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chapter **4**

Adult and Teacher Development within the Context of the School

Clues for Supervisory Practice

This chapter will serve as a core for thinking and practicing supervision in a developmental framework. So far, we have defined "a cause beyond oneself" as a demarcation between the collective, thoughtful, autonomous, and effective staffs of successful schools and the isolated, unreflective, and powerless staffs of unsuccessful schools. Knowledge of how teachers can grow as competent adults is the guiding principle for supervisors in finding ways to return wisdom, power, and control to both the individuals and the collective staff in order for them to become true professionals. With the understanding of how teachers change, the supervisor can plan direct assistance, professional development, curriculum development, group development, and action research at an appropriate level to stimulate teacher growth and instructional improvement.

The research on adult learning and development has been prolific. We have attempted to distill the knowledge of adult and teacher development that has direct applications for supervision and supervisors. Readers who desire more detail should refer to the references at the end of the chapter. The use of such readily available and potentially rich knowledge about human growth can be extremely valuable to those who work with adults. If schools are to be successful, supervision must respond to teachers as changing adults.

Adults as Learners

Instructional improvement takes place when teachers improve their decision making about students, learning content, and teaching. The process of improving teacher decision making is largely a process of adult learning. Thus, research and theory on adult learning is an important component of the knowledge base for instructional supervision.

Intelligence

Two basic questions drove much of the early research on adult learning ability: Does ability to learn diminish with age? Are there differences between the learning process of adults and children? Thorndike (1928) was among the first to suggest that adult learning did not peak in youth and diminish steadily thereafter (a common belief of his day).

Horn and Cattell (1967) identified two categories of intelligence: *fluid* and *crystallized*. Fluid intelligence, which depends heavily on physiological and neurological capacities, peaks early and explains why youth excel on tasks requiring quick insight, short-term memorization, and complex interactions (Merriam and Caffarella, 1999). Crystallized intelligence, assessed by untimed measures calling for judgment, knowledge, and experience, is more heavily influenced by education and experience. Hence, older individuals show an advantage when it is measured.

Contemporary theories of intelligence have extended the notion that intelligence consists of multiple components or factors. Most readers of this text will be familiar with Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983, 1999). Gardner initially posited seven types of intelligence (linguistic, logical-mathematical, musical, spatial, bodily kinesthetic, intrapersonal, and interpersonal). He later added naturalistic intelligence, and suggested there are likely other forms of intelligence. Gardner's ideas are also relevant to supervision. Supervisors can identify and utilize the learning strengths of individual teachers when assisting them with instructional improvement efforts. Supervisors can also assist teachers to gradually expand their repertoire of learning strategies.

Sternberg (1985, 1990) likewise has proposed a theory of intelligence that may be helpful in thinking about the cognition of teachers. His is called a *triarchic theory of intelligence* because it consists of three subtheories. The first subtheory is referred to as *componential*; it deals with cognitive processing. This part of the theory deals with what has traditionally been discussed in trying to understand intellectual ability. The second subtheory is *experiential*, which suggests that assessing intelligence requires consideration not only of the mental components but of the level of experience at which they are applied. Sternberg, intrigued by the differences between novices and experts, has suggested that experience promotes both the ability to respond automatically to routine situations and to deal effectively with novel situations. Thus, novice teachers can be expected to require different types of supervision than those who are more experienced.

Although the first two subtheories deal with universal processes, Sternberg's third *contextual* subtheory deals with socially *influenced abilities*. Individuals are said to cope with life's challenges by adapting to the environment, shaping the environment, or selecting a different environment—all the while being influenced by what is considered appropriate and intelligent behavior within one's cultural milieu. This last contextual subtheory becomes important when one looks at how teachers deal with challenging situations. Some obviously have greater capacities than others to adapt to or change the classroom and school environment. Through appropriate supervision, teachers can be assisted in broadening their array of adaptation and change strategies. It is this kind of practical intelligence that intrigues Sternberg and other theorists who propose that not enough attention has focused on the demonstration of adult intelligence through the identification and solution of real-world problems.

Theories of Adult Learning

As research increasingly put to rest the question of whether adults could continue to learn, attention focused on how their learning differed from that of children. The focus of the following overview of adult learning theories will be on those theories that have received particular attention over recent decades as adult educators sought to answer this question. A chronological review of the literature on adult learning would reveal in greater detail what this brief overview will suggest—a shift from a psychological orientation (Knowles, 1980; Tough, 1971) toward a sociocultural orientation (Amstutz, 1999; Hansman, 2001; Hayes and Flannery, 2000).

Andragogy

The *theory of andragogy,* popularized in this country by Malcolm Knowles, has become one of the better-known theories of adult learning in recent years. Knowles (1980) proposed four basic assumptions of adult learning:

1. Adults have a psychological need to be self-directing.
2. Adults bring an expansive reservoir of experience that can and should be tapped in the learning situation.
3. Adults' readiness to learn is influenced by a need to solve real-life problems often related to adult developmental tasks.
4. Adults are performance centered in their orientation to learning—wanting to make immediate application of knowledge.

Later, Knowles added a fifth assumption—that adult learning is primarily intrinsically motivated (Knowles, 1984). The theory of andragogy no longer receives the uncritical acceptance that it once did, with questions increasingly raised about the extent to which these assumptions are exclusively true of adults (Tennant, 1986), the extent to which self-direction is an actual versus a desirable preference

of adult learners (Brookfield, 1986), and the conditions under which andragogy may or may not apply (Pratt, 1988; Rachal, 2002). Knowles himself, before his death in 1997, came to acknowledge that differences between adults and children as learners may be a matter of degree and situation rather than a rigid dichotomy. Nevertheless, the theory of andragogy is still accepted by many as a broad guide to thinking about adults' learning (Merriam, 2001; Rose, Jeris, and Smith, 2005).

Self-Directed Learning. Even as self-direction in learning was emerging as one of the most challenged assumptions within andragogy, a distinct body of theory on adults' self-directed learning (SDL) was evolving. Allen Tough (1971) is generally credited with providing the first comprehensive description of self-directed learning—learning that adults engage in systematically as part of everyday life and without benefit of an instructor. A long-standing body of research on this topic has documented the ubiquitousness of adults' self-directed learning and led to the development of numerous models of self-directed learning as well as several instruments intended to measure it (Merriam, 2001).

Self-direction has been alternatively conceptualized as a goal for adult learning, a process through which learning occurs, a characteristic of learners that may be enduring or situational, and an instructional model through which instructors in formal classrooms foster student control of learning. The implications of the concept of self-directed learning are numerous for those who seek to foster teachers' growth and development through developmental supervision. Supervision should foster rather than inhibit self-directed learning by matching supervisory behaviors with teachers' readiness for self-direction. It is important to recognize that not all adults appear to be equally ready for self-directed learning, nor is an individual equally prepared for self-directed learning in every situation. Variables like background knowledge and degree of confidence affect the level of support adults may need in their learning efforts (Pratt, 1988). Just as Grow (1991) recommended that instructors match their teaching style to the estimated stage of self-direction of adult learners, so too the effective supervisor will adapt his or her supervisory style in response to the degree of self-directed readiness exhibited by the teacher in a given context.

Transformational Learning. For some who question whether either andragogy or SDL theory represent a learning theory that is uniquely adult, transformative learning theory—proposed and revised most prominently by Jack Mezirow (2000)—offers an appealing alternative. This theory grew out of Mezirow's research with reentry women in higher education. He has offered the following definition of transformative learning:

> Transformative learning refers to the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action. (pp. 7–8)

Kegan (2000) contrasts transformative learning (changes in *how* we know) with informative learning (changes in *what* we know), adding that we all experience potentially important kinds of change that do not bring about a fundamental shift in our frames of reference.

Perspective transformation often is described as triggered by a significant life event, originally referred to by Mezirow as a disorienting dilemma. Perspective transformation also can occur in response to minor events that create an opportunity for reflection and redirection, or may occur when an accumulation of internal dilemmas creates a growing sense of disillusionment (Taylor, 2000; English, 2005). A teacher's trigger for transformative learning may occur in a situation as obvious as experiencing failure for the first time when she accepts a new position in an urban setting, or as subtle as having a conversation with a gay student about the impact of other students' homophobic jokes on his learning.

Cranton (1994) recommended that the educator should critically reflect on his or her own meaning perspective of being an educator. She also described the processes by which the educator might accomplish this:

> The educator, in order to develop the meaning perspective of being an educator would: increase self awareness through consciousness-raising activities, make his or her assumptions about beliefs about practice explicit, engage in critical reflection on those assumptions and beliefs, engage in dialogue with others, and develop an informed theory of practice. (p. 214)

The strategies Cranton suggested that may be useful in this process are varied, including writing journals, visiting the classrooms of colleagues, conducting criteria analysis of incidents which epitomize their notions of success or failure in practice, experimenting with practice, eliciting feedback from learners, and consulting or engaging in dialogue with colleagues.

Experience and Learning: Situated Cognition, Informal and Incidental Learning

At the heart of numerous conceptions of adult learning and education dating back to Dewey (1938) and Lindeman (1926) is the centrality of experience to learning. This concern with experience is reflected in Knowles's (1980) inclusion of the importance of adult experience as one of his original four assumptions about adult learning (Gorard and Selwyn, 2005). It is also reflected in Kolb's inclusion of two phases focusing on experience (concrete experience and active experimentation) as part of his four-phase model of the adult learning cycle (1984).

The centrality of experience to learning takes on new dimensions when the emerging body of work on situated cognition is applied to consideration of adult learning. Many cite Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) as a seminal work in proposing a theory of situated cognition. Essentially, they propose that education is misconceived to the degree that it emphasizes the acquisition of decontextualized, abstract knowledge. They insist that lasting knowledge emerges as learners

engage in authentic activity embedded in specific situations. Referring specifically to adult learning, Hansman (2001) stated, "The nature of the interactions among learners, the tools they use within these interactions, the activity itself, and the social context in which the activity takes place shapes learning" (p. 45). Linking situated cognition to Schon's (1983) work on acquisition of professional knowledge through "knowing-in-action," Wilson (1993) suggested that adults learn *in* experience as they act in situations and are acted upon by situations, rather than the traditional assumption that adults learn *from* experience.

Extending the parallel with craft apprenticeships, Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) and others emphasized the cognitive *apprenticeship* as a means for learners to acquire knowledge as participants in a community of practice (Gonzales and Nelson, 2005). Wilson (1993) made an analogy between the cognitive apprenticeship and Schon's (1983) reflective practicum (Lea and Griggs, 2005). Lave and Wenger (1991) have described the role of communities of practice, or self-organized groups who share a common sense of purpose and a desire to learn from one another. Each of these strategies offers a valuable approach for fostering professional development of teachers, particularly those who are new to the field or to a particular school culture. In line with situated cognition theory, teachers would most effectively acquire knowledge useful in a new situation by being directly immersed in real practice situations, with support from experienced colleagues whose methods might include modeling and coaching.

Most recently, interest in the ties between adult learning and experience have been explored in examinations of learning in the workplace, which have found that much of the meaningful learning that occurs in that context is of the informal and incidental variety rather than the highly structured learning traditionally associated with workplace training (Kerka, 1998; Uys, Gwele, McInerney, Rhyn, and Tanga, 2004). Marsick and Watkins (1990, 2001) have offered a theory of informal and incidental learning. Informal learning is usually intentional but less structured than formal learning. Examples include self-directed learning, networking, informal coaching, and mentoring. Incidental learning, on the other hand, is defined as a byproduct of some other activity, and is most often tacit or unconscious at the time. The model they proposed describes a progression of meaning making which they warn is neither as linear or sequential as their model might suggest. They described this progression as follows:

1. Learning typically begins with a trigger event that is framed in light of the person's worldview.
2. The experience itself is interpreted, assessing what is problematic or challenging about it. The context of the experience is interpreted simultaneously.
3. Alternative actions are considered and chosen.
4. Learning strategies are used to implement the desired solution. Context influences options here.
5. A proposed solution is produced.

6. Outcomes are assessed.
7. Lessons are learned.
8. Concluding thoughts become a part of the framework for analyzing subsequent situations.

Marsick and Watkins suggested that those wishing to help adults improve their informal learning (i.e., supervisors) might assist adults in identifying conditions in the sociocultural context that help them learn more effectively or that stand in the way of learning. Once such factors are identified, supervisors can help the learner deal with or change them.

Critical and Postmodern Theories of Adult Learning. Kilgore (2001) has offered a brief synopsis of the critical and postmodern perspectives of adult learning, analyzing both their similarities and differences. As she notes, each of these perspectives challenges pillars of adult learning theory such as andragogy and self-directed learning as exclusionary and overly focused on the individual. Both critical and postmodern perspectives share assumptions that knowledge is socially constructed, along with an interest in power as a factor in learning. They differ, however, in other significant ways. Critical theorists argue that hegemony (dominant influence or authority wielded by those in power) operates to preserve inequities linked to structures of privilege and oppression based on categories like race, ethnicity, gender, class, and age. In this view, learning involves reflecting on the hegemonic assumptions that often guide our practices and perhaps acting to change the practices as well as the assumptions (an example given by Kilgore is that of use and misuse of standardized tests). Social justice is viewed as a core value. Postmodern theorists, on the other hand, resist embracing *any* universal truth, emphasizing that knowledge is multifaceted and truths shift according to the experience and context of the knower. Even the same individual can hold multiple perspectives on a topic based on situational variables or in their multifaceted identities (what Sheared, 1999, refers to as polyrhythmic realities).

Power is a consideration for each framework, but in different ways. For instance, critical theories are interested in how the status quo (e.g., an individualistic focus on learning that research suggests may be culturally biased toward certain groups) can be interrupted to create more emancipatory knowledge (e.g., a greater emphasis on group learning, which research suggests is more culturally relevant for some groups of learners). Power is seen as held by some over others; for instance, the traditional role of principals invests them with greater power than teachers. From the postmodern perspective, power is present in every relationship and can be exercised by anyone to one degree or another. We must analyze (or deconstruct) the situation to know how power is being used (whether for repressive or liberating purposes) and by whom. In this view, teacher and parent participation in site-based management or participatory action research projects become tools both for producing knowledge collaboratively and for negotiating and rearranging power relationships.

Teachers as Adult Learners

Fullan (1991) pointed out that "educational change is a learning experience for the adults involved" (p. 66). Our knowledge of adult learning tells us that it is important to link learning about instructional innovations to teachers' past experiences, and to allow them ample time to integrate innovations gradually into their teaching repertoire. Yet, in recent years, teachers have been bombarded with a plethora of innovations as part of the educational reform movement. Fullan (1991) concluded that "many decisions about the kinds of educational innovations introduced in school districts are biased, poorly thought out, and unconnected to the stated purposes of education" (p. 8). This is no doubt why many innovations have failed. Other innovations potentially of significant value and technically sound have also failed. One reason for these failures may be that supervisors have not helped teachers to integrate the innovations with their past experiences or adapt the innovations to their current teaching practice. Moreover, teachers often simply are not provided sufficient time to learn about and adapt the innovation before a new innovation is given precedence by administrators and supervisors (Zepeda, 2004).

Sternberg's (1985, 1990) work on the experiential component of adult intelligence indicates that novice teachers need to be supervised differently than experienced teachers. One example of this need for differentiation is that many beginning teachers have more difficulty assessing and responding to novel teaching situations and problems than their experienced colleagues, and thus are in need of more intensive support. Both Sternberg's (1985, 1990) and Gardner's (1983) research on multiple intelligences take us beyond differences between novice and experienced teachers and point to the need for identifying and utilizing different learning strengths of teachers at all levels of experience.

The need to individualize teacher learning, indicated by the literature on adult learning, stands in sharp contrast to the actual treatment of teachers. Many supervisors treat teachers as if they were all the same, rather than individuals in various stages of adult growth. In most schools, teachers receive the same in-service workshops, the same observations, and the same assessments. It is as if teachers were stamped out of teacher training institutes as identical and thereafter have no further need to be viewed as individual learners. The research on adults shows the lack of wisdom of such assumptions (Mathis, 1987).

Sternberg's (1985, 1990) discussion of socially influenced abilities points to the need for teachers to engage in learning aimed at developing a variety of strategies for adapting to or changing their classroom and school environment. Both Mezirow (1981, 1990) and Brookfield's (1986) work on adult learning indicate that in order to learn and grow, teachers need to participate in a continuous cycle of collaborative activity and reflection on that activity, and need to develop the powers of critical thinking. Finally, the writings of Knowles (1980, 1984), Mezirow (1981, 1990, 2000), and Brookfield (1986) have all supported the notion of the supervisor facilitating teacher growth toward empowerment and self-direction.

Unfortunately, many schools do not foster collaborative action, reflection, critical thinking, or teacher empowerment. Rather, the hierarchical structure of many school systems—as well as the environmental problems of isolation, psychological dilemma, and lack of a shared technical culture discussed in Chapter 2—tends to work against the type of growth described in the adult learning literature.

Adult and Teacher Development

Literature on adult development can be seen as reflecting several distinct but related approaches. Just a few decades ago, the study of human development focused on children, and adulthood was either not a consideration or was thought to represent a period of stability. Theory and research on adult development for several decades emphasized development as an orderly progression. Because much of the work in this area was done by developmental psychologists, there was an emphasis on the change processes occurring in the individual with relatively little consideration to his or her interaction with the environment. Early approaches to adult development were rooted in such a tradition. Over time, alternative views of adult development evolved, with less concern for a universal progression and greater interest in the interaction between the individual and the social environment. Subsequent sections of this chapter will discuss adult development according to these five subtopics: (1) stage development, (2) life cycle development, (3) transition events, (4) role development, and (5) sociocultural influences on adult development.

Stage Theories of Adult and Teacher Development

We will begin discussion of adult development by focusing on developmental stage theories. Levine (1989) delineated the characteristics of stages:

> First and foremost is their structural nature. Each stage is a "structured whole," representing an underlying organization of thought or understanding. Stages are qualitatively different from one another. All emerge in sequence without variation; no stage can be skipped. Finally stages are "hierarchically integrated"; that is, progressive stages are increasingly complex and subsume earlier stages. Individuals always have access to the stages through which they have passed. Under ordinary circumstances or with proper supports, people will generally prefer to use the highest stages of which they are capable. (p. 86)

It may be helpful to look more closely at several specific stage theories.

Cognitive Development. Piaget described four stages of cognitive development: sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operations, and formal operations (Ginsburg and Opper, 1979). The person at the formal operations stage has already

progressed beyond reasoning only for the "here and now" and can project into and relate time and space. A person at the formal operations stage uses hypothetical reasoning, understands complex symbols, and formulates abstract concepts.

Some researchers have found that formal thought is not demonstrated by all adults. Others question the extent to which cultural bias in the traditional Piagetian tasks plays a role in differential findings, particularly in non-Western cultures (Neimark, 1987). There has been considerable exploration of characteristic adult forms of thinking that go beyond Piaget's fourth stage to a postformal operations stage (Arlin, 1975; Kitchener, Lynch, Fischer, and Wood, 1993; Merriam and Caffarella, 1999; Riegel, 1973), with some positing alternative cognitive frameworks to describe adult thought (Perry, 1970, 1981). Terms like *dialectical thought* (Riegel, 1973; Kramer, 1983), *integrative thought* (Kramer, 1987), and *epistemic cognition* (Taranto, 1987) have been used to describe the highest stage of cognition observed in adults. A related strand of research has examined the meaning of wisdom (Clayton and Birren, 1980; Holliday and Chandler, 1986) often seen as the hallmark of advanced adult thinking. Taranto (1987) and Neimark (1987) pointed out that in real life, unlike in the typical Piagetian assessment tasks, adults must focus on ill-defined problems without definitive answers. Neimark contended that such thinking is best assessed by giving adults problems without clear-cut answers on which to make judgments. Figure 4.1 represents the adult cognitive developmental continuum.

Teachers' cognitive development was explored by Ammon and associates in a study of a two-year graduate teacher education program with an emphasis on Piagetian theory (Ammon, 1984). This emphasis was intended to teach the adult preservice and in-service teachers about child development as well as to promote the teachers' own development. As the teachers studied Piagetian and related developmental theory, their conceptions of students, learning, and teaching changed. They progressed from simplistic to more complex, interactive explanations of student behaviors, development, and learning. These teachers also moved from a conception of teaching as "showing and telling" to creating a learning environment designed to foster the students' learning and development. The teachers' views on learning shifted from passive reception to active construction. They also came to think of their roles differently, as facilitating learning rather than imparting knowledge.
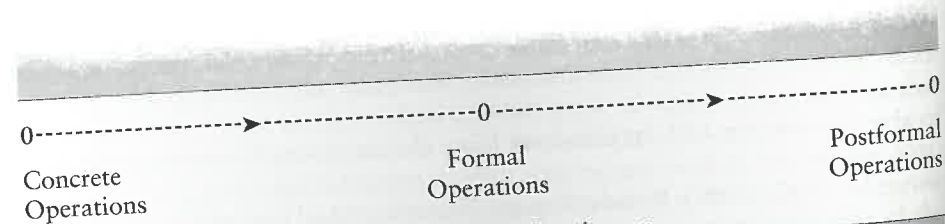

FIGURE 4.1 *Adult Cognitive Development Continuum*

Conceptual Development. One developmental framework that is closely related to cognitive development and that has been studied significantly with teachers is that of conceptual development. Hunt and others defined *conceptual level (CL)* "in terms of (1) increasing conceptual complexity, as indicated by discrimination, differentiation, and integration and (2) increasing interpersonal maturity, as indicated by self-definition and self-other relations" (Hunt, Butler, Noy, and Rosser, 1978). Hunt placed individuals on a continuum from most concrete (lowest CL) to most abstract (highest CL).

Persons of *low CL* evaluate things in a simple, concrete fashion. They tend to view issues in "black and white." Individuals of low CL have difficulty defining a problem they are experiencing and respond to the same problem in a habitual manner despite the fact that the repeated response is not solving the problem. They need to be shown how to solve the problem. Persons of *moderate CL* are becoming more abstract in their thinking. They can define the problem and generate a limited number of possible solutions but have difficulty formulating a comprehensive plan. They still need some assistance in solving a complex problem. Persons of *high CL* are abstract thinkers. They are independent, self-actualizing, resourceful, flexible, and possess a high capacity of integration. Figure 4.2 represents the conceptual development continuum.

High-concept teachers have been found to differ from low-concept teachers in terms of both teaching approach and teacher-generated classroom atmosphere. High-concept teachers rate higher on what are generally considered to be more positive characteristics (such as warmth, perceptiveness, empathy, flexibility, ingenuity, task effectiveness, smoothness, and consistency) and low-concept teachers rate higher on more educationally negative characteristics (such as innovativeness, rule orientation, punitiveness, and anxiety) (Harvey, White, Prather, Alter, and Hoffmeister, 1966; Heck and Davis, 1973; Reiman and Thies-Sprinthall, 1998). Hunt and Joyce (1967) found correlations between teacher conceptual level and ability to use learners' needs as a basis for planning and evaluation. High-concept teachers used a greater range of learning environments and teaching methods. Similarly,
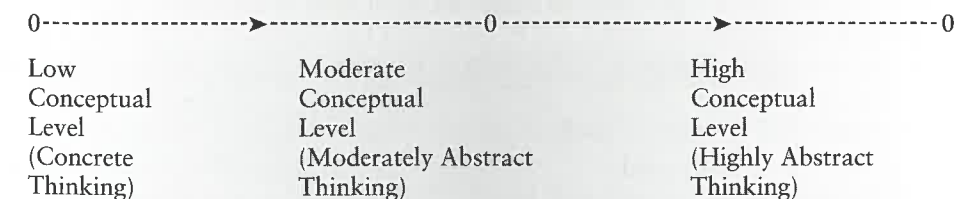

| Low Conceptual Level (Concrete Thinking) | Moderate Conceptual Level (Moderately Abstract Thinking) | High Conceptual Level (Highly Abstract Thinking) |

FIGURE 4.2 *Conceptual Development Continuum*

Hopkins (1990) found that high-stage teachers employed new methods of teaching at a rate four times greater than their counterparts at lower stages. Parkay (1979), in a study of inner-city high school teachers, found that high-concept teachers stimulated positive student attitudes and student achievement gains, and were less susceptible to professional stress. A study of 52 teachers by Calhoun (1985) found that teachers with high conceptual thought provided more corrective feedback to students, gave more praise, and were less negative and punitive. These teachers were more varied in their instructional strategies and were able to elicit more higher-order conceptual responses from their students than teachers of moderate and lower levels of conceptual thought.

Moral Development. Kohlberg and Armon (1984) identified three broad categories of morality: the preconventional level, the conventional level, and the postconventional level. They further delineated two stages of development within each of these levels, with the second stage more advanced and organized than the first. Across the three levels, reasoning shifts from a self-centered perspective to one that increasingly considers the perspectives and rights of others. The individual at Level I makes decisions from a self-centered orientation. At Level II, individuals "do the right thing" because that is what is expected according to social norms. Finally, at Level III, moral decisions serve to recognize the social contract and to uphold individual rights. Although conflicts between these principles and legal mandates are recognized as problematic in the lower stage of Level III, moral principles come to take precedence by the time an individual reaches the highest stage of moral development. Kohlberg sees the higher stages as superior, and he sees enhancing development as an appropriate aim for education. Figure 4.3 represents the moral development continuum.

It is important here to give mention to the work of Carol Gilligan (1979, 1982). Gilligan compared conclusions from Kohlberg's model of moral development with conclusions from her own research with women discussing personal decisions. People at the top of Kohlberg's stages worry about interfering with others' rights, whereas those at the top of Gilligan's stages worry about errors of omission, such as not helping others when you could. At Gilligan's highest stage, morality is conceived in terms of relationships, and goodness is equated with helping
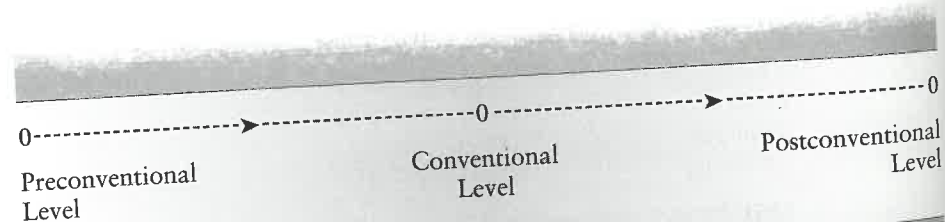

FIGURE 4.3 *Moral Development Continuum*

others. Gilligan proposed that a different conception of development emerges from the study of women's lives:

> This conception of morality as fundamentally concerned with the capacity for understanding and care also develops through a structural progression of increasing differentiation and integration. This progression witnesses the shift from an egocentric through a societal to the universal moral perspective that Kohlberg described in his research on men, but it does so in different terms. The shift in women's judgment from an egocentric to a principled ethical understanding is articulated through their use of a distinct moral language, in which the terms "selfishness" and "responsibility" define the moral problem as one of care. Moral development then consists of the progressive reconstruction of this understanding toward a more adequate conception of care. (1979, p. 442)

Several small-scale studies have investigated relationships between teachers' moral development and their understandings of teaching and learning. Johnston (1985) found that teachers scoring low on the same test of moral reasoning possessed a narrow conception of the on-task students (working quietly and individually on an assignment provided by the teacher). Teachers with the highest scores on moral reasoning considered students' perspectives and the complex, continuous nature of learning while resisting classifying students as on task or off task based solely on behavioral observation. Reiman and Parramore (1994) found first-year teachers at higher moral reasoning levels to exhibit greater concern for the instructional needs of their students.

Ego Development. Ego is both a process of striving for coherence and meaning in one's life, and a structure with its own internal logic (Levine, 1989). This is one of the few developmental theories derived from the study of women, but it has been applied subsequently to numerous samples of women and men. Loevinger (1976) has identified 10 stages of ego development that individuals can pass through. Orientations toward symbiotic, impulsive, and self-protective behaviors are manifest in the early stages. In these lower stages, a person depends on others for solutions to problems. In the middle stages of ego development, the individual exhibits conventional behaviors. At the higher stages, the adult becomes individualistic, autonomous, and integrated. The person at the highest stage of ego development is able to synthesize what seem to be unrelated or opposing concepts to individuals at lower stages (Witherell and Erickson, 1978). Adults at the beginning point on the continuum might be classified as *fearful*. Those at the midpoint on the continuum can be called *conforming*. Adults at the end of the continuum (those with the most mature egos) are referred to as *autonomous*. Figure 4.4 represents the ego development continuum.

Cummings and Murray (1989) found that teachers at different levels described different roles of a teacher, with those at lower levels of ego development focusing on the role of the teacher as information disseminator and caregiver, and those at higher levels emphasizing the role of the teacher in helping students learn
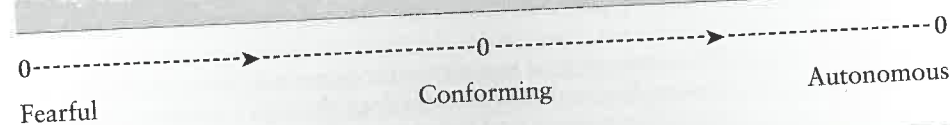
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Fearful   Conforming   Autonomous

FIGURE 4.4 *Ego Development Continuum*

to learn. Based on their findings, they concluded that lower-level teachers may not have the resources to cope with the intricacies of the student-teacher relationships or deal with the complexity of the learning process. Levine (1989) suggested that higher levels of teacher ego development can be stimulated by providing experiences that require teachers to take the perspectives of different persons (including students) within the school. She recommended activities in which conflicts between school rules and individual rights are resolved and principles are formulated that recognize and reconcile the claims of both.

Levels of Consciousness. Robert Kegan (1994), a self-acknowledged neo-Piagetian, is a more recent entrant on the scene of adult developmental psychology with his theory of levels of consciousness.

As with the Piagetian shift from concrete to formal operations, the development of abstract thinking is a key characteristic of movement from the adolescent durable category level to a more mature *cross-categorical* (or *third-order*) stage of *consciousness*. The person functioning at the cross-categorical level is capable of thinking abstractly, reflecting on his or her own emotions, and being guided by beliefs and values that ensure loyalty to the larger community. At this stage the adult experiences a new construction of reality, with the needs, wants, and desires of others figuring as prominently as her own (Taylor and Marienau, 1995). Only with the transition from cross-categorical to *systems* (or *fourth-order*) *consciousness*, however, does the individual move beyond defining himself or herself in terms of those duties, devotions, and values to become a truly independent and autonomous person. At this level we can look objectively at our own perspective, compare it with that of others, and work to reconcile differences. It is the systems level of consciousness which is said to be necessary to meet the various demands of modern adult life (parenting, partnering, working, continued learning), but Kegan contends many do not reach this stage until their 30s or 40s, if at all. Finally, as is common with stage theories Kegan posits a level rarely achieved, *Trans-systems* (or *fifth-order*) *consciousness*. Dialectical thinking is associated with this level of consciousness, said to be rare before midlife.

Kegan's model suggests our expectations may be high, both for ourselves and others. In the preface to his book *In Over Our Heads: The Mental Demands of Modern Life* (1994), he especially appealed to those who provide education, training, and supervision for other adults to be mindful of the mental demands we

place on others. An example would be our expectation that teachers, even those recently graduated as traditional-age students, exhibit high levels of critical thinking and metacognitive skills, although he speculates these skills may not be fully evolved for many until their 30s and 40s. The emphasis Kegan placed on continuing adult learning in the workplace as well as in other domains of adult life, along with his suggestion that teaching/coaching can stimulate developmental growth, makes this a promising model for future examination with practicing teachers. It also provides a framework that is consistent with the principles of developmental supervision. Figure 4.5 depicts the continuum of adult consciousness.

Stages of Concern. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Frances Fuller (1969) conducted pioneer studies of teacher concerns. In analyzing both her own studies and six others, she found that the responses by hundreds of teachers at various stages of experience showed different concerns.

Kimpston (1987), in a study examining both teacher and principal stages of concern, substantiated a steady increase in the stage of concern for most teachers. Kimpston also discovered that the nature of teachers' participation in staff development (sustained and active versus brief and episodic) had an impact on the emergence of higher stages of concern.

Teachers at the *self-adequacy* stage are focused on survival. They are concerned with doing well when a supervisor is present, getting favorable evaluations, and being accepted and respected by students and other teachers (Adams and Martray, 1981). Their primary concern is making it through the schoolday.

With survival and security assured, teachers think less of their own survival needs and begin to focus on *teaching tasks*. At this stage, teachers become more concerned with issues related to instructional and student discipline. They begin to think about altering or enriching the classroom schedule, the teaching materials, and their instructional methodology. Instructional concerns include the pressures of teaching, routinization and inflexibility of the teaching environment, student load, workload, and lack of academic freedom. Discipline concerns include class control, conflict between student and adult values and attitudes, and disruptive students (Adams and Martray, 1981). Concerns at this stage can be characterized as focused on the teaching environment and teaching responsibilities.
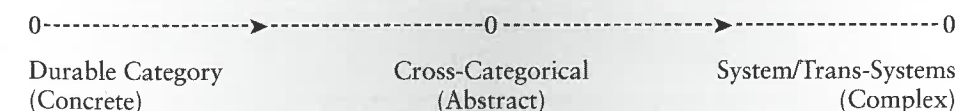

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Durable Category   Cross-Categorical   System/Trans-Systems
(Concrete)   (Abstract)   (Complex)

FIGURE 4.5 *Adult Consciousness Continuum*

Superior teachers are at the highest stage of concern, referred to as the *teaching impact* stage. At this stage, teachers are most concerned with the impact on students' learning and students' well-being, even if it means departing from rules and norms. Academic concerns at this stage include diagnosing and meeting individual needs, sparking unmotivated students, and facilitating the intellectual and emotional development of students. The teacher with mature concerns also tends to be interested in the whole child, including interest in student health and nutrition, use of drugs by students, dropout prevention, and so on (Adams and Martray, 1981). The unfolding of teachers' concerns evolves on a continuum reflecting a shifting perspective, from "I" concerns to concerns for "my group" to concerns for "all students." Figure 4.6 represents the continuum of teacher concerns.

Integrating Stage Development Theories. Investigators of adult and teacher development have postulated that the various developmental characteristics are related (Oja and Pine, 1984; Sullivan, McCullough, and Stager, 1970). Although still somewhat speculative, these findings suggest that many teachers at a given level (low, moderate, or high) in one developmental characteristic may operate at the same general level in another developmental characteristic. The probable relationship of various developmental characteristics allows one to make tentative composite descriptions of teachers of generally low, moderate, and high levels of stage development. Figure 4.7 reviews the six adult/teacher development continuums.

The majority of teachers appear to be in relatively moderate to low stages of cognitive, conceptual, moral, and ego development—probably no different from the adult population at large (Oja and Pine, 1981; Rest, 1986; Wilkins, 1980). So what? What difference does it make that many teachers are not complex or autonomous? Perhaps one does not need higher-ordered thinking to teach. One could argue that if teaching is a simple enterprise with no need for decision making, then it would make little difference. In fact, if most teachers were autonomous and abstract, then trying to do a simple job would create great tension, resentment, and noncompliance. If teaching is a simple activity, schools need people who can reason simply. If teaching is complex and ever-changing, however, then higher levels of reasoning are necessary. A simple thinker in a dynamic and difficult enterprise would be subjected to overwhelming pressures.

Sociologists have documented the environmental demands posed by making thousands of decisions daily, by constant psychological pressure, and by expectations that the teacher must do the job alone—unwatched and unaided. A teacher
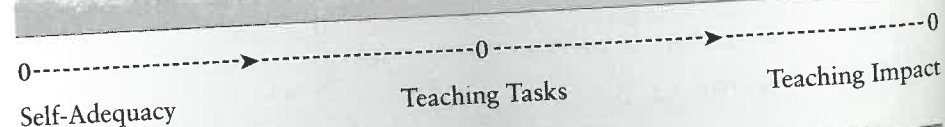
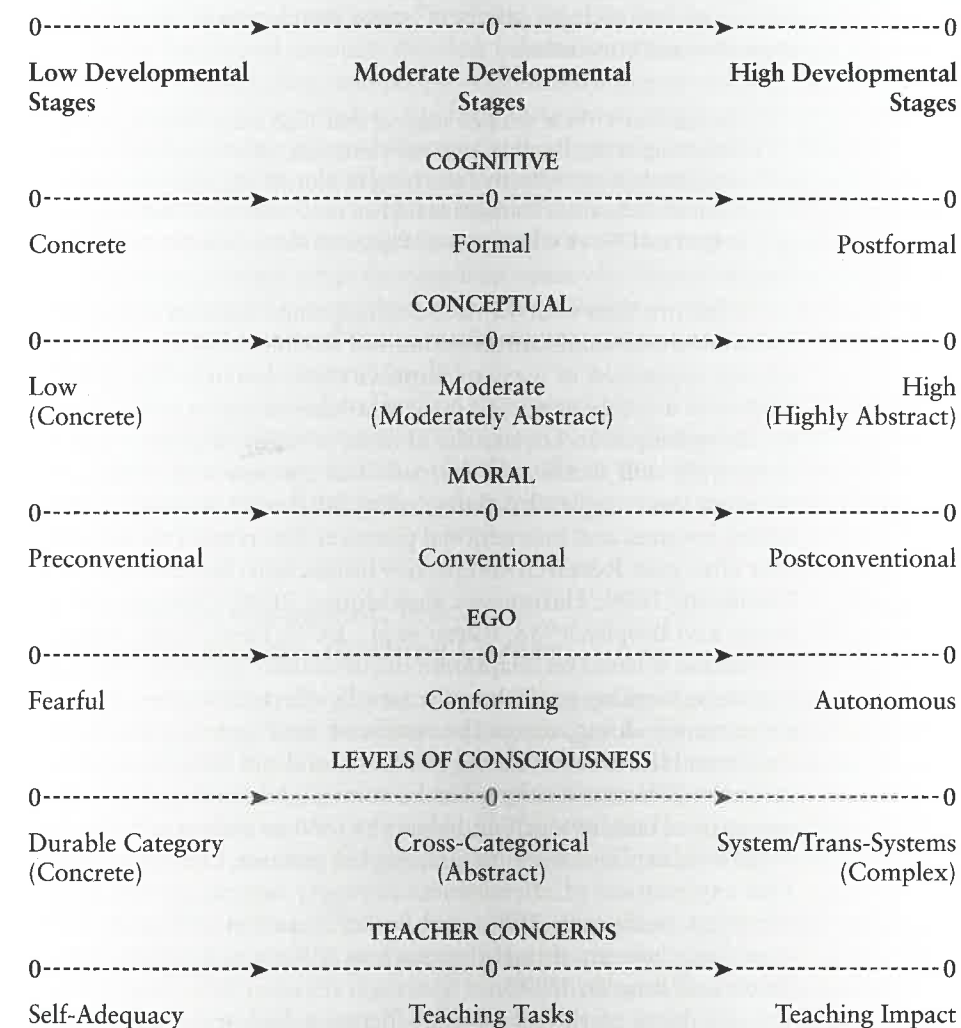**FIGURE 4.6** *Teacher Concerns Continuum*

FIGURE 4.7 *Teacher and Adult Stage Development*

Source: Figures 4.1 through 4.5 and 4.7 are adapted from Stephen P. Gordon, *Assisting the Entry Year Teacher: A Leadership Resource.* Published 1990 by the Ohio Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio. Used with permission.

daily faces up to 150 students of various backgrounds, abilities, and interests, some of whom succeed while others fail. Concrete, rigid thinking on the part of the teacher cannot possibly improve instruction. As Madeline Hunter (1986) has noted, "Teaching . . . is a relativistic situational profession where *there are no absolutes*" (italics in original).

Teacher improvement can only come from abstract, multiinformational thought that can generate new responses toward new situations. Glassberg's (1979) review of research on teachers' stage development as related to instructional improvement concluded:

> In summary these studies suggest that high stage teachers tend to be adaptive in teaching style, flexible, and tolerant, and able to employ a wide range of teaching models. . . . effective teaching in almost any view is a most complex form of human behavior. Teachers at higher, more complex stages of human development appear as more effective in classrooms than their peers at lower stages.

The problem with the need for high-stage teachers is that, although the work by its nature demands autonomous and flexible thinking, teachers in most schools are not supported in ways to improve their thinking. The only alternative for a teacher in a complex environment who cannot adjust to multiple demands and is not being helped to acquire the abilities to think abstractly and autonomously is to *simplify and deaden the instructional environment*. Teachers make the environment less complex by disregarding differences among students and by establishing routines and instructional practices that remain the same day after day and year after year. Research on effective instruction (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Glatthorn, 2000; Hargreaves and Moore, 2000; O'Keefe and Johnston, 1989; Porter and Brophy, 1988; Rutter et al., 1979; Tieso, 2000) indicates that effective instruction is based on adaptation of curriculum and materials to local settings and particular learning goals. In other words, effective teachers think about what they are currently doing, assess the results of their practice, explore with each other new possibilities for teaching students, and are able to consider students' perspectives. Effective teaching has been misunderstood and misapplied as a set and sequence of certain teaching behaviors (review previous day's objectives, present objectives, explain, demonstrate, guided practice, check for understanding, etc.). This explanation of effectiveness is simply untrue, as can be seen in the prior references to Hunter (1986) and Berliner (quoted in Brandt, 1986). Rather, successful teachers are thoughtful teachers (Elliott and Schiff, 2001; Ferraro, 2000; Porter and Brophy, 1988).

Evidence of the relationship between high-stage attainment of teacher development and effective instructional practice can be found in several research studies. The works of Thies-Sprinthall and Sprinthall (1987), Phillips and Glickman (1991), Oja and Pine (1981), and Parker (1983) are particularly important because they suggest that teachers, when provided with a stimulating and supportive environment, can reach higher stages of development, yet, other research indicates that most teachers do not reach those higher stages. Why, if optimal adult learning suggests a continued capability to learn, are teachers characterized by a lack of such cognitive growth?

One possible explanation is found in the nature of the work environment. Schooler (1989) found through a 10-year longitudinal study of 687 subjects that "occupational conditions that promote occupational self-direction or otherwise in-

volved dealing with complex environments would increase intellectual flexibility, while conditions that limit occupational self-direction and environmental complexity would decrease intellectual flexibility" (p. 5). Indicators of environmental complexity (measured through detailed interviews about what people do when working with things, data, and people) included the degree of routinization on the job, the closeness of supervision, and the substantive complexity of work—the degree to which the work demands thought and independent judgment. Schooler concluded from this study, as well as others investigating working men and women, that jobs that limit self-direction actually decrease intellectual flexibility. Schooler's research is consistent with conclusions made by O'Keefe and Johnston (1989) after reviewing teacher stage development research: "Development is unlikely in environments that are repressive or restrictive. Dialogue, reflection, and challenge embedded in organizational and personal support systems are critical components of growth producing contests" (p. 24).

Teachers who are isolated in their classrooms, receive no systematic feedback, attend monthly faculty meetings only to listen to monologues of announcements, and spend a few minutes each day chatting idly in the lounge may be viewed as remarkable specimens of survival. Such teachers, however, are not contributors to a successful school.

Life Cycle Development, Teachers' Life Cycles, and the Teaching Career

The next area of adult development to be discussed is research on age-linked life cycle development. These theorists too have sought to define sequential and normative patterns of development. The pioneering theorists in this tradition tended to look at very broad age periods and the patterns or issues for resolution associated with them (Buhler, 1956; Erikson, 1950), whereas later theorists have tended to posit a greater number of specific age periods (Gould, 1978; Levinson et al., 1978).

The study by Daniel Levinson and his colleagues (1978) of 40 men aged from mid-30s to mid-40s is among the most frequently cited studies of life cycle development. This research described how individuals alternate through periods of stability and transition in a life structure whose critical components typically revolve on work and family. An occupational dream is said to be formed during young adulthood and nurtured, frequently with the assistance of the spouse and a mentor. Levinson's work is a coherent treatment of changes in a person's life but has limitations in that the subjects were all middle-class males from a limited set of occupations. A number of subsequent studies of women have substantiated the model in part, but differences have been found in the timing and quality of transitions and the ages associated with transitional periods among women (Levinson and Levinson, 1996; Roberts and Newton, 1987). Some of the variability among women is related to whether they have followed a more traditionally female orientation to family versus a more typically masculine orientation to career during early adulthood (Lieblich, 1986; Roberts and Newton, 1987).

Occupational development of teachers appears to run counter to the needs of teachers as they progress through the adult life cycle. The work of Levinson (1978) and Neugarten (1977) has pointed to early adulthood as a period of bravado, romance, and the pursuit of dreams. The young adult aged 20 to 35 is on an exciting search for status, comfort, and happiness in work, family, and friends. The middle years, ages 35 to 55, provide some disillusionment, reflection, and reordering of priorities according to a reassessment of one's capabilities and opportunities. In teaching, however, the young adulthood period, which should be one of romance, quickly becomes one of disillusionment. The young person of age 24 or 25 who has entered teaching to pursue his or her dreams often finds after three years that work life is going nowhere. The job does not excite; the advancements do not exist; and the variety of work is nonexistent. The result can be intense boredom, leading to resignation—either *from* the job or *on* the job. What does it mean to education when a young teacher's natural inclination toward excitement and idealism is bound by a straitjacket of repetition?

Let's ask the next question. What happens when the natural inclination of the middle-aged teacher to reflect and reorder his or her teaching priorities confronts the same six periods of 30 students that he or she has faced for the past 20 years? One might expect a further despair of any impulse to change and to improve. Finally, what about the older teacher who is perceived by many as an anomaly, a relic who has remained in teaching because of inability to advance into administration or supervision. The acquisition of 30 years of experience coincides with the natural time for consolidating achievements and identifying one's remaining career objectives. Instead, there is only the same job—the same job as that of the new teacher down the hall, who might be the age of the older teacher's grandchild. Where is the sense of responsibility, generativity, and accomplishment in seniority? Old and new teachers are treated the same, accorded the same status, and expected to conform to the same routines.

Teaching appears to be a topsy-turvy occupation, running against the natural adult life cycle. Those who continue to make lasting improvement and enhance their students' educational lives should have our utmost respect. If not fortunate enough to be in a school that responds to and supports phases of the adult life cycle, the effective teacher truly transcends the system and educates in spite of, not because of, the school.

A small but growing body of literature focuses on the links between teacher development and issues related to the adult lifespan. Gehrke (1991) argued that we should more fully incorporate our understanding of adult development in developing programs for new teachers. This means both fostering the generative motivations of mature teachers and being sensitive to the fact that many young teachers are dealing with needs for intimacy. Levine (1987) argued that profitable activities that capitalize on young teachers' enthusiasm might include opportunities to work on new teaching methods, to develop curricula, and to initiate projects. The key is nurturing their need for innovation and adventure and helping them establish and cultivate close collegial relationships that meet their needs for intimacy.

Levine (1987) encouraged placing midlife teachers in situations permitting "a combination of teaching and administrative responsibilities that expands an adult's authority and mobility without sacrificing his or her expertise with children" (p. 16). Work on decision-making committees and mentorship of younger colleagues can provide such an outlet. Krupp (1987) argued that lack of career centrality and on-the-job retirement can be countered by bringing the older teachers' interests into the school. For instance, older teachers' interests in computers, photography, and gardening can be brought into the curriculum or extracurricular programs for students.

Transition Events

A third approach to adult development focuses more explicitly on the kinds of events associated with life transitions. Some theorists resist accepting the study of what are variably called *life events, critical events,* or *marker events* as part of the rubric of adult development because such a focus does not attempt to describe a universal, orderly sequence of development. However, Fiske and Chiriboga (1990) noted that just as the assumption of adult stability has given way to models of adult development "as a progression of orderly transformations over time," more recent models emphasize the role of transition events in our lives.

Life events have been typologized in a variety of ways. One typology, offered by Willis and Baltes (1980), seems to relate directly to the salience of the event for the individual. They talk about *normative age-graded events*—events that occur in many people's lives and that are anticipated around certain ages (such as marriage, birth of first child, and widowhood), *normative history-graded events*—those that affect large numbers of people in a given age cohort simultaneously (such as World War II and the Depression), and *non-normative events*—those personal events that are not anticipated as part of the life course even though they may occur for many (such as divorce, unemployment, and unexpected illness). Events can be positive or negative, anticipated or unanticipated. Although events associated with expected transitions in adult lives are often the impetus for adult growth (Aslanian and Brickell, 1981), it appears to be the unanticipated event, even if negative, that may provide the greatest opportunity for change and growth (Fiske and Chiriboga, 1990; Krupp, 1982).

Neugarten (1977, 1987) studied the timing of events such as childbearing, occupational advancement and peaking, children leaving home, retirement, personal illness, and death of a spouse or close friend. Many of these events are common to all or most adults; the time of their occurrence, according to Neugarten, influences how the person responds and continues with life. For example, the Blum and Meyer (1981) study of the recovery of adult men from severe heart attacks highlighted the difference in timing of critical events. Young men were bitter and hostile toward their heart attack and couldn't wait to resume their previous lives. Middle-aged men were reflective about the heart attack and seriously weighed whether they wanted to continue to live as they had before. They contemplated

changes in family relations, job, and living environments. Older men were accepting and grateful that the heart attack had left them alive with the opportunity to finish some of their desired retirement plans. As one can see, the same event—a heart attack—resulted in quite different reactions, depending on the time and age of the adult.

Neugarten's interpretation of these differential responses relates to the experience of the events as "on time" versus "off time"—that is, occurring at an age considered socially appropriate or not. Certainly recent years have seen increasing variability in the timing of many common events. As Merriam and Caffarella (1999) observed, not having children, returning to school in later life, and beginning a new career in midlife are all more viable options today than decades ago. The growing number of teacher preparation programs aimed at adults choosing teaching as a second career gives testimony to her claim. Yet, the authors noted that timing still matters when it comes to many life events, given the powerful influence age norms exert on our thinking.

Both personal transition events (marriage, birth of a child, divorce, death of a loved one) and professional transition events (entry into the profession, tenure, transferring schools, becoming a lead teacher or department chairperson) can have a significant impact on a teacher's career and teaching. Traditionally, personal and professional transitions have been given transitional events have been ignored and pro forma recognition by the school organization. Krupp (1987) has suggested that staff development programs providing an environment of trust and collegiality, as well as adult transition support networks within schools, can be an important means of assisting teachers as they prepare for anticipated change events, such as retirement, or cope with unanticipated changes, such as the sudden dependency of a parent. The support networks and professional development recommended by Krupp to assist teachers have been largely nonexistent in schools.

One exception in recent years has been the emergence of beginning teacher assistance programs, including the assignment of support teams and mentors to novice teachers. Hopefully, beginners' assistance programs will become the foundation on which career-long support for personal and professional transitions becomes available. Beyond formal support programs, schools need to become the type of collegial, caring, growth-oriented communities that sustain teachers in times of transition.

Role Development

One of the most recent directions in work on adult development has emphasized adult social roles, generally examining how adult lives are characterized by interacting roles related to work or career, family life, and personal development. Juhasz (1989) has developed a model of adult roles that incorporates each of three major roles: family, work, and self. These roles are depicted as intertwining, sometimes in synchrony, sometimes with different momentum and force. This model emphasizes the active involvement of adults who take roles and choose which roles they will place emphasis on at given points in their lives, with self-esteem as the driving

force "directing energies toward roles that will best enhance feelings of worth" (p. 307).

Merriam and Clark (1991, 1993) designed a questionnaire to study the relationship between life events in the domains of "work and love" (here broadly defined as in the instrumental and expressive components of life) and adult learning. In essence, people graphed their life patterns, using two separate lines to show the ups and downs in these two domains of life. Respondents were asked next to list major events occurring in the last 20 years of their adult life (age 18 or older) and to describe learning experiences. From their analysis of 405 respondents, they found evidence for three different models used to characterize linkages between work and family life: (1) segmentation—when there is little or no connection, (2) compensatory—where individuals seek in one area the satisfaction or activities that are lacking in the other, and (3) generalization—where attitudes formed in the work setting spill over into family life or vice versa.

One of Merriam and Clark's most significant findings was the predominance of work-related learning for both men and women and the evidence that more learning occurs when things are going well in both arenas (work and family life). However, learning that led to a real perspective transformation most often was associated with coping with the difficult times in either work (e.g., being fired) or family life (e.g., losing a parent). Since much of the most significant adult learning appears to be from life experience, the role of the supervisor may be critical in helping teachers to experience growth as an outcome of unsettling life experiences in the professional, personal, or family domains. Although the supervisor need not and should not assume the role of therapist, one implication of the social roles models of adult development is that a teacher's personal, family, and professional roles interact with and affect each other, and need to be addressed holistically by supervision.

School systems and supervisors traditionally have been concerned only with teachers' professional roles, ignoring their personal and family roles. The few efforts intended to address the relationship of the three domains have been criticized as being beyond the scope of supervision, an inappropriate use of school resources, and superfluous to the improvement of teaching and learning. Yet, the literature on adult role development tells us that we cannot compartmentalize the personal, family, and professional aspects of a teacher's life. Put succinctly, teachers' other adult roles have direct effects on their instruction. Supervision, however, has largely failed to provide teachers with support to help them understand the interaction of their various adult roles, cope with role conflict and resulting stress, or develop the proper balance and synergy among alternative roles.

Beyond Universal Conceptions of Development: The Sociocultural Context of Adult Development

From the 1980s and through the present a significant body of research has emerged examining the impact of social structural variables (e.g., race, class, gender, disability, or sexual orientation) on adult development (Clark and Caffarella, 1999),

with greatest emphasis on the effects of gender and race/ethnicity. The intent of some researchers has been to develop more robust and inclusive theories, describing a broader range of people than earlier theories. In other cases, especially for researchers informed by the postmodern resistance to "grand" theories, there has been no such attempt at "umbrella" theories of adult development (Kilgore, 2001). The latter researchers have been interested in offering previously unavailable pictures of adult development for individuals from groups marginalized in the construction of knowledge about adult development, as well as in illustrating how structural variables like gender, race, and class intersect in the construction of our identities (Sheared, 1999; Tisdell, 2000; Graue, 2005).

The Role of Gender in Adult Development. Much of the literature examining the relationship of gender and adult development has looked specifically at women, in response to the initial claim that their lives and experiences were not accounted for in the early development of adult development theory. Emerging theory and research have taken two forms, in some cases extending or adapting earlier work based primarily on men, and in other cases starting afresh with female or mixed gender samples. In the first strand is the work of Gilligan (1982), challenging Kohlberg's model of moral development (Kohlberg and Turiel, 1971). Her work suggested men and women base their moral decisions on different criteria, with women using an ethic of caring and men an ethic of justice. Similarly, Josselson (1987) reexamined Erikson's stage theory of psychosocial development, postulating four potential outcomes of Erikson's identity stage for women. Primary among her findings was that maintaining a sense of connectedness and affiliation with others was crucial for women.

The second strand of research consists of studies based specifically on the lives of women. One of the most cited sources in this strand is *Women's Ways of Knowing* by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986). Resisting the notion of hierarchical stages, Belenky and colleagues pointed to the development of *voice* as central to women's development, and delineated five positions or categories in the development of women's knowledge: silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, and constructed knowledge. The developmental ideal is the integration of all five categories. Also representing this strand of research is the work of Peck (1986). She theorized women's lives as consisting of three contiguous layers, including an outermost core of socio-historical context; a flexible, bi-directional "sphere of influence," consisting of the sum of multiple relationships; and, finally, a center core of self-definition. These spheres are presumed to be constantly interacting as women move through their lives. Caffarella and Olson (1993) summarized the research on women's development in terms of four themes: the centrality of relationships, the importance and interplay of social roles, the dominance of role discontinuities and change as the norm for women, and the diversity of experience across age cohorts. Given the predominance of women in the teaching workforce, it seems important that supervisors become familiar with those models of adult development that reveal the distinctive developmental concerns women may bring.

More recently, models of adult development whether based on men's or women's lives have been critiqued for their universalizing character, tending to ignore or discount diversity *among* men and women, and the degree to which individuals of each gender exhibit patterns described as typical of the opposite sex. For example, Anderson and Hayes (1996) found that both men and women value achievement as well as relationships, derive self-esteem from similar sources, and struggle with ongoing issues of holding on (connection) and letting go (separation). The tendency of these models to ignore diversity related to race, class, and culture has also been criticized. Harris (1996) examined how men from different subcultures viewed each of 24 cultural messages about masculinity, and described differences related to class, race, sexual orientation, and community of origin (city, urban, rural). This literature may help understand why some men are more willing to break mainstream cultural norms that discourage their entry into the elementary education teaching force.

The Role of Race and Ethnicity in Adult Development

Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) have provided an excellent overview of models of racial and ethnic identity, two prominent stands of work contributing to an understanding of the impact of race and ethnicity on adult learners. Cross (1971, 1995) developed one of the earliest of these models, focusing on the development of racial identity among African Americans. According to this model, Blacks move from a stage of limited awareness of race (a stage Chavez and Guido-DiBrito question) to later stages of embracing first an Afrocentric identity and finally a multicultural identity. Similarly, Parham (1989) has focused on how experiences with negative differential treatment by others become the trigger for formation of racial identity among Blacks. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito, on the other hand, posited that immersion in one's own racial group acts as the primary trigger for such identity development. Similarly they take issue with the focus on perceptions of other groups inherent in the most prominent model of White racial identity development, that of Helms (1993, 1995). Helms stressed interracial exposure as a powerful trigger for the development of a White racial identity that moves beyond a dominant group assumption of White superiority toward a nonracist frame. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito argue that Helms's model places inordinate emphasis on the intersection of racial perceptions of others and racial perception of self. They are more intrigued by models of ethnic identity development.

A model of White ethnic identity by Katz (1989) identifies values and perspectives of White American cultural identity. These values include autonomy, competitiveness, and a linear sense of time, and can be contrasted with values such as harmony, balance, and respect for the wisdom of elders identified in Garrett and Walking Stick Garrett's (1994) model of Native American identity. Phinney (1990), on the other hand, developed a model describing an ethnic identity process that can be applied to all groups. She emphasized two issues faced by members of nondominant group members: (1) dealing with stereotyping and prejudicial treatment

by the dominant group and (2) resolving the clash between the value systems of their own ethnic culture and that of the dominant culture by negotiating a bicultural value system.

Several implications for adult learning can be drawn from these models. The models generally suggest that although most individuals from White ethnic groups typically experience learning that is grounded in their own cultural norms, they may struggle with or resist learning in less familiar multicultural environments. This has implications for efforts in the area of diversity training. On the other hand, persons from nondominant cultural groups often have to learn to be at least bicultural in their learning if they are to succeed in "mainstream" learning environments. For instance, Alfred (2001) has pointed to the development of bicultural competence as a factor in the career development of successful (tenured) African American women faculty. She also has pointed to the assistive role that White male mentors played in some cases. Similarly teachers from nondominant groups are likely to find that they must learn to successfully navigate two or more cultures; their mentors need to remain sensitive to the challenges this presents.

Recent research on women's development and research on the place of race and ethnicity in identity development have challenged our thinking about the degree to which any single theory of adult development can adequately describe all adult lives. Yet, these models can still provide a useful heuristic for thinking about the many ways in which adults continue to change throughout the course of their lives and the myriad forces which come to influence these changes. For those who seek to provide assistance to teachers, familiarity with this literature serves as a reminder of the tremendous degree of difference that exists among the adult learners who constitute the teaching force.

Review of Adult/Teacher Development Models

Table 4.1 presents a schematic review of the five conceptual frameworks for adult development. One thing all five approaches have in common is the supposition that adult lives are characterized by change and adaptation. For teachers, as with all adult learners, the one thing we can be certain of is that things will not remain the same; thus, individuals will need to cope with changes as they arise. Supervision provides the opportunity for ascertaining the levels, stages, and issues of adult development in schools and assisting the teacher's professional development in the context of these realities.

Development: Ebb and Flow

Cognitive researchers have shown that stages of thinking vary according to the domain or topic (Gardner, 1983; Case, 1986; Sternberg, 1988). Fred loves to teach art to his second-grade youngsters. He's constantly looking for ideas, finding

TABLE 4.1	Conceptual Models of Adult Development			
Universal, Orderly, Sequential		**Interactive, Socially Contexted**		
Hierarchical Stages	*Life Cycle Phases*	*Transition Events*	*Role Development*	*Sociocultural Variables*
Cognitive Piaget, Perry	*Goal Phases* Buhler	*Critical Events* Brim and Ryff	*Family, Work, and Self* Juhasz	*Spheres of Influence* Peck
Moral Gilligan, Kohlberg	*Critical Issues* Erikson	*Stressful Events* Fiske et al.	*Love, Work, and Learning* Merriam and Clark	*Women's Ways of Knowing* Belenky et al.
Conceptual Hunt	*Stability vs. Transition* Levinson	*On Time/Off Time* Neugarten		*Ethnic Identity Development* Phinney
Ego Loevinger				
Levels of Consciousness Kegan				
Concern Fuller				

materials, and expending energy to improve his art program. Yet, when it comes to teaching mathematics, he puts in the required time, uses the worksheets, and muddles through the material. He never liked mathematics as a student and doesn't care to spend extra time on it. Suffice it to say that teachers, like all humans, are not static in their levels of thinking and commitment about all endeavors.

Furthermore, development can regress, recycle, or become blocked. Because one has reached a high level of development in one arena does not mean that level of development is consolidated eternally. *Experience* is a relative term—a teacher (or supervisor) with 30 years of teaching (or supervising) can still be inexperienced in many ways. Change the expectations of the jobs and/or change the clientele served, and suddenly there is an inexperienced person trying to figure out how to survive. Likewise, a first-year teacher may, after only a few months, be experienced and able to reason according to concerns beyond his or her own survival.

Alterations to a person's personal or professional situation can usher in regression in levels of thinking and levels of motivation. A highly committed and thoughtful faculty, who had made their school an exciting and successful place, was jolted when negotiations between the teachers' union and the school board

resulted in a bitter strike. The immediate result on the school was that teachers retreated within their four walls, carrying out the letter of their contract and removing themselves from involvement in school curriculum and instruction issues. Most teachers retreated to a self-survival stage.

Teacher or adult development is not monolithic, linear, or eternal. The research on developmental stages provides lenses for viewing teachers individually and collectively as to their current levels of thinking and commitment. Through such lenses, we can explore possible interventions to assist teachers individually and collectively to move into higher stages of development.

Influences on Teacher Development

In helping teachers grow, supervisors must consider characteristics of the teacher as a client. We can view teacher development against the background of adult learning and development, influences on the work environment of the school, and characteristics of the teaching profession. The context of teacher development is illustrated in Figure 4.8. Imagine a large felt board representing the context of a teacher's life. At the center is the individual with his or her unique development embedded into the work environment of the school, which is in turn embedded into characteristics of the teaching profession. When viewing a teacher's growth (or lack of growth), we must consider both the characteristics of the individual and the influences of the work environment and the teaching profession.

For example, a teacher may be resistant because of previous negative experiences within the work environment of the school. Perhaps at one time the teacher was concerned with improving her class and used abstract thought to implement a new classroom design. Perhaps other teachers or a supervisor frowned on such experimentation and threatened the teacher with the loss of her job. This teacher, needing to keep the job for financial reasons, therefore gave up trying to change. She retreated from improvement because of adverse pressure. This teacher might now be resistant, but she still has the ability to improve. Improvement will not occur, however, until changes occur in her immediate work environment.

Another example might be a willing teacher who has found a satisfactory maintenance level of group instruction and can live comfortably with the school norms. The reasons he does not demonstrate further improvement might be traced to characteristics of the teaching profession. The teacher may see no future prospects for increased status, income, or responsibility. Without any prospects for career advancement, he may rationally decide to remain adequate but nothing more. The supervisor must develop ways to provide advancement, recognition, and/or status in this teacher's career in order to realize further growth.

The point is that characteristics of the individual teacher may not be fixed, but rather function as a part of the teacher's perceptions of the larger environment. Research on adults has demonstrated that teachers can become more committed and more thoughtful about their work. Every person has the potential to improve:
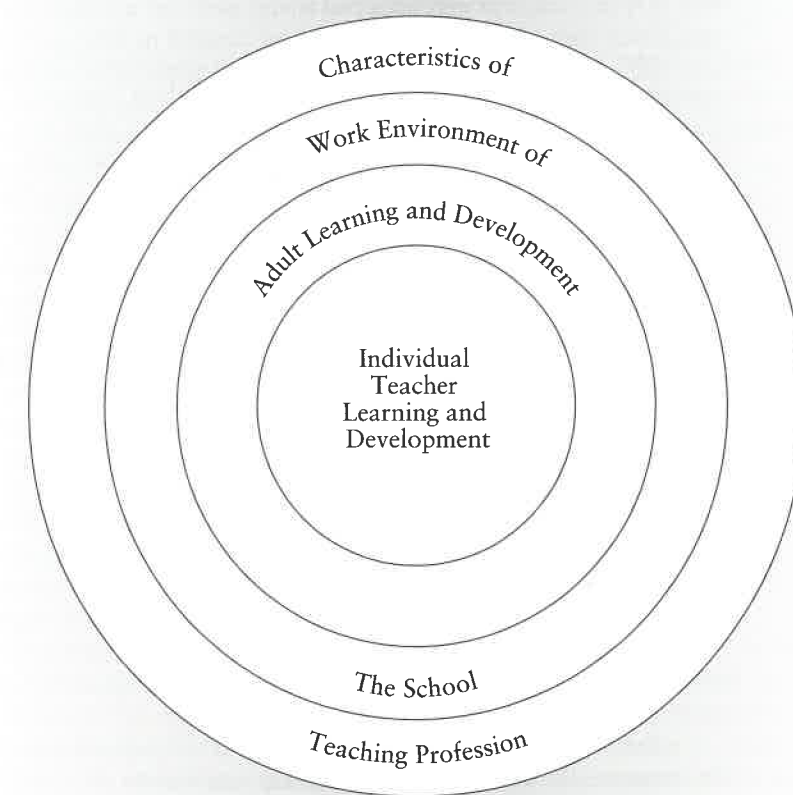
FIGURE 4.8 *Influences on Teacher Development*

Such potential might be blocked, slowed down, or even reversed, but it still exists. The challenge for the supervisor is to treat teachers as individual adult learners to enable them to use their potential.

PRACTITIONER REFLECTION

Adult Learning for Student Learning

Lauralee Pankonien, *Coordinator, Leadership Development, Region XIII Education Service Center*

In the summer of 2000, I made the transition from my position as an elementary campus principal in a large, urban school district to serving as a teacher of adults and professional developer for one of the 20 Regional Education Service Centers in Texas. The Region XIII ESC serves

60 Central Texas school districts. Initially, my department's offerings to facilitate administrators' professional growth were almost entirely one-day workshops presented on site at the ESC. Most of those workshops were organized around some sort of review of recent publications on educational leadership, and all of them were targeted to individual principals or assistant principals. At the end of the day, workshop participants completed a short evaluation (most of them indicating that they enjoyed the chance to dialogue together on leadership topics and commenting on the temperature of the room or the quality of the coffee), received a certificate documenting their "seat time" for the day, and left our building without being challenged to put much thought into how the ideas we discussed might actually impact their work. A lot has changed in a relatively short amount of time.

The disconnect between what we had been offering and what campus leaders truly needed in a climate of increased accountability became increasingly obvious to us over the last few years. We recognized that a new model of professional development—one that represented a convergence of response to demands of the increasing layers of accountability and research on best practice in adult learning—had to be developed. The Leadership Institute for School Improvement was the result. This essay describes the design of the Institute and illustrates the various ways in which principles of adult learning have been translated into collaborative implementation of best practices in classroom teaching.

One principle of adult learning is that readiness to learn is influenced by the need to solve real-life problems. Clearly, teachers and administrators have an unprecedented need for an effective support system to cultivate school-based leadership teams and prepare them with the skills and knowledge to advocate for effective practices that will raise student achievement. The goal of the Institute is to develop the capacity for individuals and teams to lead and sustain improvement through data-driven, job-embedded interventions supported by ongoing professional development.

The Institute is designed for participation by campus-level leadership teams organized into cohorts of five to six teams. Each leadership team includes the campus principal, lead teachers, and possibly other key campus leaders. Each cohort is designed as a learning community in which supportive professional networks and collegial relationships can be established and developed over time, both within and across campus teams. Cohorts work together for a period of three years, creating a powerful opportunity for members to learn from one another. Cohort members participate in several common learning modules as well as additional professional development customized to meet the needs of their individual campus. Leadership Institute learning modules focus on issues critical to classroom practice and student success, including the following:

Prioritizing, mapping, and monitoring the curriculum. This module challenges teams to answer key questions such as: What learning is important? How can we develop and align curriculum that includes such learning? How do we know if the planned curriculum is being taught? In a world of accountability, it is imperative for schools to keep their curriculum on target.

Using data to lead change. Many data are available in schools, but often they are not used to examine the effectiveness of curriculum and instruction. Inquiry processes are taught as participants learn how gathering and reflecting on data are vital parts of the

school improvement process. Participants learn how to use a problem-solving process to tackle tough issues in a system whose parts are interrelated and deeply affect one another.

Leading assessment and instruction. Participants learn how curriculum, instruction, and assessment are linked, and how to recognize good instruction. Research-based strategies, tools, and processes are taught to help school leaders facilitate the improvement of instruction and assessment.

Standards in practice. Schools may adopt standards that promote higher-level learning, but do learning activities match the standards? Participants learn how to analyze student work to determine if students are really being asked to do high-quality work.

In addition to the learning modules, former principals or superintendents trained in instructional coaching support Leadership Institute principals as they apply newly learned knowledge and skills in their schools. This on-site application with coaching results in the situated cognition discussed earlier in this chapter. Coaches become a key resource in sustaining the implementation of the concepts and strategies presented in the learning modules. Additionally, the coaches model the facilitative behaviors that the principals need to use with teachers implementing school improvement strategies.

Campus leadership teams participating in the Institute have the opportunity to share their successful school improvement stories and disseminate information about the Institute modules through presentations to peer cohort campuses.

Today, the demands of state and federal accountability systems cannot be ignored in considering the professional development of educational leaders. Principals' and teacher leaders' participation in learning activities must not only incorporate principles of best practice in adult learning but it must also result in improved student performance in a clear and measurable way. The Leadership Institute for School Improvement aims to effectively accomplish both ends.

EXERCISES

Academic

1. Review the theories of a major author on adult development, as found in the list of references that follows these exercises. Write a paper summarizing the author's theories and any research on which those theories are based.

2. Review the research of a prominent investigator of teacher development. Write a paper summarizing the major conclusions that researcher has drawn from his or her studies.

3. Review literature and/or research on adult learning. On the basis of your review, discuss in writing several generally accepted principles of adult learning. For each principle, infer and discuss implications for supervision.

Field

1. Visit the classrooms of a teacher you perceive to be functioning at high stages of development and one you perceive to be at low stages of development. Write a report comparing the teachers in terms of teaching methods, interaction with students, classroom management, attention to individual student needs, and general teaching effectiveness. (Use fictitious names in your report.)

2. On the basis of observations of leader-teacher, teacher-teacher, and teacher-student interactions, faculty meeting activities, posted communications, and the like, infer a group of *social norms* that prevail at a selected school. Write a paper stating your perceptions of the school's social norms and your opinion of whether those norms are positive or negative influences on teachers' stage development.

3. Interview a veteran teacher who is nearing retirement. Ask the teacher to discuss the major transitions that have taken place during his or her career. Summarize the interview in writing.

4. Reflect on your own career and the major transitions that have taken place during your career. Choose an artifact that symbolizes each major transition. Prepare a display of your artifacts and an oral or written report explaining the relationship between your career transitions and these artifacts.

5. Ask a first-year teacher, a third-year teacher, and a teacher with at least 10 years of experience to list their concerns about teaching. Prepare a report comparing the various responses and drawing relevant conclusions.

Developmental

1. For the time that you will be reading this book, keep a diary of weekly decisions you have made. You might want to include the possible choices for each decision, the factors important in resolving your problems, and the success with which you carried out your decisions. Review your diary after six weeks or more. Do you see any trends? What appear to be the most important considerations you use in making your decisions?

2. Begin a career scrapbook with the purpose of documenting your own professional development.

3. Begin an in-depth study of a major topic discussed in Chapter 4 (for example, adult learning, adult development, teacher development, the teaching career, or teacher motivation).

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