack of differentiation between IED students and professionals in autonomous organizations seemed to disempower them in relation to IED. When I visited the Heads to ask how they proposed to use their CPs upon their return, their most common response was that they were waiting to be told by the IED how it wanted them to use the service of their CP (Fieldnotes, 1995). Evidently, based on the form and content of their communication with the IED, they had construed

that all important decisions about what the CPs should do, even when they returned to their schools, were to be taken by the IED.

Conclusion

The content and form of the M.Ed. program was constrained by several factors. The funding arrangement for the institution required it to accommodate a very diverse group of students, although it did not have the human resources to meet their varied needs. For instance, IED was unable to offer adequate support or time to the CPs in learning the core subject-matters or in learning the language used in the program to make fuller use of the program. The location of the program in a prestigious university raised expectations that did not match the needs of a large majority of the group. For example, the CPs were asked to write a thesis in the format and style required in Western universities for a master's degree. The amount of time they spent in trying to meet this standard seemed inordinate, since most of them were not likely to do this sort of writing ever again in their professional lives. An action research project without the formal stylistic requirements of a thesis would have been a more appropriate experience for most of them.

The heavy use of faculty from the two partner universities working at IED for one to three weeks at a time, without local counterparts to provide continuity, resulted in a program that did not seem to take into account the needs of the CPs and schools in which they worked. The IED faculty itself had not yet built a coherent vision of what they wanted the CPs to learn and how that learning could be facilitated. Given all these constraints, what the program was able to achieve was quite remarkable. However, acknowledging the constraints and viewing the program as an exercise in action research would have made it easier to defend its “success” as a learning experience, both for the students and the faculty. Measuring its success only in terms of the originally stated goals made the claim questionable.

The next chapter describes the research process of this study. That is followed by three chapters in which I explore the implications of the CPs’ interactions with the program in the creation of their new identities. In order to develop well-rounded images of the CPs’ emergent identities, I have selected six individuals from among the twenty-one to illustrate how the prior experiences of the CPs intersected with different aspects of the program in the formation of their characteristics as mentors.

Among the CPs I selected, Sonia, Ayesha and Nina³ were women who worked in non-Ismaili private schools; Sami and Danial were men from government schools. Feisal, the third man in this group, represented the overseas CPs from AKF/AKES institutions. Each of these individuals had a unique life history which shaped her/his experiences of the program. Yet each one's efforts to construct her/his identity as a mentor represented generic challenges for the entire cohort. For example, Sami and Danial worked in a system where hierarchical positions were very clearly demarcated. However, all of the CPs had to locate themselves in relation to the power and status of people they worked with, in schools and at IED. Thus Sami's and Danial's cases highlighted what each one of them was experiencing to a greater or lesser degree, in environments that were more or less similar. All of the CPs had noticed the challenge presented by their mentees' prior beliefs in their efforts to change their practice, but Ayesha explored the connections between these beliefs and the mentees' acceptance of new teaching strategies. All of the CPs tried different ways of influencing their mentees' practice. Sonia, along with nine other

³ Pseudonyms.

colleagues, tried to teach specific teaching strategies to her mentees, without obvious consideration for who their students were and what was the subject-matter content they were to learn. In contrast, Nina anchored her mentoring in constructivism as a theory of learning, making students' meaning-making of specific mathematical ideas her primary concern (Projects, 1995). As the CPs picked up different strands of the interconnected web of knowledge for teaching, they characterized themselves as mentors according to their purposes, practices and relationships as school-based mentors.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Evolution of the Study

Believing, with Max Webber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz, 1973).

My interest in this study was to explore the webs of meaning that the CPs had created as novice mentors. I did not have any specific prior hypotheses to test, nor any claims to prove. I wanted to try to make some sense of a complex human situation that had many dimensions, and within each dimension nuanced variations that could be named and described but not quantified. This effort involved interpreting peoples' words and their interactional events. At the same time my own purposes, practices and relationships as a researcher evolved through my interactions with the context in which I was located. Not unlike the CPs, I began to construct my identity as researcher in the process of conducting this study. I brought with me prior values, beliefs and experiences that shaped my questions and the process of my inquiry. Gage (1991) speculated that "in selecting their research paradigms people gravitate towards one or the other research cultures--towards

science (natural or social) or towards humanistic insight and sensibility-
-because their upbringing and intellectual experiences have inclined
them towards one or the other” (p. 10). Possibly as a result of my past
experiences, I was interested in trying to understand a social and
psychological phenomenon in a particular context through “humanistic
insight and sensibility.”

Research methodologists (Erickson, 1977; Hammersley & Atkins, 1995; Wolcott, 1994) remind us that different individuals construct different meanings about what appears to be the same objects or behaviors in physical form. Erickson further claims that interpretive research is concerned not just with the physical objects or behaviors but with the meaning that the actors involved in the situation attribute to them. I was interested in gaining access to the CPs’ conceptualizations of their emergent identities. I was aware that meanings were not inherent in their words and actions, and that I would reconstruct them by interpreting what the CPs said and did, on the basis of the language and culture I shared with them. In this process I risked the possibility of ignoring, distorting or elaborating their meanings, which is an unavoidable risk in a research endeavor of this nature. As the researcher I decided what questions to ask, when, how and to whom;

what data to record and how to organize it; what conclusions to draw and what evidence to marshal in their support. As Harding (1987) puts it, "the researcher appears in these analyses not as an invisible, anonymous, disembodied voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests" (p. 5).

The acknowledgment of my presence in the study does not mean that I abandoned the attempt to "see" what most people would also see and draw conclusions that most people would agree with on the basis of common-sense. What it does mean is that I recognized that my socio-historical position in the context (Becker, 1990) would influence my perceptions and interpretations. I tried to develop what Hammersley and Atkins (1995) call a "reflexive" stance, where the researcher engages in systematic inquiry, using the knowledge that is available to her to make a case for the plausibility of her explanations, while acknowledging that they are neither infallible nor absolute. The knowledge Hammersley and Atkins refer to here may well include knowledge of the researcher's own implicit theories and beliefs, of the context under study and of the interaction between the two.

Using the analogy of a "stranger" Shutz (cited in Miles & Huberman, 1994) argues that a researcher who is not a member of the

culture he wants to study can understand a social situation better than someone who is already a part of it. Other researchers (e.g. Jules-Rosette, cited in Hammersley & Atkins, 1995) have argued that one must “surrender” oneself to the situation under study to experience it as those who are in the situation naturally do. I shared with the CPs many educational, professional and cultural experiences, which afforded me an emic perspective of their experiences. I had studied and taught in some of the same schools as they did, spoke the same language and lived under similar socio-political conditions. But I was also different, most significantly in the role that I had during the period of this research, which I elaborate later in this chapter. They were students in a program and I was studying them and the program. I could use the similarities and differences between us to make the familiar “strange” (Erickson, 1986) but also had to be careful not to cast their experiences only in the framework of what I had known and felt in situations similar to theirs.

Finding the Questions

I selected qualitative research as my paradigm because I needed to find the questions as much as the answers in my study. Three

sources of knowledge guided the search for my questions: First, in my own professional career I had been supported by a mentor who had a profound influence on my view of myself as a “learning teacher” and I wanted to know how other mentors could make this happen for other teachers. Second, the M.Ed. program at IED had made a commitment to help experienced teachers learn how to mentor their colleagues. The idea and the context in which it was to be developed, that is, the schools, the educational system, the social and political environment in which this program was located, were both familiar and fascinating for me. I was invested in the context as well as the idea because of my personal history. And third, through my reading I had become aware of the increasing interest in the mentoring phenomenon in the United States, Canada and Britain, countries that influence trends in education in my own and other post-colonial nations. An example of this trend is the creation of the post of “Learning Coordinator” in the mid-eighties throughout Pakistan, as a result of a World Bank financed project. Thousands of primary school teachers were recruited to work as the British “advisory teachers” under this scheme, without the capacity and resources to do so. The mounting interest in mentoring in Western countries (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Devaney, 1987; Fullan, 1990;

Holmes Group, 1990; McIntyre, Hagger & Wilkin, 1993) coupled with initiatives such as IED's seemed to warrant a closer look at how mentoring was being conceptualized in the local context, especially in relation to the institutional and cultural factors (Feiman-Nemser & Paine, 1992).

In their study of mentoring practices, researchers have found major differences in mentors' perspectives and practices which could be attributed to formal institutional structures, informal traditions, or preparation of mentors (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1992, Paine & Ma, 1993). In this case since there were no prior models, institutional arrangements, or traditional practices in the CPs' schools, their evolving identities as mentors seemed to be an especially important factor for their future practice. I was not unaware that when the CPs returned to their schools, their ideas about themselves as mentors might change because of different expectations of people in their workplace or their own realization that they needed to think and act differently than they had initially envisaged. But three considerations persuaded me to undertake this study while the CPs were in the program. First, from a conceptual perspective I was persuaded by Vygotsky's views on ontogenesis. He wrote (cited in Penuel and Wertsch, 1995):

We need to concentrate not on the *product* of development but on the very *process* by which higher forms are established. . . . To encompass in research the process of a given thing's development in all its phases and changes--from birth to death--fundamentally means to discover its nature, its essence, for "it is only in movement that a body shows what it is." Thus, the historical [that is in the broadest sense of *history*] study of behavior is not an auxiliary aspect of the theoretical study, but rather forms its base. (p. 85)

Studying the CPs' emergent identities, I believed, would help me understand the process of their "becoming" mentors, which could yield insights that are valuable for the CPs themselves, the program designers and educators in general. Second, from a practical perspective I realized that the program was potentially the most significant, and possibly the only opportunity for teacher educators to directly influence the CPs' conceptualizations of themselves as mentors. By studying the CPs during their participation in the program, I hoped to learn more about the relationship between the program experiences and their emerging identities as mentors. And third, from a personal perspective the timing of program suited my own research schedule as a doctoral student.

The design of my study was based on my judgments about what kinds of information I needed, in what form, from which sources, and

through what mechanisms and about how I could organize that information to make sense of it myself and present it to others.

Identity is a complex idea. I was trying to construct for myself the meanings of this idea at the same time as I was trying to find ways of gaining access to the CPs' identity in a particular context. My interim solution was to frame the question in more accessible language, which was: "How does [this CP] think of herself/himself as a mentor?" On the basis of this question I decided that I needed access to the CPs' thoughts about what they believed they should do; what they thought they were doing and why; and how they were doing it in the relationships they had established with their mentees. These questions were based on the Guided Practice Framework (Feiman-Nemser & Rosaen, 1994). The CPs' thoughts could best be expressed by the CPs themselves, verbally and in writing. The expression of these thoughts could be stimulated by especially designed events, such as interviews and simulation exercises that I had initially planned. But the program provided opportunities that I had not anticipated (e.g. the mentoring practicum), which also allowed me to see for myself what the CPs were saying and doing as novice mentors and how they were interpreting their interactions with their mentees. The two major factors that further shaped this study

were the development of the M.Ed. program and my own role at the IED, which merits some explanation.

Locating the Questions in the M.Ed. Program

Early in 1994 I approached the IED director with a draft plan for my study and asked for permission to work with the CPs as my research participants. I had prepared interview guides (which I subsequently amended) and simulation exercises as my data collection tools. When I talked with some of the CPs in February, they seemed interested in my work, but after a pilot test of three interviews and conversations with them over four days, I decided to abandon the plan I had made. First, I realized that the CPs had not begun to think about themselves as mentors. They always referred to their work in the school as teachers and their answers to my questions about what they would do as mentors were too vague to be useful to me. I reasoned that unless their identity had begun to emerge, I would not have the appropriate data to analyze. Second, I felt I needed to get to know them better for them to say what they really thought about something, rather than what they thought I wanted to hear, and for me to be able to tell the difference. Third, I realized that as a novice researcher and

newcomer into their environment, I needed more opportunities to interact with the CPs: to ask questions in different ways, to challenge them with issues related to their particular contexts, and to seek elaboration of a key comment whose significance I may have missed in the first instance. As I anticipated working at IED in the near future I knew I would have more and richer opportunities for data collection. I, therefore, decided to wait to further develop my study design and to gather the data.

The M.Ed. program began in January 1994. Except for the four six-week subject-based modules, the remaining program was “evolving” as the IED faculty discussed what the students needed to learn. For example, the initially undefined research project was cast as a practicum in mentoring in September 1994, when the faculty realized that the program needed to place more emphasis on teacher education. Similarly, the decision to offer specific sessions on mentoring was made about eight weeks before the sessions were scheduled. I decided to use the practicum and the mentoring sessions for collecting data generated by the program and for timing the collection of further data I needed. The timing was propitious because the CPs were steeped in thinking about themselves as mentors. And the data sources promised to be

rich, in terms of their closeness to “real” life experiences, and of sustained thoughtful work containing much more depth and breadth than I could have generated outside the program.

Locating the Self-as-Researcher at the IED

I was engaged by the IED to document and evaluate its programs¹ six months after the M.Ed. program had begun. According to my agreement with the IED, I could use the relevant data that I generated or had access to as a part of my job also for my dissertation. This job gave me the opportunity to attend all the faculty meetings and teaching sessions, have access to all the written assignments produced by the CPs (copies of which were stored at IED) as well as IED records and correspondence. But above all, it gave me the opportunity to get to know the CPs at a personal level. I talked to them often in the cafeteria, during bus rides, in the corridors, or in my room. They approached me for two purposes: when they wanted me to carry a message to the faculty that they were hesitant to convey directly, or when they wanted my help with a particular assignment. As documentor/evaluator I was

¹ As an in-house documentor and evaluator my role included providing formative feedback to the IED Director and faculty about the effectiveness of the program and to write annual reports for IDRC, the agency that funded this

responsible for giving feedback to the faculty while protecting the identity of my sources of information. As a doctoral degree candidate, fluent in English and having some knowledge about local schools and curricula, I was perceived to be an “advanced” student who could help them with their assignments. I approached them for individual interviews, group evaluation sessions, and for brief write-ups on particular modules. I visited their schools, interviewed their Heads and occasionally talked to other teachers in their schools. I read their journals and assignments and if there were things that needed clarification or elaboration, I asked them for brief interviews/ conversations which they were always willing to engage in. In short, I learned a great deal about the CPs because it was my job for a whole year to do so.

As mentioned earlier, IED administrators had found it difficult to recruit a sufficient number of local faculty. I was, therefore, asked to take on some responsibilities I had not anticipated. One of these was to act as project advisor to a CP and the second was to participate in some of the planning and teaching of the six sessions on mentoring along with another instructor. This additional role in the final phase of the

three year project. I did not evaluate the CPs' individual performances as

program may have caused a shift in the CPs' perceptions of me. They may have aligned me more closely with the faculty because of this change. While I could not have refused to take the responsibilities I was asked to, I tried to minimize their effect on my role as a researcher, by making the mentoring sessions ungraded (unlike other modules) and involving groups of CPs in leading significant parts of the sessions I was responsible for, and which I helped to plan.

The new role gave me more opportunities to interact with the CPs. They began to see me as someone who could help them learn more about mentoring. They began to share with me their jubilation over a breakthrough or frustration over a problem. Some of them asked me to observe their conferences or listen to the audio-tapes of their conferences with their mentees, and to respond to their personal journals. This change in the level of our interaction afforded me additional insights into how the CPs were thinking about themselves as mentors. However, my instructional role also increased my own level of frustration with the program because I began to feel somewhat responsible for the kinds of experiences that were provided to the CPs to help them learn about mentoring. My views about mentoring and

students and made this difference quite explicit.

how it could be learned were very different from that of my co-instructor. For example, we did not agree about how much the CPs should participate in planning and teaching the module, or how far we should build the instruction around their experiences rather than research articles from Western journals. Since we taught at separate times, without joint planning, our messages to the CPs were very likely quite confusing for them.

Sources and Methods of Data Collection

Although I had frequent and extensive opportunities to learn about the CPs from June 1994 onwards in my role as documentor / evaluator, the data for this dissertation specifically was collected during January to June of 1995, when they were working on their projects and attending the mentoring sessions. To begin this phase of my data collection I decided to use the following sources (i.e. people, events and documents) and mechanisms:

People

Although I already had a lot of information about all of the twenty-one CPs' biographical data, their experiences of the program,

and their perceptions about themselves as mentors, I narrowed down my sample size to ten when I began to interview the CPs. At this stage I knew that I would have to reduce the sample for a dissertation of this nature but I had not yet arrived at a figure because I was unsure about what criteria to use for my final selection, and ten seemed like a manageable number to interview. I decided to include an equal representation of gender and of the three kinds of organizations i.e. AKES, government, and private schools / institutions, and at least one non-Pakistani CP. Gender was an important consideration because the cohort of CPs included both men and women and I was interested in learning whether gender was associated with any particular characteristics of the CPs' identities as mentors. I also wanted to include CPs from the three types of institutions as well as someone from another country to make my sample more representative. The assumption I made was that CPs from the different schools would have different socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Another, possibly more important reason, to take the relatively large sample of ten individuals for a study that called for attention to individual details, was that during the interviews I found the CPs identifying issues and presenting perspectives that had not occurred to me. For example, the

idea that some school subjects, and therefore teachers of those subjects had a higher status than others, was something that a CP mentioned in passing when I asked him about teachers' status in schools. In the following interviews, I included a reference to subjects when I asked about other factors, such as age, experience, or qualifications.

Eventually, the discussion on specific subjects lead to my appreciation of the status of "modern" knowledge associated with science and technology in the CPs' minds and its impact on their identities as mentors. Had I settled for a small sample at an early stage of my study, I may have missed some opportunities to learn what the relevant questions were.

At the time of writing this dissertation, I decided to further reduce my sample size. I realized that the comparative analysis of ten cases was too unwieldy for a study of this nature. Furthermore, the multifaceted characteristics of the CPs' emergent identities as mentors could only be displayed through portraits of a few individuals that readers would be able to keep track of. Laying out gender, institutional affiliations, primary foci of their practicum, and socioeconomic backgrounds of the ten CPs I had interviewed in the form of a grid, I decided to select the six who collectively provided a rich source of data,

keeping in view the criteria mentioned above. I selected these criteria on the assumption that they were the most relevant distinguishing features of the CPs for the purpose of this study. The “richness” I looked for at this stage was in terms of contrasts and intensity (Miles and Huberman, 1994). For example, I selected CPs who seemed to fall at the two ends of the socioeconomic continuum, or those who took polar positions on the question of selecting the agendas for their work with their mentees. I also looked for evidence of intensity and detail with which they described and defended their positions. I ended up with three men and three women, representing the three kinds of institutions in Pakistan, and one non-Pakistani CP.

The demographic characteristics of the six CPs² are given below:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>School / Institution</i>	<i>School Experience</i>	<i>Socioeconomic Status</i>
Danial	Male	Government	Secondary	Lower Middle
Sami	Male	Government	Secondary	Lower Middle
Feisal	Male	AKDN	College	Middle
Sonia	Female	Private (Church)	Primary	Middle

² The names used here are pseudonyms. Biographical details of each of these individuals will given in the next three chapters.

Ayesha	Female	Private (Trust)	Secondary	Upper	Middle
Nina	Female	Private	Primary	Upper	

Events

Among the events that I used to collect my data, the mentoring sessions were planned as a part of the program, the interviews were initiated by me, and the conversations were both planned and spontaneous.

The Mentoring Sessions

I attended and video-taped about twenty hours of the mentoring sessions for which I was partly responsible. These sessions included discussions among the CPs based on their experiences in their fieldwork or on their assigned reading; exercises such as selecting descriptive labels to describe the kind of mentor the CPs wanted to be; and lectures interspersed by questions. My role in these sessions was usually that of a participant observer. I took notes about issues that people raised which seemed relevant to my study, but also allowed myself to become involved in the discussions, knowing that I had the video-tape as a back-up recording device. For example, when people raised questions about who should set the agenda, or what difference does subject

specialty make in mentor-mentee interaction, I noted the different perspectives and arguments for them, and used these to stimulate further discussion with my interviewees. I reviewed the video tapes, transcribing verbatim the sections in which my sample CPs had expressed something which seemed significant, and made brief notes about the others with reference to the counter numbers in case I needed to go back to review a particular section.

I had asked the CPs to do all of their writing during and between these sessions in a notebook which they could share with me. I had also offered to respond to their comments and questions if they wanted me to. Although I received almost all of these notebooks twice during this period, their value as a source of data was limited because I found many pages filled with what the instructors had said, and only a few comments and queries by the CPs themselves.

Interviews

I interviewed ten CPs using an interview guide (see Appendix) which gave me a basic structure that I used flexibly in framing and sequencing my questions. In each of the interviews, I tried to elicit information about their own learning experiences as students and

teachers; their views on teachers' needs, aspirations and problems; and their perception of their relationships with their mentees. As I already had some information about *what* they were doing in their projects, I concentrated more on seeking their opinions about *how* they described their work as mentors and *why* they did so. The interview data were particularly helpful in characterizing the CPs' relationships with their mentees because that was the one area about which they did not write much in their project reports.

To frame my interview questions, I often drew upon information I had gathered from other sources and used it for stimulating the CPs' responses. For example, in talking to Sami about issues related to working with female mentees, I asked him what he thought about a comment made by another CP in the mentoring session about this issue. Similarly, I drew upon my knowledge of individuals or organizational structures in the CPs' schools to raise questions about how particular individuals might react to their initiatives, or how they would deal with the current structures in their schools. At the same time, I encouraged them to give me examples to illustrate what they meant by a particular statement. Sometimes the detail I invited came at the cost of having to listen to some lengthy stories that were not always relevant to my

question, but seemed worthwhile in terms of strengthening my relationships with the CPs. The interviews lasted from one and half hour to two hours and were always held in my office, where our privacy was protected. They were all audio-taped and transcribed verbatim.

I used both English and Urdu throughout the interviews, according to my perceptions of which language the interviewees would find easier, both in terms of their comfort level, and their access to the vocabulary they needed for our conversation. I also switched from one language to the other on the basis of cues from the CPs. For example, the interview with Danial was conducted mostly in Urdu except for occasional use of English terms like “training,” “practice,” or “mentor” for which there is no equivalent in Urdu. Sami, whose first language was also Urdu, showed a preference for using English in response to the questions I asked in Urdu. His interview is therefore largely in English, interspersed with some sentences in Urdu.

Conversations

As mentioned above, I had many opportunities throughout a full calendar year to have brief as well as protracted conversations with the

CPs. We sat together at meal tables, traveled together on school visits, and worked together on their assignments when they asked me for help. I also had the opportunity to visit them briefly during their overseas term and participated in some of their seminars and school visits. I initially recorded most of my conversations with them from the point of view of documentor/evaluator, but during the time they were working on their projects and attending the mentoring seminars, I focused specifically on information that was relevant to my research. I recorded these conversations in computer files, usually on a daily basis.

The Documents

The two main documents that I used were both produced as a part of the CPs' program.

Research Projects/ Mentoring Practicum

For their master's theses, the CPs were asked to work with a small number of teachers in a mentoring relationship, helping them to change their practice. They first prepared a project proposal laying out their plans for what they intended to do, how and why. They then worked with their mentees for twenty-eight working days, and recorded the

analysis of their work in the form of an eighty page document. This document became a particularly valuable data source for me because as a report of the CPs' mentoring practicum it contained extensive chronological details about what they said and did, and as a research paper it articulated their theoretical perspectives and explained their decisions.

I was assigned as advisor to one of the CPs who was already in my sample. I assisted her in preparing the proposal, visited her during her fieldwork several times, and worked with her over many drafts of her final paper. During the field visits I talked to her before and after she worked with her mentees, and recorded my observation of her interactions with her two mentees. As another CP in my sample was also working in the same school as my advisee, I also visited him several times during his fieldwork. I intended to visit all ten CPs in my sample, but managed to visit only six altogether because of other demands on my time. During these visits, I had conversations of various lengths with the CPs, observed them working with their mentees in their classes and interacting with the mentees before and after class. I took notes of these interactions and often provided them feedback on what I had observed. While I was in the field with the CPs,

I took notes which I later added to with additional data as well as comments or queries.

First Assignments

I came across the CPs' First Assignments as I began studying the CPs' written work as a part of my job. As is evident by the title this was the first piece of written work they had done at IED. Here, they had written about their own educational backgrounds, their most rewarding and frustrating experiences as teachers, the kinds of teachers they thought they were and the kinds of teachers they wanted to become, and what they expected from the M.Ed. program. These papers contained valuable biographical information which I subsequently verified and built upon, especially during the interviews.

Recording the Data

The most valuable tool I had for recording my data was my computer notebook. I carried it with me everywhere and wrote all my expanded fieldnotes and memos with it as soon as I had the time to do so. The only time I did not use it was when I was either talking with

the CPs or taking fieldnotes in a classroom, because pencil and paper still seemed less obtrusive in these situations. All the interviews I conducted were audio-taped and transcribed in full. The interviews conducted in English were entered in full, but I did not translate the entire texts of the interviews in Urdu for the computer files because I could manage to cross reference the data without full translations.

Copies of the CPs' First Assignments were photocopied, relevant sections highlighted and then entered. As the CPs' projects were already available as text files, I only had to transfer them into the appropriate format for my word-processing program. The secretarial assistance provided by the IED was much appreciated at this time.

Validity and Reliability of the Data

The documents produced by the CPs were an unexpectedly rich source of data for me because they afforded a holistic view of the CPs' assumptions, perceptions, reasoning and actions. For example, in their projects the CPs stated their purposes as mentors and provided rationales for selecting them; they described their practice as mentors and justified the decisions they took; they described their mentees and their interactions with them, and in doing so they characterized their

relationships. The project reports did not represent an “objective reality” but the CPs perceptions and interpretations of reality.

Studies based mainly on self-reported accounts have sometimes been questioned regarding their claim to represent reality (e.g. Little, 1990; Dembélé, unpublished). In self-reported data people create justifications for actions retrospectively, they add and subtract critical details, and they assume that their meanings were shared by everyone involved. My decision to mainly use self reported data was based upon the nature of my inquiry. This study was about identity, and the building blocks of this construct are perceptions and interpretations of those whose identity is under study. Keya Ganguly (cited in Britzman, 1994) explains the concept of identity thus: “It is important to underscore the ways in which identities are fabrications - that is, both invented and constructed - because doing so is a necessary step in accounting for the centrality of representation in the constitution of the real” (p. 55). I was primarily interested in finding out what the CPs thought about their experiences and how that influenced their perceptions of themselves as mentors. In Britzman’s words (1994), “The primary category of analysis is the discourse of the experience rather the experience itself. Here, experience does not ‘tell’ us who we

are, what we see, and even how to act; we are the tellers of the experience" (p. 56). The identity of the CPs as the tellers of their experiences is what interested me. Their self-reported accounts of their experiences as mentors were therefore the main source of my data.

My analysis of the CPs' experiences was based on my assessment of the meanings they seemed to have for them. I tested the analytical linkages I made between an experience and its impact on the CPs' identities by using different sources of information. Sometimes, the information from two different sources matched and at other times it did not, leading to new questions about the difference between the CPs' perceptions at different times, or between my perception and theirs. An example of a match is Sonia's statement during the mentoring sessions that she had a particular agenda that she wanted to promote, which was confirmed in her project report. A mismatch between the CPs' self-reports is illustrated by Feisal's claim in his project report that he "co-planned" with his mentee, but later, when asked to specify what exactly he and his mentee did during the planning time, he stated that he basically did all the planning in the presence of his mentee. The difference between a CP's perception and mine can be illustrated by our different perceptions of an interactional episode between Feisal and his

mentee, which he reported as a discussion but I saw as a monologue. Discrepancies that were visible to me while I was collecting the data were checked with the CPs, as in the incident of the “co-planning”. But there were others that I discovered later when I did not have access to the CPs anymore. In such cases, I tried to present the data for the reader to be able to judge for herself, in this instance by presenting verbatim a section of the conversation between Feisal and his mentee.

My relationship with the CPs gave me reason to believe that in the interviews and conversations they said what they wanted to, without entirely distorting their own ideas to fit what they thought I wanted to hear. Undeniably, they saw me as someone higher up than themselves on the hierarchical ladder of the IED and desired my appreciation of their ideas. But they were also aware that I did not grade any of their work. Their requests for help with assignments or my use as a conduit for messages to the faculty made me think that they probably saw me as an ally. Four of my interviewees made explicit statements about how their interviews had helped them think more deeply about themselves as mentors. Two of them even suggested that such dialogue should be a part of their curriculum. In their written work, however, the CPs were obviously more careful about what they said. Although their First

Assignments were not graded, written work is almost always given more consideration as evidence of knowledge by schoolteachers. In their projects the CPs were also advised by their advisors about what they should or should not include in their reports. The documents could arguably be less reliable as data sources than the interviews or conversations. However, the sheer quantity of data in these reports provided a built in check against radical alterations that did not cohere with their main arguments. Furthermore, if new lines of thinking were introduced by their advisors in the process of writing of these reports, they may well have been assimilated as a part of the CPs' emergent identities.

Organization and Analysis

The collection and analysis of the data was an iterative process. Each episode of data collection seemed to generate new needs and as more data were collected and analyzed, new patterns seemed to emerge, which once again lead to more questions. For example, during a mentoring session one of my subjects called Nina made a comment that made me curious about why she was taking the minority position in the class of wanting to include her mentee in setting the agenda for their

work together. I asked her about it in the conversation we had during tea-break. Later in the day, I read my notes on her biographical data and a copy of her First Assignment, which generated my tentative hypothesis that her own experiences as a student, parent and teacher made her more attentive to learners' wants and needs. I then looked for her position on this issue in her draft project report and asked her to elaborate upon why she was taking this position in the next conversation we had. This then led me to question if her view was shared by the other CPs in my sample, why or why not.

As the data began to pile up I initially organized them in two crudely defined sections: by person and by the research questions. I set up folders for each individual as well as for my three major questions (i.e. purposes, practices and relationships) and put in copies of the data in all of the relevant folders, using the copy and paste functions of my word-processing program. My reports of conversations, interviews, observations, and copies of their written work were put into what I called "personal folders," and sections from these were copied into the "question folders." I then set up a routine for examining these data to see if I could discern patterns within each folder and across the folders. For example, when I read Feisal's personal folder, I saw that he

repeatedly talked about the importance of teaching democratic values in school in his First Assignment, in his Project and in his interview. I checked the other personal folders and saw that nobody besides Sonia referred to something similar, that is, the need for teachers to foster tolerance and cooperation among schoolchildren. Making a note to further check Sonia's work in this area, I went back to Feisal to see how his ideas played out in his purposes, practices and relationships. I was struck by the contrast in his espoused beliefs and what he seemed to be doing with his mentees in the "practices" folder. Reading his folder again, where the full text of his project was located, I found a consistent pattern where he seemed to want the students to explore different views about controversial issues but always seemed to impose his own on his mentees. I wrote a brief memo consisting of my emerging hypothesis that he seemed to know how to work with school students in a democratic fashion but not with other adults. This note, along with references to the data locations, was added to his personal file.

Gradually, the memos grew in size and number and I began to compile them into groups according to a conceptual "glue" that seemed to hold them together. I did this by first reducing the main ideas in the memos into one or two sentences and printing out their hard copies. I

displayed them in various configurations on the floor of my room. I then drew concept maps to help me think about which ideas were the major ones and which could be subsumed under them. Some ideas were immediately visible to me, but other equally compelling ones emerged gradually as a result of my going back and forth between my implicit theories and the data before me. For example, the significance of CPs' view of self-as-teacher was immediately visible to me because the data seemed to indicate that they wanted to try out techniques they had learned at the IED for themselves, not through other teachers. My reading (e.g. Britzman, 1994) had alerted me to the possibility of finding multiple selves and I soon discovered the self-as-IED-student which was dominant in the CPs' decisions about what they wanted to teach their mentees. The CPs' self-as-mentors in contrast to these two selves, seemed relatively underdeveloped because their accounts did not show a coherent set of normative ideas as they did about teaching and "studenting" (Holt-Reynolds, 1991). Discussions of these three identities could have formed the three main chapters of my dissertation. But as I read the data yet again in various combinations, equally important questions, such as how the CPs viewed their own and others' authority and expertise seemed to cut across their conceptualization of

themselves as teachers, IED students and as mentors. Combining intuition with some systematic exploration of the central ideas I had generated so far, I selected words or phrases as contingent markers of my analytical chapters. Further refinement and recombination of these ideas took place in the process of writing and discussions with my advisor.

Each of the six individuals in my sample had some characteristics which they shared with others and some which distinguished them from the rest. If these characteristics were shared, I used the most vividly portrayed case to illustrate my point. For example, all three of the men in my sample had justified their projects on the basis of a reinterpretation of a school subject and then used specific teaching strategies to show teachers how it could be taught differently. Feisal was the most articulate about why he wanted to reinterpret social studies, what he tried to do with his mentees, what happened as a result, and what he learned from his experience. I therefore used his story to describe the practice of CPs, including Sami and Danial, who wanted to help teachers reconceptualize a school subject. The characteristics that set the CPs apart from each other added new dimensions to their identities as a group. For example, Sonia and nine

others among the twenty-one CPs primarily explored a particular teaching strategy in a classroom while helping their mentees learn it. But Ayesha, along with only one other CP, focused on the processes of teacher-learning, using what they were helping the teachers learn as the context for their study. Both Sonia's and Ayesha's views about their purposes as mentors were represented in this study, although Sonia's purposes were shared by many more of her colleagues than Ayesha's.

In the process of analyzing my data, I was guided mainly by Miles and Huberman (1994), where, in addition to the commonly practiced features of qualitative data analysis, they have emphasized the need to self-consciously reduce data in several stages and to display it in a form that is accessible enough for making conceptual linkages, and flexible enough for making multiple and competing linkages. My memos and their reduced versions, the floor displays and the concept maps were attempts to use these strategies.

Generalizability

This is an interpretive case study of prospective mentors beginning to define their professional identities in relation to practicing teachers in a particular context. While the subjects of this study and

the specific contexts in which they work are unique, the characteristics of individuals and their situations are representative of other people and other situations. For example, those involved with professional development in schools, whether they are teachers, students or faculty in departments of education, or consultants, all have to define their professional identities in relation to teachers they work with. All of them, at one level or another, struggle with issues of purposes, practice and relationships in their work with teachers. As in any social science research, when characteristics of individuals or events are comprehensively documented, and the research procedures carefully described, readers can critically evaluate a study for its generalizability and build an “inferential bridge” to illuminate their own particular situations (Shulman, 1988). Readers of this study are expected to do so, too.

The six individuals that the study focuses on were purposefully selected to represent a wide range of perspectives. The multiple cases did not represent a larger universe (Miles and Huberman, 1994), but allowed me to bring in different perspectives and layers of meanings to illuminate the theory I was building. The varied backgrounds of the CPs, their contexts, and their conceptions of their new identity could

raise important questions that qualify, challenge or complicate our current understanding of the work of school based mentors. As Shulman (1986) suggests, the qualitative study of innovations and unique cases is not to identify what is universally applicable, but to point out possibilities and alternatives, which may be tested in different contexts.

The next three chapters examine the CPs' emergent identities from the three different perspectives identified in the Guided Practice Framework (Feiman-Nemser & Rosaen, 1994): that is, mentors' purposes, practices and relationships. The data gathered within this framework form central and subsidiary themes, highlighting different aspects of the CPs' emergent identities. The next chapter traces the development of the novice mentors' purposes in their work with their mentees as they interact with aspects of the program. This is followed by a discussion of their perceptions of their practice as they engage in the research practicum. And the chapter following that characterizes their relationships with their mentees as they identified and interacted with their mentees. The final chapter reviews the emergence of their identities in a holistic

manner and discussed its implication for the mentors themselves, for the instructors in this program and educators in general.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDENT, TEACHER OR MENTOR

Because Telemachus was dependent upon the guidance provided by Mentor, Mentor was faced with providing the type of help and assistance that would have maximum application in Telemachus' life. (Kay, 1990)

When Mentor was charged to guide Telemachus, it was assumed that he would know what would have "maximum application" in his life and that he was able and committed to providing that. None of these conditions could be assumed about mentors in the context of the current study. As this was the first program of its nature in the country, the prospective mentors, teachers and school administrators, designers of the M.Ed. program and the instructors did not share common understandings about the prospective mentors' purposes. However, the mentors' purposes obviously played an important part in their sense of self in a professional role. They formed the "goal structures" (Bereiter, 1990, p. 613) that defined their identities as mentors. These purposes framed the interactions they engaged in with their mentees and the relationships they formed. In this chapter I trace the emergence of these purposes, discuss their characteristics, and describe the major influences on these purposes. I make linkages between the

characteristics of the purpose and the sources of influences on them with the intent of theorizing about why the CPs selected some purposes rather than others. I establish that the CPs' sense of self-as-teacher in relation to school students was strong at the beginning of the program and remained so throughout. Their sense of self-as-students at IED was highlighted in the program. In contrast, their sense of self-as-mentor in relation to teachers was weak and remained nondescript. Students continued to be the focus of the CPs' concern, but their perceptions about what students needed to learn and how, and what their teachers could do to help them learn appeared to be strongly influenced by the M.Ed. program. Thus their sense of self-as-teacher trying to fulfill the vision of good teaching defined by the program dominated the construction of their identities as mentors.

Emergence of Purposes

According to the M.Ed. program the CPs were being prepared to work as "exemplary teachers," part-time instructors at IED and mentors. The CPs had acquired the Discourse (Gee, 1990) of teachers by working as teachers in the company of other teachers (real,

remembered or imagined). They had some opportunities to acquire the Discourse of IED instructors through apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975) by virtue of being students in the program. But they had to construct the Discourse of mentors during the program without access to the practice of mentors in their contexts.

In this section I describe the process of the emergence of the CPs' purposes as they interacted with elements of the program designed to influence their purposes as mentors, that is, the seminars on specific subjects, the processes of change in schools, mentoring, and the research practicum. In the following section I elaborate how their interaction with particular aspects of the program shaped their purposes.

The CPs' purposes as mentors emerged gradually as they engaged with various components of the program. Their ideas about themselves as mentors were articulated, clarified, refined and internalized in interaction with the program at different times during the eighteen months. Early in the program when they were invited to articulate their long term goals as mentors they mainly echoed the IED official mission statement. This statement was no less vague

than most other similar statements: it claimed that the institution's mission was to work for school improvement through teacher development. Danial's statement was equally imprecise and quite typical. He wrote, "I don't want just to be a good teacher but also a great educationist. I want to make all our schools into "model schools" by helping the teachers become 'reflective practitioners.'" (First Assignment 1/94). The CPs' elaboration of this theme revolved around ideas such as helping teachers gain confidence in their teaching through better understanding of subject matter; befriending them and guiding them according to their expressed needs; engaging them in "reflective practice"; socializing them into becoming life-long learners; and training them to use "modern" teaching strategies and specific skills such as lesson planning (First Assignment 1/94, Interview, 2/16/94). As the CPs participated in the program their views about their goals as mentors were influenced by their changing conceptions of students' needs, the role teachers could play in meeting these needs, their own place in helping teachers play this role, and the contexts in which these changes could take place. Their understanding of all of these seemed to go through several iterations in the program.

The first half of the program was focused on the CPs' roles as teachers. They were engaged in six-week subject based modules where they learned new ways of conceptualizing the four major subject areas taught in school, and what it meant to learn and teach them. Identifying the highlights of these modules the CPs said that they had learned about cooperative learning in the language module, constructivism as a philosophy of knowledge and learning and action research in the social studies module, the difference between conceptual and procedural understanding in the mathematics module, and scientific inquiry as a process in the science module (Conversations, 9/12/94).

In the second half of the program the CPs were offered seminars on management of change in schools, mentoring and research, although early discussions about these areas had already started in the first half. The seminars on change were taught mainly through discussions based on articles read by the CPs and followed by written assignments. The CPs claimed that the seminars helped them appreciate the complexities of trying to bring about change in schools.

The six sessions on mentoring were taught partly through lectures during which lists of desirable attributes and functions of mentors were presented to them, and partly through discussions on hypothetical situations and on general issues in mentoring. An initial plan to collectively review the CPs' video or audio-taped conferences with their mentees was scrapped because of lack of time, which was to be shared by two instructors. In contrast to the subject-based modules where the instructors consistently tried to present simulated "models" of classroom teaching (with adults) in the sessions they taught, hardly any modeling of mentoring was done in these sessions. This meant that the CPs had almost no opportunities to form vivid images (Elbaz, 1983) of what mentoring could look like and feel like. In the other modules they went through learning experiences similar to that of school students, but they did not have the opportunity to be mentored themselves. The CPs also taught students in some of the subject modules and reflected upon their teaching in pairs and small groups. In the mentoring seminar they did not witness each other "in action" or give each other reciprocal feedback. At the end of the six sessions they said they had learned some important ideas about mentoring *in theory* but had not learned

much about the practice of mentoring (Conversations, 1995). In Gee's terms (1990), they had *learned* some things about mentoring but had not *acquired* the Discourse of mentors.

The opportunity to learn about *the practice* of mentoring was provided to the CPs in the shape of research projects (i.e. the master's thesis) which were a major component of the second half of the program. At the time they were preparing to write their proposals, the IED Director asked them to cast their projects into the shape of a practicum in mentoring, where they would help some teachers learn something and then write about this experience in the form of a research report. This is when they began to explore, clarify and crystallize their vague notions about mentoring into practical plans. Schön (1987) draws the attention of educators in professional schools to the significance of the practicum and describes it thus:

A practicum is a setting designed for the task of learning a practice. In a context that approximates a practice world, students learn by doing, although their doing usually falls short of real-world work. They learn by undertaking projects that simulate and simplify practice; or they take on real-world projects under close supervision. The practicum is a virtual world, relatively free of the pressures, distractions, and risks of the real one, to which, it nevertheless refers. It stands in an intermediate space between the practice world, the "lay" world of ordinary life, and the esoteric world of the academy. It is also a collective world in its own right, with its own mix of materials, tools, languages, and appreciations. It embodies

particular ways of seeing, thinking, and doing that tend, over time, as far as the student is concerned, to assert themselves with increasing authority (p. 37).

In the case of the CPs their projects gave them the opportunity to work as mentors in a “protected” environment where their entry had been facilitated by IED, they had time available to reflect upon their experiences, advisors to raise questions and make suggestions, and only a short term commitment to their mentees. While this opportunity facilitated their initiation as mentors, its short duration may also have undermined their level of commitment to their mentees and influenced the nature of their work with them. Nevertheless, the projects provided them a “virtual world” in which they were invited to explore their identity as mentors while still “protected” by virtue of being students in the program. They had the time and support to experiment with ideas, receive feedback and change course if needed. They discussed their emergent ideas with their assigned faculty advisors over several meetings, shaping them into projects that would be worthwhile for them and the teachers. Like most novices they started out with very ambitious plans, then gradually pared them down to something that had the potential to be both relevant to the interests of teachers and rigorous enough to meet the academic standards of university scholarship (Schön, 1987).

They began to identify ideas that they had found powerful, that they felt sufficiently secure about to try to teach another teacher, and that they had access to resources that would enable them to systematically investigate and document the development of these ideas.

Ayesha's development of her project proposal was fairly typical of the way the CPs developed the themes for their projects. During the mathematics module, she became very interested in the idea of using "meaningful talk" in helping children learn mathematics. Her initial question was: "How does meaningful talk in the classroom help children learn mathematics?" (Conversation, 1/10/95). She was asked by her advisor to elaborate her meanings of "meaningful talk" in the classroom and of "learning" mathematics. After a while she came back and said she wanted to include in her investigation questions about how teachers learn to facilitate mathematical talk in their classrooms, because that would help her introduce other innovations in her school. A few meetings later, she realized that she had two foci in her project, one on children's learning of mathematics through meaningful talk, and the second on teachers' learning of an innovation. Meanwhile, she also discovered

that it would be very difficult for her to measure children's learning of mathematics and link it with their talk in the classroom, but she did not want to let go of this idea entirely. She finally settled on using it as the context for her investigation which became "How do teachers learn to promote meaningful talk in the mathematics classroom?" In the "virtual world" of her project, Ayesha was thus able to play with different ideas and test them through thought experiments without committing herself before she felt ready to do so.

In their research projects the CPs took upon themselves the responsibility for defining the purpose of their work with the mentees without direct inputs from the teachers or administrators of the schools. They wanted to sit in classes, co-plan and co-teach, and hold discussions with the teachers with the specific purpose of locating entry points for them to introduce the agendas they had come with. Describing her plan to introduce her mentees to the idea of encouraging mathematical talk in their classrooms, Ayesha wrote:

I felt that sitting together to plan the lesson would give me a better understanding of how the teachers learnt. It would give me an opportunity to: see what considerations were foremost in the teacher's mind such as her interest in the principles or the procedures for the implementation of the innovation; offer

my support, give suggestions, or discuss alternatives. (Project, 1995)

It is evident from this that Ayesha was interested in locating the interface between her own agendas and the teachers' interests, concerns or behaviors. She already had an innovation in mind that she planned to introduce in the teacher's classroom. She did not plan to ask the teachers to identify the agenda for their work together.

In the literature on mentoring there are various traditions in North America about agenda setting: the first associated with "advisors" who set the agenda from teachers' self-defined concerns (Apelman, 1986); the second is that of "clinical supervisors" who decide on a common focus with the mentee (Goldhammer, 1969; Cogan, 1973); and the third comes from the "apprenticeship" model where the agenda is not formally made explicit but emerges from the classroom context in flexible variations. In the United Kingdom a "competency based model" is also in existence, where the mentor systematically trains a novice in competencies partially defined by others (Wilkin, 1993). For all CPs except Nina, the direction that they wanted their mentees to move towards was clear at the outset of their work. In this matter they seemed to follow the British model, with the modification that they themselves decided which

competencies they wanted their mentees to develop. The project proposals they had written prior to beginning their work identified their purposes. When they went into schools they informed the principals and then the teachers of their agenda and in some cases provided brief written outlines as well. Nina wanted to influence teachers' practice and beliefs about learning and teaching of mathematics but did not specify what exactly she wanted them to do or to believe. She was the only CP to take such a position.

The foci selected by the CPs for their projects were not necessarily consistent with what they may have perceived to be the most urgent, important or durable for their own schools or other contexts in which they worked. One reason for this was that the projects were located in schools which, for many of them, were not their own. The CPs from outside Karachi obviously did not have access to their schools, and some of the others too found it more convenient to work in schools that were located closer to the IED. The CPs were also constrained by their felt need to share with other teachers what they had learned at IED and to document evidence that they had indeed taught them something that IED would have approved of. For example, Danial decided to teach two teachers how

to engage students in scientific inquiry for his project, but acknowledged quite early in the project that the idea was too radical for his school and that teachers would not spend time on learning something that did not match their purpose of preparing students for the public examination (Conversations 20/1/95). He may have selected this topic because he himself was curious to see how it worked out in his schools, or he may have thought that his instructors at IED would approve of it since that was what they had taught him. In any case, the CPs had found these ideas powerful enough to be worthy of the effort they put into the project, which for most of them was “the most difficult but worthwhile” part of the program (Conversations, 6/12/95).

It is important to note here that the CPs’ purposes in their projects are only distinguished as their stated *primary* purpose for working with their mentees. They had several other secondary purposes embedded in their projects that were invoked when there was an opportunity to do so. For example, Feisal wanted his mentees to reinterpret the social studies curriculum by bringing controversial issues into the classroom and teaching students how to engage in controversy. To do this, he decided to help his mentees learn to

organize cooperative learning groups that would develop arguments in support of a certain position about a controversial issue. He showed them how to encourage the students to use “quiet voices” and face-to-face interaction, and to facilitate positive interdependence among the group members. Sonia, too, helped her mentees to learn the skills of organizing cooperative learning groups, but her primary purpose was to help her mentees learn this as a generic teaching strategy which was not tied directly to any specific subject-matter goals. She used her mentee’s agenda of helping her students revise their lessons in preparation for the forthcoming examination, using cooperative learning as a strategy.

Categories of Purposes

The discussion in the remaining sections of this chapter is based on the primary foci selected by the CPs for their projects. On the basis of the foci articulated in the reports of their projects, the CPs are categorized here into four distinct groups. The purpose of this categorization, however, is not to put individuals into slots but to show some dominant trends in their thinking. These foci were:

1. Views of Subject Matter
2. Constructivism
3. School-Based Teacher Learning
4. Teaching Strategies

In the following section some biographical detail of individuals who were the most obvious and consistent representatives of a particular category are given so that their identity as mentors-in-making can be developed. Other CPs with different biographies also fell into these categories on account of their stated primary purposes, but they will only be identified here in passing. In later chapters two of the individuals introduced here, Sami and Danial, will reappear with greater biographical detail for us to view their identity from a different perspective. The biographical details given here as well as in later chapters have been constructed from several sources, including many conversations spread over eighteen months, the CPs' First Assignments, project reports and interviews.

Views of Subject Matter

In the first category were the CPs who wanted their mentees to develop a different view of the subject matter they were teaching,

assuming that this reconceptualization would lead them to teach in ways that were “true” to disciplinary knowledge and would ultimately benefit their students. This category is best represented by Feisal. Other CPs who fell in this category were Sami and Danial who will be introduced with greater biographical detail in later chapters.

Feisal

Feisal was in his mid thirties and had a young family whom he had left at home in his country Tajikistan, a part of the former USSR. He grew up in a small village where there was no electricity until 1967. He learned to read and write at a very early age and was two classes ahead of his age group in school. His father was a teacher and all of his eight siblings had earned university degrees. He recalled that his father often used to say that “Knowledge was like a spring of water. You can keep drinking all you can but there is always more, because the spring never stops flowing.” He himself showed a passion for acquiring “knowledge” and talked about the Renaissance men of the East such as Firdausi and Nasir Khusrao as his heroes.

Feisal had studied philosophy as a discipline and was trained as a linguist. He was fluent in several languages and had worked for a

short period as an interpreter in his own country. He had also been trained to teach Arabic as a language and taught it at a college for a year and a half. He did not have any experience in school teaching and had no previous opportunities to work with schoolteachers.

Growing up in an environment where political, economic, social and religious controversies were all around him, Feisal seemed very aware of contradictions in peoples' public and private lives. Public practice of religion was discouraged by the government in his country, but he was a member of the strongly cohesive Ismaili sect. With the break up of the USSR, the political and economic systems in his country had also broken down, and three major groups were engaged in armed conflict with each other. He had suffered personal loss when two of his close relatives were killed, and he had to leave his job and home to move to another part of the country. He often discussed similar conflicts in Karachi and elsewhere in the world with colleagues (Observations & conversations, 1994-5).

The significance of the school curriculum for students' lives was something that Feisal felt strongly about. He claimed that:

Educational research highlights the increasing importance of Social Studies in nurturing students in the spirit of democracy, tolerance, open mindedness, critical thinking, and enabling them to become

reflective decision makers and participants committed to democratic values in society. (Project, 1995)

He wanted his mentees to teach social studies (history in particular) as an exercise in managing controversy, rather than as a set of given facts about the past. He wrote, "Social studies is dominated by the transmission mode. . . . I propose controversy as an alternative approach to teaching social studies" (Project, 1995). He thought it was important to teach social studies as a subject which admitted multiple perspectives because its current form only developed "obedient, passive citizens, lacking in critical thinking, decision-making and problem-solving skills." Such teaching produced "close-minded followers rather than responsible and independent actors... who do not think before action and who make judgments based on perception rather than reason." He believed that appropriate teaching of social studies would nurture "democratic, tolerant, critical and reflective decision makers" who interpreted the past to understand the present and change the future. He wanted teachers to appreciate the more important goal of teaching social studies i.e. to produce good citizens, to "go beyond the textbook" by problematizing records of the past and what we learn from them, and to act as facilitators, mediators, resource providers and

promoters of student thinking rather than sources of “correct” knowledge (Project, 1995).

Constructivism

In the second category were CPs who were captured by the powerful idea of “constructivism” as a way of thinking about learning. They wanted their mentees to think about how students constructed their knowledge and modify their teaching to facilitate students’ ability to connect new information with what they already knew. They frequently quoted post-Piagetian researchers and drew upon their own developing understanding of the theory in support of their effort to help teachers learn to teach in ways that were “compatible with the constructivist philosophy of learning” (Project, 1995). Nina represented the five CPs in this group.

Nina

Coming from a very privileged socioeconomic background, Nina had attended an expensive and prestigious private school in Karachi where English was the medium of instruction, and then an exclusive women’s college in the USA, earning a degree in Art and History. She

also had a teaching certificate from a local college and had been teaching for five years in the junior section (grades three to six) of the school where she herself had been educated. She belonged to a minority religious community distinguished in Pakistan for its commitment to supporting programs in education, health and the environment. An active member of the PTA in her children's school and also a volunteer dance instructor, she had become a teacher from a sense of its accessibility as a profession. It allowed her to manage the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood with a career that she found emotionally and intellectually rewarding.

At the time of her selection for the M.Ed. program she was working as the Coordinator for the sixth grade, the highest grade in the junior section of her school. She taught English, Social Studies and Mathematics to her own class on a regular basis but her responsibilities also included visiting other sixth grade teachers in their classrooms, leading the teachers in planning their syllabi for the year and revisiting it periodically, and keeping an overview of how they were doing.

Nina said that her children had played a major role in her learning about teaching. She said:

I learnt a lot about teaching from my own children. Their reactions to teachers told me a lot because my children are very different from each other. My middle one is a very talented person--like she--she is--she has inborn skills about just knowing how to get along with people. She is talented dramatically, she is artistic, she is musical. But not in class. If you look at her report none of this comes through. (Interview 2/15/95).

It seems that by attending to the ways in which her own children learned or did not learn at school, she was able to draw some conclusions about the nature of learning. In the introduction to her project, Nina wrote:

Learning is understanding. It is making sense of the world through one's experiences and social interactions. It is a lifelong process of growth, changing or adapting one's ideas, accepting new ideas so that one's concept is extended, or rejecting ideas if the learner sees them as unsuitable in his/her scheme of understanding. Knowledge is not given, fixed or absolute and is constructed by the learner. One's past experiences, i.e. our preconceptions will impact what sense we make of new situations and how we learn. (Project, 1995)

Nina applied her theory of learning, which she labeled as "constructivism" when she encountered the term during the program, both to students and to teachers. She thought that teachers learned in many ways, by observing other teachers, by reading, by experimenting with new ideas, by holding discussions and by attending courses and workshops (Interview, 2/15/95). Her project was designed to investigate "What impact can mentoring have on

teachers' understanding of learning and teaching mathematics?" She wanted teachers to learn how to find out what sense students were making of what was taught and to use a variety of techniques to help them "reconstruct" their understanding according to "standard" knowledge. These included learning how to pose problems that could be solved in multiple ways, ask probing questions and handling student responses in ways that encouraged further questioning on their part.

School-Based Teacher Learning

The CPs in this category were primarily interested in learning more about teacher learning. For them the process of teacher learning was in the foreground while the content of that learning was in the background. They paid less attention to what they wanted the teachers to learn and more to how the teachers learned and how they as mentors could facilitate that learning. There were only two CPs in this category and Ayesha's case illustrates it best.

Ayesha

Ayesha was a mathematics teacher with ten years of teaching

experience and she taught in a private girls' school owned by a philanthropic Trust¹ She was single and lived with her parents in an affluent section of Karachi. She seemed to have strong bonds with her large extended family, many of whom were also teachers or school administrators. She had initially thought about becoming a banker, but opportunities in the town where she lived were limited, especially for women, so she became a teacher instead. Ayesha worked in a school well known for introducing innovative programs for its students and for its support of teacher development projects. She had been encouraged by her Head to attend and lead workshops for other teachers at the local Teachers' Resource Center. However, she believed that teachers did not change their beliefs or practices only on the basis of short term, decontextualized external interventions. She had tried to change her own teaching as a result of attending workshops, and had tried to enable other teachers do so, without much success.

Ayesha was concerned about building a culture of shared learning among teachers in her school. Aware of the limitations of short workshops and courses, and wary of teachers' reluctance to

¹ Members of religious sects or industrial groups have set up schools in major cities of Pakistan with funds allocated for it in the form of Trusts. These

share ideas and resources within the school, she wanted to explore how she could support “classroom based support of experienced teachers” (Project, 1995) in her school.

Teaching Strategies

The fourth category of CPs were those that wanted to help other teachers learn specific teaching strategies or tools used within the framework of these strategies. This was by far the most common category as it included nine people, and Sonia was its best representative.

Sonia

Sonia was educated in a convent school and had a master’s degree in psychology. She was married and had two young children. She had not planned to be a teacher, but family responsibilities made it necessary for her to take it up, initially as a “part-time” job. She began to enjoy it and stayed on for another twelve years. She had taught mainly at the primary school level and was aware that she was sometimes perceived as an authoritarian teacher because she demanded silence and the students’ full attention in class. In her

First Assignment she mentioned that the Head she had worked with was “like a general” who ran the school like a military camp. He sought advice only from teachers he perceived to be “well educated” but often humiliated the others. He also avoided contact with parents unless they came to praise his work.

Sonia had some experience of working as the head of a primary school in an economically depressed locality managed by the Catholic Board of Education. She had taken on this work mainly as a part of her commitment to the poor. She had also participated in church initiated projects related to education for prevention of drug abuse (Conversations, 1994-5). She believed that schools should promote the social development of students and not just concentrate on their academic performance. She thought that teachers’ encouragement of competition as a means of motivating students to perform better in academic tasks was damaging to their social and emotional health. The “winners” came under tremendous pressure to stay on top, and the “losers” were deprived of a sense of achievement, even if they had done very well.

For her project Sonia wanted to help her mentees learn how to use cooperative learning in their classes. She justified her focus in the following words:

I found that the available evidence suggests that cooperative learning

- increases students' achievement and promotes their cognitive growth
- helps students to acquire social skills...
- prepares students to be better able to accept differences whether these result from handicaps or racial or ethnic backgrounds
- creates in students a greater love for school (Project, 1995)

Using the research evidence that she had come across as her justification, she decided to teach her mentees how to introduce cooperative learning in their classes using the Johnson and Johnson model (cited in her Project, 1995). She saw herself as a coach and used the theory-demonstration-practice-feedback cycle by Joyce and Showers (cited in her Project, 1995) used in the English/Cooperative Learning module, to help teachers learn the strategy. The appropriate use of the strategy seemed to be the main purpose of her work with the teachers. She wrote in her project report:

Cooperative learning requires that teachers learn new skills and behaviors so that they can change their practice to fit the needs of the innovation. However, conflicts were observed during practice which indicated that while teachers learned and practiced new skills and behaviors, they still held on to their old beliefs and philosophies. This implies that for

successful implementation of cooperative learning a change in teachers' beliefs is crucial. (Project, 1995)

It appears that Sonia wanted teachers' beliefs and behaviors to "fit" with the demands of the particular strategy she was promoting. She asked her mentees to continue helping each other refine their skills in use of the strategy by peer coaching each other after she had ended her project. She wrote:

I told the teachers that I would like them to start peer coaching each other as the end of [the project] was fast approaching and that I expected them to work together to improve their practice... I explained how to plan using the lesson planning guide, how to fill up the observation sheet and emphasized the need to be factual and descriptive when documenting observations. I also stressed the need to encourage the teachers [who were being coached] to reflect on their own lessons first and then provide feedback in a concerned and caring way. (Project, 1995)

Sonia also recommended that the strategy be gradually adopted in the entire school with support from an in-house facilitator and teams of teachers who would continue to help each other refine their skills.

Scope of Purposes

The CPs' stated purposes had two major characteristics: they were all directed towards the professional development of teachers but they varied a great deal in the numbers of ways teachers' development could be interpreted and sought.

Professional Purposes

According to their stated purposes, all of the CPs were interested in the professional education of teachers. Little (1987) makes the distinction between the kinds of support that mentors provide in the following words:

A distinction is in order between the social support that puts newcomers at ease and the professional support that advances one's knowledge and practice of teaching... Without diminishing the import of moral support and emotional solidarity, the central issue here is one of professional relations that go well beyond the usual "buddy" arrangement. (p. 498)

In the context of British schools, McIntyre, Hagger and Wilkin (1993)

applaud mentor's intention to provide professional support but are skeptical about whether they can do so in the face of more

compelling needs of their mentees and of the administrators they work for. They argue that the interest of novices are best served by mentors offering counseling and the interests of senior management of the schools by a staff management emphasis in mentors' work.

The mentors see themselves primarily as teachers of school students and not of student-teachers or interns. In the face of their own students' needs, the administrators' needs, or the novices' need for counseling, mentors may not put sufficient energy into the support of

the novices' professional growth. McIntyre and his colleagues warn that "the consequent threat to the quality of school-based initial teacher education is a serious one." Nevertheless, the CPs only included professional education of teachers in their stated purposes, but not counseling services or staff management. While they acknowledged the need to take into account the personal concerns of teachers they worked with, as well as the institutional support by the school managers, they wanted to do so only in service of the "real" agenda of their work. Nina, interested in helping her mentee learn about students' construction of knowledge, wrote, "I also realized that person and teacher are one--you cannot divorce the two. If you are helping someone in a professional role then the personal problems she has will also be needed to be taken into account." But she continued to keep her focus on the goal of supporting her mentee's professional development, and wrote:

My aim as a mentor was to help [the teacher] learn new strategies that she could incorporate into her repertoire and to help her "question her previously accepted notions of teaching and learning. . . [to] reflect on these beliefs and attitudes while offering some insight into the mentor's own description and understandings of the classroom" (Gates, 1994, p. 19). In this capacity I was both change agent and guide. (Project, 1995)

More and Less Flexible Purposes

Some of the CPs' stated purposes could be interpreted and enacted in many more ways than others. For example, Nina's aim to help teachers to change their perspectives on learning and teaching of mathematics (Nina, Project 1995) could be interpreted in many different ways, while Sonia's purpose of teaching them how to use the Johnson and Johnson model of cooperative learning (Sonia, Project, 1995) is a relatively more rigid framework. While the philosophic perspectives undergirding both of these purposes may be the same, the former admits several variations in interpreting the perspective into general approaches and then specific actions. In contrast, the latter recommends a particular teaching strategy, emphasizing some predetermined moves by the teacher, and using the philosophic perspective to explain or justify the strategy. Nina wanted her mentees to think about how children constructed their mathematical knowledge. She began by collecting data on student-teacher interactions; discussed what students were learning and how; provided readings on constructivism; demonstrated how to facilitate discussions, ask open ended questions and respond to students' answers, keeping an eye on students' prior knowledge to help them

build upon it. She took an eclectic approach in selecting strategies to try out in the classroom and changed course when a need emerged in the classroom. For example, on one occasion the students in her mentee's class became curious about the square root of 11. Using pencil and paper calculations some of them suggested that there was no solution to it. In response the teacher said that they would be allowed to use calculators the following year and would be able to figure it out then. Nina stepped in to let them work it out with calculators and to explain the idea to each other using rough drawings. The teacher and she had a long discussion afterwards on how to nurture students' mathematical curiosity, although that was not something they had planned to do.

In contrast, Sonia's agenda for each conference was laid out beforehand. She planned to teach her mentees the following in sequence on set dates:

1. The Nature and Evolvement of Cooperative Learning and the Intellectual Roots that Support It
 2. Different Approaches to Cooperative Learning
 3. Common Features of Cooperative Learning
 4. Benefits of Cooperative Learning
 5. Staff Development Issues Related to Cooperative Learning
- (Project, 1995)

Her work with the teachers was based on pre-defined elements of

cooperative learning (Slavin and Johnson, cited in her Project) and she used the theory-demonstration-practice-feedback cycle (Joyce and Showers, cited in her Project) to help the teachers learn about a particular model of cooperative learning.

The difference between these two types of purposes was the flexibility it afforded the mentors in achieving their goals. While Nina kept her philosophic perspective in the foreground, trying to illustrate it in multiple strategies, Sonia had the strategy in the foreground with the philosophic perspective providing justification for its use. Because of the difference in their emphasis, Nina's purposes as a mentor seemed more flexible and to represent a broader scope than Sonia's. Together, they represented the range of flexibility in the CPs' purposes.

In the following section I will identify the communities that appeared to have influenced the CPs purposes and examine their effect on the development of their identities as mentors. The CPs' identities in relation to each of these communities are characterized and the ways in which these communities shaped the CPs' selves, in the past and/or present, are described.

Influences on Mentors' Purposes

In the early 1920s social psychologists Mead and Cooley developed theories of social and intellectual development which claimed that each person's sense of self or personal identity takes shape through interaction with others with whom the individual has a sense of fellowship or "community". In other words, we construct ourselves through our interactions with the multiple groups that are significant for us because we share with them some beliefs, values and experiences. Building on this work Blumer emphasized the role of human agency in selecting, recombining and restructuring the meanings individuals make of their interactions with various communities (cited in Bullough, Knowles and Crow, 1992). Gee (1990) and Britzman (1994) highlighted the fact that individuals belong to many communities, such as families, religious groups, organizational and professional groups, and therefore they develop multiple selves, which are evoked by the contexts in which an individual is situated at a particular time.

In her study of beginning teachers' construction of their identity, Harris (1995) found that the teachers' students, other teachers and parents were for them the most significant others. In

the CPs' writings and conversations, the students and the IED instructors (as well as researchers they introduce to the CPs through the texts they use), appeared to be the most significant communities for them. Almost all of the CPs' project reports began with an elaboration of what students need to learn, why and how. For example, Feisal began with an observations about Pakistani students' need to become more critical of what they were told in textbooks and by their teachers. He argued that admitting perspectives other than what was represented as "official knowledge" in the classroom would be more engaging for them, as well as helpful in their social development. He then presented controversy as a teaching strategy for achieving this objective.

After the introduction to the project, the CPs went on to describe their mentee teachers and their interactions with them. The purposes of these interactions were framed by what the CPs identified as knowledge gained during the M.Ed. program, often attributed to IED instructors or the reading materials they introduced them to. For example, Ayesha referred to her discovery of what it meant to have "conceptual understanding" in the mathematics module, and Danial wrote about his experience of "inquiry" in the

science module as something he wanted all teachers to help their students experience. However, in the interviews and conversations, the CPs also referred to the Heads or administrators of their schools as well as some abstractions of the larger social milieu inclusive of parents. These references were made mainly to elaborate how administrators, parents or specific cultural factors could impede or support the changes they wanted to introduce.

In the CPs' purposes as mentors the interests of these different communities may coalesce or they may conflict. Whose voices did they hear? Why? What meanings did they give to these voices? And what are some plausible reasons for these meanings?

Students and the Self-as-Teacher

The CPs' understandings of students' needs came from their experience of being students themselves, from their own teaching and from their knowledge about how teachers generally teach in local schools. Danial, who was one of the secondary school teachers interested in changing his mentees' epistemological stance towards science wrote:

When I reflect on my own learning of science in the late 70s I remember that I was taught mostly by an exposition method in

the elementary classes. The purpose of teaching through this method was to impart scientific knowledge... In this method the students read aloud from a science textbook and the teacher explained what had been described in the text either verbally or by drawing diagrams on the blackboard. At the end of the class the teacher asked some questions and gave homework. In this way the teacher transmitted factual knowledge to us to memorize in order to reproduce it in the examination. I did not have a chance to be “actively” involved in learning science. I felt as a passive listener and found science learning boring and useless in everyday life. (Project, 1995)

Danial’s reference here in thinking about science teaching is his own experience as a student. And Sami, also a male science teacher in a government school who wanted his mentees to think of science as a process rather than a set of given facts, drew his images of teaching from his own and his colleagues’ practice. He wrote:

The current practice in our schools is that while performing “practicals” the students have with them a worksheet which is provided by the teacher in which all the details are given. The students have to go through the experiments blindly. There is no input from the students. It is assumed that while going through the experiment the students will learn the processes of science and will assimilate them. It is also assumed that students will reproduce them whenever required. The main argument in favor of this type of teaching is that if one does things practically one will remember them. I think this type of teaching could also be described as rote learning. (Project, 1995)

These strong images from the CPs’ past experiences as students and as teachers contrasted sharply with the visions of learning and teaching that they encountered in the M.Ed. program. Their desire

to replace what they had experienced before with newly discovered possibilities became the primary focus for almost all of the CPs' projects. The CPs wanted to change what students learned and how they learned it. The question of what students learned was addressed by making an epistemological shift in the nature of the subject matter and what it meant to know it. Feisal, who tried to reinterpret social studies as a dialectic field, and Danial and Sami who wanted to interpret science as a process of inquiry, wanted students to develop different understandings of these subjects (Projects, 1995). The question of how students learned was addressed in one way by Nina by trying to help teachers understand that students "constructed" rather than "received" knowledge. Sonia's work in teaching teachers specific strategies was another way of helping teachers see how students could learn better in cooperative groups.

The CPs' concern for students went beyond epistemological, cognitive and technical matters to changing teachers' attitude towards students. For example, Feisal was also concerned about the affective aspect of his mentee's classroom practice. He said:

I asked [my mentee] why she did not smile in class. And I asked the students "Does she not look nice when she smiles?"

and they said "Yes!" But [she] said she did not want to do it because she said "you cannot control the class if you smile. The students will not think of you as a teacher - but "too friendly." But during demonstration I used a lot of humor and smiles and the students liked it, and they respected me also. You saw how they came and said "Sir, please take our class today."
(Conversation, 2/10/1995)

In the instructions given for the CPs' projects they were asked to help a small number of teachers learn something and report on that experience. But only Ayesha and one other CP highlighted teacher learning as the primary interest of their projects. In all the rest, the CPs' interest in student learning is more prominent. All those who were interested in epistemology, cognition or specific teaching strategies were looking at these areas from the perspective of what students stood to gain from the stipulated changes. Benefits that accrued to them were the ends and mentoring teachers was the means towards this end. In the project documents students' reactions to the innovation in the classroom were dwelt upon in detail, with the assumption that as rational beings, teachers would adopt the behaviors demonstrated or explained by the CPs that engendered these reactions. Except in one case, there was little attempt to understand mentoring as a facilitative process for teacher-learning. The frustration expressed by the CPs in working with teachers indicated that they saw them almost as impediments

in achieving what they really wanted to do--which was to change the learning opportunities for the students. Feisal, who wanted his mentees to reinterpret the social studies curriculum to include controversy, wrote:

The teachers with whom I worked lacked skills in dealing with issues related to values and belief of individuals and society. As a result they avoided and suppressed controversies instead of using them as opportunities for learning. . . . I was interested to see how children were involved in the learning process, if they were happy to express themselves, and feel safe. I was happy to see the smiles in their faces and read their acknowledgment of the acceptance of the strategy. Sometimes I felt that I should go on with the strategy and the students, leaving the teachers behind. (Project, 1995)

This comment reveals Feisal's impatience with the teachers who could not teach according to his vision of "good teaching." He shows much greater concern for the students rather than the teachers as learners, although his assigned task was to work with the teachers. This indicates that the students remained the most important community for Feisal until the end of his project when he was writing his report.

Among the criteria for the selection of the CPs for the M.Ed. program, teaching experience was a high priority. The CPs' teaching experience ranged from none to over twenty years. None of them (except Feisal, briefly) had worked in any other profession. Thus

teaching was what they knew how to do, and “teacher” was the label they used for themselves (First Assignment, 1/94). While most of them acknowledged that they would not have selected teaching as a profession if they had other choices, they also eulogized their work, possibly as a way of compensating for the lack of public value of their work. Some of them, drawing upon religious and cultural associations of teaching, called it “the work of prophets, saints and apostles” (First Assignment, 1/94; Interviews 2/94). Although their material rewards were sparse at best, their strongest sense of self-worth came from their ability to touch the lives of young people. In their First Assignments all of the CPs talked about enabling individual students to do well in examinations, persuading them to not drop out of school, or contributing to their success in adult life as productive and well-respected individuals. For many of the CPs the rewards were in the nature of “small” but significant changes in their students. For example, Nina said:

. . . there was this one girl in class, she was very - I think she felt in her mind that she was not very good and so she never--her expectation of herself was very low. You know. And I kept saying in class--we are all the same. And if you put in that amount of work, or if you read - you can be as good as anyone else. She would never ask a question. Never. There were a few children like that. . . Anyway, slowly she realized that it was OK to ask a question if she didn't understand

something. That was a rewarding experience for me. I had built enough confidence in her that she could ask me. She would sometimes ask the meaning of a very simple word and she wouldn't feel bad about it. (Interview, 2/15/94)

Incidents such as this are unlikely to be publicly acknowledged or even talked about, but Nina's sense of having made a difference to the level of confidence in this child was obviously a worthwhile reward for her. The CPs' self-as-teacher thus had strong associations with highly prized psychological rewards (Lortie, 1975). It is reasonable to speculate that they would want to hold on to these rewards, especially as the rewards of self-as-mentor had not yet emerged for them.

Although at the time of their selection the CPs had been told that upon their graduation they would be expected to work as "mentors" and as part time instructors at IED, in addition to doing classroom teaching, the implications of these multiple responsibilities seemed not be imminent at the outset of the program. In their First Assignments almost all of them said they wanted to learn "modern teaching methods" for better student outcomes, how to discipline and motivate students, how to teach students of wide ranging abilities in the same classroom, how to work with students having specific learning disabilities, how to have more patience and so on. Only

three of them made any reference at all to wanting to learn things other than those that would be useful for a teacher. These expectations were stated briefly and vaguely in their First Assignments: "I would like to be not only a great teacher but also a great educationist"; (1/1994) "I hope to learn ways to develop myself as a leader and an agent of change" (1/1994) and "I may be a competent coach but I would like to combine in myself the qualities of a mentor" (1/1994). Given that the CPs had not seen or read about models of school based mentors, these descriptions are understandably weak. The CPs had no way of knowing whether the knowledge, skills and dispositions they needed to develop as teachers were any different from what they might need as mentors. The first half of the M.Ed. program was entirely devoted to the study of "good teaching" and in the second half only six days were allocated to sessions on mentoring. The support provided by advisors in this area was also very uneven because of varied availability and expertise of the advisors. As a result, the CPs seemed to have assumed that their preparation as "good teachers" would equip them sufficiently to be "good mentors." Holt-Reynolds (1991) points out that student-teachers make a similar assumption

in believing that being “good” students prepares them adequately for becoming good teachers. She claims that this can be major hurdle in their learning to teach diverse learners. Furthermore, as the CPs had not met their mentees before they planned their projects, and most of them had never worked with teachers before, it was easier for them to imagine students’ learning needs rather than that of teachers. In the absence of prior professional interactions with teachers, they had relatively limited understanding of what teachers (other than themselves) might need to learn.

Another reason for the CPs’ focus on aspects of teaching was that most of them thought of themselves primarily as teachers, and their habits of thinking like teachers (Bereiter, 1990) shaped what they learned in the program. They attended more closely to elements of the program that responded to their self-as-teacher than their self-as-mentor. They found it exciting to learn about different views of subject matter, about student learning and about specific teaching strategies. All, except two, selected topics for their projects that could have been explored directly in the classroom without the involvement of any other teacher besides themselves. Even the CPs who had jobs that required them to work with teachers rather than

students decided to focus on their own development as teachers, rather than as supervisors, teacher educators or managers. Among the CPs were two Education Officers responsible for supervision of primary school teachers in large school systems, and a Master Trainer responsible for inservice education and supervision of teachers. None of them chose to focus on teacher learning in their projects.

The CPs responded to specific aspects of knowledge for teaching that they encountered in the program on the basis of their backgrounds and prior experiences. Sami and Danial were *science teachers* in high schools where a particular kind of expertise was expected from them in their schools. They became interested in reconceptualizing the subject matter in the science module, and followed this interest in their projects. In contrast, Nina and Sonia were primary school teachers who were responsible for teaching all the subjects in their classes. They did not see themselves as subject specialists. Despite having participated in the same experiences that were offered to Sami and Danial in the science module, they did not select any particular subject as the focus of their project. Instead, they paid greater attention to developing their own understanding of

how children learn and also tried to teach other teachers about how children learn in their projects. Ayesha was able to think of herself as a teacher educator because she had relatively greater experience in this area having led inservice courses for other schools through the local Teachers' Resource Center. She was also a high school teacher of mathematics, and may have selected an epistemological or a cognitive focus for her project but her prior experiences seemed to make her also interested in teacher learning. According to Blumer's theory (cited in Bullough, Knowles and Crow, 1992) the CPs were selecting, regrouping and transforming their experiences of the program according their interpretation of the new situation, in this case their mentoring roles, and the selves they brought to the situation.

The CPs' sense of self-as-teacher also seemed to be embedded in the kinds of schools where they worked. The kinds of teachers they were in their own schools in turn seemed to shape the decisions they made in selecting their purposes as mentors. For example, Nina and Sonia were both primary school teachers and had some experience of supervising other teachers. They were both considered among the "star" students in the M.Ed. program primarily because of

the quality of papers they wrote for their assignments. Nina taught in a school which was considered a very “progressive” school. Its students came from rich “Westernized” families and usually joined their family businesses after a liberal education. Students were always taught in English, took British overseas examinations, boys and girls sat together in the same classes (until recently, unlike any other high school in Pakistan) and a very high percentage of its graduates traditionally left for higher education in foreign universities. Sonia had worked in schools run by the Catholic Church. In schools like hers, students learned at a very early age the “approved” ways of being a student and a person. The nuns and priests lay down the rules for everything and anybody who had aspirations of becoming a “good” student followed those rules rigidly.

The different work environments of these two individuals seemed to influence their choices as teacher-learners and as mentors. Nina appeared to be comfortable with a theory of learning which provided general guidelines but not specific details about teachers’ actions. Sonia seemed happier with a specific teaching strategy with its five essential components and the different aspects of its management all laid out beforehand. While this does not necessarily

mean that the CPs' prior experiences as teachers always channeled them in particular directions, there were sufficient patterns of choices made by the CPs that draw our attention to this factor. It is very likely that Sonia in her career as a teacher had fewer choices to make than Nina did, and that her options were more limited than Nina's. In Nina's school for example, there were no textbooks prescribed for the first four grades, but in Sonia's school textbooks selected by the Head were used right from the beginning. In Nina's school teachers put together the syllabus and collectively reviewed it. In Sonia's school it was enforced by the "general" who was the Head of the school (Conversations, 1994-5). Having had fewer opportunities for decision making as a teacher, it seems that Sonia had a lower threshold for tolerance of ambiguity as a mentor than Nina did. She selected a specific model of teaching which prescribed not only what the students should do, but what Sonia herself should do with her mentees. Nina's selection allowed for multiple interpretations of what teachers could do with students and what she could do with teachers.

IED Instructors and Self-as-Student

Most of the instruction in the M.Ed. program was provided by faculty from two well known Canadian and British universities with whom IED had formed a “partnership”. The CPs also spent a term at one of these universities attending classes, visiting schools and participating in seminars arranged specially for them. Instructors from the partner universities as well as the locally based ones had a strong influence on the CPs’ purposes as mentors, through what they said and did in the seminars, the reading and writing they assigned and through other experiences they organized for the CPs. During the mentoring seminar the CPs were told by a faculty member what their purposes as mentors ought to be:

We have to work in a situation where the skills of the teachers might be deficient. Thus the work of a mentor here is to work as a teacher and train other teachers in terms of improving their professional skills. (Videotape Transcript, 1/19/95)

This message was reiterated by other faculty members. One of them said:

Don’t forget we do have an agenda... How are we going to make the teachers comfortable enough to take the knowledge we have learned in the M.Ed. program - not by saying “your ideas are wrong” - as a mentor you have to know how to work around these barriers. (Videotape Transcript 1/19/95)

What statements such as these seemed to say to the CPs was that the knowledge they had gained at the IED was the “truth” and their responsibility to spread it. A very small number of the CPs resisted this stance. Nina said, “Your agenda as a mentor may not match her own agenda as a teacher. Mentoring is not going into schools with your fixed agenda in mind. Sometimes the situation in the school will force you to change your agenda and listen to the needs of the teacher.” (Videotape Transcript, 1/19/95). However, most of the others gradually bought into the IED ideology of spreading “the Message” in the schools they represented. In other words, they gave in to the dominant Discourse that Gee (1990) refers to. Sonia’s position is illustrative of what many of the CPs thought:

Excuse me, I think I have a fixed agenda for change. I have a limited time. I am not going to stick around in my school for ten years with a teacher who is not cooperating. I am going to move on. The reason why I am taking this course is to bring about change in the school, otherwise I wouldn’t waste my time. This is my agenda [pointing to her papers]. I have a fixed agenda. (Videotape Transcript, 1/19/95)

For her what she had learned at IED had become paramount in her agenda as a mentor. What the teachers or school administrators needed or wanted to learn seemed far less important to her.

Almost all of the purposes the CPs selected for their projects can be traced quite directly to experiences they had in the program.

Feisal said in his project report:

During the Social Studies module I was exposed to several practical approaches and techniques for teaching social studies such as inquiry, controversy, higher order thinking, etc. During this module I realized a new dimension to the term controversy: the use of controversy as a teaching strategy... During our visits to the schools in the Ontario province I was introduced to practical implementation of controversy as a strategy in the classroom. (Project, 1995)

He was obviously sufficiently influenced with what he had learned in the module and in his school visits to want to make this the centerpiece of his work with his mentees. In Nina's case what she learned from the program was not new to her but her prior intuitive knowledge was given a label, reinforcement and legitimacy through the program. She wrote:

As a teacher I intuitively knew that to get real understanding information needed to be "processed" by the child. I was not aware that I was adopting a stance known as constructivism. During the maths module at the IED we were introduced to this philosophy. [The instructor] explained the main principles very simply in the following way. (Project, 1995)

In her case, the vocabulary, conceptual tools and validity provided by the program enabled her choose it as her focus. Without this experience she may not have had enough confidence or adequate language to teach what was previously only her personal knowledge

to other teachers. For Sonia, too, the instructor of the module in cooperative learning, the literature she read and other reinforcing experiences organized by her instructors, especially during her overseas visit, persuaded her to teach her mentees the particular strategy she chose.

The CPs wrote their project proposals prior to their work with their mentees. None of them tried to find out the specific needs of the teachers they were going to work with or the institutional priorities of the schools in which they worked. It is possible that CPs who were going to work in their own schools assumed that they already knew the needs of the teachers and/or of their schools. Others may have assumed that teachers had generic needs that they already knew about. In any case, they were neither encouraged by the instructors to systematically assess the needs of their mentees or their institutions, nor did they take the initiative to do so on their own. As a result some of them tried to introduce changes that did not match what local teachers and school administrators saw as relevant for their context. In such cases, the CPs soon discovered the futility of trying to impose on other teachers what they had learned

in the program. Feisal's experience is representative of many. In the introduction to his project he wrote:

During the Social Studies module I realized a new dimension to the term controversy: the use of controversy as a teaching strategy. . . . Some people (referring to his peers) advised me to change the topic of research because of its irrelevance to Pakistan's educational context.. [but] my experience in Canada affirmed my dedication to my chosen topic. The educational circles in Canada consider creative controversy as one of educational priorities in schools, because they think that controversy is an important strategy for helping students to acquire skills needed for solving problems and working with different people in multi-ethnic and multicultural Canadian Society. . . . A remark made by [IED instructor from the partner university] highlighted the significance of the strategy. He said, "[teachers] create controversies in the classrooms in order for students to be able to solve them in real life."
(Project, 1995)

The instructor's influence, both in terms of the experiences he arranged for Feisal while he was visiting the "partner university" and his remarks, influenced his selection of the topic for his project. This influence was strong enough to make him overlook the contextual factors that his peers were pointing out to him. When he introduced discussions on controversial issues in the classroom, the teachers he was working with expressed concerns about reactions of the Head and of parents, especially on matters related to politics and religion. Both teachers and students in the classes he was teaching said to him that while his approach was interesting and instructive, they could

not afford to spend more time on it because it took them away from the more urgent and important task of preparing for the examinations. It was only towards the end of the project that he realized that his efforts would not result in any change. He wrote:

The teachers realized the significance of controversy and conflict management skills not only in the classroom but in society as well but they were bound to the existing realities of the school and educational system which demanded the completion of syllabus and preparation for exams. Accordingly, the head and colleagues were not ready for such a complex innovation which demanded a radical shift not only in their practice of teaching but in their beliefs and attitudes as well. Controversy as a strategy was found too difficult to comprehend because it was not congruent with the immediate interests and needs of the school. (Project, 1995)

While Feisal was willing to acknowledge the futility of his efforts, other CPs attributed the lack of observable change among the teachers to what Fullan calls the implementation dip² (Fullan, 1992) when the process of change makes things get worse before they get better, or just expressed their uncertainty about the possibility of significant or lasting change through mentoring and left it at that.

The CPs' preoccupation with their effort to spread "the Message" of IED did not include sufficient reflection on their own practices as mentors, especially with reference to the contextual

² According to Fullan when teachers try to introduce change in their classrooms the uncertainties that they and the students go through often cause

relevance of their projects. Many of them concluded their projects by identifying the need to change external contextual factors to support their work with the teachers but did not question whether their purposes or the manner in which they tried to pursue them, were appropriate for the context. The question of why the knowledge they gained at IED was given more importance than what they could have learned in the schools is tied up with the status of particular kinds of knowledge and the people and places associated with it (Gee, 1990). This is a question which I will return to explore from other perspectives in the next two chapters.

The CPs' sense of self-as-student at IED seemed strong enough to have directed their purposes as mentors. It seems reasonable to speculate that the timing of the data collection for this study may have something to do with this feature. While the CPs were students in the program, they may have given much more importance to what they thought IED instructors wanted them to do. When they returned to their schools, time and distance from the program and the immediacy of the other context could lead them to become more attuned to what teachers and Heads of schools wanted them to do.

lower efficiency and poorer performance for a while before the positive effects of the change become visible.

Whether they believed in the “authoritative” knowledge embodied by the program, or they were responding to the expectation of their instructors, they seemed to want to follow the IED agenda. Combined with their lack of experience in eliciting and responding to needs articulated by teachers (as pointed out in the following section), it seems likely that their self-as-IED-student would continue to form the core of their self-as-mentor.

Teachers and Self-as-Mentor

The CPs’ initial statements (Interviews, 2/11/94; 3/15/94) early in the program about what teachers needed to learn were articulated on the basis of their own experience and their interactions with colleagues in their schools and at IED. Having already been selected for the IED program, and thus being assured that they were the best teachers in their schools, they were relatively open about acknowledging their own and other teachers’ needs. As future mentors and teacher educators they were also charged with this responsibility. Many of them had some experience of helping colleagues in informal ways. A small number had also formally conducted workshops, supervised teachers and engaged in

peer coaching. Working closely as an identity group at IED gave them further opportunities to observe and discuss what they and other teachers needed to learn.

The CPs' statements early in the program were quite unequivocal: the most fundamental of teachers' needs to learn the subject matters they were required to teach. This was followed by skills for classroom management and control. New teaching strategies were useful to them, but only if they were demonstrably helpful in making their students learn what they were supposed to, which in most cases, were facts and skills tested in examinations.

Sami said:

I think two things are very important: content knowledge and classroom management . . . Because content knowledge brings confidence in the teacher. When he is facing the students then he feels at ease because he knows the subject, or at least he knows what he is going to teach. That will not make him panic. If a question is asked in the class and that makes a teacher panic, that everything is going wrong! So that is very essential. And then comes management because no matter what he knows, if everybody is going here and there, no matter what he knows it is useless (Interview, 3/15/94).

By pointing to content knowledge as one of the most fundamental of teachers' needs Sami was claiming what researchers (Ball and Wilson, 1992; Ball and McDiarmid, 1990) have also found in the United States. In Pakistan, where the quality of education is generally quite

poor, and teachers are usually not the beneficiaries of the best that is available, the severity of this problem is much greater than in Western countries. The small scale investigations done in Pakistani schools (Allsop, unpublished; Ali, unpublished) confirm Sami's claim. As the program unfolded and the CPs began to think more about their own role in facilitating teachers' learning, the initial clarity they had about teachers' needs got muddled by concerns about what they could do to meet those needs. Danial said:

For teaching methods they can say, we do not have this experience, or that the training colleges did not teach us to do it this way, or this is something new from - from another country, perhaps. But for the subject content - they have been certified for it, it is their job to teach it - how can they say that they don't know it themselves? This would be very, very hard to admit..... You can't treat them like student, you know, like when you tutor students on a regular bases. You have to wait for them to come to you with a particular problem, like "The students are having a big problem trying to understand this" and then you find out that the teacher herself did not understand the problem. So you try to explain how you would do it with the students and in the process the teacher will learn. But they would never say that they need to learn it themselves (Interview, 2/12/95).

Danial was expressing here his recognition of teachers' need for subject matter but also of the delicacy of his own role in making explicit attempts to meet this need. The risks in trying to articulate this need were far greater for him than, for example, trying to teach a new strategy to a colleague. Firstly, waiting for teachers to

occasionally bring up these needs could hardly justify the designated role of a mentor in the school. Secondly, by waiting for the teachers to bring up problems he would have to give up the control of their agenda, putting his own (possibly embodying IED's) purposes in a secondary position. Thirdly, playing a proactive role in trying to teach them subject matter would have jeopardized his relationship with the teachers, who were important to him as significant "others" who defined his identity as mentors. And lastly, the focus on subject matter may have exposed the limits of his own understanding of the subject and put to test his credibility among his colleagues. These risks are taken by facilitators of adult learners in similar situations (Merriam, 1993) but Danial was not yet thinking of himself as a mentor of adults.

Some of the CPs began to realize that it was not necessary for a teacher to admit a need for a mentor to respond to it. Sami, the teacher who wanted to teach science as a process of inquiry, felt that other, more subtle approaches to finding out teachers' needs were also possible :

There are needs that they say they have--and there are others, which they will not tell you but you can find out, when you sit together for a long time, or when you have studied together

and when they have developed confidence in you as their mentor. (Interview, 2/11/95)

He began to appreciate that sitting and studying together are enabling factors in building robust relationships with the community of teachers, which would help to surface and address teachers needs. Gradually, some of them also began to realize that even when teachers had enough confidence in their mentors to ask for help they may genuinely not know what to ask for because they were not aware of other alternatives. As Sami said:

If you asked me two years ago what I needed to learn, I would not be able to say "how to help students build conceptual understanding" or "how to do inquiry in science", or "cooperative learning" or anything like that. I didn't know what I needed then. How can I expect teachers to tell me what they need? (Videotape transcript, 1/22/1995)

And they learned that teachers' specific needs could not be isolated from the larger set of their beliefs and practices and from the contexts in which they worked. Initially, thinking about his own difficulties in very large classes, Sami said that his first priority was to help his colleagues organize group work in their classes:

In my context, I think because I will be dealing with teachers who in turn will be dealing with students in large numbers, in hundreds, eighties and nineties, so I think the first task will be how to get students interacting among themselves, and the teacher, for purposeful learning (Videotape transcript, 1/22/1995).

But he soon realized that before he could persuade teachers to allow group work, he had to sell them his vision of what “purposeful learning” was, and convince them that the kind of interaction he was proposing would promote this kind of learning. He also realized that even if he managed to do all of the above, other teachers in school would protest about the noise in that classroom, because the rooms were built so close to each other that the slightest noise in one room disturbed students on both sides of the corridor.

Ayesha had attended several in-service courses and worked with teachers as workshop leaders. She was able to draw upon her experiences in both positions, as teacher-educator and teacher-learner. She had found that it was very difficult for teachers to translate context free ideas offered in short courses into classroom practice without further support from course leaders. Disillusioned by the ineffectiveness of short courses in changing teachers’ practice she wanted to find alternate ways of doing so. She, therefore, decided to explore teachers’ processes of learning as she helped them introduce mathematical talk in their classroom. While Ayesha and the other CP who decided to investigate teacher-learning, were full-time classroom teachers, there were three others in the group whose

current jobs required them to work with teachers rather than with students. Interestingly, none of them focused on teachers' needs as their primary concern. A possible reason for why they did not choose to do so may be that they needed to first assure themselves of their ability to be "good" teachers before attempting to help others learn how to do good teaching.

When the CPs began work on their projects they had to interact with other teachers in ways which none of them had experienced before in the context of schools. They now had to craft their identities from interpreting other experiences in a new situation, and as Schwab (1976) had suggested their perceptions of how the teachers saw them became a factor in the construction of their identities as mentors. Sometimes the teachers communicated their perception of the mentees very directly. Feisal's mentee insisted on calling him "Sir" because she said she hoped to learn from him and therefore, thought of him as her teacher. It seems that he fell into the role of a teacher with her because when he asked her to reflect on their relationship, she said, "Well, you were pushing too much. You were asking me to come [for meetings] every free time. You even scolded me when I went for a glass of water and came ten

minutes late. You told [me] that drinking water should not be included in our working time of thirty minutes. And you were favoring [the other mentee].” Feisal was treating her like an errant student here rather than an adult colleague and, perhaps inadvertently, reinforced the teacher-student relationship which she had initiated.

Other mentees’ messages were more subtle but nevertheless communicated that they expected CPs to be “expert” teachers. Ayesha’s mentee’s wrote in her journal, “Ayesha’s approval of my lesson plan set my mind at ease” (Project, 1995). One of the major reasons for CPs’ willingness to mirror the mentees image of them as experts in teaching was to gain credibility in their eyes, without which they may not have been accepted as mentors. Nina was aware that one of her mentees, who a teacher in the senior school, may not give her sufficient credibility because she had been teaching in the junior section of the school. Nina acknowledged that she gave the teacher some of the academic literature she had been reading in the M.Ed. program to show that she had authoritative knowledge about teaching, and thus gain her credibility (Project, 1995 - draft version).

As a result of trying to meet the mentees' expectation of them as experts, the CPs' purposes may also have been modified before or during the projects. For example, the mentees' expectations of CPs as subject matter experts posed a serious challenge for many of them. Although the CPs had some opportunities to explore subject-matters during the program, there was obviously insufficient time to do this in any great depth. What they did learn, though, was to appreciate how much more they needed to know about the subject-matter. Subsequently, when faced with the possibility of being confronted with the teachers' expectations of being subject matter experts coming in to help them, they deflected this critical question and focused instead on teaching strategies and perspectives on learning, in which they were, relatively speaking, experts indeed. Even the CPs who shifted their epistemological positions towards the subjects they taught acknowledged that they could guide other teachers only in topics that they themselves had explored during the program. For other topics they did not know what experiments to set up or what questions to ask because they themselves did not understand the concepts underlying the procedures (Conversations with Sami, Danial and Ayesha 1994-1995).

The CPs' sense of self in relation to teachers seemed to be full of uncertainties. On the one hand, teachers' needs for content knowledge seemed so obvious that the CPs may well have defined themselves as providers of this knowledge. But on the other hand, they were unsure of the teachers' willingness to learn from them, their own ability to teach them, and the cost of this engagement to their personal relationships with the teachers. They had no prior experiences of assessing teachers' needs or learning as a teacher in the company of a mentor. It was difficult for them to imagine the content and quality of experiences that would be helpful to teacher-learners in this situations. These considerations were further complicated by the teachers' obvious expectations of "expertise" from them. What differentiated them most sharply from other teachers was their experience of the M.Ed. program. Therefore, their association with the program became the source of their expertise.

Conclusion

Feiman-Nemer and Rosaen (1994) identified four broad and overlapping purposes that mentors may have: helping teachers enact their visions of "good" practice; systematically study their practice;

implement new curricula or teaching strategies; and restructure teaching. The CPs' purposes seem to fall mostly within the third and to a limited degree within the fourth category. Their purposes as mentors seem to be directed by their selves-as-teachers and selves-as-students. Both of these selves seemed to be mediated by their interpretation of the kind of teachers and students the program expected them to be. They had acquired the Discourses (Gee, 1990) of teachers and students over many years in the company of other teachers and students, and therefore knew how to perform in these identities. And, as Bereiter (1990) suggests, people develop *habits* of perceiving and interpreting the world in particular ways. Having developed the habits of thinking like teachers and students, the CPs attended to aspects of the program that were most likely to contribute to their success as teachers and students. Even in their identities as mentors they selected objectives that advanced their goals as teachers and as students. Britzman (1994) goes further in claiming that people's *capacity* to give meaning to their experiences is constrained by the selves they bring to these experiences. The CPs had no opportunities to be encultured into the social practices of mentors in their context through supported and scaffolded

apprenticeship (Gee, 1990) because such a Discourse did not pre-exist. Since they had not yet acquired mentors' ways of thinking, valuing, and acting, they could only bring their teacher-selves and student-selves to the program, and the only way they could interpret its experiences was as teachers and as students.

A different explanation for the CPs' use of knowledge they gained at IED (as teachers and students) to guide their purposes as mentors is Gee's (1990) notion of "dominant Discourses." Gee claims that Discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structures in society and that control over certain Discourses can lead to the acquisition of social goods. The CPs were obviously cognizant of the power and status of instructors associated with IED. They seemed to accept the instructors' interpretations of students' and teachers' needs and to transform them into their purposes as mentors. In doing so, they seemed to undermine their own prior knowledge of what teachers needed to learn. They did not address the issue of lack of content knowledge, which they had almost unanimously identified as the most fundamental of teachers' problems in the early part of the program (Interviews, 2/11/94, 2/15/94). Nor did they think it was

important to find out what their prospective mentees wanted or needed to learn. This may be due to the fact that they had not seen examples of assessment of learners. This may also be due to their lack of faith in teachers' ability to know and to articulate what they needed to learn, or in their own skills in helping them to peel off the superficial layers to get to the "heart of the matter," or their reluctance to challenge dominant images of "experts" who assume to know beforehand what learners need to know.

Another way to look at the above issue is that the CPs were aware of teachers' needs that may be different from what the IED instructors appeared to be pointing to, but they did not know how to address these needs. For example, many of the CPs continued to feel that they did not have sufficient subject matter knowledge themselves to teach students and teachers in the manner that they had experienced in the program (Conversations 1994-1995). Even if they acknowledged this as the most important and urgent need of teachers, they did not know how to address this need. The conceptual tools, vocabulary and skills that the program had provided them were the only ones that they could use in their work with the teachers. Perhaps it was not that they dismissed other

needs of teachers but they lacked the capacity to meet such needs.

Perhaps they also did not know how to articulate this dilemma.

Therefore, they selected the purposes of their projects on the basis of what they felt they were relatively well equipped to do.

Yet another way of looking at their purposes is that as IED students they wanted their purposes to reflect what they believed their instructors wanted them to do. As is evident from the messages of some of the instructors (see quotes in the section above), they wanted the CPs to pass on the knowledge they had acquired at the IED. The implicit model of mentoring promoted by the program was therefore the safe passage of IED endorsed knowledge from the CPs to the teachers. The CPs, therefore, considered it more appropriate, especially while they were in the program, to pursue the IED agenda rather than any other generated by themselves or by their mentees or their school administrators. Furthermore, the structure of the practicum, with its implicit message to present defensible evidence of teacher-learning in a relatively short period of time, probably discouraged the CPs from trying something that was obviously more difficult to do. As students in the program, their efforts to pursue programmatic goals could lead to social goods (Gee,

1990) that the alternatives could not provide. Whatever the case may be, the Discourse they had learned at IED seemed to dominate their purposes as mentors, at least while they were in the program.

The program's emphasis on preparing them as good teachers as a part of their preparation as good mentors may have reinforced an assumption on their part that being good teachers was sufficient preparation of becoming good mentors. The program offered them the vocabulary, the conceptual tools and experiences that challenged their prior conceptions of how teachers should think and act. In the first half of the program the CPs participated in subject-focused seminars, tested their teaching in schools, saw models of good teaching, and held discussions about teachers' roles in school and society. In contrast, the time devoted to exploring mentoring was a tiny fraction of the whole program, taught by two instructors whose views about mentoring were almost diametrically opposite. The CPs did not see any models of mentoring in the local schools which they could draw upon for the kind of learning intended in the program, nor any feedback on their own early efforts.

Although the CPs' project on mentoring was a large component of the program, other issues such as research and writing skills took

precedence in the students' minds over issues related to mentoring. The project report had to be in the form of a dissertation, to be bound and kept at the IED library, and it had to conform to standard practices associated with a dissertation for a master's degree. None of the CPs had ever engaged in a project of this nature or written a formal report of this size. They struggled with the research processes and with the writing of the report. One indication of their difficulty in writing the report in standard English is that four editors were engaged specifically to edit their work. Their focus on self-as-mentor was thus diluted by the numerous difficulties they faced in trying to meet the formalities of a research project.

The CPs had learned the Discourse (Gee, 1990) of teachers by working in schools and the Discourse of IED instructors by being students in the M.Ed. program. But CPs did not have access to any school based mentors in their own contexts. Gee claims:

As a Discourse is being mastered (or after it has) by acquisition, then learning can facilitate "meta-knowledge", learning can facilitate nothing unless the acquisition process has already begun . . . Acquisition must (at least partially) precede learning; apprenticeship must precede "teaching" (in the normal sense of the word "teaching"). (p. 147)

The M.Ed. program did not provide the CPs with vivid images of what it looks like and feels like to mentor experienced teachers in local

schools. They did not get the opportunity to acquire the Discourse of mentors in the company of those who had already mastered it, and had no way of knowing if and how it would be different from that of teachers. It was, understandably, difficult for them to tell what sort of expertise was needed by mentors and how it was different from that of teachers. When they tried to learn the “meta-knowledge” about mentoring without having acquired the Discourse of mentors, they were building on “nothing.” However, when they learned about teaching, they became more powerful teachers, because “Meta-knowledge is power, because it leads to the ability to manipulate, to analyze, to resist while still advancing” (Gee, 1990, p. 148). It is therefore not surprising that their identities as mentors seemed to lack shape and substance in comparison to their identities as teachers and as IED students.

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CHAPTER FIVE

IDENTITY IN PRACTICE

Building on various aspects of Vygotsky's and Erickson's works Penuel and Wertsch (1995) claim that by taking mediated action as the unit of analysis for identity and identity research, it is possible to make several claims about identity. The researchers contend that actions involve commitment, which according to Erickson is the "cornerstone of identity" and actions draw upon cultural and historical resources which according to Vygotsky are both sustaining and constraining factors in the formation of identity. Penuel and Wertsch further suggest that "When speaking of identity in particular, we are concerned with how individuals select, choose and commit to different people and idea systems in the course of their activities" (p. 84).

This chapter focuses on the commitments made by the CPs in their choice of activities as mentors, and their reasoning for these choices. Discussed here is the CPs' perception of their practice as mentors, or their "ways of interacting" (Gee, 1990) with their mentees, which is a part of their evolving identity. In this chapter I

describe how the CPs perceived and reported the enactment of their purposes as mentors. I focus on the content and format of three of the CPs' interactions with their mentees and their implicit and explicit reasons for these. This smaller sample enables me to provide richer details about the CPs and their interactions with their mentees. In this chapter I show how the CPs' beliefs about "good teaching," what good teachers need to know, and how they learn in the company of mentors such as themselves, intersected with elements of the M.Ed. program, to shape their practice as mentors. These interactions in turn framed and defined what they learned about mentoring and about themselves as mentors.

The CPs' practice as mentors was framed by their practicum or research project. Shön suggests that the practicum "embodies particular ways of seeing, thinking, and doing that tend, over time, as far as the student is concerned, to assert themselves with increasing authority" (1987, p. 121). This is similar to Gee's description of identity. He claims that "certain attitudes and beliefs, allegiances to certain life styles, and certain ways of interacting with others" become a part of an individual's "identity kit," and distinguish her as a member of a particular Discourse (1990). The practicum involved

the CPs' learning of procedural knowledge and skills, goal structures and problem models, affect and code of conduct as mentors, which Bereiter (1990) refers to as aspects of identity. A closer examination of the CPs' practicum could afford some insights into the identity they were developing as school-based mentors of practicing teachers.

Researchers writing about mentoring sometimes do not distinguish among activities of mentors, their attributes, the quality of their relationship with the mentees, or characteristics of the mentor-mentee interactions (e.g. Alleman, 1986; Daloz, 1983). One part of the difficulty in doing so lies in the historical antecedents of the term "mentoring." Having entrusted Telemachus to Mentor, Odysseus probably did not need to hand him a list of instructions about what he was supposed to do with him. It was assumed that the kind of person the original Mentor was and the responsibility he was given would lead him to interact with his mentee in an appropriate manner. But the other part of our difficulty in characterizing mentoring interactions lies in the current status of research on mentoring. Much of what is written about mentoring is drawn from models that are well developed in their own contexts where the multiple purposes and characteristics of the actors and

their interactions are subsumed under the generic title of mentoring (McIntyre & Hagger, 1993). For example, mentoring functions are performed by university-based tutors as well as classroom teachers in the Oxford Internship Scheme in the United Kingdom. Sometimes the quality of their performance as mentors is compared by researchers with disregard for the critical differences in their institutional affiliations, educational and professional backgrounds, and purposes as mentors. We need to distinguish the contexts from the activities and make explicit the links between the two. Doing this is likely to help us develop analytical categories and raise questions that are pertinent to our particular contexts and orient our investment of energy in supporting those who are learning to be mentors.

There are some obvious differences between the contexts in which the original Mentor and contemporary school-based mentors operate: in the latter case the mentoring relationship is a professional relationship between two adults. Its duration is pre-determined, and many other people besides the mentor and the mentee are involved in defining what they should do together and how. But there are also differences between what school-based mentors in general do and

what the CPs in this particular context were likely to do. The CPs would work with practicing teachers rather than student-teachers or beginning teachers. Ideally, their mentees would continue to work in the same school with them as their colleagues. The CPs would not have a pre-determined duration for working with teachers, nor a pre-determined number of teachers to work with. The managers of their schools and IED had expectations of them that differed from those held for mentors whose primary responsibility is to induct pre-service or novice teachers into the profession of teaching. The CPs' understanding of self-as-mentor in the contexts in which they operated would probably guide their interactions with their mentees. These interactions in turn could further refine their concepts of self-as-mentor.

The practicum afforded the CPs an opportunity to develop and implement some of their short-term goals as mentors. In this chapter I show how Sonia, Feisal and Ayesha translated their goals into operational plans and practices, what considerations influenced their decisions, and what they learned from their experiences. For example, Feisal's purpose as a mentor was to help teachers reinterpret the meaning of social studies and to use its dialectic

nature to develop students' social consciousness. In his practicum he tried to teach his mentees how to use controversy as a teaching strategy, using the new meaning of social studies as a justification for the strategy but not as the centerpiece of his teaching. Thus the short-term goal of showing teachers how to manage controversy in the classroom was used to illustrate to the mentees how a reinterpreted social studies curriculum could be used to foster students' social development in the long-term. For a variety of reasons Feisal was unable to persuade teachers to use the strategy in their classrooms. In the process he learned that teachers' decisions about what and how to teach are not just based on intellectual arguments about what is good for the students to know and be able to do, but also on the social considerations of what their students, colleagues and Heads expect them to do in class. He discovered that he could not graft his agenda onto their practice without taking into account their reasons for doing what they did. He also learned that he needed to develop a more empathic attitude towards his mentees and to provide more affective support when asking them to change their practice. The new understandings that Feisal developed as a

result of this short-term experience are likely to elaborate and refine his conception of self-as-mentor in the long-term.

The long-term purposes of the CPs are likely to be guided by what Anderson and Bird (unpublished) call educational values, while their short-term activities are guided by their perspectives on how the long-term purposes can be achieved. Anderson and Bird categorize teachers' beliefs into *educational values* (e.g. schools should support students' social development), *prescriptive principles* (e.g. teachers should ask open ended questions) *conceptual categories* (e.g. it is important to notice what students say about mathematical ideas) and *empirical claims* (e.g. teachers will learn a skill if you demonstrate it to them in their classrooms) The significance of these beliefs lies in their ability to limit the range of ideas and actions that the person holding these beliefs can consider or respond to. I will use these categories to identify the CPs' beliefs and what it meant for them to act upon these beliefs in their practice as mentors. For example, I will show how Sonia's educational value that schools should nurture the social development of students attracted her to a teaching strategy offered in the program that reflected this value. However, in the absence of effective

prescriptive principles or conceptual categories to guide her thinking about how she should help her mentees learn and use the strategy in this particular context, she was unable to convince them to use it.

Anderson and Bird recognize that teachers' beliefs do not determine practice but claim that they do exert powerful influences on what information is sought, perceived, and interpreted in terms of causal explanations, and that they guide the individuals' thinking about what are some possible and desirable actions in given situations. Beliefs enable individuals to deal with the complexity of situations by acting as filters that select or block out information that an individual can attend to. The researchers state:

Because [classroom] events move forward at an unremitting pace, teachers strive for efficiency in processing of information and decisions about actions. Their belief systems help them achieve this efficiency by limiting the range of phenomena to which they attend by making available certain explanations and interpretations that maintain cognitive consistency, and by rendering sensible certain actions but not others, thus limiting teachers' range of choices (unpublished).

According to this theory the information CPs received from the program and from their mentees would be filtered by their prior beliefs. This is supported by Blumer's contention (cited in Bulloch, Knowles & Crow, 1992) that people select, check, suspend, regroup and transform the meaning of objects and events according to who

they are and the situation in which they are placed. In order to maximize the intended influence of the interactions between the program and the CPs, and between the CPs and their mentees nested within the program, it would be important to surface and confront these beliefs. In the above example Sonia could spend all her energy in showing teachers how cooperative learning improved the quality of social interactions among students, without raising the question of whether the teachers believed it was their responsibility to promote better social interactions among students. In such a situation she would be unlikely to have lasting impact on their practice.

The Project and its Report

Some of the parameters of the CPs interactions with their mentees were predetermined by the instructions given to them about their project on mentoring. For example, all of them were given to understand that they would have to work with two or three teachers, in classroom settings as well as outside, for a period varying from six to eight weeks, spending up to four days a week with their mentees. While the project was the most significant opportunity for them to try out the activities they envisioned

engaging in as mentors, the CPs were aware that other opportunities to work with teachers might open up when they returned to their schools. At the same time they also knew that opportunities afforded them as M.Ed. candidates might not be available to them afterwards. Thus it is important to note that their short-term goals in the practicum may be different from the kinds of short-term goals they might develop in their own schools.

It is also important to keep in mind that the self-reported interactions in the projects do not necessarily mean that they were carried out exactly as they are indicated, but that they reflected the intentions of the CP. For example, Feisal who had used "co-planning" as the label for his planning sessions with his mentee retrospectively realized that he was actually planning the lesson himself in the company of his mentee (Observation, 6/23/95). It is also important to note that the reasoning given by the CPs for engaging in a particular kind of interaction changed for them in the process of doing it, or emerged afterwards when writing about it. For the purpose of tracing the development of their identities as mentors, however, it is useful to know what they wanted to do or thought they were doing and why because their "situational selves" in a

particular context manifested as well as constructed their “substantial selves” (Nias, 1989)¹. Their descriptions of their particular situations help us understand what meanings they attached to particular experiences, what nuances they captured or missed, what reasoning they used for their actions and what directions they are likely to take in future. Thus in explaining themselves to the readers of their project reports they revealed as well as constructed their understanding of their practice as mentors.

Three vignettes of the CPs as novice mentors are presented in the following section. These cases were selected from the larger set of six CPs’ work because they exemplify three different ways of constructing a practice: Sonia who was interested in helping teachers learn teaching strategies had her educational values, prescriptive principles, and empirical claims affirmed by the program; Feisal who wanted to change teachers’ views of subject-matter had his educational values affirmed but the support for the enactment of this purpose was limited in scope; and Ayesha, keen to learn more about

¹ Nias (1989) claims that through the process of creating multiple identities people gradually develop an inner, more stable, and well-defended “core” self which is relatively stable and manifests itself in some predictable way of being and acting. At the same time people continue to develop their “situational selves” which vary with the contexts in which they find themselves. As new experiences are perceived and interpreted, an inner

teacher-learning, had had some of her conceptual categories highlighted and elaborated, but others largely neglected by the program. Described here are the CPs' self-reported activities as mentors, the rationales they presented for those activities and conclusions they drew from having been engaged in them. The CPs' project reports are the main sources of information here; other sources are indicated where they are used. The vignettes are used later in the chapter to argue how the CPs' prior experiences influenced their activities and what they learned from their activities in the project about mentoring and about themselves as mentors.

Sonia

Among the CPs who decided to teach particular instructional strategies in their mentoring projects, Sonia's case was the "purest" example. As mentioned in the previous chapter she was one of the CPs whose primary purpose as a mentor was helping teachers learn new teaching strategies. Sonia had been educated in a girls' convent school and her masters degree was in psychology. She had about thirteen years of experience as a teacher, working mostly in schools

dialogue between the "situational" and "core" takes place, leading to the creation of a new identity.

supported by the church. In her First Assignment (1/94) she wrote that she may be labelled as an authoritarian teacher by some people because she demanded silence and students' full attention when she was teaching.

Sonia had selected Cooperative Learning as a teaching strategy to teach her mentees because she made the empirical claim (Anderson & Bird, unpublished) that the current practice in local schools promoted unhealthy competition among students. Unlike some of her mentees, who thought that non-academic teaching was the domain of families and religion-teachers, her educational values included the belief that schools were responsible not just for the academic learning of their students but also for their cognitive growth, psychological health, interpersonal relationships and social skills. The prescriptive principle that she recommended was that cooperative learning should be used in the classroom to promote the social and psychological health of students.

Sonia's work with the teachers began with a short structured interview "to find out how teachers taught, how they involved their students in the class and what areas they sought to improve" (Project, 1995). She learned that all of them wanted to learn

“modern techniques” of teaching. They had had some experience of group work and they thought it helped the average and below average students but not “the bright ones,” and that it was noisy and took too much time. Her comment after the interviews was that she was happy about “answering these needs” by responding to teachers’ desire to learn modern techniques of teaching and their concerns about the learning of all students and the level of noise during group work. In this brief comment she foreshadowed the characteristics of subsequent interactions between the teachers and herself. Her emphasis on “techniques” as prescriptive principles and provision of “answers” in the shape of empirical claims continued throughout the project. Her interviews were pre-structured to elicit particular information about a specific range of experiences, which shows that they were not designed to “what areas they sought to improve” but to locate the particular intervention she had already planned. She then demonstrated how to organize a classroom for cooperative learning, highlighting appropriate behaviors of teachers. Her post-lesson conversations with the mentees revolved around identifying technical solutions to the problems they had encountered during their teaching. She also provided research reports to her mentees to

help them understand “the theory” underlying the practice of cooperative learning.

Sonia demonstrated several lessons incorporating the five elements of Johnson’s and Johnson’s model of cooperative learning (Project, 1995). Before each lesson, she shared with the teachers her objectives and her plan for meeting those objectives, and gave them observation checklists to note the instantiation of each of the five elements during the lessons. In the post lesson conference she asked them to talk about how the lesson differed from their own teaching and to “raise questions, bring up concerns and make suggestions.” Following the demonstrations she helped teachers plan lessons using the format she had given them, with her “playing the role of a guide and giving suggestions.” Sometimes she and a mentee co-taught a class with each of them having a separate focus, either on academic or social skills. The lessons were followed by conferences in which she provided “positive and corrective feedback,” answered their questions and made suggestions for subsequent lessons. In between the lessons, she taught them the theoretical background about cooperative learning by providing texts and their explanations, along with research evidence that identified its benefits. A few weeks into

the project, she also taught the teachers how to do peer coaching, so that they would become interdependent and continue to practice what they had learned with her. Furthermore, she encouraged them to think about forming teams to help spread the use of the strategy into the whole school.

Sonia believed that teachers were aware of the negative effects of competition in the classroom but didn't do group work because they were "not trained to manage group work effectively" (Project, 1995). She herself had learned about Cooperative Learning at the IED by observing it demonstrated by the instructor in simulated situations as well as in classrooms. She had practiced it with her peers and on a few occasions with students in a school. She had also read some of the research literature about its impact on students' academic /cognitive and personal/social development. She believed that teachers learned new strategies by going through the theory-demonstration-practice-feedback cycle popularized by Joyce and Showers (1982) and if this was done in situ, i.e. the teacher's classroom, it would be easier for them to adopt its practice. She thought that teachers and their students needed "daily disciplined practice" in the new strategy to make it successful. Although

teachers were interested in learning “modern teaching methods” they did not know how to “translate theoretically learned concepts and skills into successful classroom lessons.” Sonia anticipated the different stages of concerns² (Hord, 1987) teachers would have when she introduced them to the innovation she had in mind.

The teachers she worked with drew her attention to the conflicts they go through when trying to change their practice. According to her report they were “apprehensive about their own ability to change”; afraid they were not doing their duty when they were not “sharing their knowledge” with students; and concerned about their students not doing well in examinations, the agreed upon, public forms of evaluating students and therefore their teacher’s performance. They also worried about the schools administrators’ stance towards the innovation. But even when the teachers did not refer to external constraints, she found them following old habits of thought and action. Their classroom practices were often very different from their espoused beliefs about teaching and they were not used to reflecting on their practice. Sonia learned that the

² Hord (1987) suggests that teachers go through three stages of concerns, usually but not always in a linear fashion. These concerns are for self, management and impact.

teachers' personal problems were also impediments to their learning. Sometimes, they changed their practice under pressure but not necessarily their beliefs. This resulted in the teachers' display of cooperative learning only in Sonia's presence, and their efforts to replace it with their "regular" teaching, using examinations, parental expectations, and other teachers' practice as justifications for its rejection.

The need for institutional support for an innovation was something that Sonia was well aware of. She recommended that school boards approve and make visible their support for the innovation as a policy. She also suggested that principals should put consistent pressure on teachers to change and provide support for doing so by making available in-house facilitators, access to experts, release time, and flexible student evaluation method. Some of the tensions she faced in working with the teachers were to balance their need for quick answers with her desire to help them become interdependent problem-solvers; and the teachers' concern for "covering" the syllabus with the students' need for more practice in the social skills that would help them work more effectively as a group.

At the end of her project Sonia concluded that “Cooperative learning seemed to be incompatible with the current practice of teachers, and beliefs that guide that practice,” but she also believed that the “comprehensive restructuring” needed to implement the strategy in local schools would be worth the effort. She suggested that structural and curricular modification in schools and provisions in pre-service and inservice teacher education curricula would facilitate this change.

Affirmation and Elaboration

The CPs entered the program with a wide range of prior beliefs and experiences which guided their goals for “good teaching.” Ideas offered in the program that affirmed and built upon their prior goals were most readily embraced. Holt-Reynolds encountered the same phenomenon in her study of pre-service teachers (1991). She explains the phenomenon by pointing out that preservice teachers have well developed professional goals based upon their own experience of “studenting.” In Bereiter’s terms, their “habits” of thinking from the perspective of a student are transferred to a new contextual module, where they are required to think like teachers.

As sociologists Handy (1993) and Mullins (1993) point out, this transfer of experiences from one social system to interpret another system is a common phenomenon. They evaluate research based principles of teaching on the basis of their compatibility with the “givens” of their prior beliefs about teaching. For example, their experiences as students lead them to believe that a teacher needs to be “interesting” for her students to learn the subject matter. Consequently, they try to learn strategies that will make their lessons interesting, but tend not attend to cognitive explanations of learning offered in education courses. Holt-Reynolds suggests that preservice teachers use professional courses “not as an opportunity to expand [their prior] goals but as an opportunity to locate teaching strategies that could serve [their] preexisting goals.” This CP’s patterns of interaction with the M.Ed. program seemed to be similar.

Sonia had been educated in a convent school and was also teaching in schools affiliated to the Catholic Church. Religious and social education is an important part of the curriculum in these schools. Sonia’s participation in church related projects for drug abuse education is one indicator of the possible influence of her affiliation. It is reasonable to speculate that her mental models may

have included teachers whose church affiliation made explicit the moral and social dimensions of their work as teachers. Her study of psychology at the graduate level seems to have reinforced her inclination to attend to the mental and social health of students. Being a primary school teacher she probably did not see her work through the lens of a particular subject, nor was she focused on academic achievement only. Her prior experiences had led her to believe that it was both desirable and possible for schools to provide for the social and psychological needs of students, rather than just for the narrow goal of academic achievement. She therefore decided that teaching her mentees how to support the development of students' social skills through cooperative learning would be a worthwhile goal to pursue.

In Pakistan, as in many other countries, the teaching of basic literacy and numeracy skills is the most important purpose of teaching children at the primary school level. Teachers often coach their students in these skills by demonstrating, giving practice and feedback to the students and answering their questions within the narrow range of their efforts to learn the particular skill. In teaching reading, for example, teachers consistently draw students' attentions

to deciphering words and using correct pronunciation and intonation rather than focusing attention on the meaning of the text and its connection to their prior knowledge. In her work with her mentees Sonia seemed to have very clearly focused on cooperative learning as a skill. The activities that she engaged in as a mentor such as demonstration, practice and feedback and explanations of a technical nature, are largely congruent with what the kinds of practice she might have engaged in as a primary school teacher.

Another important characteristic of convent schools in Pakistan is the degree of emphasis given to students' conformity to behaviors selected by teachers as the "the standard." For example, it is common knowledge that graduates of particular convent schools can be recognized by their handwriting when they are adults. Students in these schools know the width of the left margin and the place for the date. Teachers know that they must teach children to hold the pencil correctly for speedy writing and to write their essays in five paragraphs with correct spelling and sentence structure. In short, a relatively narrow view of what is important to learn, focusing more on the form than content, is promoted in these schools. Sonia seemed more interested in having the students interact in a particular way

than in finding out what they learned in terms of social skills and academic content. She seemed to think that cooperative learning *behaviors* during certain activities in the classroom sufficiently indicated an internalization of values that are embodied in the actions. She therefore concentrated on coaching her mentees in behaviors that facilitated cooperative learning through the theory-demonstration-practice-feedback cycle.

Sonia's view of teaching as embodied in the practicum seemed to be relatively free of ambiguities, uncertainties or tensions. Research on teacher thinking (e.g. Lampert, 1985) tells us that there are multiple, complex and dynamic forces that drive teachers' pedagogical decision in the classroom. A mentor's exclusive emphasis on a set of techniques, while apparently ignoring issues related to subject matter, learners, learning, and learning environments could promote a reductionist view of teaching among her mentees. It could give teachers the impression that the content of subject matter they were teaching, the intended and unintended meanings made by the students, the evidence of what and how students were learning, are less important features of their teaching

than the instructional procedures that were followed in the classroom.

In her work with the teachers Sonia also seemed to have assumed that if she taught her mentees to plan, teach and assess lessons using the pre-prepared checklists and forms, they should be able to learn how to run cooperative classrooms. Her own activities with the mentees seemed to be designed to change their classroom actions by showing them how to organize groups, how to plan and set appropriate tasks and how to respond to classroom events. She demonstrated techniques, provided opportunities for her mentees to practice the skill and offered feedback to fine-tune their performances. Her project report does not tell us whether the mentees' educational values regarding the purpose of schools were changed as a result of this project, or that they accepted cooperative learning as a guiding principle for promoting their students' social health. We don't even know whether the mentees made any shifts in their conceptual categories regarding what is important to notice in students' learning or their own teaching. All we know is that the mentees affirmed Sonia's initial claim that cooperative learning had a positive influence on students interactions during class. Sonia did

not make explicit the differences in the way her mentees learned about cooperative learning and displayed their learning. In fact the four teachers she worked with are almost non-existent as individuals in her paper. Only one of them is identifiable by a name, and that identity emerges for the first time on page 86 of a 104 page document. This emphasis on surface characteristics of behaviors, technical aspects of teaching, and use of one standard way to teach all students is common in convent schools. The above conclusion is based on my own experience of being a student and teacher in four convent schools and may not hold true for all populations in all Pakistani convent schools. Sonia's experience as a student and a teacher in these schools may not have a causal link with the choices she made for her project but the correlation is striking.

As a student in the M.Ed. program Sonia participated in a three-week module lead by a well-known international expert in cooperative learning. She then spent one term at one of the "partner university," where she attended many seminars in cooperative learning. Because the university was supporting a district-wide initiative to provide inservice training to all its teachers in this area, the CPs were included in these seminars. Sonia also spent several

days at designated schools, which provided her with some vivid images of what cooperative learning in schools could look like. Given her propensities she was attracted to cooperative learning as a teaching strategy and turned it into a prescriptive principle. Since this principle matched her educational values, it seemed to have fitted in very well into her belief system.

Throughout the program, cooperative learning was presented to Sonia as a technical model of classroom instruction. The model presented had five basic elements that students had to include in any successful instance of cooperative learning. The teacher's role in orchestrating this practice was also clearly specified, as in criteria to use for selection of group members, kinds of questions to ask, appropriate responses to students' comments and questions, and so on. It was presented as a generic model that could fit any age group, subject matter, or cultural context. Sonia's reading of the literature associated with this model further reinforced the technical approach to cooperative learning. Referring to the Johnson and Johnson approach as the "conceptual approach" to cooperative learning she said:

The conceptual approach emphasizes training teachers in conceptual understanding of the five basic elements and the

teacher's role of how to implement cooperative learning so that they can take any lesson with any set of curriculum materials and structure it cooperatively (Project, 1995).

She seemed to claim here that teachers could be "trained" to develop a "conceptual understanding" of the five elements and the role of the teacher. While I will shortly return to an exploration of these terms, it is important to note here the significance of the training model for Sonia's thinking as a teacher and mentor-in-making.

Instructors who taught the CPs about cooperative learning also approached the task as a training model for teaching a technical skill. They used a cycle of demonstrations, simulations, practice and feedback session. They gave short lectures, assigned tasks to the course participants to learn in cooperative groups, demonstrated their techniques with school children, asked the CPs to try them out in classrooms and gave them feedback to refine their skills. The consistency between the model for student learning and teacher learning obviously had a strong impact on Sonia. She not only had a clearly delineated conceptual model for classroom instruction but also one for teacher instruction. Planning sheets, observation checklists, answers to typical question, were all available to her. Johnson and Johnson (1991) had even specified the number of training sessions it would typically take for teachers to become

proficient in managing cooperative learning in their classrooms.

Armed with all this information, it was easy for Sonia to launch her own training program in cooperative learning in local schools.

Implications for Sonia's self-as-mentor

Given the significant impact of the training model in Sonia's conceptualization of her work with her mentees, it is important to point out the limitations of this model from the perspective of the intended goals of the program. The program emphasized the development of "reflective practice" (Project Proposal, 1993) among the CPs and among the teachers they would work with. While it was not specified what they would reflect upon, the use of the term implied that training teachers in particular classroom strategies was not its overarching intention.

The term "training" is located in the behaviorist tradition set by Skinner and his contemporaries in the fifties and sixties, when the most common definition of learning was a change in behavior and the replication of particular behaviors in particular situations was the intention of training programs (Pratt, 1993). "Conceptual understanding" is a term most closely associated with Piaget's work

on children's conception of reality, space, morality etc. and developed by others who built upon his theories. The goal of conceptual understanding is to learn general principles that can be used in multiple and flexible ways in different contexts. In contrast, training in most contexts emphasizes reproduction of certain behaviors, preferably without contamination or dilution by the learner. Although the term "training" when applied to teachers has a wider meaning in some contexts³, the more common interpretation of training is to facilitate predetermined behaviors among individuals in certain situation, almost as "automatic reflex actions" (Johnson and Johnson, cited in Feisal, 1995).

In her use of the phrase "training teachers in conceptual understanding" Sonia did not seem to differentiate between the two different purposes of learning. It is possible that couched in this statement is an expectation that training teachers in the use of particular instructional strategies will somehow achieve more than the training program is designed for. This expectation may well be similar to Guskey's (1985) assertion that teachers' beliefs and attitudes change as a result of changes in their practice that lead to

³ In the U.K. the term "teacher training" is widely used but the range of capacities it is intended to develop among teachers are well beyond the

different student outcomes, whether they are of a cognitive or affective nature. But Guskey also warns that innovations that are dramatically different from current practices are unlikely to be implemented well, if at all. He suggests that relatively modest, incremental changes are more likely to be integrated into teachers' practice. From one perspective the change proposed by Sonia was not a radical change because she had retained the content of the lessons according to the teachers' syllabi. However, from another perspective it was the most difficult change to make because it called for a shift in her mentees' educational values. In asking her mentees to incorporate cooperative learning in their classroom, Sonia was asking them to promote the students' social development, which according to Sonia's report they did not perceive to be their responsibility. The teachers' own practice and that of their colleagues was geared toward promoting individual performance of students in academic tasks only. The training might teach them how to organize cooperative learning, but it would not necessarily change their minds on whether they should use it in their classrooms.

This is not to say teachers do not need training for learning specific instructional techniques. Trainers in instructional strategies are a very powerful resource for teachers. The consideration in this context is the possibility of Sonia defining her identity more as a trainer or a coach than a mentor with a different, possibly broader set of purposes and commitments. For example, Feiman-Nemser (in press) has documented the case of a mentor she calls Pete Frazer who does not demonstrate any particular skill, knowledge or even wisdom in teaching, but in his “co-thinking” with his mentees he shows them how to wonder and how to reason about teaching. The training model used by Sonia did not leave room for this sort of contemplative stance. Feiman-Nemser and Rosaen (1994) also raise the possibility of people in mentoring roles to help teachers develop attitudes, habits and desires conducive to further learning. Sonia did not claim this as one of her intentions. The difference between a mentor and a coach is distinguished in the literature by the mentor’s commitment to an individual’s *personal and professional growth* on a *long-term* basis, and the coach’s commitment to teaching an individual a particular *skill* that could change her performance, which is a *short-term* goal. It is not clear from the available data

whether the program delineated the scope and limitations of coaching, or that Sonia did or did not attend to those components. Nor can we predict that she will continue to use the training model when she returns to her school and discovers issues that she did not need to consider in the project. What is claimed here is that at this particular stage of her identity formation, the experiences that she encountered in the program in tandem with her prior propensities seem to have led to the development of a highly technical orientation to teaching and to teacher education.

What Sonia learned from this experience in terms of abstract knowledge is also framed by the intersecting areas of her prior beliefs and the opportunities she had in the program to challenge these beliefs. At the beginning of her project she claimed that the teachers already knew that competition was bad for students but they did not know how to organize cooperative learning. This claim of hers was not supported by any evidence she presented. But as she herself had not been asked to display her beliefs about competition and cooperation, she probably did not think it necessary to ask her mentees to lay out their beliefs. She assumed that they were the same as hers, and proceeded to teach them the skills of

organizing cooperative learning. Like the instructors she had closely observed, she engaged the teachers in cooperative learning tasks, demonstrated in the classroom, gave lessons in theory and set up the planning-practice-feedback cycle with the teachers. To her great disconcertment, during her project she discovered that teachers could temporarily change their teaching behaviors to match the suggested changes without changing their beliefs about the innovation itself. She noticed, for example, that one of her mentees spent increasingly less class time teaching in “the new way” and gradually reverted to her old practice as the time for annual exams drew closer. Sonia said, “In the study I found that teachers changed their practices because of the pressure to do so but the conflicts observed during practice made me realize that they still held on to their old beliefs.” (Project, 1995) It seems that she was becoming aware of the need to surface and address teachers’ beliefs about her innovation, for she said, “for successful implementation of cooperative learning a change in teachers’ beliefs is crucial.”

Observing her mentee’s teaching for several weeks on regular basis made her suspect that the teachers’ educational values may be different from hers and that a technique grafted on beliefs that did

not support it may not be sustainable in the long-term. She gradually realized that:

Teachers believe that their work is limited to providing instruction in academic subjects and . . . it is the job of the religion teachers or the home to produce good people. If teachers make any attempt to go beyond their academic role it is simply to teach “good manners” or “discipline” (Project, 1995).

This was a more fundamental difference between the teachers’ beliefs and her own, than her early empirical claim (Anderson and Bird, unpublished) about competition and cooperation. She wanted them to replace an educational value with hers, which suggested schools should promote “cognitive/ academic and personal/ social development of students.” She simply did not know how to help teachers do this because she did not have the opportunity to see this issue as a problem model (Bereiter, 1990). She did not have the examples, language, conceptual tools, guidelines, images or the Discourse (Gee, 1992) to draw upon to help her do this with the teachers.

It seems that the emphasis in the program on particular instructional strategies was made with the assumption that the educational values of the CPs were similar to those of the program instructors. Sonia seemed to have made the same assumption with regard to her mentees. Not realizing that the change she was

promoting required a change in teachers' educational values, she did not consider the question of whether teachers' educational values can be changed, in the context of the project or in other similar contexts. She tried in her practicum to teach her mentees to use cooperative learning as a teaching strategy. Toward the end of her project she concluded that the strategy was incompatible with current beliefs and practices of teachers. However, she argued that it was worthwhile to continue trying to incorporate it into teachers' practice, and that with time, practice, access to technical advice, and a strong supportive message from the administration, the strategy would eventually take root in the teachers' minds and in the school system.

Feisal

Feisal grew up in an environment where political, economic, social and religious controversies were all around him. His personal experiences in the past as well as his concern for the socio-political conditions in Pakistan and other developing countries seemed to influence his educational values. He wanted his mentees to teach social studies (history, in particular) as an exercise in managing

controversy, rather than as a set of given facts about the past. He thought this was important because their current teaching seemed to develop people who were intolerant and bigoted. He believed that appropriate teaching of social studies would nurture democratic values among students and help them to interpret the past to understand the present and change the future. He wanted teachers to appreciate, what was for him the more important goal of teaching social studies i.e. to produce good citizens. He wanted teachers use records of the past to examine the same event from different perspectives. He also wanted them to encourage students to discuss current events by taking contradictory positions on an issue, and thus learn to appreciate other perspectives.

To help teachers interpret his vision of “good” teaching of social studies into classroom practice, Feisal tried to teach them to use the Johnson and Johnson instructional model for use of controversy (cited in his Project, 1995) as a prescriptive principle (Anderson and Bird, unpublished). When he first began working with the teachers he was surprised by what he called their “lack of professionalism” (Conversation 2/23/95). They were reluctant to give up all their non-teaching time (called “free periods”) every day to hold

discussions with him; they did not read the materials he provided and they did not maintain the journals they had initially agreed to. Also, he found them lacking in skills he expected them to have. For example, they did not know how to plan lessons, ask open-ended questions, and allow “wait-time” for response. They preferred to lecture all the time, explaining and repeating information from the textbook, so that their students could remember it for the examinations. Feisal made the empirical claim (quoting Johnson and Johnson) that teachers could learn to teach social studies differently if they first saw the need for it, then understood how to do it, and then to “practice, practice and practice” until they did not require conscious thought and effort for teaching in this manner. He proceeded to help them with the first two steps by engaging them in what he called “discussion lessons”; giving demonstration lessons; co-planning and co-teaching; and having joint post-lesson reflections. As he himself had not been a schoolteacher, he found it difficult to understand why teachers taught in the way they did, and why they were reluctant to learn in ways that he recommended. Being a foreigner made it additionally difficult for him to appreciate how his

mentees interpreted “professionalism” in the context of their work as teachers.

During the discussion lessons Feisal tried to elicit teachers’ opinions about students, subject matter and pedagogy. For example, he asked his mentee to tell him what she thought about classroom discussions. She said, “It is exchange of ideas--what students think about something, for example, the situation in Karachi--that is, if they say something wrong the teacher should correct them by saying: it is not like this, it has to be this.” He then proceeded to *tell* her what discussions really were, and followed this pattern throughout in his “discussion lessons,” which took place three or four times a week (Observation, 3/11/95). In each of these episodes the dialogue (which could be labeled a monologue by him) would be conducted in a manner similar to the following:

Feisal: So what do you think about students discussing politics in class?

Teacher: They want to but I don’t think we have the time to do it in class, and I am not sure their parents... (interrupts)

Feisal: That’s exactly the problem. If they are not allowed to discuss it in school, and not at home, they go and throw stones at busses and burn buildings. It is important for them to discuss the Kashmir issue and what is happening as a result of the war in Afghanistan . . . (on and on)

And what do you think about bringing other reading materials into the class?

Teacher: Well, I don't know where to get...

Feisal: There are newspapers. Don't you get a newspaper here in school? If not you could ask the children to bring. Or give me a call and I will bring. I will keep cuttings for you now but afterwards you must do it for yourself. A teacher should always be collecting things, like cuttings and pictures from magazines ... (Observation, 3/18/95)

In the post-lesson sessions, too, he spent a lot of time explaining what he did and why he did it so (when he was demonstrating lessons), and what the teacher should have done and why (when they were teaching) without giving much time to listen to what the teachers said (Observation, 3/18/95).

Feisal found himself trying to teach his mentees a lot of skills because "the teachers were not familiar with the type of classroom practice skills essential for implementing the strategy." For example, "During feedback it became clear that the teachers lacked skills in observation.. I changed the form of observation from structured to free observation. However, even that did not make considerable change in the credibility of their observation notes." He tried to teach them such skills by demonstrating and giving them written and verbal information, and presenting arguments for why they were important to learn.

Like Sonia, Feisal made several recommendations for the school where he worked. He identified the Head's visible interest in and support for the innovation as an important factor in the successful implementation of the strategy. He felt that teachers should participate voluntarily in such efforts rather than be nominated by the head to do so. They should have more time for learning, opportunity to assess students more flexibly, a broader view of the purposes of schooling, a more "professional" attitude, and patience for an innovation to take root. Dialogue among the teachers, parents, principals and school boards was important for schools to become better attuned to students' needs. Without this, each group may continue to attribute opinions to the other without checking them out. He wanted all of them to consider not just their immediate and narrowly defined needs for academic achievement but also long-term needs to be able to live productively in harmony with others.

When working with students Feisal could immediately see the results of his efforts. He often remarked about their enjoyment of the lessons he taught and their invitations to come again to their classes. He said that at times he felt he should continue to work with the students rather than with the teachers because they did not

teach the way he wanted to see them teach (Conversations, 3/95).

Sometimes, his desire to pass on as much information as he could to the teachers conflicted with his wish to see them take ownership of the innovation. Their need for more basic skills and understandings drew him away from his main purpose in the project, and he found himself juggling with both within the available time.

Towards the end of his project Feisal concluded that teachers were conservative people: they did not want to risk teaching in ways that would not be appreciated by their Heads, by parents and the students. They thought school was only for teaching the “given” syllabus and their job was to help students show evidence of having learned it. When presented with reasonable arguments for teaching differently and demonstrations of how to do it, they showed an understanding of the strategy and why he was trying to promote it, but did not really incorporate it into their teaching. At the end of the project when he asked one of his mentees to reflect on the experience of working with him, she said that he did not value her efforts but just kept demanding more of it. He said he then realized his mistake in not showing more empathy for her as a person and for not showing appreciation of her effort (Conversation, 5/21/95).

What this shows is that he mainly blamed the teachers for not doing the kind of teaching he envisioned as “good teaching” but he also held himself partly responsible for not being able to persuade them to do so by failing to show more empathy for them.

Affirmation with limited support

Like Sonia, Feisal too, wanted schools to play a more proactive role in the development of students as good citizens. The self he had brought to the program shaped by his history and culture predisposed him to attend to some aspects of the program rather than others (Britzman, 1994). In the M.Ed. program he encountered the idea that social studies was a subject which could accommodate different and conflicting perspectives. He was captured by the idea of reinterpreting the teaching of social studies, typically taught as a set of “given” facts, into something that could help students become more tolerant, democratic and socially responsible individuals.

Right from the beginning of the project, Feisal was aware of the need to convince teachers of the educational value of teaching social studies using the prescriptive principle that he proposed. He spent many hours preparing for his “discussion lessons” by collecting

research evidence in support of his proposal. He listened to the audio-tapes of those lessons (Observation Notes, 3/1995) and searched for clues leading to arguments that appealed to teachers. But when his mentees seemed not to be convinced by the logic of his arguments, he was bewildered (Conversations, 1995) by their “unreasonableness.” He seemed to think that the logic of his arguments would convince any reasonable person and that teachers would immediately act upon their new convictions. Unable to understand why they did not act as he expected them to, he blamed everyone including himself for “failure” in his project.

Feisal seemed to want teachers to change in at least three areas: he wanted them to change their educational values about the purpose of schooling, the conceptual categories that guided their epistemological stance towards social studies and the prescriptive principles they used in teaching the subject. Tom (1987) uses similar categories to talk about pedagogical questions: the first set of questions are concerned with the interconnections of teaching and schooling with the larger society; the second relate to subject matter; and the third are about craft knowledge. Tom claims that the first set “often [is] of more concern to outsiders than to the practicing

teacher.” This assertion applies very well to the context in which Feisal worked. Above all, he wanted to change the educational values of his mentees with regard to the role of schools in preparing students for citizenship. Secondary school teachers in most Pakistani schools do not see themselves as persons who could make decisions about the curriculum. Again, as a foreigner and as someone who had not worked as a schoolteacher, Feisal seemed to be blind to this fact. As Nina had pointed out in her project, secondary school teachers are handed a set of textbooks at the beginning of the academic year, and use them as their curriculum document, syllabus and teachers’ guide (Project, 1995). The educational values the teachers hold may be of rhetorical interest in some social contexts, but as far as their practice is concerned such discussions are largely irrelevant.

One of his mentees tried to tell Feisal this. He wrote, “[The mentee] seems to want to innovate, to say something from her own understanding, but she is not confident whether it is right. She is also concerned whether other senior colleagues will approve it” (Project, 1995). Feisal pushed her further to explain why her colleagues’ approval mattered to which she replied that they set the exams and therefore she had “to give that information which is in the

textbook because the examinations demand the understanding of only what is in the textbook.” (Project, 1995) Feisal dismissed her objection as a teacher’s “conservatist tendency” and continued trying to convince her of the validity of his point of view, using empirical evidence and research literature. He could not yet see that neither his arguments nor the literature he brought affected the educational values of the teachers regarding what they should teach and how. They seemed not to be sufficiently convinced that school was the place for discussing social and political issues.

Even if the teachers were convinced at an intellectual level that the proposed change would be good for students, they could not see how it would “work” in their own classrooms. Doyle and Ponder (1978) refer to this as the “practicality ethic” in teacher decision-making. They suggest that when contemplating a change in their practice teachers want to know about the risks they are taking in making the proposed change. They want to know how it fits their self-image, their normal practice, and the expectations of students, colleagues and administrators. They consider what they stand to gain in terms of social rewards and at what cost to themselves in terms of time, energy and relationships. Feisal’ interactions with the

program failed to draw his attention to such aspects of teacher thinking. Intellectually working on his own, he drew upon arguments and evidence that he had found compelling, but those did not necessarily appeal to the teachers because they did not connect with their internal dialogues (Holt-Reynolds, 1991). His “discussion lessons,” the research evidence he brought to show them, his demonstration of the technique and his documentation of the students’ positive reaction to his lessons did not convince the teachers sufficiently to change their practice.

The second area of Feisal’s work had to do with a shift in the teacher’s conceptual categories that framed their epistemological stance towards social studies. He wanted his mentees to think of social studies as a dialectic field rather than a fixed body of knowledge. He acknowledged that he was not an expert in social studies (Project, 1995) and it was his experience outside the contexts of schools that had made him aware of the multiple interpretations of events of the past (Conversations, 1995). When this idea was validated in the social studies module it buttressed his resolve to share it with other teachers. He believed that it would teach students to appreciate perspectives other than the ones they

encountered in their textbooks, at home or in the media. However, he was unable to convince his mentees that the social studies classroom could permit the competing voices to be heard.

The first reason why he was unable to convince the teachers may be the same as above: teachers did not think that they had the mandate to admit ideas and information other than that given in the textbooks in their classroom. In other words, classroom discourse could only admit one Discourse (Gee, 1990), the one represented in the textbooks. The second reason for this may be that to his mentees he did not represent the puissant voice of an expert in social studies or in curriculum matters. He did not claim such expertise and the arguments he used were those of lay persons. In their experience “official” knowledge⁴ was not something that could be tested against what lay people knew. The third reason for their disbelief may be that he did not present to them two different versions of the “official” knowledge, from different times, sources, places or perspectives, although he referred to their existence in passing. He

⁴ Even young children in Pakistan learn at an early age that there are differences between the “official” knowledge that is made public in institutions such as schools, and personal knowledge that one acquires and uses in other contexts. For example, my six year old son claimed that he did not think the story of creation as he was taught by his Islamiyat teacher was true but he gave her the answers she expected because that is what he was supposed to know “for school.”

did not elaborate why different “official” versions are created, how, by whom, and whose purposes they serve. He was unable to persuade them to consider the possibility of drawing upon different sources of knowledge for their teaching or to expose the limitations of the official textbook. The Discourses he had access to did not prepare him well enough for transforming his powerful idea into equally powerful representation for the teachers. All he did was ask one of his mentees if the social studies textbooks had changed since she was a student. When she replied in the affirmative and said textbooks are sometimes changed for political reasons, he did not pursue the matter any further (Observation, 2/12/95). It is possible that he may have assumed at this time, that she agreed with him about all the implications of this statement. However, when on a later occasion this teacher claimed that textbooks are “prepared by experts who go to the library and summarize the information, not by simple people” (Project, 1995), he did not challenge her assumptions about the nature of the expertise of textbook writers, nor about the validity of what they wrote, nor the measures of validity which could be used for assessing what they wrote. While a program in teacher education may not be able to address all the issues related to

teacher's shift of epistemological stance towards school subjects, alerting Feisal to the possible reasons for teacher resistance may have helped him use his efforts more economically and usefully.

The third area of Feisal's work was to train his mentees to use controversy as a teaching strategy. This was the one area in which he felt most well prepared because he had read several books by Johnson and Johnson (1975, 1991, 1992 cited in Project 1995) and others that provided him step-by-step instructions on how to get students to:

- 1) research and prepare their positions
- 2) present and advocate their positions
- 3) refute opposing position and rebut attacks on their own
- 4) reverse perspectives, and
- 5) synthesize and integrate the best evidence and reasoning into a joint position (Project, 1995)

He spent most of his time and energy trying to help the teachers learn all the managerial aspects of controversy as a strategy. He demonstrated lessons, observed teachers' lessons and gave them feedback, provided planning sheets, checklists and other texts for the teachers to study. He tried to teach them how to convert the topics of social studies lessons into controversial questions, organize group work, ask open-ended questions, use resources other than textbooks

and so on. The students enjoyed his classes and quickly learned the skills of engaging in controversy. However, he was disappointed to learn that they thought of his lessons as “a game” and some of the more assiduous among them wanted their teacher to return to the regular style of teaching to help them prepare for their examinations (Project, 1995). From the students’ description of his lessons as “a game” and from the teachers’ expressed relief when the project was over so that they could revert to their “regular” teaching (Observation Notes, 5/95) it seems that they felt that the link between social studies as they knew it and the teaching strategy that Feisal was promoting, was tenuous and contrived. His classes seemed to be similar to the occasional films the students saw on environmental issues, that were neither science nor geography, nor did they teach anything that would be tested and recorded in their reports. It was therefore very unlikely that his teaching strategy would become a part of the regular curriculum.

Implications for Feisal’s self-as-mentor

Feisal’s purpose in his project was more ambitious than that of Sonia and he brought to it a disposition that induced him to

constantly seek reasons for phenomena he encountered, including his own thoughts and actions. The fact that the practicum was cast in the form of a research project gave legitimacy to his quest and his advisors pushed him to think of reasons for his lack of success.

Despite his apparent failure in changing his mentee's practice, he said that he gained a lot of insights into teacher-learning in mentoring relationships and about himself as a mentor. What he learned was that mentors need to take into account teachers' views about the purpose of schools, the nature of social studies and how children learn; their knowledge of the subject matter content; their planning and management skills; and their perceptions of the proposed change. He stated in his report that the teachers' interpretation of the proposed model and even their understanding of terms like "discussion" were different from his interpretation. As a mentor he became more self-conscious about the vocabulary he used and the need to ensure that there was common understanding between him and his mentee. He saw that as a mentor he should have acknowledged the legitimacy of teachers' concerns about students' performance in examinations, and taken this factor into account in his planning. He said that the strategy and the context in which he

tried to introduce it were not right for each other, and even went to the extent of expressing some doubt about the model itself (Project, 1995). Seeing his interactions with the teachers reflected in their reactions helped him reflect upon his own actions and assumptions underlying these actions. His self-as-mentor was thus re-created and re-defined in his interactions with the teachers.

Feisal realized that he could have developed a more empathic relationship with the teachers, had he not been tied up in trying to prove that the prescriptive principle he was promoting was “right” for the students. He said, “Absorbed with my own self-esteem I insisted that the teachers accept my agenda, dismissing their voices and accordingly [sic] losing their engagement.” In his concluding section he wrote:

The research experience through controversy as a strategy taught me unforgettable lessons. I was always concerned about how to change people. I was wondering why people don’t understand me, why people don’t agree with me when I am so clear? The research made me to understand that I can’t demand all people to be the same as me, and to think in the same way as me. Controversy taught me that having differences in opinions is essential for living together and growing together.

Despite his repeated labelling of his project as a “failure,” it seems that Feisal learned some profound lessons about becoming a mentor. Unlike Sonia, he seemed to have reflected deeply on his own practice,

which afforded him valuable insights into what he should not do as a mentors

Ayesha

Ayesha had worked as a mathematics teacher in a girls' school for ten years and had participated in several workshops at the local teachers' center, both as a participant and as instructor (Conversations, 1994/5). She was one of only two CPs who concentrated on teachers' learning as the focus of her investigation. Her major concern was the inadequacy of some of her colleagues' mathematical understanding, illustrated by their inability to calculate averages and percentages of students' marks.

Ayesha was interested in learning how she as a mentor could help teachers develop different understandings of student learning, mathematics and talk in the classroom. As an educational value "good teaching" for her was teaching that led to "relational understanding [of mathematics] where pupils learn not only how the rules work but also why they work [rather than] instrumental understanding, where pupils learn rules without understanding the principles underlying them." Like Feisal she also had some conceptual categories about what was important to attend to in the

teaching of mathematics but unlike him she did not have any prescriptive principles in the shape of a particular teaching strategy. Instead she made an empirical claim that mathematical talk promoted relational understanding of mathematics. The major difference, however, between her and Feisal or Sonia's mentees was that they did not seem to share their educational values, while hers did. Her mentees seemed to agree with her that students should understand mathematics, but they did not necessarily share her interpretation of what it *meant* to "understand" mathematics. Unlike Feisal and his mentees, they did not disagree about whether or not it was their responsibility to teach students for the kinds of understanding that Ayesha was promoting.

Ayesha claimed that mathematical talk helped to reveal misconception and provided students more opportunities to develop a conceptual understanding of mathematical ideas. To be able to teach this way, teachers themselves needed to develop different conceptual categories for looking at mathematics, student learning, and their own teaching. She thought that most teachers believed that mathematics was a fixed body of knowledge, that they were one of the conduits of this knowledge, and that students learned this by

listening to them, and practicing the exercises given in the textbooks. While Ayesha wanted them to teach differently, she also wanted them to understand “what mathematics is really about.” She claimed that “Without this common understanding of “the ends” our discussion on “the means” would be too limited” (Project, 1995).

Ayesha claimed that teachers learned in many different ways: by emulating teachers recalled from their schooldays; by casual conversations with colleagues, friends or family members; by planning and teaching with another teacher; by reading professional literature; exchanging journals and participating in workshops (Interview, 3/94). She began her project by spending time in her mentees’ classrooms to learn about the “ecology of the classroom,” to make herself known to the students, and to learn about the interactions between students and teachers. She then began planning lessons with her mentee because she thought that provided her a window into another person’s pedagogical reasoning and also gave her the opportunity to make suggestions for changes. During the lessons she sometimes taught up front, or worked with groups or observed silently. As a mentor she thought of herself as a “guest” in her mentee’s classroom and asked them to assign her role in the

classroom, such as an observer, assistant or co-teacher. One of her mentees asked her to demonstrate a strategy, which she did, but she did not think that her mentee should necessarily try to emulate her because “every teacher has his or her own style. Moreover, what may work in one situation may or may not work in another.” She used classroom observations for different purposes at different times: to introduce herself to the students and to learn about the “ecology” of the classroom; to assess the teacher’s learning through her behaviors, to find out what and how students were learning, and to judge how to support the teacher further. One of the ways she herself had found particularly useful was closely observing a small group of students in what she called “a clinical setting” where she and a colleague had tried to teach the concept of equivalent fractions to a group of five students and tried to follow their reasoning. She tried to observe students closely and take notes about what they did and why which she shared with her mentees afterwards.

Citing her own experience as an example, she claimed that experienced teachers needed individualized opportunities within the framework of a close personal relationship to change their deeply embedded beliefs and practices. She could not say whether practice

or beliefs changed first, but thought that a nurturing process aimed at personal and professional growth of the teachers would eventually facilitate change in both. She believed that teachers' prior beliefs regarding a specific change proposal strongly influenced their learning. Innovations that required gradual change in small, easy to manage steps were more likely to be successful than radical change that required major shifts in their beliefs. She thought that the objectives themselves should be redefined along the way, when change in experienced teachers' beliefs and practice was the goal. She said, "For instance, if the teacher gives importance to cognitive achievement outcomes then he or she might not be convinced by evidence of affective or social outcomes of a learning situation. . . . I think it would be crucial to take these very genuine concerns of teachers into account when thinking of ways to promote his or her growth" (Project, 1995).

Unlike Sonia and Feisal, Ayesha thought that the Head's support of an innovation was a mixed blessing. The other two had thought that stronger and unequivocal support from the Head would lead to greater commitment to the innovation on the part of the teacher. But Ayesha believed that on the one hand a teacher may

accept the innovation more readily, but on the other hand she may resist it because of its association with an authority figure. She believed that in most schools the presence of any other adult is an invasion of the teacher's privacy in the classroom, anyway. If the adult is perceived as an "agent" of the Head, the teacher may think of her as an unofficial evaluator and not engage in interactions which could make her vulnerable. Apparently, she thought that as a mentor her affiliation to her mentee was more important than her affiliation to the Head of her school.

One of the tensions she faced as a mentor was whether to lead the mentee up front, with the possibility of being considered dictatorial, or only to facilitate the mentee's growth without providing it direction. She said:

I faced the challenge of the delicacy of collegial relationship between mentor and mentee. If mentors choose a leadership role in order to live up to the expectations which their title promises, there is the possibility of being regarded as high handed and dictatorial. If they wait for the teachers to come forward with their needs they might end up being facilitators only without giving direction to the teachers' growth. . . . For instance, when a teacher took the initiative to plan a lesson incorporating the innovation, I wondered if I should suggest alternatives to the obvious weaknesses of the plan or let her have the freedom to learn by making mistakes. I struggled with how to discuss my concerns about a lesson without damaging the teacher's self esteem (Project, 1995)

She realized that the power differential between a mentor and a mentee might make it difficult for the mentee to question or refuse the mentors suggestions, and possibly lead her to display a superficial and temporary change. However, if the mentee needed more direction, then withholding guidance would also not be helpful. She found that co-teaching engendered a feeling of shared ownership of the lesson and reduced the status differential between her and the teacher. She wrote, "I used the pronouns 'we' and 'our' when talking about the lesson, because I wanted her to feel that both of us shared the responsibility for it." However, she believed that teachers' stages of careers were also a factor in how willing they were to take risks in their teaching and that as a mentor she should adjust her interactions with them accordingly. Ayesha claimed that her more experienced colleague was far more willing to experiment than the novice and she attributed this to the different stages of concerns identified by Burden⁵ (1990).

⁵ According to Burden (1990) teachers go through three stages of development early in their careers. The first stage which usually corresponds to the first year of teaching is the survival stage where the teacher displays a feeling of inadequacy and a concern with doing things "correctly." The second stage is the "adjustments" stage between the second to fourth year during which she gets comfortable with routines and tries some experiments tentatively. The third stage comes after about five years when she becomes secure and tries to add to her repertoire through experiments.

By working with the teachers Ayesha discovered (as did Feisal) that teachers hold different meanings of words such as “discuss” so commonly used by teachers. But she said that even when they transfigure their meanings of words such as “discussion,” their limited understanding of mathematics itself disables them from using strategies other than transmission. Ayesha realized that, “The teacher’s lack of mathematical knowledge (which became evident in the lesson on ratios) could very well be the reason why she taught through procedures and rule.” She said that for teachers who never had opportunities to develop conceptual understanding of much of what they had learned in mathematics, it was difficult to tell the difference between relational and instrumental learning, and impossible to think about representations that could help students develop the concepts. However, even for teachers who did understand mathematics, the lack of pressure and support from their school discouraged changes in their practice.

Ayesha claimed that “change is a complex process requiring many adjustments in beliefs and behaviors.” The teachers’ knowledge of the subject matter, of how children learn, of their role in facilitating learning, their motivation to change, enabling and

disabling factors in the school, reward systems in the school and outside, all were involved in this process. She said that it was relatively easier to change the surface characteristics of one's practice, it was much more difficult to reach the "essence" of the innovation. She said, ". . . the teachers may succeed in setting up a mathematical situation which generates a lot of interaction but fail to make use of the ensuing talk to delve deeper into pupils' thinking."

Shifting Foci

Ayesha saw "good teaching" from the lenses of a mathematics teacher in a high school. Unlike Sonia and Feisal, she thought of herself as the teacher of a particular subject. For Feisal the subject was a vehicle for students' social conscientization, but for Ayesha understanding of the subject matter was an end in and of itself. For her, "good teaching" was teaching that led to a conceptual understanding of mathematics. Changes she wanted to bring about in the classroom were framed by her self-as-a-teacher-of-mathematics. But this was not the only identity that Ayesha drew upon when thinking of herself as a mentor. From having been involved in many inservice courses, both as instructor and as

participant, Ayesha also had some access to Discourses (Gee, 1992) of teacher-educators and practicing teachers-as-learners that were different from those of her two colleagues described above. Ayesha's experiences included learning with other classroom teachers as her instructors and also teaching other teachers in the role of an instructor. Her positive as well as her negative experiences seemed to have made her more sensitive to the needs of her mentees. In her interactions with her mentees she showed much greater concern for establishing and maintaining collegiality, possibly because having been through similar experiences, she could empathize with her mentees in a way that Sonia and Feisal could not. She planned and reviewed the "joint" lessons with the teachers, exchanged journals with them in a reciprocal manner, and asked them to give her the role they wanted her to play in their classroom. She was one of only two CPs who wanted to focus on teachers in their projects. Her relatively stronger identity as a teacher educator was indicated by the opening statement to her project in which she expressed concern about the capacity of teachers, not students, to use mathematics in tasks related to their work. Using her multiple lenses she attended

to different components of the program which were not considered by her other two colleagues.

In her project Ayesha wanted to help her mentees to learn three things: that mathematics is a relational body of knowledge; that children construct mathematical meanings; and that talk promotes construction of meaning. At the same time she wanted to keep her eye on how teachers learned with her in a mentoring relationship. Her prior experiences of attending and leading workshops had left her unsatisfied with short inservice courses and she was interested in exploring alternatives that could lead to significant, tangible and long-lasting change in teachers' practice.

As mentioned earlier, one of the purposes of the designers of the M.Ed. program was to provide some research experience to the CPs. Their mentoring practicum was therefore cast in the shape of standard research project with one central question framing the subsidiary questions. For Ayesha this meant that she had to choose between teacher learning/teaching or mathematics learning/teaching as the focus of her project. I was assigned as advisor to Ayesha and my own interest in teacher learning may have influenced the final selection of her central question. Ayesha decided to use her teacher

educator lens to focus with, and her teacher-of-mathematics lens to look at the context in which this learning takes place. Perhaps due to the dominance of my interest as her advisor, Ayesha paid much greater attention in her project to the question “how is she learning” than to “what is she learning?” She devoted most of her report to writing about the influence of teachers’ prior understandings of the nature of the subject matter and its content, of how children learn, and of what a teachers’ role is, on their efforts to change their practice. For example, she described several episodes from lessons she had witnessed and made comments such as:

It was evident that [the students] knew that discount in terms of a “percentage off the price” meant reduction in price and a “flat discount” also meant reduction in price but the difference between the two was not clear to them. But [the teacher’s] reaction to the pupils showed that she was not pleased with the evidence of gap in her pupils’ understanding. She would most probably have missed out on evidence of this misconception had she only allowed them to work out an exercise in their notebooks. Her subsequent handling of the situation showed two possibilities. One, that she actually believed that pupils learn only what teachers tell them. So she went up to the blackboard and told them the right answers. The second possibility was that even if she believed otherwise, she did not have the skill to probe pupils thinking through judicious questioning to clarify the misconception (Project, 1995).

Having made these conjectures, she then went on to speculate what a mentor might do in such a situation, but she did not say what *she did* and what happened as a result. In other words, she did not

sufficiently engage in the kind of reflection-on-action (Schön, 1983) that was an explicit agenda of the program. In her concluding section she wrote, “. . . bringing a change in beliefs and ideas is a slow process. I did not work with the teachers long enough to be able to have any conclusive evidence of their beliefs and ideas being changed.” Similarly, she did not say what the teachers had learned to do, what evidence she had that they had learned this, and how likely it was they would continue to practice what they had learned. Had I as her advisor pushed her to examine her own interactions with the teachers and results of those interactions, rather than speculate on other possibilities, her understanding of self-as-mentor could have been “closer to the bone.”

The activities that Ayesha engaged in as a mentor were influenced by elements of the program which had appealed to her as a mathematics teacher (Observations, 1995). For example, Ayesha pointed out that the idea of students’ construction of meaning came across to her very powerfully when she worked with a small group in the mathematics module, trying to teach them the meaning of equivalent fractions. Ayesha wanted to involve her mentees in going through the same process, but her relationship with the teachers,

their current topic and the time available to them outside of class did not permit such an activity. Instead, Ayesha herself worked with small groups of students and closely observed them during her mentees' classes and took her notes and ideas to the conferences with the teachers. Further reading (e.g. Duckworth, 1987, Earlwanger, 1973) boosted her confidence in using this as a technique.

Ayesha's ideas about what was important to notice about teacher learning, or "conceptual categories" of beliefs as defined by Anderson and Bird (unpublished), were already relatively well-developed because of her stronger identity as a teacher-educator. She was further encouraged to look for clues of the teachers' beliefs, their pedagogical reasoning and their affective reactions to construct her "problem model" (Bereiter, 1990) as a mentor. She did this through exchange of journals with the teachers, co-planning of lessons, co-teaching, joint reflection-on-action, and on one occasion a demonstration. She audio-taped and transcribed all her conferences with the teachers. By reviewing the transcripts she realized that the teacher she always thought of as a peer was treating her with a deference she did not expect. Becoming conscious of this change at

an early stage of her project helped her realize that what she thought to be her suggestions may not be received as suggestions but as “expert” recommendations. She thus became more watchful of her role in the joint lesson planning with the teachers. She wrote:

I was aware that given the power imbalance it was unlikely that she would reject outright any suggestion that I made. Nevertheless, there were times when she modified my suggestions to suit her style. I took it as a sign of growth that she was thinking critically about my suggestions and to accepting them without question (Project, 1995).

Her realization of her mentees’ individual differences and differences in her relationship with them, led her to selecting different activities. For example, one of her mentees wanted her to demonstrate a lesson, and although she was not convinced it would be helpful, she went along with the idea to be responsive to the teacher. With the other mentee, whom she knew better and who had more teaching experience, she did not demonstrate any lesson. Her decision to interact in different ways with her mentees shows that her identity as a mentor included not a single way but differentiated “ways of interacting” (Gee, 1990) with her mentees according to their individual needs.

Implications for Ayesha's self-as-mentor

The shift of Ayesha's focus on the process of mentoring limited what she learned about the product of her relationship. Her conceptual categories regarding relationships with mentees, and the complex and personal nature of change were strengthened during the project, but she was not helped to take more notice of changes that occurred in the teachers' conceptual categories about mathematics and students' learning, and the students development of understanding through talk. She described in great detail what she learned about the quality of relationships and interactions that facilitate communications between her and her mentees, but her understanding of *what* the mentees learned was not very visible in her project. For example, she cites an occasion when one of her mentees was "thrilled" to discover that "the talk approach" had helped her students to score very high on an examination paper. While this indicated that the teacher had seemingly "bought" the strategy of mathematical talk, it does not tell us whether she had made any connection between the strategy and students' construction of knowledge, which was the more important learning from Ayesha's point of view. She obviously wanted the teacher to

develop a prescriptive principle that said something similar to “Students should engage in mathematical talk” but she did not document any evidence about whether they had developed any such principle or not.

Ayesha realized that one of the greatest constraints on teachers’ ability to teach for conceptual understanding was their own limited understanding of mathematical ideas. Researchers in other contexts have identified the same problem (e.g. Ball & Wilson, 1992; Ball & McDiarmid, 1990). Ayesha wrote, “Indeed the teacher’s lack of mathematical knowledge (which became evident in the lesson on ratios) could very well be the reason why she taught through procedures and rules. Perhaps she also felt that she would not be able to cope with the pupils’ responses and questions with her limited knowledge.” Her mentoring experience did not help her learn how to address this issue. She hoped that her co-planning and discussions about students’ sense-making would help the teachers also understand some of the mathematics, but she did not look for evidence that they had done so. She therefore could not claim that these particular activities help mentees to learn mathematics. Towards the end of her project she stated, “As mentioned earlier

bringing in a change in beliefs and ideas is a slow process. I did not work with the teachers long enough to be able to have any conclusive evidence of their beliefs and ideas being changed.” While this is an understandable position, the question to ask is whether she would know how to look for that evidence, recognize it when she saw it, and be able to attribute it to something that had taken place during her work with the teachers in a mentor-mentee relationship. From the lack of attention given in her project to the question of what teachers learned, it seems that she did not receive as much support as she needed in attending to this area of her work.

Conclusion

What the CPs learned about mentoring and themselves as mentors depended on at least three factors: what they consciously wanted to learn, the kinds of opportunities they had for learning and the schema they brought to those opportunities.

Feisal and Sonia were more interested in exploring the possibilities of and constraints on introducing their innovations in the classroom and in the school than about mentoring and about themselves as mentors. They seemed to be guided by short-term

goals resulting in immediately visible outcomes associated with coaching, rather than long-term commitments leading to professional growth associated with mentoring. They seemed to experience the program's project from the perspective of self-as-teacher developing into self-as-lead-teacher. Devany (1987) used the term "lead teacher" to describe someone with a permanent position in the school with a reduced teaching load and several other responsibilities. This person's job is to "mentor" new teachers and "coach" regular teachers, appraise and critique teacher performance, organize and conduct inservice training, facilitate curriculum development, plan and lead reviews of teacher practice and student learning. These two CPs seemed to want to learn more about the innovation itself, keeping in view the school as its context and the teacher as one element, albeit an important one, of this context. Sonia learned that students enjoy working cooperatively and they help each other to learn the subject matter in doing so. Feisal too found that students were very interested in engaging in controversy. They brought many different ideas to share and learned to organize themselves to do so efficiently. However, some of the students thought of it as "a game" and wanted to return to the real work of studying for their exams. Both the CPs

realized that just working with the teachers was not going to allow their innovation to take root in the school because what they were asking for was a change in educational values.

Teachers' educational values do not change simply through interactions with a mentor because they are a part of a much wider social structure that extends beyond schools, as well as education systems and policies. They both thought it was difficult to work with teachers because they were conservative; lacking in training, professionalism and confidence; narrow in their vision; and sometimes hypocritical. They thought schools managers should give teachers policy guidelines, incentives, time and other resources to learn and practice new strategies. Sonia found that local schools were not quite ready for cooperative learning but it was worthwhile trying to change the schools. Feisal also found schools were not ready for his innovation but he thought the strategy itself may not be as flawless as it initially appeared to be. However, by scrutinizing his own beliefs and practice as contributing factors to the supposed "failure" of his project, Feisal was able to gain some valuable insights into what *not* to do as a mentor.

The starting point for Ayesha was very different. Her project was focused on learning about mentoring with herself as a mentor. She, therefore, attended to many more issues related to how mentors can work with teachers and developed a relatively more nuanced understanding of mentoring and herself as a mentor than the other two. Her experience as an inservice teacher educator had made available to her a Discourse that was closer to what she needed as a mentor, which the other two did not have. Another factor that differentiated her work from her colleagues' was she had introduced an innovation that seemed to promote the teachers' purposes. Although her primary intention was not to help her mentees' students get better marks in the examination, the fact that they did seemed to convince the teachers that she was not selling educational values that were different from their own. They seemed to agree with Ayesha that students should understand mathematical concepts although they did not share Ayesha's claim that mathematical talk promoted understanding. She wanted to learn about the processes that she and the teachers went through while teaching and learning an innovation. Her perspective was more like that of a mentor who tries to support small incremental changes in a personalized manner

than a “lead teacher” or manager of change. However, she did not pay sufficient attention to gathering evidence of teacher-learning, which is the crux of the matter from the point of view of school administrators and others who want to invest in teacher education through mentoring.

CHAPTER SIX

EXPERTISE AND AUTHORITY

The relationship required of Mentor a full measure of wisdom, integrity, and personal investment. It required that Telemachus, as protégé, honor the differences in maturity and circumstances that separated them. (Little, 1990 p. 298)

Little tells us that formal school based mentoring arrangements draw their images of mentoring from the tradition of Mentor (or other famous mentors and protégés) and from business and industry. In both of these traditions the relationship is asymmetrical. The mentor is usually older, senior, more experienced and knowledgeable than the mentee. Both the mentor and protégé in these contexts seem to acknowledge and value this difference because that is the very basis of their relationship. Little goes on to say that "Implicit in the title of mentor. . . is the presumption of wisdom--accumulated knowledge that can serve as the basis of sensitive observation, astute commentary, sound advice and constructive leadership" (p. 316).

In this chapter I show that the CPs' relationships with their mentees were asymmetrical in status based on assumed differences in expertise in teaching. In their relationship with their mentees the CPs drew heavily upon the habits of thought and action that they had developed as teachers, and reflected hierarchies that distinguished learners from teachers in their schools, at IED and in the general cultural milieu. They acted on the assumption that there was a correlation between expertise and authority, something that most people in their immediate as well as extended environment seemed to believe in, which lead them into a "learning bind" (Schön, 1987).

They portrayed a view of mentors as experts in teaching, trying to teach “good teaching” to their mentees. On the basis of their “expertise” they presumed the authority to decide what their mentees should learn and to set the standards of performance for the mentees to reach, just like teachers do. I argue that the CPs’ “presumption of wisdom and accumulated knowledge” at this early stage of their mentoring careers could seriously limit their efforts to learn about mentoring and thus become truly entitled to claim the title of “mentor” as described by Little (1990).

The chapter begins with a discussion of expertise and expert-novice relationships and interactions, particularly in the context of teacher education. The cases of two CPs, Sami and Danial, briefly introduced in the previous chapters, are then presented to describe their mentoring relationships. Since the selection of mentees was a critical piece in this relationship, I use data from the two cases to show what the CPs considered desirable mentee characteristics. In the following sections I use data from the cases of all six CPs to establish the sources of influence on their emerging identity as mentors. I conclude the chapter with the contention that the assumption of expertise and authority by the CPs at this stage of their mentoring career could limit what they and their mentees learn in this relationship.

Expertise and Expert Novice Relationships

Kennedy (1987) examines the development of professional expertise in teaching and other professions and how novices become full-fledged members of different profession. She describes four

categories of professional knowledge and compares the relative emphasis they are given in different professions. She then criticizes each category on the ground that it does not provide all the different kinds of knowledge that professionals need. First, expertise as technical education focuses on acquisition of skills and competencies based on predetermined objectives and pre-designed learning experiences. This category gives insufficient attention to theory and general principles and does not develop the novices capacity to critically analyze new situations and decide if and when to apply the techniques they have learned. Second, expertise as theoretical education provides broad principles which the novice is supposed to use to interpret and apply to new situations that she encounters. This is criticized by Kennedy on the ground that it does not help the novice decide which principles to invoke in new situations, how to integrate and choose among competing explanations in the analysis of complex situations, and how to develop plans of action based on these principles. Third, expertise as critical analysis takes a paradigmatic approach and helps novices think like professionals by analyzing cases. There is insufficient attention given to theory and professional skills in this category, and it does not prepare novices to move from analysis to action. The fourth category is expertise as deliberate action which involves conducting thought experiments in setting problems, where goals, means and ends are all weighed together. This category falls short on the basis of its assumed relativism in evaluating goals, means and ends. Immersion, apprenticeship, laboratory experiments, simulations, clinical experience and internship are some of the ways in which novices

learn “the practice” in various professions. Kennedy contends that programs in teacher education tend to provide technical skills whereas “its practice appears to require complex judgments.” She suggests that this may be due to the infancy of research in this area which has not yet provided grounded theory, and that programs can only provide what they know, which so far are mainly technical skills.

The kind of expertise that school-based mentors require has been identified by various researchers. McIntyre and Hagger (1993) suggest that mentors should have expertise in generic interpersonal skills which are generalizable across different professional contexts, such as encouraging reflection, counseling, “active listening” and support in problem solving, but they also need understandings that are distinctive to the task of schoolteaching. What is distinctive to the task of schoolteaching is identified by Maynard and Furlong (1993) as four intersecting domains of knowledge i.e. knowledge about students, subject matter, situation and strategies. They include pedagogical content knowledge and epistemological perspectives within the domain of subject matter knowledge.

Ball and McDiarmid (1990) and Feiman-Nemser and Parker (1990) call for a greater emphasis on subject matter knowledge in mentor-mentee interactions because this lies at the heart of teachers’ competence in helping students learn academic knowledge, which is the main business of schools. Elaborating on what it means to know a subject matter for teaching, Ball and McDiarmid (1990) suggest that it includes substantive knowledge *of* the subject i.e. ideas, facts and theories; and knowledge *about* the subject i.e. relative validity and

centrality of ideas and perspectives, how major disagreements in the field and how knowledge is created and justified. Livingston and Borko (1989) analyzed expert-novices differences among teachers to point out that expert teachers notice different aspects of classroom life than do novices; they are more selective in their use of information; have larger and better-integrated stores of facts, principles and experiences from which to draw when planning, teaching and reflecting on lessons. They suggest that mentors should be selected on the basis of their instructional expertise, ability to articulate their pedagogical reasoning and their motivation to take on the role of teacher educators. Smith and Alred (1993) propose that mentors' knowledge should extend beyond instrumental know-how to a more contemplative exploration of the purposes of teaching. Bey (1990) reviewed the literature relevant to mentoring and identified five fields that she suggests could form the knowledge base for mentors. These are: mentoring processes; clinical supervision; coaching and modeling; adult development; and interpersonal skills.

On the basis of the above research, the ideal mentor would understand the nature of the work of mentoring and the processes involved in it; she would have very good interpersonal skills and know how adults learn; she would be knowledgeable about students, situations, strategies and the substantive and syntactic (Shwab, 1978) aspects of subject matter; she would be able to articulate her knowledge drawing upon a wide and well-integrated repertoire of information and principles; she would have the technical skills of clinical supervision and coaching; and she would also have a contemplative philosophic stance towards education and the work of

teaching. Taken collectively, these attributes indicate that there exists a normative perspective about a special kind of expertise that mentors should have. The range and the depth of such expertise, if it were available, would probably warrant a special status that would set the mentor apart from other teachers, and entitle her to claim the “wisdom and accumulated knowledge” associated with mentors in other fields. A mentor who had all of the above qualities would very likely be considered “an authority” by her mentees, and could justifiably demand the level of autonomy that is normally claimed by experts in other fields.

In the context of “expert-novice” relationships among architects, musicians and psychotherapist Schön (1987) has identified three distinctive ways in which experts teach novices. The first is “Follow me!” in which the expert provides a holistic image of a performance, demonstrates and describes the parts and assists the novice in emulating her. The assumption made here is that the novice’s emulation of the expert would lead her to a better quality in performance. The second model is “joint experimentation” in which the novice selects the ends that she desires, but the expert helps her to break down the larger task into smaller units, each of which can be experimented with, to highlight the means through which the ends can be achieved. And the third model is “the hall of mirrors” in which the expert intensifies and reflects the novice’s efforts in a manner that helps the novice see it as an object that she can examine and learn from. In all of these models, of course, there is an asymmetrical relationship between expert and novice and the assumption is that the novice is learning from the expert something

of value to her, which could be called “professional expertise.” Schön, however, does not distinguish between the different kinds of knowledge that novices need to learn, and does not say which models would be more appropriate for which kind of knowledge.

In Western countries, the lack of established traditions in the teaching profession about giving and receiving professional support after the student-teaching stage has led to a difficult situation. The emphasis on teacher autonomy and personal style in teaching leaves supervisors, consultants and mentors uncertain about the goals of their work with teachers and their roles in that work. Writing about a Teacher Advisor Project in California (1985), Little claimed that “Advisors were hesitant to ‘set themselves up as expert.’ They only rarely gave direct advice in their face-to-face conferences with the teachers.” She identified three possible reasons for their reticence: that advisors sometimes believed they knew too little about the teacher’s intentions to give useful advice; that they feared they might undermine the teachers’ own analyses or aspirations; and that they thought advice giving is against the professional etiquette of teachers. Taking this particular stance, the advisors could facilitate teacher learning if asked but could not direct it. Little says that if the role of advisors carried no special status or expert standing with teachers, the facilitative role would prevail. She claims:

To the extent the teachers accepted the special status and expert standing of the advisors, however, advisors (and others in similar roles) probably would be able to propose ideas for joint work, argue topics or problems that deserve attention, raise tough questions, assess more and less promising ideas straightforwardly, and offer to teach others what they knew.
(p.35)

The question of “special status” is very closely linked to that of “expert knowledge.” Researchers differ on whether there exists a special body of knowledge which can be labeled as “expert knowledge” about teaching and teacher learning, and if so, what kind of knowledge this is.

Labaree (1992) states that teacher educators have typically been weak in scholarship and weak in the impact on their students. They have promoted a scientifically rational view of teaching to advance their professional standing in universities and to acquire greater control over what happens in schools. He argues that this position is empirically and theoretically indefensible. It focuses attention on the technical aspect of teaching while ignoring its important political and social dimensions. However, the research base on teaching has continued to expand and initiatives such as the Holmes Group (1986), Carnegie Task Force on Teaching (1986) have supported the notion that teaching does require specialized knowledge. The debate on the existence of “expert knowledge” in teaching continues partly because the purposes of schools are always in flux. Schools are based in nested contexts of historical, socio-economic and politico-cultural situations and sometimes these contexts demand different emphases in what is taught in schools and how it is taught. For example, in Pakistan religious education is mandatory in public schools, but it is banned in American public schools. There are many stakeholders in the business of schools. Furthermore, since teaching is such an ubiquitous activity, and lay people have spent thousands of hours as students in schools, they often claim as much knowledge about schools and teaching as

professional teachers. Schoolteachers have only recently been required to be professionally certified and research in this area is in its infancy.

Although there is insufficient research in developing countries to describe the expertise of mentors or the conditions of mentoring in schools, two studies carried out in India suggest that teachers' attitudes to towards autonomy and knowledge about teaching may be different from what is reported in the Western literature. In a recent study Raina (1995) found that "the climate of teacher education institutions in India is autocratic and prescriptive, that the institutions are places where to reason may amount to revisionism and dissent to apostasy. This results in the curbing of independent thinking, growth of ideas, and individual initiative." Citing a UNESCO report (1992) he contends that a similar situation exists in other developing countries, including Pakistan. The implication here is that teacher educators and student-teachers graduating from teacher education institutions in developing countries believe that an agreed upon body of knowledge about teaching does exist and should be passed on to teachers who do not have this knowledge. Given the intellectual climate of these institutions they may even believe that this knowledge is so sacrosanct that it cannot be questioned.

Ginsburg and Chaturvedi (1988) in their comparative study of British and Indian teachers on the question of teacher autonomy, were struck by the Indian teachers' "almost total absence of allusions to power and autonomy as key elements of professionalism. Of the 40 respondents there was only one who hinted that power and autonomy was an integral element of professionalism." In contrast,

each of the 39 British teachers referred to restrictions on their autonomy in curricular decision making as a major threat to their professionalism. The researchers concluded that:

The idea of practitioner autonomy--which was consciously not transmitted to the colonial context and which had little, if any, experiential referent for Indian occupational groups before or after political independence--is not a part of the ideology of professionalism on which our sample of secondary teachers in India could draw when we queried them about their conception of professionalism. (p. 474)

Although a study of this nature has not yet been conducted in Pakistan, commonly held conceptions about teachers and their work would support this view. Pakistan and India were a single political entity until about fifty years ago, and share a common history as well as many socio-political and cultural norms. Centralized bureaucratic controls over what and how teachers should teach are common in both countries. Teachers have a flat career and stay on the lowest rung of an impermeable hierarchical system, occupied at the higher levels by civil servants who have never been teachers. They typically do not design curricula, choose textbooks, or engage in self-selected professional activities in either country. It is very likely, therefore, that a similar study in Pakistan, and possibly in other countries with a similar history, would arrive at the same conclusion.

Like many teachers in Pakistan, the CPs openly acknowledged that their own schooling was poor in quality and that they did not learn anything worthwhile about teaching in the colleges of education (Conversations, 1994-5). During my work at the Teachers' Resource Center in Karachi I learned that teachers' lack of vocabulary

and opportunities to talk about their work was one reason why they thought they did not have expertise that was worth sharing.

Occasionally, teachers would admit that children's curiosity reminded them of the deficits in their own knowledge. Their low social status and incomes were a constant reminder, especially for men, of their lack of "special knowledge." And parents, politicians and the media certainly do not let them forget how little they know. One of the most common arguments I heard in meetings among bureaucrats, politicians and teachers was that teachers' general and professional knowledge base was so weak that that they do not deserve more professional autonomy or higher salaries. Teachers generally agreed with the first part of that assertion but not the second.

In the following section I describe the claims to expertise and authority made by the CPs, explicitly or implicitly, and the impact of these claims on their relationships with their mentees. This is followed by an analysis of the resultant dilemma for the CPs and its consequences for their own and their mentees' learning. This particular dilemma seemed to be deeply embedded in the cultural milieu in which this study was located and provides a different view than that portrayed in the Western literature.

The Mentors and Their Views about Mentoring Relationships

In the following section I first provide two vignettes, of Danial and Sami, with some biographical details that illustrate how their personal histories and professional cultures shaped their conceptions of authority and expertise in relation to their mentees. The sources

of data I have used here include interviews, conversations and the CPs' First Assignments and Projects. The two CPs who reappear in greater detail in this chapter are Sami and Danial, both government secondary school teachers, whose purposes for mentoring were to help teachers reconceptualize learning of science as a process of inquiry rather than a set of given facts. The expressed thoughts and actions of these two and the four CPs introduced earlier, will furnish evidence for my characterization of the nature of the CPs' relationship with their mentees: Feisal, who was interested in teaching social studies as an exercise in managing controversy; Nina, who wanted her mentees to appreciate how students constructed their mathematical knowledge; Sonia, who wanted to teach cooperative learning; and Ayesha, who was interested in teacher learning.

Danial

Danial was in his twenties and had been a teacher for seven years. He was single and lived with his parents, unmarried sisters and a brother and his family. He lived in an area which is known as the largest squatter settlement¹ in Karachi and claimed that he came from a "lower-middle-class" family. To supplement his family's income he started giving private tuition while he was still a student, and continued doing so in addition to his two jobs in different

¹ Since Karachi is the largest commercial center in the country, it has attracted immigrants from India, Bangladesh and Afghanistan, and a constant stream of job-seeker from other parts of the country. The groups settle down wherever there is space and over the years become eligible to claim squatter's rights to the land and property. Since these are not planned developments the

schools. When Danial started job-hunting it seemed to him that his only two options were to become a clerk or a teacher and he preferred the latter. His father was the Head of a government school and was instrumental in getting him a job as a teacher in a government school. Two of his sisters were also teachers and he once proudly stated that his neighbors referred to his home as "the house of Education." Referring to his family as being "traditional" he said that when his father entered the home, a hush fell over the family conversations, because it was not considered appropriate to speak loudly in the presence of the father. He had been taught always to respect his elders and especially his teachers. He said he was initially very uncomfortable about addressing the instructors from the partner universities by their first names, or looking at them directly when speaking to them, but that was what they expected, so he gradually learned to do it.

As a student Danial had attended a local government school. When he went to college for the first time he realized how impoverished his education had been. He discovered, for example, that he knew almost no English and that barred him from any job in the commercial sector. But when he became a teacher his Head thought he was good at his work and gave him the senior most classes to teach. Being one of the youngest and junior most teachers, he thought this was an extraordinary honor bestowed upon him by his Head. According to Danial's comments his Head seemed to be a

areas are poorly served, if at all, by civic amenities such as water, sewerage system, electricity, clinics and schools etc.

paternalistic figure, who also played a major role in getting him selected for the M.Ed. program.

Danial had a bachelor's degree in science and in education. He acknowledged that he prepared for all his examinations by memorizing the equivalent of "Cliff Notes" and that he did not understand much of what he was taught in school, college or the teacher training institute. Recalling his own experience of learning science in school, he said that he and most of his peers learned science only to pass examinations and that only a tiny minority understood the concepts.

In his interview, Danial said that at the two schools where he had worked as a part-time teacher as well as the school to which he was attached as an IED student, he had pretended that he was married and had two children. He felt that it was necessary to do so to establish a professional relationship with other teachers, many of whom were women. He claimed that he could not have had an ordinary social or professional conversation with an unmarried female teacher without this pretense. Danial thought this gave female teachers confidence in him as a colleague and allowed them to develop a feeling of professional companionship. He believed that his pretense also protected female teachers from gossip in the staff room and among students.

The labels that Danial chose for himself as a mentor were "guide" and "role model." He said that as a guide he could point out appropriate directions to his mentees and as a role model, he could convince them of their value with his "exemplary practice." He

thought that mentors should start their work with the mentees in an area in which they had more confidence so that their mentees would think “he has something to offer me.” Danial thought that knowledge was a commodity and that people who had it were usually unwilling to share it because if everyone had it, they would no longer be able to distinguish themselves from everyone else. Having knowledge in the same subject area as his mentee was important, he said, because “every subject has its own temperament” and he could achieve “more depth” by locating general strategies in the context of a subject.

Danial thought that novice teachers would be more willing to accept him as their mentor because younger people have more “energy and enthusiasm” and are “easier to mold”. For older teachers showing willingness to learn may signify admission of incompetence. Their age and seniority would make them resistant to receiving ideas from a younger or junior person. He also thought that he would choose mentees who already had relatively better subject matter knowledge and were “fast learners” so that he could demonstrate the outcome of his work to others. He realized that he would have to market his services and for that he would need the patronage of the Head, senior teachers and IED instructors. He said that teachers have no experience of articulating their needs because they don’t expect any response to those needs as schools typically have no way of addressing teachers’ needs. Using the analogy of familial relationships, Danial thought that his success as a mentor depended upon his ability to “win [his mentees’] hearts” and build “a family atmosphere” where people point out mistakes out of sincerity and caring, not just to put down the other person.

Sami

Like Danial, Sami was a science teacher in a government secondary school. He was in his thirties, married, had children, and also lived with an extended family in a crowded locality. He had a master's degree in physics and had been teaching for thirteen years. As a science student Sami had aspired for a professional degree in engineering or medicine, and subsequently a higher paid, higher status job. But his marks in the matriculation examination did not qualify him for admission into any of the professional colleges. He was unable to find a job for over two years after he had graduated. Meanwhile, he worked as a private tutor and earned a degree in education. Eventually, he too was helped by friends in getting a teaching job at a local government school. At the time of his selection for the M.Ed. program Sami was also teaching the examination classes in his schools and had the reputation of being a very good teacher.

Sami thought of himself as a person who was always helping other people. He claimed to take new teachers in his school "under my wing" and show them the ropes for getting along with the officers in the bureaucracy. Subsequently, they came to him for personal as well as work-related advice. One of the reasons they came to him was their knowledge that he had been through the same experiences as they and knew the context of their work environment very well. He said he inspired their trust because he spoke from the "voice of

experience rather than just superficial knowledge acquired from [the partner universities].”

Sami believed that every teacher, including himself could learn to teach better. He said that he did not think of their lack of knowledge about the subject or about teaching as “deficiencies” but lack of opportunities to learn. However, for them to make a commitment to learning something that required more than an occasional query he needed to show the teachers that he had “the backing” of the Head, the District Education Officer, the Secretary of Education and IED faculty. He said he did not want to “show off” his learning, but to “let them know” about it. His term at one of the partner universities and his increased facility in English were things that he thought they should know about. Sami, too, seemed to think of knowledge as a commodity and said that “anybody who gives something to the other automatically gains higher status.” As a mentor he expected to be a source of knowledge for other teachers and, therefore, expected to have a higher status.

In Sami’s experience people who had higher status did not have social contacts with those who had lower status. For example, a District Education Officer would never invite teachers to “a son’s birthday party or a sister’s wedding” but he would invite his superiors, like the Director of Education. Similarly, he thought differences in status did not permit “friendly interactions, such as home visits.” Sami thought that teachers who taught science and mathematics had a higher status than those who taught Islamiyat, social studies or language. He thought that teachers of the latter subjects would accept teachers of the former as mentors but not the

other way round. As for himself, he thought he could be a mentor to any teacher regardless of the subject s/he taught because IED had prepared him in all four major subject areas and conferred upon him a social status that made him acceptable to any teacher. When asked how the agenda for his work with the mentees would be selected he said, "I don't have a fixed agenda. I am a very flexible man and I will change according to needs. ... But the interest of the school and the interest of the students will be in my mind." He then went on to elaborate that most teachers may be reluctant to invest time and energy into learning something that would benefit their students but not necessarily themselves. He said, "students' interests may, and I think probably will, clash with the interests of the teachers."

Sami said that working with female teachers was not a major problem as long as he maintained the "proper decorum" of interacting with them. This meant making sure he met them in public places, did not meet "too frequently," and visited them at home only in the presence of their husbands or brothers. Working with older or "more mature" women was relatively easier, he thought. He said that relationships between mentors and mentees could go wrong if there was lack of clarity in their agendas. For example, mentees may want answers but the mentors, wanting them to develop their own thinking, may not give those answers. The mentees would then reject the mentor for not meeting their needs. Mentees were likely to resist a mentor if he was thrust upon them by the Head, and also if he belonged to a different linguistic, ethnic or religious group. Sami selected the label "role model" for himself as a mentor because he thought other teachers would be willing to

change if they were able to *see* the benefits of that change. He did not want to call himself a “guru” because that implied a level of mastery that he did not find in himself.

Feisal, Ayesha, Nina and Sonia

In his project report Feisal acknowledged that he was not an expert in social studies nor in the use of controversy as a teaching strategy. But in his reported interactions and the few observations I carried out, he did not display uncertainty about his knowledge in the presence of his mentees. Ayesha and Nina seemed ambivalent about claiming their expertise because on the one hand, their instructors and mentees expected them to be experts and they did not want to let down either of them; but on the other hand, they were unsure about what specific expertise they could offer their mentees and whether it was worth their while. Sonia also acknowledged that she had very little experience in Cooperative Learning but in her interactions with her mentees she seemed to be willing to provide them with “answers” most of the time, particularly with reference to the strategy.

Mentee Selection

Records of the CPs’ entry negotiations and their thoughts and actions vis a vis mentee selection for their projects provided some important data about how authority was defined and acted upon in their contexts. Since the concept of “authority” was closely intertwined with the concept of “expertise” the process of mentee

selection also revealed the messages sent and received about expectations, assumptions, claims or disclaimers about the mentors' expertise. In the following section I show that the CPs' wanted to choose mentees who were likely to be subordinate to them in some way so that they would be more willing to acknowledge and act upon the mentors' advice. I illustrate how the CPs used figures of authority to negotiate their entry into the mentor-mentee relationship and make some conjectures about why they did so. This section lays out the premises for the CPs' enactment of their relationship with their mentees, and leads into a discussion of the implications of this relationship for their identities as mentors.

Desirable Mentee Characteristics

In my interviews, I asked the CPs to identify the criteria they would use to select a mentee if they had the opportunity to do so. Both Danial and Sami indicated that they would prefer to work with teachers in the same subject area and at similar grade levels, because it would help them talk about the subject matter and the curriculum with authoritative knowledge. When asked whether it mattered which subjects were taught by mentor and mentee, if they were different, Sami said that science, mathematics and English teachers would be acceptable to mentees of other subjects like social studies, Urdu and Islamiyat, but not the other way round. He went on to explain that the teachers of the former subjects had a higher status and were supposed to have more "modern knowledge" than their colleagues who taught social sciences or humanities. "Anybody can teach Urdu and Islamiyat and social studies" he said, "but to teach

science or maths, you have to know it" (Interview 6/95). In Sami's view, teachers of low-status subjects did not have specialized knowledge or expertise, and would, therefore, accept teachers of high status subjects as their mentors because they were presumed to have "modern knowledge" that qualified them as experts. In Pakistani schools students are tracked into two groups in grade nine. Students with higher grades are placed in the science track and could look forward to careers in the "professions" as Sami did. The system of tracking seemed to prevail at the level of teachers as well, albeit in an informal manner.

During a class discussion on the above topic, a few CPs argued that the teaching of strategies like cooperative learning did not require the mentor to know the subject matter, but Danial as well as many of his other colleagues maintained that greater "depth" could be achieved if the mentor and mentee taught the same subject. Danial had also suggested that mentors should begin their work in an area in which they had more confidence, which was presumably greater in the subject that they taught on a regular basis. He also wanted his mentees to be "fast learners" so he could claim and demonstrate his influence on the mentee. As the mentor of a "successful" mentee his own confidence was likely to increase as well as his reputation as an expert.

Both Danial and Sami wanted to work with mentees who were relatively less experienced than they because as Sami said, "they would be more eager to learn from us, and bring change in their classroom." (Videotape transcript, 1/95). Danial was aware that being "junior" in terms of years of service was associated with a

lower level of competence. As a junior teacher when he was selected to teach the highest classes in his school, he did not think that he was the most competent to teach them, but that his Head had especially honored him by giving him this responsibility. Teachers who were less competent, and accepting of the presumed difference in competence between themselves and the more experienced CPs, seemed more likely to accept them as mentors.

In their separate interviews, both Sami and Danial also spoke about their preference to work with younger people because age is associated with experience and wisdom, therefore older teachers are less willing to learn from younger ones. Sami said that an older person will find it difficult to take advice from a younger one, because he would feel, "Since I am older in years I should also have more knowledge." He claimed that older teachers were patronizing of younger ones and they seemed to think that there was nothing for them to learn from "these kids" (Translated). Danial said that since he was one of the youngest teachers in his school, his colleagues would initially ask him to conduct workshops not to learn something, but to challenge him with teaching problems to test his expertise (Interview, 1995). As Danial had mentioned, in traditional families the respect for age and status in the family was an important factor in defining how individuals interacted with each other, even when they were all adults. These norms seemed to extend to the workplace. Understandably, both Sami and Danial wanted to work with teachers who were younger than they.

Most of the CPs ended up working with mentees who taught in lower grades than their own. This happened partly because most of

the CPs taught in the uppermost grades of their schools. And the fact that teachers of the uppermost grades were nominated and selected as CPs, underscores Danial' point about the association between perceived competence and grade allocation.

Only one of the six CPs who could have selected mentees working in grades higher than their own chose to do so. Nina, the only CP who chose to work with a teacher in a grade higher than her own, worked in the junior section of her school. She was interested in working with teachers in the senior section as well as one in the junior section because the teaching styles in the two sections of her school were considered to be very different. In the senior school a teacher who was "recommended by the Principal for she was known to be very cooperative" (Project, 1995) was selected. Despite this assurance, Nina said in her project report that she realized she may have to put extra effort into establishing her credibility with the senior school teacher and proceeded to do so by giving her articles she had read on mathematics during her program (Project, 1995). The lack of credibility of a teacher who teaches in a junior class may well have do with the expectation that they will have lesser subject matter knowledge and be less competent as a teacher.

The above examples illustrate that the CPs considered it important to work with mentees who taught either the same subject or one with a lower status, who were younger and relatively less experienced, and who taught in lower grades than they taught in. All of these factors point to the CPs' desire to establish asymmetrical relationships in which they would be considered the experts and their mentees the novices.

Women as Mentees

All of the CPs who had a choice between men and women as their mentees selected women. Included in this sample were six men and twelve women. As Danial and Sami pointed out, in Pakistani schools professional interaction between men and women is complicated by cultural norms which limit the time, location and frequency of contact between them (Interviews 6/95). Although the CPs brought a variety of perspectives to this issue, they all considered gender to be an important consideration in professional interactions. Sami said that professional relationships with female teachers were possible if social norms were adhered to. When asked if it mattered whether his mentee was a male or a female, he said:

I think in our context it does matter because of our culture. I am working with two lady teachers and I always make sure that my door is open and everyone who passes by can see... I mean I am accessible to other persons and anybody can come in. Because of their tough commitments in school I ask them if I can come to their home when their husbands or brothers are there, I make sure. Or the lady should be quite old or mature, so that nobody dares to point a finger at her. . . So mentor going to mentee's house, or mentee going to mentor's house, or meeting frequently - that might create some problems in the longer run..." (Interview, 3/12/95).

Here Sami was pointing out the limitations of culturally acceptable interactions between men and women working together. During a discussion on this issue in class some people said that meetings between mentors and mentees should be organized in "open places" which were accessible to others. However, a female CP retorted she thought the problem was lack of "open minds" not physical space.

What she was referring to here is the risk to women's reputation if they were seen to be interacting too often or too long with their male associates.

Feisal, a relative newcomer into this culture, on one occasion asked his female mentee if she could meet him in the school on a Saturday, when the school was closed for students but some administrative and maintenance staff were present. On that occasion she made an excuse. At another time he asked her if she would stay on after school. When she said she would miss her bus he offered to take her home in his own car. She then had to explain to him that it was not culturally appropriate for her to stay on to talk with him in relative isolation after school and to be driven home by him (Conversation, 1995). As a result of this episode, Feisal became highly impersonal in his interactions with the teachers to the degree that one of them later complained that he did not appreciate at all the effort she put into working with him.

Despite the constraints that male CPs had in working with women as their mentees, in every school where there were teachers of both genders, they ended up working with female mentees only. The schools in which Sami and Danial worked were boys' schools and there were more male than female teachers employed in the two schools, but both of them had only female mentees. When asked why this was so, they said it was only the women who volunteered to work with them or that they were only able to persuade their female colleagues (Interviews, 1995). One may hypothesize that the CPs ended up working mostly with women because Pakistani women, like women in many other cultures (Gilligan, 1982), may be more

concerned about establishing and maintaining “connections” with other people than men. One of Danial’s mentees was a female colleague who was the deputy Head in his school, senior to him in age and years of experience, and his competitor for selection as a CP. Despite all the other factors that made her inappropriate as a mentee from his point of view, he asked her to be his mentee and she agreed.

Feminist researchers have claimed women who are “connected” educators are more empathic, less adversarial, and more tolerant of uncertainty than men (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg and Tarule, 1986). Female teachers’ values of nurturance and caring, both in relation to their students as well as colleagues have been documented in the West (e.g. Weiler, 1988; Noddings, 1986). Assuming that these researchers’ findings are more widely applicable, it is possible that the female teachers offered to work with the male CPs despite the additional risk to their reputations because they cared more about helping their colleagues in their projects. Another, or an additional, reason for their offer may be that as women they had lower self-esteem as professionals. Unlike their male counterparts and despite their equivalent experience or qualifications, they may have believed they could learn something from the male mentors.

Another reason for the preponderance of female mentees could be that women are generally more vulnerable to male domination and could not refuse to work with a senior male colleague when he asked. Yet other reasons could be a stronger sense of their role obligation to improve their practice as teachers, the availability of

more flexible time out of school hours, or fewer demands on their time because they are not the main wage-earners for their families. Whatever the case may be, by being women they provided the CPs conditions that probably made it easier for them to take more dominating roles as mentors. In a country where women are not expected to make financial, reproductive, career or marriage decisions, men decide what women should do and how, in almost every field of endeavor. The male CPs were far less likely to meet with resistance to their ideas by female mentees. As a corollary, the women may have unintentionally reinforced the male CPs' construction of a more dominant identity by their "internalization of male hegemony" (Weiler, 1988). They may well have given the CPs the message that they were expected to have a higher status and greater expertise, and to decide what their mentees should learn and teach.

As mentors, none of the three male CPs in this sample expressed any concern in their project reports or during interviews and conversation about the hierarchical relationship between themselves and their mentees. It seems that they did not even ask themselves why their female colleagues had agreed to work with them. While they were careful to preserve the cultural norms in their interactions with their female colleagues, they did not question the nature of their asymmetrical relationship with them during the project. Considering that Pakistani women play subordinate roles in most social and professional contexts, it probably did not occur to them to question the status quo. But two of the three women, Nina and Ayesha, showed ambivalence about whether they wanted to be

viewed as experts holding authoritative knowledge. The relationships of these two women with their female mentees are explored in greater depth in section entitled "Mentees' Expectations." At this juncture it would suffice to say that although two of the female mentors were unsure about whether they wanted hierarchical relationships, all of the female mentees seemed to have internalized the maintenance of hierarchies in professional relationships. They seemed to expect that their mentors, irrespective of their gender, would direct and lead their learning rather than play a facilitative role.

Mentees Reluctance

Schoolteachers in many countries are generally considered to have a low socio-economic status. In Pakistan, schoolteachers' need to generate income from work outside the school is an important consideration for many. Most male teachers, like all of the male CPs in the program, either give private tuition after school hours, work on the land or in private businesses, or hold other jobs. Female teachers do household chores, often for very large extended families. Looking at this problem from the perspective of a male teacher who had held two concurrent jobs and worked as a private tutor in addition, Danial put it thus:

Here, teachers usually come from lower middle income groups. They are worried all the time about how to make ends meet. If there is something in the school, he wants to know what he will gain from it - feed himself, make his children comfortable... If he stands to gain something, he will come for it. But if he is in class and worried about how to pay for the electricity bill, you can't expect him to stay (Translated interview, 1/11/95).

What he was pointing to here is an understandable reluctance of teachers to participate in mentoring arrangements or other forms of inservice education. Similarly, Sami pointed out that:

I will be asking teachers to do something extra and I am not going to pay for it... Now they are eager, but in the long run - in practical terms, I will run into problems because our school is over at 12.30 and there is no Saturday off.

Assuming that teachers were reluctant to work with them in the first place, the mentors seemed to have three options: to convince teachers that what they were offering would be worth their while; offer external incentives; or appeal to higher authorities to enforce their compliance. Sami thought he may need all three tactics. He reported that in his first formal meeting with teachers in his school, "I made it clear that for the past 45 years what we have been doing in education is rubbish!" He hoped that by dramatic statements such as this he would arouse their curiosity to know more about what he had learned. For those who remained unaffected, Sami planned to offer some external incentives. He said that although he could not offer any monetary incentives but he could "provide incentives by bringing them [to IED] to meet people of high caliber and high quality, from overseas as well, or may be offer some certificate..." Sami knew from his own experience that people higher up in the bureaucracy and those who had access to them [referring to IED instructors and administrators in this case] wielded influence. He had been employed as a teacher on the basis of such influence. In addition to this, he thought his colleagues' knowledge that their Head visited the IED regularly and that "even the District Education Officer

and the Education Secretary” supported the schools involvement with IED, would help persuade them to work with him (Interview, 6/95).

In contrast to Sami who was a senior teacher in his school and seemed to have some access to influential people, Danial wanted to “win [his mentees’] hearts” and persuade his mentees to work with him by creating “a family atmosphere.” The strong family ties that Danial seemed to have, and the support he received from them seemed to guide his approach. However, his purpose was the same as Sami’s, i.e. to convince teachers to work with him as his mentees. Whether tactics such as Sami’s or Danial’s succeed or not in the long run, remains to be seen. But that the CPs talked about or used them indicates their acknowledgment that teachers were unlikely to be willing mentees. A relationship not wanted by one of the parties in the first place is an imposition. It was established during the program that as individuals the CPs were more powerful than the teachers, and as an institution the IED was more powerful than the schools, despite that the CPs needed the teachers, as much as IED needed the schools. The establishment of the relationship itself lay down the basis of a hierarchical distance between the CPs and their mentees.

Process of Mentee Selection

Most of the CPs made arrangements for their project by first approaching the Heads of their schools along with formal letters issued by IED. The letters, addressed to Heads of schools and written by the IED Director, asked for support for the CPs’ research project (Observation, 1/12/95). The Heads of schools, being indebted to IED

for the expensive, fully-funded education of their teachers, were obliged to comply. In most cases, after the CPs had informed them about the subjects areas and grade levels they were interested in, the Heads called the teachers they thought most suited to the task to their offices, and informed them of their participation in the project (Conversations, 1/8/95). The prospective mentees' acquiescence in the presence of the Head was sometimes interpreted by the CPs to be "voluntary participation" but later led to difficulties they had not anticipated. Most of the CPs reported that their mentees often complained of the time the project was taking away from their regular teaching (Conversation, 2/95). Sometimes the resentment was shared by the Heads of schools. For example, one Head stated that she was very relieved when the project was over (Interview, 3/95) because her teachers had been getting "so worked up." One of Ayesha's prospective mentees who had initially agreed to work with her because the head had asked to, afterwards said that she had too many other responsibilities such as bus duty and organizing extra-curricular activities. When Ayesha offered to negotiate with the Head on her behalf to reduce her workload, the teacher said she was reluctant to make a commitment to working with Ayesha because she did not keep good health (Conversation, 2/28/95).

CPs who had come from outside Karachi did not know people in local schools and, therefore, needed preliminary introductions. But what was surprising is that CPs who had worked for many years in the same school chose not to directly approach the teachers with whom they wanted to work. When they were asked why they decided to go through the Head, they said that it was important to go

“through the proper channel” for teachers to agree to work with them. The message received by the teachers would then include the Head’s desire that they comply to the request made. Both Sami and Danial, for example, had worked for many years in their schools and are likely to have known some of their colleagues on a personal basis. When it was time for them to recruit mentees, however, they first went to the Heads of their school, discussed potential candidates and carried out their initial negotiations with them in the presence of the Head (Interviews, 1/10/95).

Two of the CPs did not follow the usual pattern in the selection of their mentees. Ayesha, the mathematics teacher who was interested in teacher learning, and Nina the primary school teacher who was interested in cognition, were doing their projects in their own schools. They both approached one teacher each with whom they already had a friendly relationship to become their mentee for eight weeks. Ayesha said that her colleague agreed to work with her “to honor our friendship.” She considered this mentee of hers as her equal in status and expertise, because they both taught the same subject to different sections of the same class, had been teaching for a similar number of years and had the same formal qualifications. In addition, they had worked together as co-leaders of workshops for other teachers. Ayesha also mentioned that her mentee was a nominee for selection as a CP but withdrew her candidacy due to family commitments. However, during the project Ayesha realized that her colleague was not viewing her as a friend but as someone “higher up.” At the end of Nina’s project her friend also “confessed her apprehension about how she could ask for help. She said

teachers like children don't like to ask in case they appear stupid" (Project, 1995). What this reveals is that even in cases where the CP had presumed that the relationship began on an equal footing, this view was not shared by the mentee.

The CPs' actions in the process of selecting their mentees in most cases seem to confirm their top down approach to initiating a relationship. While relationships between mentors and mentees are undeniably asymmetrical in business and industry as well as in schools, the mentor herself rarely enforces such a relationship upon an unwilling mentee. The CPs' need to initiate and even coerce teachers into becoming their mentees could put them into an uncomfortable position where they become more concerned about finding ways to establish and hold on to these relationships than to facilitate the mentee's professional growth. For instance, in a context where authority and expertise are closely intertwined, the CPs may end up concentrating more on proving their own expertise than enabling the mentee to develop her own. They may also end up insisting that there is indeed an infallible body of knowledge about teaching which the mentees need to learn from them, rather than have an experimental and contemplative stance towards the work of teaching, as Smith and Alred (1993) have recommended.

Teaching the Mentees

In the following section I will describe how the CPs worked with their mentees in the classroom, planning, teaching and reviewing the teaching. Here I will use evidence mainly from the cases of Sonia and Ayesha, who seemed to occupy polar positions in

terms of the attention they gave to their relationships with their mentees. I will establish that these CPs tried to teach “good teaching” to their mentees in ways that reflected their teaching of subject matter to their students. While there were variations in the degree of collegiality they strived for, their relationships with their mentees strongly resembled student-teacher relationships that they were already familiar with, as teachers in their schools and as students at various institutions including IED.

Sonia’s purpose in working with her mentees was to teach them cooperative learning as an instructional strategy, which she thought would promote cooperation as a value among the students. She claimed that the strategy could be used regardless of subject matter, grade level and lesson objectives. In her very first meeting with the mentees, Sonia told her mentees about how she had “structured the next seven weeks,” what her role was going to be and what she expected them to do (Project, 1995). In a manner reminiscent of a teacher’s first few minutes in a class, she set the objectives and defined the ground rules for her work with the mentees. In her report, she made references to the literature that recommended including teachers in planning exercises because that increased their sense of ownership and commitment to an innovation, but she did not think this was necessary in her case. She wrote:

Although teachers’ participation in decision-making is certainly important it in no way guarantees actual implementation. Showers, Joyce and Bennett (1987) noted that without extensive hands-on training, there is not sufficient knowledge or experience for teachers to make important implementation decisions. They argue further that only after a teacher had

developed the skill and learned to use it appropriately can a competent decision be made. (Project, 1995)

What this shows is that she did not anticipate the teachers to be able to contribute anything worthwhile to her plans. For most school tasks, especially in Pakistani schools, children are not free to choose what they want to do. Teachers assume that they do not have the capacity or the authority to select them. Sonia seemed to have made the same assumption about teachers. She reported that the teachers' contribution in the early meetings was to only identify the topics they were going to teach, which she then cast into cooperative learning strategies. By the end of the fifth week, however, she expected them to begin planning lessons on their own. She said, "I explained how to plan lessons using the lesson planning guide, how to fill up the observation sheets and emphasized the need to be factual and descriptive when documenting observations" (Project, 1995). Despite this effort, the teachers continued to depend on her for approving their lesson plans. Describing one of her mentees, she said:

The pre-conference was usually as long as the post-conference and usually comprised of [the mentee] discussing her lesson plan and asking me to check if all the five basic elements had been structured and to make suggestions if the plan could be improved. There was often no time so she would seek me out during the tea break or sometimes she gave me her plan while walking to the class or while students were forming their groups. I found this resulted in the improvement of her practice and improvement in student outcomes (Project, 1995).

It seems that by responding to the teacher's request to "check" her plans and thus "improve" it Sonia was, perhaps inadvertently, acting like her teacher. Words and phrases that she used to describe her

work with other mentees throughout, such as “explained,” “gave examples,” “showed,” and “taught” (Project, 1995) showed the dominance of a teacher-like role in her interactions with the mentees.

Ayesha described her lessons in the classroom as “joint work” which seemed similar to Schön’s category of “joint experimentation” (Schön, 1987). She deliberately used the plural pronouns “we” and “our” to talk about the lesson with the mentees (Project, 1995). She said this helped the mentee and her to share the responsibility for things that did not work out and celebrate success when they did. However, unlike Schön’s category where the novice herself chooses the product she wants, this joint work was done within the framework of promoting mathematical talk, which is something that Ayesha had selected. The mentee was invited only to experiment with the smaller units that fit into the larger frame chosen by the mentor. The teachers were asked to plan activities that encouraged mathematical talk. They brought their lesson plans to discuss with Ayesha and were guided by her questions and suggestions which were geared towards ensuring that the students would indeed engage in productive mathematical talk.

All the CPs who taught in their mentee’s classes invariably demonstrated the kind of teaching they wanted their mentees to do (Projects, 1995). Sonia demonstrated cooperative learning several times in her mentee’s classes and Ayesha demonstrated use of mathematical talk in the class of the teacher who was a novice but not in that of her colleague who had ten years of teaching experience. Both Sami and Danial demonstrated the use of investigative activities

in science. Feisal demonstrated the use of controversy and Nina her questioning techniques. A demonstration in any situation implies that the demonstrator knows how to do something better than the one who is supposed to learn from the demonstration. They were using here the model of teaching that Schön calls "Follow me!" (1987). Underlying the use of demonstration is the assumption of expertise residing in the expert and in demonstrating instructional strategies the CPs claimed expertise in them.

When it was time to review the lessons that the mentees had taught, the CPs tended to focus on their deficits. Sonia wrote:

After observing the teachers' lessons I pointed out elements they had not structured or what the teacher had failed to do which hindered positive outcomes. I kept reminding teachers that if we use only some elements of cooperative learning or use cooperative learning ineffectively it was likely to lead to less effective outcomes.

Statements such as this indicate the mentors had a view of teaching that their mentees needed to reach up to. The gaps in the mentees knowledge and practice were duly pointed out so that they would be filled up. This is a very common view that teachers hold of their students: the knowledge in the textbooks is what they are required to teach the students and it is their job to see that there are no gaps between what is in the textbook and what the students know.

Ayesha, who seemed to care a great deal about the quality of her relationship with her mentees, also admitted that she thought of her mentee, who had been a friend of hers, as a student. She said:

I realized that just as a teacher has expectations of "a bright pupil" as a mentor I had certain expectations of [this mentee] based on my prior knowledge of her reputation as "a good teacher." Perhaps this is the reason that when I look back at all

the significant learning from my work with [her] I find incidents which talk of things did not go as planned. Perhaps just as teachers who focus on pupils' mistakes and learn a lot from them, but ignore thought processes behind correct or acceptable work, I did the same.

What this indicates is that in establishing their relationships as mentors the CPs drew heavily upon their identities as teachers. They had pre-selected the "curriculum" that they were going to teach their mentees. One reason for why they did not involve the teachers in making decisions about what they should learn and how, was that they did not expect them to be able to make good decisions. A second reason may be that they wanted to confine their mentoring to areas in which they thought they might be successful. In any case, the CPs used their own criteria of what it meant to "know" what they wanted to teach, and measured the mentees' performance against it. They demonstrated the "right" way to teach, in a manner similar to the way teachers show schoolchildren how to approach most academic tasks. If a mentee did not meet their expectation, they saw it as a deficit in the mentee.

What they seemed to care about is their mentees' learning of their particular view of teaching, learning or the subject matter. None of them invited the mentees to evaluate the object of their learning and their own efforts towards learning it, which Schön refers to as the "hall of mirrors" (1987). Teachers in schools typically do not invite students' to evaluate the content they teach or their own learning of it. They did not try to develop their mentees' capacity to assess their own situation, define the problems and make

judgments about what to do - the kind of learning usually associated with adult learners (Merriam, 1993).

The power differential between the CPs and their mentees was similar to that between teachers and students in most classrooms. The teacher decides what and how to teach and she evaluates the student's learning. The CPs appeared to be doing the same. Both Sonia's and Ayesha's mentees brought their lesson plans for them to approve. The CPs provided the guiding questions for reviewing the lessons. The mentee's performance was evaluated by the CPs, but there is no evidence that the mentees provided feedback about the CPs performance as mentors. Sonia entirely ignored this difference in power, but Ayesha tried to reduce it by introducing some elements of what Hargreaves calls "contrived collegiality²" (1994). Asking the teachers to plan the lessons, to assign her a role in the classroom, and to use the plural pronoun to denote joint ownership of the lesson were measures to encourage the mentees' acceptance of the innovation that she was trying to sell. Why did the CPs develop what looked so much like a student-teacher relationship with their mentees?

Reasons for the Relationship

In this section I will offer some hypotheses for why the CPs played a teacher-like role in relation to their mentees and what that could mean for their identities as mentors. Bennet, Crawford and

² Hargreaves contends that contrived collegiality is implementation rather than development oriented and meant to be predictable rather than unpredictable in its outcomes. It is imposed on others by more powerful people for a particular purpose and is bounded in time and space.

Riches (1992) contend that values, meanings and assumptions that guide teachers' thoughts and actions come from a variety of sources:

Some come from tradition, and are unique to an individual institution... Others will come from forms of professional enculturation: from norms of acceptable behavior generated through work in a range of different schools and inculcated through the work of inspectors or from individual's training. Individuals will have developed others from their professional or general reading, or from other sources such as their political and religious beliefs. This combination of beliefs and values, derived from a variety of sources, will shape beliefs towards students, towards parents or students' sponsors, and towards each other. It will establish for example, whether it is deemed acceptable behavior for a teacher to enter another teacher's classroom, or whether a teacher can acknowledge failure or difficulty.

Some of these hypotheses relate to the general historical and cultural milieu that is characteristic of Pakistan and most likely other developing countries with a similar history. Others are based on institutional, interpersonal and epistemological considerations. Because the identities of individuals are created in interaction with elements from multiple, overlapping and nested contexts, it seems relevant to explore a number of these possible influences on the CPs' identities as mentors.

Historical and Cultural Factors

Respect for texts and teachers as sources of authoritative knowledge seems deeply embedded in the psyche of most Pakistanis. This respect translates into unquestioning faith in the sources of knowledge, and is rooted in religious tradition, the legacy of colonialism and current lack of democratic norms. The basic text in

religious education is the Quran which is written in Arabic. Children are taught how to decipher and/or memorize it at a very early age, even though they do not understand what it says. Muslims who know Arabic argue about the interpretations they draw from this text, but not about the validity of the text itself, because that is considered the word of God. The respect for the Quran as a source of knowledge is further extended to other sources of knowledge, such as the books written about the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and to the Sufi saints who further explicated these words of wisdom to guide mankind. Many Muslims seek guidance from these sources of knowledge in everyday life. For example, people will often read from the Quran or consult their spiritual leaders when making decisions about marriage or careers.

The influence of two hundred years of colonialism is manifest in the importance given to anything that is associated with the Western world. There is still a great deal of faith in Western science and technology for solutions to all human problems, reminiscent of the “modern age.” For example, many of the CPs as well as their mentees said they wanted to learn “modern techniques of teaching.” In common usage, the word “modern” invariably alludes to Western culture and technology. The CPs and their mentees seemed to believe that instructional techniques, discovered through scientific research in the West, would equip them to be better teachers.

In more recent times, two decades of military government resulted in tight controls over what students learn in schools. One example of this is that all government schools in Pakistan can only use a single textbook for each subject that is produced by the

government owned textbook boards. The use of additional books or "supplementary materials" was, until recently, explicitly prohibited. These influences seem to have lead Pakistanis into having a great deal of respect for teachers and textbooks--the two sources of "official" knowledge. Student progress is officially recognized only if they show evidence of having the knowledge that is transmitted through these two sources. Students are discouraged from questioning either of these sources, and expressing disagreement with them is, of course, not permitted. If they claim not to understand something, they are declared unintelligent or inattentive. On a rare occasion, if a student directs the teacher's attention to evidence that contradicts what is said by the teacher or the textbook, the validity of his evidence or his interpretation of the evidence is much more likely to be questioned than the authority of the text or the teacher.

Teachers' exclusion of other sources of knowledge in the classroom was illustrated in Feisal's project. When he tried to bring in newspaper clippings, television plays and students' experiences into the social studies class as sources of knowledge, his mentees became "confused" (Project, 1995). One of them defended the validity of the textbook by claiming it was written by "scholars" who spent all their time in libraries. When Feisal suggested that students could be a resource for discussing issues like Kashmir or the war in Afghanistan, because they had some information and held certain views about them, she said, "How can students be the resource? They don't have the background information. Their knowledge is limited to the textbook. They know just what we give them." This episode

supports Gee's assertion that secondary Discourses have higher social value than primary Discourses (1992). Feisal's mentee was unwilling to consider that the students' primary Discourses might include ideas and information that could be brought into the classroom, where it might confront the knowledge presented in the textbooks.

Teachers, like texts, are considered to be a source of "official" knowledge. Schoolchildren, as well as university students, try to faithfully reproduce what they have told by their teachers because that is counted as evidence of their learning. As sources of knowledge teachers are lionized and a respectful distance is maintained between them and the students. Danial talked about his inability to directly address his instructors by name. Both Feisal and Sami were called "Sir" by their mentees, and Ayesha was called "Miss Ayesha" by one of hers (Project, 1995). Feisal's mentee said that she did not smile in class because her students would not respect her if she did (Project, 1995). Pakistani students stand up each time a teacher leaves or enters their room. Conversations with classmates in the presence of a teacher are considered a mark of disrespect. Teachers do not socialize with students even at the university level. Behaviors such as these are based on the assumption that teachers are the repositories and providers of knowledge, and students as their beneficiaries, have to acknowledge their gratitude in terms of public forms of respect.

The historical/cultural context of the CPs' work seemed to lead them into a double bind (Schön, 1987) limiting their learning and the learning of their mentees. They had established their relationship with their mentees on the basis of trying to teach them something

that they had learned at IED. On the one hand as providers of knowledge they fell into the category of teachers, and in that identity they had to behave like the teachers they had been and observed for many years. In their cultural context, teachers were supposed to be the sources of valid and authoritative knowledge. As teachers, they themselves could not question the validity of the knowledge they held, reveal that they did not fully grasp it, or seem uncertain about whether it was appropriate for their students (mentees) to learn it. On the other hand, as a part of the historical/cultural context in which they were located, they seemed to believe too readily in the validity of the knowledge they encountered at IED. It did not seem to occur to them that they could question the validity and relevance of what they learned from Western literature and teachers with respect to their own context. In accordance with their socio-cultural traditions, it became their responsibility to ensure the safe passage of this knowledge to other teachers, and the only way they knew how to do so, was to teach it as one might teach school students. The student-teacher relationship would reinforce the need to treat this as official and, therefore, authoritative knowledge, and thus the cycle would continue.

Beliefs about Authority and Expertise

The historical and cultural factors described in the section above appear to have influenced the CPs' and their mentees' perceptions of authority and expertise. Ayesha claimed that one of her mentees "continued to look at me as an expert" throughout the project. Speculating about why this was so, she wrote:

I think her perception of the IED/AKU as a high status institution transferred itself to me as a person. Moreover the fact that at [my school] experience in terms of years is valued and rewarded by special posts may have contributed to her perception of the difference between her status and mine. The fact that she was recommended to me by the head i.e. I spoke to her after the head teacher may have influenced how she perceived me (Project, 1995).

Her other mentee was a friend of hers and had worked with her on different occasions on joint tasks such as conducting workshops for other teachers. Writing about her relationship with this teacher, Ayesha said:

When I began work on this project with [the mentee] I had hoped that she would pick up the threads of our collegial relationship from where we had left off. However, I was a bit surprised and perturbed to sense that she saw me as a sort of supervisor. In her initial journal entries were comments such as "Ayesha's approval of my lesson plan set my mind at ease"

And, at the beginning of their work together "when she put forward any suggestion or idea it would be followed by a question, 'Is this okay? Will it do?'" (Project, 1995).

The two relationships described by Ayesha show that the expectation of expertise is closely intertwined with perception of authority. Ayesha's first mentee expected her to be an expert because she was a student at the Aga Khan University, she had many more years of teaching experience and she had been recommended by the Head of her school. As for the second mentee, Ayesha concluded that her act of introducing an innovation in her classroom by itself set up a hierarchical relationship (Project, 1995). She supported her argument using Doyle and Ponder's (1978) contention that the introduction of an innovation reduces the autonomy of a

teacher and increases control over her and Fullan's statement that making changes in classroom practice rests in the first instance on the exercise of external authority (1992). From the mentee's point of view, a person invested with the authority to introduce changes in her classroom was most likely a source of valid knowledge. Since Ayesha was the local expert in the innovation she took on the role of the teacher and the mentees, the learners. Ayesha's knowledge was authorized by the university as well as the school Head and was, therefore, considered "valid" knowledge as far as her mentees were concerned. As long as Ayesha was in interaction with individuals who could not draw upon the kind of officially validated knowledge that she could, she was likely to be perceived as the "the expert" who could teach other teachers what they ought to know.

From Ayesha's perspective, the instructors who taught her and the researchers whose works she read were the "real" experts in the field. They worked at Western universities and they published materials based on research. She seemed to believe in the knowledge generated by them, sought guidance from the literature she read, and approval of her work from her instructors. Her own ideas and experiences were not used visibly as valid sources of knowledge in the program. Similarly, she did not expect to use her mentee's ideas in guiding their work together.

Institutional Factors

Preliminary findings from a study on organizational culture of a small sample of schools in Karachi found that schools can be very hierarchical organizations (Farah, Personal communication). These

hierarchies are manifest in delineation of levels of authority for sources of knowledge as well as for individuals. In one of the sample schools, for example, teachers were asked to base their lessons on a set of pre-prepared lesson plans which included written questions and answers for each lesson in the textbook. The Principal was known to look into classrooms to check if the register was displayed on the teachers desk during their teaching. Formal and informal layers of hierarchies within the school made teachers extremely wary of expressing dissent of any sort. The researchers found that teachers in this school were reluctant to do anything that was not designed to curry favor with the Head. Working in a climate such as this, it is likely that the CPs themselves knew of no other ways to relate with teachers in their schools. For example, a CP whose mentees seemed to want to avoid the number of meetings he had suggested, stated that he was ready to drop out of the program in its last quarter, rather than plead with junior colleagues to give him more time. He said, "It was always they who came to me [for help]. Now if I have to go to them with my hands folded, I'd rather drop out than go through this humiliation." (Translated conversation, 3/95)

Even if the CPs wanted a different kind of relationship with their mentees the school culture could sometimes inhibit its growth. Sonia had asked for an opportunity to speak with the teachers in a school to recruit volunteers by explaining her project. She was invited by the Head to address a large group of teachers to ask for volunteers. But immediately after the meeting when she went to the Head with names of potential mentees, she discovered that her mentees had already been nominated by the Head. While

she was both annoyed and embarrassed by the incident, she learned that for anything she wanted to be promoted in the school she would need the full support of the Head (Conversation, 1/23/95).

The models of relationships presented at IED were arguably less hierarchical than at other similar institutions in the country, but the differences in what the faculty preached and practiced certainly did not escape the notice of the CPs. Several of them remarked upon their lack of mental models of mentors who engaged in collegial interactions with their mentees (Observation Notes, 6/95). One of them said “collegiality is promoted but not practiced here.” The CPs did not seem to have access to the Discourse between one adult who helped another adult learn something, without the associations with student-teacher relationships. Although instructors from the partner universities tried to initiate more collegial interactions with the CPs at one level, they reinforced the traditional student-teacher relationship at another level. As short term visitors to the IED, who were unfamiliar with the CPs and their culture, they taught what they knew without reference to the CPs’ backgrounds and future directions, or what the CPs thought they needed to learn. As instructors from Western universities, who also graded the CPs work, they lead the CPs to give more credence than they perhaps intended, to ideas they presented in the program.

Mentor and Mentee Expectations

This section serves two purposes: first, to illustrate that Nina and Ayesha, unlike their other four colleagues, felt ambivalent about the authoritarian nature of their relationship with their mentees; and

secondly, to show how their mentees' as well as their own expectations from themselves created some unresolved tensions in their relationships.

As mentioned above, Feisal' mentee insisted on addressing him as "Sir" because she said she thought of him as her teacher (Observation, 3/11/95). Several other CPs mentioned being similarly honored. Most of the CPs accepted this form of address as a natural outcome of their teaching roles in relation to their mentees and were quite comfortable with it. Nina, however, was not sure she wanted to be perceived as her mentees' teachers. She wrote:

The literature on mentoring offered an endless list of definitions for the role of a mentor. In the context of a relationship with colleagues, equal in status, I wondered which would fit into my conceptualization of the role. The following ideas seemed relevant: mutual participation, trust, my response to individual needs and requests for help and an awareness that change cannot be imposed. Issues that I find problematic were noted in my journal for further reflection:

- How would I introduce teachers to my ideas? To the basic ideas of the constructivist philosophy?
- How will I convince teachers that mentoring does not show incompetence on the part of the mentee?
- How will I find out the needs of the mentee if she is an experienced teacher?

I was not an experienced teacher educator. Would I live up to the teachers' expectations of me? How judgmental would they be? Would the help I offer be worth their valuable time?

Nina seemed to be struggling here to define a relationship which implied an equal status with the mentees, but incorporated her own agenda of teaching them the constructivist theory. She wanted to

preserve their self-esteem and also her own. Unlike all the other CPs, she anticipated that her mentees would also evaluate her expertise as a mentor. By expressing her own apprehension of not being able to measure up to her mentees' expectations she seemed to acknowledge their characteristics as adult learners. She wrote about the dilemma of how to strike an appropriate balance between directing and supporting one of her mentee's learning:

[My mentee's] attitude of unquestioning faith worried me. I was torn between the urge to tell her and to encourage her to reflect. At one point, when I felt she was depending on me for solutions, I had to be quite blunt with her about my view of the role of a mentor - I was not there to give answers. This was one of the main dilemmas I faced (Project, 1995).

The mentee wanted Nina to not just to identify problems or talk about learning theories, but to tell her what exactly to do in the classroom. She seemed to expect Nina to act like a teacher who would provide clear and specific instructions to her student. But Nina wanted to give differentiated support according to what she thought she should offer an adult colleague and what the teacher should try to do on her own. As an adult, Nina expected her be more independent of her and not to have "unquestioning faith" in her, but the mentees expectations were obviously different. For Nina the dilemma was whether to try to meet the expressed needs of the teacher or to stick to her position of providing limited support, possibly because she thought that in the long run the benefits of limited support may outweigh the benefits of response to all of the teacher's expressed needs. Thus both in extending support because the teacher asked for it, and withholding it because of her own "view

of being a mentor,” Nina retained the position of an expert in relation to her mentee.

Ayesha faced a similar challenge in working with her mentees. She wrote:

As a mentor I was constantly aware of the tensions and questions which could have an impeding or facilitating influence on teacher learning. For instance, when a teacher took the initiative to plan a lesson incorporating the innovation I wondered if I should suggest alternatives by pointing out some obvious weaknesses of the plan or let her have the freedom to learn by making mistakes. I struggled with how to discuss my concerns about the lesson without damaging the teacher’s self-esteem (Project, 1995).

The mentors’ desire to encourage more independent learning by their mentees and honor their professional self-esteem as teachers seem to be one aspect of the dilemma. The other aspect was that having been given the title of “mentor” along with the assumption of “expert knowledge” implied by the title, they also expected to lead their mentees in certain directions that were considered better than others. Ayesha wrote about this issue in the following manner:

If mentors choose a leadership role in order to live up to the expectations which this title promises, there is the possibility of being regarded as high handed and dictatorial. If they wait for the teachers to come forward with their needs they might end up being facilitators only without giving direction to teachers’ growth.

The CPs expectations of themselves as “leaders” reinforced by the teachers’ expectation to be lead by them seemed to push the CPs into directing their mentees’ learning. Having been learners and teachers in Pakistan’s education system and cultural milieu, most of the CPs and their mentees are unlikely to have valued either independent

learning or teaching. Their own formal education most likely did not give them many opportunities for independent learning nor valued what they learned independently. As teachers they were not expected to develop, express or act upon professional positions they held on matters such as student learning or the curriculum. The CPs' concerns about their mentees' independent learning were mentioned infrequently, and only by Nina and the two CPs interested in teacher learning. It therefore seems likely that by and large the CPs were more inclined to direct and manage the mentees' learning, rather than facilitate their independent self-directed learning.

Implications for Mentors' Identity

As Little pointed out (1990), the relationship between mentors and mentees assumes that the mentor has professional expertise that she can help the mentee learn. What was the nature of the CPs' expertise and what were the implications of their perception of this expertise on their identity as mentors?

All of the CPs seemed to assume that they had some "expertise" that they could offer their mentees but they did not specifically define what it was. However, some of their areas of expertise were implicitly indicated in their stated purposes as mentors. Danial and Sami wanted to teach their mentees to think about science as a process of inquiry and Feisal tried to show his mentees that social studies consisted of multiple and contradictory perspectives. Implied in their choices is the assumption that the three thought of themselves as experts in the epistemology of their subject areas. From her mentees' perspective, Sonia referred to herself as an expert

in the strategy of cooperative learning (Project, 1995). Ayesha seemed to claim some expertise in facilitating school-based teacher learning as well as about development of conceptual understanding through mathematical talk. Nina seemed the most reluctant to claim expertise in any area but her efforts to help teachers appreciate the way students constructed knowledge and her desire to teach them this theory indicated that she may be labeled an expert in cognitive theory. Except in the case of Ayesha, the CPs' areas of expertise did not have anything specifically to do with their work as mentors. Their self-as-teacher was served well by developing expertise in these areas and that is what they seemed to concentrate on.

Looking at the CPs' expertise from Kennedy's perspective (1987) it appears that as teachers they developed their expertise mainly in technique and in theory during the program. Expertise in technique was illustrated most vividly by Sonia and expertise in theory by Nina, while other CPs combined these elements in various configurations. However, by engaging in the project itself, the CPs had the opportunity to develop expertise as deliberate action as mentors. They selected their goals and means, evaluated how they were doing, and changed course if necessary. It is important to emphasize here that this was an opportunity, not necessarily an equally valuable educative experience for everyone. The kind of support they received during the project was very varied, as was the quality of reflection-in-action they could engage in by themselves in this new area. In contrast, developing expertise in teaching seems to have been relatively easier for them because their empirical and theoretical knowledge in teaching provided a stronger base on which

to build. In Gee's terms (1990) they already had the Discourse of teachers and so the meta-knowledge they learned helped them to analyze and control it better. As mentors, the CPs were trying to construct the Discourse as well as to critique it.

Expertise in teaching is a part of the expertise required for mentoring, and almost of the above areas have been identified as areas of mentors' expertise by various researchers. For example, Feiman-Nemser and Parker have called for "Making subject matter a part of the conversation" in mentoring relationships (1990), and teachers' conversations about subject matter, according to Ball and McDiarmid (1990) should include discussions on the nature of the subject. Danial, Sami and Feisal would qualify as mentors on this account because they tried to help teachers reconceptualize the nature of the subjects they were teaching. Livingston and Borko (1989) refer to experts' repertoire of strategies, and relative to her mentees Sonia may be called an expert in this area. Her repertoire included cooperative learning and she became a resource for the teachers' extension of their repertoires of instructional strategies. Expertise in generic interpersonal skills such as active listening and encouraging reflection and problem solving, identified by McIntyre and Hagger (1993) as a desirable attribute of mentors, was demonstrated by Ayesha. She paid a lot of attention in her practicum to what her mentees said or did not say, because she was trying to understand their learning processes. She engaged them in reflection on their lessons and tried to help them find solutions to problems in their teaching. Cognition was not specifically mentioned by any of the authors reviewed here but is implied in their

statements about experts' pedagogical content knowledge and the kind of things they notice about classroom life.

None of the CPs, however, demonstrated an open-ended "wondering about teaching" (Feiman-Nemser, in press) where mentors try to show their mentees what it means to speculate on students' learning, curriculum materials, or their own moves in an effort to make sense of them. Nor did the CPs engage their mentees in asking the kind of broader questions about schooling and education that Smith and Alred (1993) refer to. Since these last two categories are not geared towards predetermined learning objectives, which the CPs had identified for their mentees, they did not become a part of their agendas as mentors.

As the growing literature on the knowledge base for mentoring (e.g. Bey, 1990) tells us, expertise in mentoring cannot be claimed on the basis of expertise in a few of the elements of this complex work. Expertise in either subject matter, cognition, interpersonal relationships, or in teaching strategies does not make an expert in mentoring. Even if the CPs were expert teachers, which includes all the aforementioned attributes, it is not a sufficient condition for claiming expertise in mentoring. For example, expert teachers don't necessarily know about adult learning, or how to articulate their own knowledge, or how to assess another teacher's needs, or to deal with status/power inequities. Since the CPs' sense of self-as-teacher was so dominant in their conceptualization of their professional selves, and the program limited in the support it provided for their development as mentors, the CPs did not seem to have expertise in these areas.

The CPs were products of the belief and practice systems described in the above sections. They too may well have believed that the teachers and texts they encountered at IED were repositories of authoritative knowledge. The instructors they had were faculty members at well-known Western universities and the texts they read were research-based articles and books. They had no reason to doubt these sources of knowledge. What they did doubt was their own capacity to know it as the authors of this knowledge meant it to be known, and to teach it to another person as their instructors meant it to be taught. Feisal said that he only had theoretical knowledge of teaching controversy as a strategy and therefore he did not consider himself “an expert” in it, but he did have greater expertise in it than his mentees did, so he decided to teach it to them anyway (Conversation, 2/13/95). What he seemed to ignore is that Johnson and Johnson (cited in Project, 1995) evolved this strategy on the basis of some assumptions they had made about the purpose of schooling in a particular social context, about teachers’ educational values, their autonomy in the classroom, and most likely a host of other factors. They claimed to have tested their strategy many times themselves and helped teachers try it out before publishing their books. Feisal had not tested the strategy in a classroom of his own, and he had not considered the contextual factors that make a strategy successful in one place but not in another. He had based his work with his mentees only on his reading, which put him on a very shaky ground. Even though he himself did not claim expertise in it, he was nevertheless viewed as an expert by his mentees, and did not do anything to contradict their assumption. Similarly, while Sonia

acknowledged that she had only three weeks of formal training in cooperative learning and only a few occasions to try it out with students (Project, 1995), this did not stop her from making it the centerpiece of her work with the teachers. She seemed to have enough faith in the strategy to write:

I kept reminding teachers that if we use only some elements of cooperative learning or use [it] ineffectively it was likely to lead to less effective outcomes. We would then blame cooperative learning and would discontinue to use it or use it ineffectively.

She obviously wanted her mentees to believe in cooperative learning and that if things did not work out in the classroom they should look into their own practice of it, rather than question the strategy itself or its relevance to their purposes and contexts. She then went on to report that when she tried to get her mentees to do peer coaching some of them said they preferred “expert-coaching” rather than peer coaching, referring to her as the “the expert” (Project, 1995). In her report, Sonia made a brief reference to the short duration of her formal training and experience in use of the strategy, but she gives no indication of whether she shared this information with her mentees. As pointed out earlier, Sonia and her colleagues seemed to need to present themselves as “experts” to be accepted by other experienced teachers as a source of learning, and what they knew as authoritative knowledge about teaching. The CPs believed that they had learned authoritative knowledge from experts, but they themselves were not experts. Yet they presented themselves as experts, so that their knowledge would be considered authoritative. The socio-political context devolved on them the mantle of expertise,

reinforcing others' perceptions of them as experts. Their mentees in turn were likely to replicate their pattern when teaching students.

The CPs were novices at this stage in their mentoring careers. They were just beginning to develop some understandings about what the work of mentoring entails and what they as individuals needed to learn about mentoring. In allowing themselves to be set up as "experts," they were likely to curtail their own and their mentees possibilities for learning. The CPs' assumption of expertise could lead to three inter-related problems: First, the experiences that distinguished them as "experts" at this stage in their mentoring careers were not grounded in the contexts in which they were going to work. In trying to meet their own and other people's expectations of them as experts, they were most likely drawing upon the knowledge they had gained as students at IED because that was considered "authoritative" knowledge. Given its institutional structure and its dependence on Western literature and instructors, it is unlikely that locally generated knowledge would be validated for instructional purposes at IED in the near future. As holders of knowledge that is authorized by IED, the CPs are likely to impose it on their mentees in the only way they know how, i.e. as teachers of schoolchildren. Thus their self-as-IED-student, and their self-as-teacher would continue to dominate their self-as-mentor.

Secondly, although the CPs developed some important understandings of aspects of mentoring and teaching which they did not have before, they were still novices, both in mentoring and in the kind of teaching they were trying to promote. Having to live up to expectations normally associated with "experts" could solidify their

emerging understandings too early. In other words, they could end up pretending to be experts in something that they had not experimented with or quite grasped themselves. And thirdly, given the milieu in which they worked their status as “experts” could easily alienate them from the teachers. Teachers would look upon them as sources of wisdom, not someone they could share their problems with and hold dialogues with about their own teaching.

The CPs themselves, the planners of IED and the M.Ed. program, the Heads and teachers of schools, all contributed to setting up the CPs as “experts” with “authoritative knowledge”. If the CPs made this a part of their identity, they would be likely to continue interacting with their mentees in a hierarchical relationship, teaching them the knowledge they held themselves, rather than helping them to become autonomous learners. If the mentors label themselves as experts they cannot afford to allow the mentees to find their own problems because if they did not have the authoritative knowledge to address that specific problem, they would run the risk of losing their credibility. For an expert it is safer to play the role of a teacher because that allows her to select the curriculum. The nature of a student-teacher relationship is such that it can only further reinforce the hierarchy. They could not admit their own uncertainties in such a relationship, nor experiment with ideas that did not have “authoritative” sources. They could not become co-learners with the teachers. Had they been able to break the chain themselves, they could help the teachers question the knowledge they held as “authoritative” and do the same with students. By questioning their own dubious status as “expert” they could help teachers inquire into

their own roles in the classroom. In that perilous zone where such fundamental assumptions are being questioned, both mentors and mentees may have had richer opportunities for learning.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LESSONS LEARNED

In this study I have described how a group of teachers began constructing their identities as mentors in a particular context. My purpose was to try to understand the major characteristics of their identities as mentors, how they conceptualized these identities in the absence of prior models and what influences shaped them. I believe that this work can help the research participants in this study reflect on who they are as mentors, how they came to be who they are and who they could become. I believe it can also help the significant “others” involved in the CPs’ development, as well as educators in different contexts, understand and facilitate the development of experienced teachers into mentors.

This final chapter reviews the findings of the study on how the CPs constructed their identities and what this could mean for their future practice as mentors. It also discusses the implications of these findings for other audiences interested in the issues raised here. In the first section, I review how the novice mentors fashioned an identity in the absence of prior models using the Discourses they

were familiar with, and how these Discourses influenced their emergent identities. In the second section, I discuss some inherent dilemmas in mentoring, which, in this case, were accentuated because of contextual factors. In the third section, I identify some aspects of knowledge required by mentors. This is followed by some suggestions on how teachers can learn to be the kind of mentors we need, and how they can be helped to do so in a program like the M.Ed. at IED. Finally, I discuss the implications of this study for other contexts and the questions it raises for further investigations.

Constructing an Identity

Bereiter (1990) claims that “contextual modules” activate particular responses among individuals in particular situations and that these responses become the cognitive structures that guide their perceptions and further actions. And Webster and Foschi (1988) assert that based on individuals’ behaviors in recurrent situations, other people develop “expectation states” that anticipate the same behavior from the individual in that situation, as well as from others who are similar to her in some important way. But what happens

when people find themselves in situations they have not encountered before?

Schwab (1975), Blumer (cited in Bulloughs, Knowles and Crow, 1992), and Britzman (1994) seem to support the idea that new situations stimulate an interplay between the individual, the significant others, and the contexts that frame their interactions. In this tripartite dialogue the “self” comes with some “core” attributes and several situational identities (Nias, 1989). The “others” come with associations of greater or lesser power (Gee, 1990). And, the particulars of the context are dictated by institutional and cultural factors that activate some of the core attributes and the situational identities of an individual, making some of the others more significant than others.

The CPs brought to their selves as mentors some of the core attributes that shaped their experiences of the program, what they learned from those experiences, and how they used that learning in constructing their identities as mentors. For example, Feisal’s democratic values seemed to be a part of his core identity. The program gave him the opportunity to express these values by enabling students to become more tolerant and open-minded

through engaging in controversy in their social studies class. But the program also constrained him to work primarily with other teachers, not students, within the framework of a time-bound project that required him use the school syllabus and resources. The contextual module (Bereiter, 1990) of the school invoked his situational identity as a teacher and activated patterns of thought and action he had either used as a teacher, or imagined teachers used based on observation of teachers for several years in a student role (Lortie, 1975).

The program afforded Feisal some opportunities to learn the vocabulary that helped him write and talk about mentoring but it did not help him acquire the Discourse of mentors in the company of experienced mentors (Gee, 1990). As a result, Feisal knew how to talk and think *about mentoring* but he did not know how to talk and think *like a mentor*. Because Feisal did not know how to perform like a mentor, one of the identities that he invoked was that of a teacher, which seemed to be in proximity to what seemed to be required in this situation. Both teachers and mentors worked in schools and their jobs were to help others learn. Based on these similarities, he over-generalized his self-as-teacher to respond to a

situation that needed something more and different. This transfer of what is learned from one social system to interpret experiences in another has been documented by sociologists (e.g. Handy, 1993; Mullins, 1993). Feisal's mentees, who were also familiar with teacher identities but not mentor identities, reinforced his ways of thinking and acting like a teacher. Despite their discomfort in being treated like students, they did not indicate how he should interact with him because they did not know what to expect instead. On his part, Feisal seemed unable to appreciate the differences between schoolchildren and his mentees as learners, or unable to do anything about these differences.

The second identity Feisal invoked was that of himself as a student, particularly at the IED. He assumed that his mentees needed to learn what he had learned, that they learned in the same manner as he did, and that they would have the same motivation to learn as he had. Because of the similarities between himself and his mentees, such as age and profession, he seemed to think that what applied to him would apply to everyone. This tendency to over-generalize one's own experience as a learner is similar to what Holt-Reynolds had found in her study of students in teacher education

programs (1991). As in the case of differences between schoolchildren and teachers, Feisal either did not know that his mentees were different from him as learners and as teachers, or he did not know what to do about these differences. He could only help them learn what he knew, in the only way he knew how to.

The others that were involved in the creation of the CPs' identity as mentors were primarily the mentees and the IED instructors. As Gee (1990) has pointed out, Discourses are associated with power. The instructors were obviously in a more powerful position than the mentees because they had control over the CPs' psychological rewards such as grades; they had a higher status as university instructors; and in many cases, were representatives of a dominant culture associated with social, economic and political power. In contrast, the mentees were ordinary teachers who have a low social status and almost no voice in professional decisions. The CPs considered it important to promote the ideas they had learned at the IED, partly because they seemed to consider them to be "true" and partly because they thought that it was their responsibility as beneficiaries of IED to pass on its message. In contrast, they did not try to find out what the teachers wanted to learn, possibly because

they did not expect the teachers to have worthwhile goals to pursue; or they did not know how to elicit their goals and to support the pursuit of those goals; or they did not feel committed to supporting the teachers in their self-directed learning.

In their identities as mentors, the CPs tried to live up to the expectations of their instructors who were more significant for them in this situation than the teachers they mentored. Although it is possible that when they return to their schools, their Heads and colleagues in the school may acquire a significance they did not have at the time the CPs were in the program, Schön (1987) reminds us that students' ways of seeing, thinking and doing in the practicum tend to "assert themselves with increasing authority" in the world of work. Furthermore, because of the pervasive and deeply embedded notions about knowledge associated with universities being more authoritative than knowledge associated with schools, what the CPs' learned at the university is unlikely to be seriously challenged by what they learn in the schools.

The CPs' prior knowledge, skills and propensities intersected primarily with the expectation states (Webster and Foschi, 1988) of IED faculty as the most powerful other in the creation of their new

identity as mentors. In the absence of opportunities to acquire a Discourse of mentors, they constructed one from the Discourses that seemed to match most closely the contextual module (Bereiter, 1990) of mentoring.

In their mentoring projects, the CPs acknowledged that they were either unsuccessful, or partially successful, or uncertain of their success as mentors. Evidently, the Discourse they had constructed was not entirely suited to the contexts in which it was used. However, their work led to a better understanding of some problematic aspects of mentoring and learning to mentor.

Issues in Mentoring

The CPs' efforts to construct their identities as mentors were complicated by issues that are inherent in the work of mentors of teachers everywhere, but were accentuated in this case because of contextual factors. Discussed below, briefly, are some generally applicable issues in mentoring. This is followed by a longer discussion on mentors' expertise, an issue that has special relevance for the context of this study.

Primary Affiliation and Identity

Mentors of teachers often have to confront the question of their primary affiliation and identity, whether it is with persons or institutions, professions or ideas. Those who see themselves primarily as schoolteachers are likely to be more interested in their work with schoolchildren, but those who see themselves primarily as university instructors are likely to be more interested in their work with prospective or practicing teachers. Although student-learning is the ultimate goal for both, their immediate objectives may conflict, in terms of the demands placed on mentors' time, or the kind of work mentees are encouraged to do with schoolchildren. Who will decide what to do in such situations, and on what basis will such decisions be taken? Mentors who see themselves as primarily associated with a school are likely to want to promote the school's goals, while those associated with a university are likely to promote its own agenda. At the institutional level, a school may have a different agenda than a university program. For example, the school may be interested in promoting the kind of teaching that helps students achieve higher grades in public examinations, while the university may want to

promote more “adventurous teaching” (Cohen, 1993) whose outcome as measured by performance in the examinations is unknown. What would happen then?

In this study, the CPs seemed to be primarily affiliated to the IED and the ideas it represented about teaching. They tried to promote the institute’s agenda in the schools. But the schoolchildren as well as the teachers wanted to complete their syllabi and prepare for the examinations, rather than spend time in what some of them called “games.” The teachers were willing to use new ideas only when it was evident that their students performed better in the examinations as a result: otherwise, they were reluctant to work with the CPs. In agreeing to work with the CPs in the first place, the teachers had given in to higher authorities. The CPs could not claim that the coercion was ultimately worthwhile for the teachers and the students. In the long run, when the number of IED students increases, the demands placed on the schoolteachers may also increase. The schoolteachers may begin to lose the patience they had displayed in this instance, and may resist the CPs’ attempts to engage them in similar work. The CPs would then have to justify their use

of individual and institutional authority, which would be difficult to do in the absence of indisputable evidence that their work

The CPs thought of themselves primarily as teachers and the program had a strong influence on their ideas about “good teaching.” It did not help them develop their identity as mentors, nor did it provide strong images of “good mentoring” in which they could anchor their practice. They continued to think and act like teachers of schoolchildren even when they were working with adult professionals. While school-based mentors have to keep in mind that schoolchildren should be the ultimate beneficiaries of their work, their immediate responsibility is to help teachers improve their practice. How to develop perspectives that distinguish between the self-as-mentor and self-as-teacher, and yet see the connections between the two is challenge for teachers-turned-mentors.

Status of Knowledge and “Knowers”

Knowledge that is associated with people, institutions and cultures associated with more social goods tends to be regarded as superior and more credible. Since schoolteachers usually have lower status than university professors in most places, their knowledge is

likely to be given much less attention and credence than that of people associated with universities. While knowledge generated at universities is constructed through research processes that make it more generalizable, its validity and its subsequent use is critically dependent on what is attended to and heard in the field--which in this case is the schools. As Duckworth (1992, personal communication) and Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) point out when researchers ignore teachers, teachers ignore them right back. If teachers' voices are missing from the what their mentors hear, mentors' voices will not be heard by teachers. But if mentors do not attend to what university people have learned, they also limit their own and their mentees' access to ideas they cannot discover on their own. For any mentor, it is a challenging task to pay sufficient attention to the individual mentee and her specific situation as well as to the "public" knowledge available through university programs and research literature. For the mentors in this study this proved to be a particularly difficult challenge.

The status of schoolteachers and university professors lie at the ends of a continuum in the field of education in Pakistan. The CPs had learned a lot of university generated knowledge during the

program. However, the program did not prepare them to be critical users of that knowledge, nor to carefully attend to the knowledge associated with people in the schools. Most of the CPs paid insufficient attention to their mentees and the contexts in which they worked. As illustrated by Sonia's and Feisal's cases, their unmediated use of their university-knowledge did not make a deep or lasting impression on their mentees.

Faith and Skepticism

When knowledge and "knower" are treated as inseparable, faith in persons is transferred to faith in their knowledge. Faith in persons is necessary for learning, but faith in any one individual's knowledge can confine learning. Mentees need to have faith in their mentors to guide their experiences and the sense-making of those experiences. Without it they cannot fully engage in the learning experiences that mentors designs for them (Schön, 1987). And mentors need mentees' faith to help push the boundaries of the support they can offer. However, when mentees' faith in their mentors as the guides of their learning experiences is uncritically extended to the knowledge that becomes associated with the

mentors, they run the risk of taking that knowledge to be “true” for all places and times. This attitude could stymie their growth as independent learners and thinkers. They may become dependent on their mentors as the only sources of “authentic” knowledge and disregard alternate perspectives. How and when to help mentees separate the knowledge and the person who holds that knowledge, and to shift between belief and disbelief is a challenge for all mentors.

The mentors in this study did not help their mentees to question the knowledge they represented. It was important for them to do so because their recently learned theoretical knowledge was developed in a different context. The endurance and applicability of the theories and the robustness of the CPs’ understanding needed to be tested in local schools. But their religious, cultural, social, political and intellectual environment did not encourage a skeptical attitude towards knowledge, especially that which is associated with figures of authority. Since the CPs did not separate knowledge from “knowers”, they did not expect their mentees to do so either. They assumed that they would lose their mentees’ trust if the fallibility of ideas they presented was exposed.

Instead of stepping into the “indeterminate zones of practice” (Schön, 1987) where both knowledge and expertise could be questioned, they fell back on the familiar ground of thinking, talking and acting like people who taught at schools and at IED. Because of their own prior propensities and a non-conducive environment, the challenge of nurturing independent thinking among their mentees is even greater for the CPs.

Multiple Visions of “Good Teaching”

A related challenge for mentors is to negotiate an appropriate balance between helping their mentees articulate and implement their own visions of good teaching and promoting their own personal theories. Since mentors usually come with greater experience and wider knowledge than their mentees, it is often assumed that mentoring involves inducting newcomers into particular ways of seeing and interpreting the work of teaching. But the context-driven nature of school-teaching, its inherent dilemmas (Lampert, 1985), and the infancy of relevant research in this area requires school-based mentors to admit multiple visions of good teaching. When teaching whole language was immensely popular in the United

States, Delpit (1987) persuasively argued that some of the approaches it employed did not serve the interest of Black children, and thus initiated a debate leading to a more sophisticated understanding of language teaching. Encouraging mentees to examine multiple positions, some of which may be contradictory to one's own, is a difficult but important part of mentoring.

In the context of this study, where teachers have very little confidence in their personal knowledge, context-specific research that presents alternate views is almost non-existent, and where belief in particular kinds and sources of knowledge is untouched with skepticism, mentors are likely to have a much more difficult time accessing and drawing their mentees' attention to alternate visions of teaching.

Techniques or Principles

The work of school-based mentors is framed by the immediacy of classroom life, where action rather than contemplation appears to be more useful. The mentees need to witness and experience good teaching in concrete forms, and the mentors need to assess their mentees' learning, both for themselves and for other audiences.

These pressures tend to focus mentors' attention on helping their mentees learn particular management techniques and instructional strategies rather than developing a principled understanding of teaching (Little, 1987, 1990). Dewey (1965/1904) argued against a focus on technical competence in the education of pre-service teachers because "immediate skills may be got at the cost of the power to go on growing." Feiman-Nemser and Parker (1990, 1992) claimed that a similar emphasis in the work of mentors makes them function as "local guides" who help teachers resolve their immediate practical problems, rather than act as "educational companions" who help teachers inquire into and challenge existing models of learning and teaching.

A large number of mentors in this study helped their mentees learn new teaching strategies. Teachers' learning of these strategies could be demonstrated to other teachers, Heads and IED instructors. The nature of task defined and the time allocated to it influenced the CPs' choice in the practicum, but similar constraints are likely to exist in schools. To justify the investment of their time, mentors will have to provide demonstrable evidence of their mentees' learning as a result of their work. It is obviously more difficult to present such

evidence for the development of principled understanding of teaching that Little talks about (1987, 1990) as a result of mentoring. The CPs did not choose this more ambitious goal. However, given that teachers constantly need to adapt their practice to suit individual students, subjects and grade levels, and that they have multiple and sometimes competing professional goals, it is crucial that they develop such understanding. The CPs did not seem to appreciate that learning of new instructional strategies is a necessary but not sufficient goal for mentoring. Without the ability to assess when to use a particular strategy, what its strengths and limitations are, and which professional goals it promotes, the teachers would be ill equipped for making sound professional judgments.

Boundaries of Mentors' Expertise

In the cultural milieu in which the CPs were located, authority and expertise are perceived as two sides of the same coin. People in senior positions are expected not only to provide a vision, but also to have the management skills to lead a team and the technical competence to make major and minor decisions in every area of the collective enterprise. People in positions of greater authority often

do not have sufficient trust in the professional expertise of individuals in lower positions, and individuals at the lower levels usually believe that people in authority have the expertise to solve their professional problems. Learning from professional peers or those who have a lower status is a rare phenomenon in most organizations. Acknowledging that such learning is possible and creating opportunities for it, is rarer still.

Despite their initial acknowledgment that insufficient subject-matter knowledge was the most fundamental problem in teaching, none of CPs chose to address this problem directly. A most likely reason for this was their own uncertain grasp of the subjects they had been teaching. During the program they began to realize the boundaries of their own knowledge and therefore backed off from confronting their own and their mentees' limited understanding of subject-matter content. None of the mentors asked their mentees what they wanted to learn. None of them acted on what they believed to be the basic problem. Instead they selected their agenda on the basis of what they themselves felt most comfortable teaching.

Mentors, like teachers or any other professionals, have a limited range of expertise. Partly because of IED's claims and partly

because of their own and their mentees' expectations, the mentors images as "experts" became larger than themselves. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the ideal mentor should have sound understanding of and about subject-matters, students and student-learning, teachers and teacher-learning, and schools as learning environments for students and teachers. She should have the skills for effective communication, supervision and coaching. In addition, she should have a philosophic stance that sustains both commitment and skepticism. When the CPs made implicit claims of expertise as mentors, they were claiming that which is difficult for any anyone and nearly impossible for a novice. In order to protect the façade of this expertise, they confined their agenda to areas where they were certain they knew more than the teachers did. The knowledge that distinguished them as experts was what they had learned in theory during the program. They made claims for the validity of this knowledge without testing it in local schools. Showing uncertainty about the ideas they had learned in the program, as well as working in areas for which the program had not specifically prepared them, would have exposed the limits of their expertise and jeopardized their authority.

The novice mentors' claims of expertise and authority could lead to many problems. First, they would confine their work with their mentees only to the areas in which they felt they had some expertise, regardless of the perceived needs of their mentees and their schools. If teachers and school administrators were not convinced that it was worthwhile for them to learn what the mentors offered, they might reject all other learning opportunities that the mentors could potentially create.

Second, the intellectual models mentors present to their mentees would be of "knowers" rather than "inquirers." The mentees would see them as repositories of authoritative knowledge and aspire to become like them. Without developing an identity as inquirers, the mentees are unlikely to engage in substantial learning beyond the mentoring relationship.

Third, the CPs' claim of expertise could lead them to believe that what they knew was "true" and it was appropriate for everyone to learn it, regardless of the contexts in which the knowledge was to be used. It could solidify their knowledge too early and prevent them from challenging their own assumptions, to experiment with ideas that they were still unsure of, and to encourage others to do

the same. It could prevent their own further learning and encourage them to act as intellectual colonizers.

Fourth, as figures of authority they could easily get alienated from the teachers they were trying to help. Revealing one's ignorance to people in authority is not easy for anyone; it is additionally difficult for teachers because for most of their work-life they present themselves as people who have the answers. Doing so in the presence of figures of authority would require a measure of confidence that teachers usually do not have.

While there are no quick or easy solutions to the issues raised above, some aspects of what mentors need to know can be identified and learned by novice mentors. The following section briefly describes aspects of knowledge for mentoring that this study helped to identify.

Knowledge for Mentoring

As is acknowledged in the mentoring literature (e.g. Feiman-Nemser, 1992, Little, 1990) the sparse descriptions of mentors' work and the many variations in the way it is practiced make it difficult to draw a composite picture of mentoring to help novices in any context

conceptualize their practice. Where there is no contextually relevant literature at all on models of school-based mentoring, the task becomes additionally difficult.

However, one way to begin thinking about what the CPs needed to know as mentors is to revisit the knowledge base for teachers. Most teacher education programs give some attention to the subject matter, learners, learning, and classrooms and schools as learning environments. By analogy, mentors need to learn about teaching, teachers, teacher-learning, and schools as places for teacher-learning. Further research is needed in all of these areas and the connections among these areas. Based on earlier discussions about the “ideal mentor” in the Western literature and an analysis of the CPs’ local experiences, this study identifies a few facets of what the mentors in this particular context needed to know and be able to do.

Knowledge of and about Teaching

Schwab (1978) used the terms substantive and syntactic structures of the disciplines to differentiate between knowledge of the major ideas and connections among them in a discipline, and knowledge about how the disciplinary knowledge is characterized,

created and validated. Ball and McDiarmid (1990) extended this idea to school subjects and claimed that teachers need to know both knowledge *of* the subject as well as *about* the subject. Based on this notion, knowledge *of* teaching would mean knowing how to teach, which Gee (1990) calls the Discourse of teaching, and knowledge *about* teaching, would mean knowing how to talk about teaching, or the “meta-knowledge” about teaching. Mentors should be able to do “good” teaching as well as to talk about it. Schön’s (1987) claim that there is much about professional practice that can only be communicated only through the medium of performance applies as much to teaching as to the work of architects and musicians. Mentors therefor need to be able to demonstrate the kind of teaching they want their mentees to learn to do. Their talk about teaching, or the “meta-knowledge” (Gee, 1990) while analysis of teaching helps them learn to control and modify their teaching. Furthermore, mentors the dismissive stance that university based educators and school based teachers are mutually dismissive of each other’s knowledge

Mentors need to develop a comprehensive view of what teachers need to know and be able to do. Although each of the CPs

worked on important aspects of teachers' knowledge, they did not always connect these aspects into a coherent vision of teaching. In cases where some connections were drawn, however implicit, they helped the mentor and mentee move back and forth between the "big ideas" and the specific practices that embodied those ideas. For example, Nina was able to locate her advice about responding to students' questions in a particular way in the framework of constructivism, which she and her mentee had already discussed. Feisal's use of controversy as a strategy did not get located in his view of social studies as a subject. This diminished its value as a usable strategy and restricted the alternatives he and his mentee could have explored within a larger framework. Mentors therefore need to conceptualize teaching as a holistic and complex enterprise, and while keeping an eye on the whole, work with their mentees on its different parts. This would allow them to have flexible purposes and move back and forth between different foci, making ever stronger connections between the multiple dimensions of teaching.

About Teachers

As this study demonstrated, practicing teachers have deeply-entrenched beliefs about students, teaching, the purpose of schools and their responsibilities as teachers. Mentors in this study found out that it is crucial to surface and address these beliefs in order to influence their practice. They learned that these beliefs are based not just on empirical evidence but also on social and political considerations, such as what others expect of them, who is important to please, and so on. Sonia's claim that social development of students was facilitated by cooperative learning appeared to be well substantiated, but it did not touch her mentees because they did not think it was their responsibility to promote their students' social development. In contrast, Ayesha's mentee bought her idea of using mathematical talk in the classroom when her need to improve her students performance in the examination was met by Ayesha's recommendation. Teachers' ethic of practicality (Doyle & Ponder, 1978), which they use to assess their own costs and benefits with regard to a particular innovation, is something that mentors have to keep in sight in their work with practicing teachers.

Some things about teachers are relatively more difficult to learn than others. For example, it is often quite difficult for mentors to assess what teachers really want and need to learn. Feiman-Nemser and Rosaen (1994) suggest that one of the purposes of mentors' work is to help teachers realize their visions of teaching into their practice. But many teachers in Pakistan, irrespective of whether they have had professional training or not, do not have the opportunity to develop coherent visions of teaching that they can articulate. Teachers often do not know what they need to learn because they are not aware of other possibilities in teaching. As Sami pointed out:

If you had asked me two years ago what I needed to learn I would not be able to say "how to help students build conceptual understanding" or "how to do inquiry in science" or "cooperative learning" or anything like that. I didn't know what I needed then. How can I expect teachers to tell me what they need? (Videotape transcript, 1/26/1995)

Since teachers typically do not have access to other teachers' practice they have no measures to evaluate their own. Teachers also do not have the help they need to step outside their practice to critically examine it. In other words, they do not have the conceptual tools, vocabulary, or experience to articulate what they want to learn.

Mentors, therefore, need to carefully analyze what teachers say

and do, in and outside the classroom, to help them peel the layers of immediate and superficial concerns to reach their more fundamental needs. They can learn to do so by establishing long term relationships with teachers and other mentors, who reflect with them on the nature of this work as well as on their own achievements and challenges.

About Teacher-Learning

One of Ayesha's mentees wanted her to demonstrate a lesson, the other did not. Not demonstrating the lesson in one class may be seen by the teacher as withholding vital information, demonstrating in the other class may be perceived as infringement of the teacher's autonomy. What this implies is that mentors should learn to pay much greater attention to individual ways of learning than teachers typically do in a classroom, where the students are a captive audience.

As adult professionals, teachers' motivation is a critical factor in their learning. If they see that their learning promotes their professional goals then they will consider it worthwhile to invest their time in it. Otherwise, they may only superficially engage with

an opportunity to learn, and then discard their learning when the external pressures to learn are removed.

As the mentors in this study discovered, teachers have various kinds of beliefs (Anderson & Bird, unpublished) which need to be addressed at different levels and in different ways. Their educational values are the most resistant to change, because they are deeply embedded in their social and cultural milieu, and have been built over a long period of time through interaction with many people in many different settings. However, their empirical claims can be challenged more readily with counter claims because, as Holt-Reynolds suggests (1991), they are usually based only on their own experience of classroom practice. When they accept the evidence provided by the counter claims, they gradually build different conceptual categories and prescriptive principles of their own. Thus teachers learn incrementally, making small changes in their beliefs and practices, rather than making radical shifts in their fundamental values.

Mentors need to know how to help teachers continue their learning beyond the mentoring relationship. Unlike schoolchildren teachers do not have support systems or professionally allocated

time for their own learning. Mentors can facilitate their learning only for a short time and only in particular areas. Therefore a specific focus on helping them develop mechanisms to continue their learning, either independently or in interdependent networks would serve the teachers much better in the long term.

About Schools as Contexts for Teacher-Learning

Teachers' needs are inextricably linked to the environments in which they work. Official curricula, parental expectations, school cultures and students' prior experiences have to be taken into account in defining teachers' needs. Sonia's mentees frequently reminded her that if cooperative learning was an explicit policy adopted in their school they would be much more willing to use it in their class, and Feisal's mentee said she could not change her curriculum without the approval of the senior teachers in her school. Acknowledging and working within the framework of school cultures does not mean that mentors should reinforce existing norms, but that they should help mentees locate the new ideas they encounter in their own environment. They should also help mentees examine what they are prepared to do in the long and short term to reform

existing practice by teaching “against the grain” (Cochran-Smith, 1991), and make specific plans accordingly.

Meta-Knowledge about Mentoring

Learning how to perform as mentors is important for any mentor but for those who are creating a new identity, it is also very important to be able to examine the Discourse as they are creating it. This “meta-knowledge” as Gee calls it (1990), enables people to “to manipulate, to analyze, to resist while still advancing” - in other words, to examine their Discourse in a reflective and critical way. As potential role models for future generations of school-based mentors, it is the special responsibility of the first few groups of mentors in this program to critically reflect on their own identity a part of their Discourse. Schön’s work (1983, 1987) described in chapter six about reflecting in and on practice, and climbing the ladders of reflection to assess the quality of reflection, provides some useful guidelines on how professionals can reflect in and on their actions, including their learning and teaching of professional practice.

Learning to Mentor

This section first identifies some limitations of the M.Ed. program at IED as an opportunity for the CPs to learn how to be the kinds of mentors that are needed in Pakistani schools. An alternative approach for learning to mentor is then offered, followed by specific suggestions on how this could be adopted in the current context. The suggestions made below are based on the assumption that mentoring is a form of teacher education (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1992) and that practicing as well as novice teachers can be helped by mentors to develop or redefine their visions of teaching, as well as to learn about subject matter content, students, learning, learning environments and pedagogical content knowledge.

Under ideal conditions, prospective mentors would have access to expert school-based mentors from whom they could *acquire* the Discourse of mentors, and concurrent opportunities to *learn* this Discourse (Gee, 1990) so that they can critique their own practice. But in the absence of prior models the prospective mentors themselves, as well as the significant “others” whose explicit or implicit expectations shaped their identities, would have to consider other ways of helping them become the kind of mentors we need.

The M.Ed. Program as an Opportunity for Learning to Mentor

The M.Ed. program was potentially a good opportunity for the CPs to experience and reflect upon their performance as mentors. However, several contributing factors made it difficult for them to make full use of this opportunity. The program was designed to prepare the CPs to do “good” classroom teaching, to work as part-time instructors at the IED, to undertake research projects, and also to learn how to mentor. This was a very ambitious agenda indeed. The preparation of what IED defined as “exemplary teachers” was a difficult task in and of itself, given the diversity of the group of M.Ed. candidates. To also prepare them as researchers and as mentors was additionally challenging. While a great deal was accomplished in a short period with very limited human resources, the multiple purposes of the program evidently did not allow for sufficient attention to be given to the CPs’ preparation as mentors (see Chapter Two).

Since it was the first time the individuals and institution involved in teaching the program had tried to work together, the

program lacked a coherent framework. As IED leaders admitted, the program was “evolving” while it was being taught. The instructors did not share common understandings of its multiple purposes and how they could be built upon through connected experiences. This resulted in fragmentation of the effort to develop mentors who were well grounded in “good teaching” and also knew how to help others learn it.

Helping the CPs become mentors was also the most difficult component of the program. The IED faculty, as well as those who came as visiting faculty, had not designed or benefited from a program of this nature. They had experience in working with pre-service and sometimes in-service teachers, but not in preparing teachers as mentors. The literature in learning to mentor is almost non-existent. But even if it were available, it would have been of little use unless it took into account the contexts of local schools.

The program instructors were not as familiar with the local schools as they needed to be, and not enough opportunities were created in the program to define a contextually viable vision of mentoring. While the instructors’ lack of experience in this area may have been one reason for their lack of attention to this area, another

reason may be insufficient institutional commitment to the CPs' preparation as mentors. The CPs' achievement as students in the program was measured by the demonstration of their academic knowledge in the papers they wrote. Their performance as school-based mentors was not formally assessed and was thus not considered a reflection of their competence as IED students.

Although the practicum enabled the CPs to gain some valuable insights into mentoring and about themselves as mentors, learning how to promote IED's agenda, rather than learning to mentor seemed to be the central purpose of this task. The CPs assumed that proof of teachers' use of ideas they promoted was sufficient evidence of the "success" of their projects, while they largely ignored questions about how the practicum had contributed to the teachers' professional education or to their own understanding of mentoring.

The most problematic aspect of the practicum as well as the sessions on mentoring was the conceptualization of mentoring as knowledge transmission and coaching. The CPs were asked to teach their mentees what they had learned in the M.Ed. program. This severely limited the CPs' visions of mentoring and their effectiveness as mentors. An alternate view of mentoring, that seems to have

greater potential for the CPs' as well as their mentees' professional growth is offered below.

Conceptualizing Mentoring as Joint Inquiry

The most critical factor in learning to mentor is to develop a heuristic model that fosters symbiosis between novices' learning and teaching as mentors. Conceptualizing mentoring as joint inquiry is one way to achieve this purpose. While helping their mentees investigate worthwhile questions about teaching, the mentors could concurrently engage in a "meta-inquiry" to learn about how to be their mentors. Some of the components of this meta-inquiry may well include investigating what the mentees are learning, how they are learning it, how their learning environments supports or inhibit their learning and what the mentors and mentees could do to change the conditions of learning for the mentees.

The CPs in this study, as much as mentors in other contexts, would have much to gain and little to lose if they conceptualized mentoring as an exercise in joint inquiry. The mentors would be relieved of the need to present themselves as sources of knowledge for the mentees. They would become free to investigate areas in

which they do not have expertise. The mentees' or mentors' personal agenda as well as those of school administrators, ministry officials and university based teacher educators could potentially be investigated by the mentor-mentee team. Combinations of elements of these agendas could be negotiated to meet different needs. And in that process, both mentors and mentees would learn what they wanted to or agreed to learn.

Mentoring as joint inquiry would allow mentors and mentees to acknowledge that people associated with universities as well as with schools have much to learn, and to recognize that they could benefit from closely attending to each other as well as to the context in which they conduct their inquiry. The inquiring stance could foster the development of an attitude that valued knowledge gained from what a child said in class, as well as what a much published author claimed. At the same time, it could help develop a healthy skepticism towards knowledge from all sources.

By presenting themselves as inquirers rather than "knowers," mentors can model the kind of life-long learning they would want their mentees to engage in. The attitudes they display as inquirers

could be acquired by teachers, and hopefully, eventually become instilled in the students taught by the mentees.

To engage in joint inquiry the mentor and mentee would have to negotiate the object and processes of their inquiry. In the process of identifying a worthwhile question and pursuing its investigation the mentors would have many opportunities to surface and address their mentees' educational values as well as their specific beliefs about learning, teaching, students or classrooms. The inquiry would require both mentor and mentee to move back and forth between situated learning to learning from abstract principles. It would enable them to construct theories from their practice and construct their practice from theories.

In Pakistan, educational research that is useful to practitioners is almost non-existent. Mentors who think of themselves as inquirers could make important contributions to a body of knowledge that is urgently needed. More importantly, they could make a valuable contribution to the Discourse of mentors. This Discourse would not only be in the form of theoretical knowledge about mentoring, but in the form of models that help future mentors think of themselves as inquirers.

The question of how an inquiring stance can be adopted by people embedded in a culture where notions of authority, expertise and infallible knowledge are closely intertwined (cf. chapter six, p. 59) is a challenging one. However, for all the reasons mentioned above, it needs to be seriously considered. In the next section I offer some ideas about how faculty and others associated with the CPs' development as mentors could begin to address this question.

Role of Faculty and Significant "Others" in Learning to Mentor

Although the IED faculty may not have had the experience of working as school-based mentors, they were relatively better placed than the CPs to help construct a Discourse of mentors. First, since their authority and expertise was already established in a different realm, they did not need to negotiate their place in the school hierarchy, nor claim expertise they do not have. Second, they were likely to have had the experience of mentoring students, or observing such mentoring, or being mentored in university settings at the doctoral level, where the more common paradigm of supporting someone's learning is to promote their exploration of

ideas rather than to impose one's own ideas on them. Third, their education had most likely prepared them to take a more holistic view of issues in education and have developed sharper analytical skills. More importantly, it is likely to have prepared them to be uncertain of the validity of personal experiences as well as of what comes packaged as "official" knowledge. Paradoxically, this would make them more confident in what they could learn through systematic inquiry.

The mentors in this study obviously needed contextually relevant models to emulate in constructing their practice. In Gee's words (1990):

Discourses are mastered through *acquisition*, not *learning*. That is Discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the Discourse. This is how we all acquired our native language and our home-based Discourse. It is how we acquire all later, more public oriented Discourses. If you have no access to the social practice, you don't get in the Discourse, you don't have it. (pp. 146-147, italics in the original)

The faculty could provide this support by working directly with the schoolteachers, showing the prospective mentors not only how to work with the teachers but also how to reflect on that experience. Further, they could climb the ladders of reflection with the mentors

to reflect on the quality of their reflection (Schön, 1987). Analysis of their own written cases, videotaped conferences, and journals extracts are some easy ways to make their mentoring practice accessible to a group of prospective mentors.

An indirect, and possibly less effective, way for the faculty to model mentoring would be to do so in contexts other than schools. Universities and colleges usually appoint advisors or personal tutors to act as students' mentors. Typically, the nature and quality of advisors' work with students varies a great deal across institutions, and according to personal styles of advisors or needs of students. But if the preparation of mentors was an institutional commitment, a specifically designed "mentoring program" could be put in place to model a particular kind of mentoring. The faculty-mentors could negotiate goals, establish relationships, and engage in the kinds of practices that would want the prospective mentors to emulate when they work with schoolteachers. This interaction could itself be subject to scrutiny to develop the "meta-knowledge" for mentoring.

In the mentoring practicum the faculty could scaffold the novice mentors' learning in several ways. For example, when the prospective mentors begin planning their work with their mentees,

faculty could help them define their purposes by raising questions such as what they hope to achieve and what it might cost, whose needs would be met and why those rather than other needs. They could draw the mentors' attention to the individual mentees and the contexts in which they work as significant factors in shaping their practice. During the execution of this plan the faculty could help the mentors assess where they were heading and adjust their course accordingly. Observing and giving feedback on mentor-mentee conferences, response to journals, joint problem-solving or exploration of new ideas are some ways in which this could be done. Some of the questions to be asked at this stage may be: What are the mentees learning? What is the evidence? How are they learning it? Is it worthwhile? What needs to be changed and how? After the practicum is over, helping the mentors carefully review and reflect on their practice could be another useful learning device. Thus an extended action research project, where it is more important to systematically study one's practice while changing it, would be more useful for prospective mentors than the production of an academic paper on mentoring.

Structured group sessions to explore some of the inherent dilemmas in mentoring as well as contextual issues can be very helpful to novice mentors. Even when there are no simple and easy solutions to the problems mentors encounter, an understanding of why they occur and how other people manage them prepares them better for their work. The implications of the differences in the status mentors and mentees, the tension created by their different institutional affiliations, the risks and possibilities of mentoring relationships are potential themes for discussion.

Supporting the development of mentors need not be the sole responsibility of faculty. This work could be shared by establishing learning networks among the mentors, as well as with Heads of schools and the mentee teachers. The mentees could be asked to share their experiences of mentoring relationships in a safe environment, and their feedback be used to help mentors improve their practice. The Heads of schools, individually and through structured support networks, could facilitate dialogue among teachers and mentors in their schools before, during and after the mentoring practicum. They could invite experienced mentors and mentees in their schools, if available, to share their perspectives. In

addition, the Heads could also provide their own institutional perspectives on costs and benefits of mentoring arrangements in their schools. The novice mentors could also support each others' professional growth by working in pairs or small peer groups. Many of the functions initially provided by the faculty may gradually be taken over by the peer groups.

As this study was designed to help understand a particular situation, the above findings primarily apply to the context in which the questions were posed. However, the findings include sharper questions, which need to be further investigated in the context of this study as well as other contexts.

Further Questions

This study of mentors' construction of their identity in practice raised some important questions which need to be further investigated. For example, the question of where mentors' purposes come from needs to be investigated in other contexts. The CPs drew their purposes from their Discourses as teachers and as IED students. Their purposes were based primarily on their own experiences and aspirations, with little attention paid to the mentees or their schools.

They were mainly committed to IED as an institution and to particular ideas presented in their program, not to their mentees as individuals with particular needs and desires. Mentors in other contexts will have different institutional, ideological and personal affiliations. The balance of power between individuals and institutions may be different in other places, but it is quite likely that individual or institutional perspectives on what the mentees in a particular situation need to learn will not be the same. Who should then decide what the mentee will learn and on what basis?

The CPs in this study focused on one or another aspect of what they thought their mentees should learn. They included in their purposes the promotion of particular epistemological perspectives, teaching strategies and views about cognition. While each of these areas represents an important aspect of teachers' knowledge, none of them as disparate units capture the complexity of teaching. Novices as well as veteran teachers need to develop coherent perspectives about knowledge, students, contexts, teaching and learning, curriculum and learning materials etc. to guide their thoughts and actions. Acknowledging dilemmas, tensions and complexities is often a part of such perspectives. However, teachers should be able to

make and defend their decisions on the basis of some principled understandings of teaching. What assumptions can mentors make about the existence and characteristics of teachers' understanding of their work? And how can they decide where to put their efforts as mentors?

One way to address these issues may be to take a relativistic position by emphasizing the context driven nature of teachers' work (Carter, 1990) and claiming that mentors should be guided by the contexts of their work. However, mentors will still need some agreed upon measures for interpreting these contexts. As Britzman points out, "roles" representing the voices of "others," are in dialogue with the self in the construction of teachers' identities (1994). In the absence of roles such dialogue is not possible, and relativism seems inevitable. But the very mixed results of current mentoring practices (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1992) support Buchmann's argument (1987) for the development of a "role" for mentors to provide the professional standards to guide and evaluate the work of mentors. The emergent identities of mentors such as the CPs contribute to the definitions of mentors' roles, and the emergent roles in turn shape their identities. What are the implications of deliberately defining

the roles of mentors at a particular time and place? How would commonly understood definitions of mentors' roles intersect with their personal and contextual factors to guide their work?

This study demonstrated that teachers taking on mentoring need support in making this transition. The kind of support Sonia received seemed adequate for her purpose, but mentors, like teachers also need to have their purposes challenged. Ideally, they should to be able to defend their practice on the basis of its appropriateness for the context and also in terms of what we know about teaching, which she was not helped to do. In Feisal's case his original purpose was reduced to a narrow focus because he seemed not have received adequate support in realizing the more complex and difficult purpose he had first identified. Ayesha's focus shifted because of the availability of support in one particular area but not the other, which could have made her work more defensible and well-rounded. These examples raise questions about the kinds of support mentors need, who can provide it and what systems could be developed to make it available to them.

This study revealed that defining and enacting the mentor-mentee relationship is one area in which mentors need a lot of

support. Some of the issues raised in the study are localized to this context but others seem to be endemic to mentor-mentee relationships in schools everywhere. For example, interactions between male and female mentors and mentees may not be restricted in other contexts as they were in this case, but gender is a variable that needs to be considered in any similar relationship. This study did not prove that the CPs' gender channeled their purposes, practices or relationships in any particular direction, but it did raise some important questions about why both men and women who had a choice worked exclusively with women as their mentees. Researchers (e.g. Weiler, 1988; Noddings, 1986) have drawn our attention to how gender plays an important part in how teaching, teacher education and research in education is conceptualized and conducted. But the role of gender in mentor-mentee relationships still needs to be investigated.

In this study the association of expertise and authority seemed to limit the learning opportunities for both mentors and mentees. In contexts that are less rigidly hierarchical this association may not be as constraining a factor as it was here, but it nevertheless raises questions about what sort of knowledge has more credibility, who

has access to this knowledge, and who has the authority to decide what and how people should learn and teach. These questions have moral, epistemological and political dimensions which need to be addressed in any context. Thus the construction of mentors' identities as they navigate the issue of authority and expertise may well have long-term implications for how knowledge and teaching are perceived in the twenty-first century.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

What do you think is your job as a mentor? How will you select your various functions? Could they change? Why? Could their frequency/intensity change? Why?

What tensions, if any, might you encounter in selecting your functions?

How will you choose the content of your interactions with teachers?

What are some needs of teachers that can be met through mentoring? How would you recognize these needs ? How would you prioritize them? Which needs cannot be met by mentors like you ?

What will you do if a teachers' needs are differently perceived by you, herself and the head ?

What changes, if any, do you expect in your planned/enacted interactions with a teacher? What could be the reasons for these changes?

What expertise do you think mentors can offer teachers? What sort of a "match" between mentors and teachers is desirable? What

can be achieved in a mentoring relationship if the ideal “match” is not available?

What are some characteristics of good relationships? Can these be developed? How?

What could lead to difficulties in relationships? How can these be managed?

Do relationships change? Why?

What would you do if there is tension between the interests of your head and your mentee?

What other factors (socio-cultural, organizational and personal) could influence your relationship, your functions/activities and your purpose in your work with a teacher?

APPENDIX B
HUMAN SUBJECTS' CONSENT FORM

Appendix B

HUMAN SUBJECTS' CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this research is to better understand how prospective mentors begin to define their roles as mentors of practicing teachers. The researcher will use this study for fulfilling the dissertation requirements for her Ph.D program at Michigan State University, Michigan, U.S.A. Any information you provide to the researcher will not be used to evaluate your performance as a student, future mentor or instructor.

Your participation in this research may involve the following:

- observation of and video-taping of the teaching sessions on mentoring that you attend as a student in the M.Ed program
- collection and review of any writing that you do as a part of the mentoring sessions
- review of your action research project report
- audio-taped interviews with you about mentoring in general and your project in particular
- observation and audio or video-taping of your interactions with the teacher you mentor

- written or audio-recording of your conversations with the researcher prior to and following your mentoring. If you and the teacher you mentor agree, s/he may be included in these conversations.

To insure confidentiality only the researcher will have access to the data she collects, whether it is video or audio tapes, transcript or written work collected for the research. Your identity will be protected in all reports and publications by pseudonyms. Even with these precautions it is possible that you may be identified by those who are familiar with the situation in which you currently are.

If you choose not to participate in this research, no records of your participation in the teaching sessions will be made. Your decision will not be communicate to anyone else and you will not be penalized for non-participation or withdrawl at later stage.

Please sign the attached form if you are willing to participate in this research project.

HUMAN SUBJECTS' CONSENT FORM

My signature on this form is a declaration that I understand:

- that by offering myself as a subject for this research I am contributing to our collective knowledge about teacher education, especially in the context of the M.Ed program at AKU-IED
- I am participating in this research voluntarily and may withdraw my participation any time I wish to
- I will not be identified as the source of any information I give by name, position or institutional affiliation
- I am granting permission to the researcher to analyze and use the the data I provide for any academic / professional purpose, including publication

SUBJECT**RESEARCHER**

Name

Name

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