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Narrative inquiry as a mediational space: examining emotional and cognitive dissonance in second-language teachers' development

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In the practice of teacher education, most would agree that critical reflection in and on the process of learning to teach and the activities of teaching play a central role in teachers' professional development. Using Vygotskian sociocultural theory, we examine how narrative inquiry functions as a culturally developed tool that mediates teachers' professional development. We analyzed narratives written by three teachers of English as a second/foreign language set in three different instructional contexts. Our analysis suggests an interwoven connection between emotion and cognition, which drove these teachers to search for mediational tools to help them externalize their experiences. The activity of engaging in narrative inquiry created a mediational space where teachers were able to draw upon various resources, such as private journals, peers and 'expert' or theoretical knowledge, that allow them to reconceptualize and reinternalize new understandings of themselves as teachers and their teaching activities. The intersection of experiential and 'expert' knowledge provided a discourse through which these teachers named experiences and constructed a basis upon which they grounded their transformed understandings of themselves as teachers and their teaching. Depending on where these teachers were in their professional development when they wrote their narratives, we uncovered evidence of idealized conceptions of teaching with commitment to action as well as the transformation of teachers' material activities. Implications for the role teachers' narrative inquiry may play in teacher education programs are provided.

Introduction

In educational research, narrative has emerged as both a method in and an object of inquiry in teacher education; for example, in descriptions and analyses of teachers' knowledge (Elbaz, 1983, 1991; Clandinin, 1986; Clandinin & Connelly, 1991, 1992, 2000; Witherall & Noddings, 1991; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999) and to trace beginning teachers' voice and identity within the social, cultural, and historical milieu of teacher education (Britzman, 1991). Narratives are understood as being part of a constructive process in which humans interpret and reinterpret their experiences according to 'narrative structures' (Sarbin, 1986, p. 8). Narratives of

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explanation (Polkinghorne, 1988) are retrospectively interpretative since they aim to reconstruct and reconfigure past events through the retelling of them. This reconstruction of experience involves 'constructing a causal pattern which integrates that which is known about an event as well as that which is conjectural but relevant to an interpretation' (Robinson & Hawpe, 1986, p. 112). Quite simply, through narratives humans selectively choose events to help make sense of seemingly unconnected events, and thus help shape the 'plot' of their lives through time (Pavanko & Lantolf, 2000).

Narratives by their very nature are not meant to describe phenomena objectively, but rather to connect phenomena and infuse them with interpretation. Narratives situate and relate facts to one another, and the essence of 'truth' is *how* phenomena are connected and interpreted. Thus, narratives are holistic and cannot be reduced to isolated facts without losing the truth that is being conveyed. Since narratives are social, relational, and culturally bound, they gain their meaning from our collective social histories and cannot be separated from the sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts from which they emerged. Instead they are deeply embedded in sociohistorical discourses (Gee, 1999), and thus represent a socially mediated view of experience.

Two decades of educational research argues that teachers' knowledge is largely structured through stories and that story, for many, is epistemologically the most authentic way to understand teaching from the view point of the teacher (Cizek, 1999; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lyons & LaBokey, 2002). Generally structured in chronological fashion, teachers, within an ever-changing present, try to interpret a series of experiences, to reconcile what is known with that which is hidden, and to construct and reconstruct understandings of themselves as teachers and of their teaching with an eye to the future. Thus, the use of narrative has emerged as the predominant means of getting at what teachers know, what they do with what they know and the sociocultural contexts within which they teach and learn to teach. Clandinin and Connelly (1991) even suggest that narratives, or the 'storying' and 'restorying' of a person's life, are 'a fundamental method of personal (and social) growth' (p. 261). Storying and restorying one's life enables a teacher to create new meanings from systematic inquiry and reflection. These stories enable readers to envision their own stories and to consider how they might apply lessons learned from another teacher's narrative (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lyons & LaBokey, 2002).

One of the critical contributions of this narrative-based research on teachers' knowledge has been the recognition of emotional, moral and relational dimensions to this knowledge (Elbaz, 1983; Noddings, 1984; Clandinin, 1986; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000; Hollingsworth *et al.*, 1993; Hollingsworth, 1994; Golombek, 1998). Elbaz's (1983) construct of cognitive style created an initial bridge between cognitive and affective aspects in how teachers hold and use their personal knowledge. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) likewise argue that restorying experience, whether through personal philosophies or images for example, is permeated with emotional and moral judgments. Narratives then also demonstrate how teachers' knowledge is bound up in how teachers create instruction in response to their emotions and values, and how they place themselves in relation to others.

Teachers' narrative inquiry

While Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have advocated researcher–teacher collaborations in narrative inquiry, we put forth a conceptualization of narrative inquiry 'as systematic exploration that is conducted *by* teachers and *for* teachers through their own stories and language' (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 6). Our conceptualization reflects Dewey's (1920) claim that inquiry takes into account:

> Observation of the detailed makeup of the situation; analysis into its diverse factors; clarification of what is obscure; discounting of the more insistent and vivid traits; tracing the consequences of the various modes of action that suggest themselves; regarding the decision reached as hypothetical and tentative until the anticipated or supposed consequences which led to its adoption have been squared with actual consequences. This inquiry is intelligence. (p. 164)

When teachers inquire into their own experiences, their inquiry compels them to question and reinterpret what they thought they knew. The stories resulting from inquiry enable teachers to organize and articulate what they know and believe about teaching, and make connections between their personal and professional lives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Johnson & Golombek, 2002). This integration can inform us in authentic ways because teachers' narratives embody teachers theorizing in their own language, weaving descriptions of specific events with theory and representing the dialectical relationship between theory and practice (Clarke, 1994; Edge & Richards, 1998). Narrative inquiry enables teachers to make sense of their professional worlds and to make worthwhile changes in themselves and their teaching practices—to develop as teachers. The question we are most interested in is: What does this development look like? We wish to explore what evidence we can find in teacher-authored narratives that can help us understand and document what this internal cognitive activity looks like and how it enables teachers to engage in and change the activities of teaching as they see fit.

A sociocultural view of teacher learning

To explore these questions, we find Vygotskyian sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978; Leont'ev, 1981; Wertsch, 1985) to be a useful framework through which we can come to understand the internal cognitive activity of teacher development. Our analysis begins with the premise that learning to teach is a socially mediated activity and, as such, how different concepts and functions in teachers' consciousness develop depends on the specific social activities in which they engage. Thus, by using teacher-authored narratives as our data source, we expect to see how teachers participate in and constitute their social reality.

We are interested in describing how teachers come to know and how this internal activity transforms their understandings of themselves as teachers, of their students, and of the activities of teaching. From a sociocultural perspective, transformation is, in essence, the development of higher cognitive processes, but Vygotsky's notion of development is not smooth and linear with predetermined start and end points. Instead, it is a much more dynamic, socially mediated process that occurs as a direct

result of participation in social activities that are structured and gain meaning in historically and culturally situated ways. Vygotsky's (1978) concept of internalization provides us with a construct through which we can look at the progressive movement from external social activity to internal control by teacher learners. According to Leont'ev (1981), 'the process of internalization is not the transferal of an external activity to a preexisting internal "plane of consciousness": it is the process in which the plane is formed' (p. 57). Development occurs through this process whereby a person's cognitive structure is changed, and as a result of this restructuring his/her activity is changed as well. Thus, the Vygotskian notion of development is that it is a dialogic process of transformation of self and activity rather than simply the replacement of skills (Valsineer & Van der Veer, 2002).

We are interested in the extent to which teacher-authored narratives provide evidence of how and when teachers have internalized an idea or activity, how and when they have truly mastered it, changing themselves and their activity, so they can implement it in new contexts. We are also interested in exploring what evidence exists in teacher-authored narratives that indicates what it is that first initiates and then drives this process of development, and how teachers are able to move beyond idealized ways of thinking about teaching to change their modes of engagement in the social practices associated with teaching. Ultimately, we are interested in the extent to which narrative inquiry functions as a culturally developed tool that mediates teacher development. Our specific focus is on how engaging in the activity of narrative inquiry enables teachers to externalize their current understandings, and then reinternalize and recontextualize those understandings so that they take on personal meaning and interact with prior perspectives to restructure new understandings and new ways of engaging in the activity of teaching.

Two recent studies have attempted to explore similar questions about teacher development using sociocultural theory and thus support our attempts to understand the internal activity of teacher development through teacher-authored narrative inquiry. Within the context of a teacher education program, Ball (2000) analyzed teacher-authored literacy histories and other reflective writings as a means of documenting the origin and nature of teachers' developing philosophies concerning literacy and its strategic use to enhance the teaching of poor, urban and diverse students. By giving narrative form to their personal experiences and to the theory and research covered in their teacher education course, the teachers in Ball's study moved beyond simply understanding the ideas and theories presented to them, but internalized those ideas and theories in such a way as to 'become reflective, thoughtful, committed action agents with a personal voice to direct their generative development as urban teachers' (2000, p. 234). For these teachers, in-class discussions and the writing and sharing of literacy histories and other reflective writing functioned as activity systems that created a social space for them to externalize their understanding of literacy and then reinternalize and recontextualize those understandings, eventually making them their own. 'Expert' knowledge, defined by Kennedy (1999), as produced by researchers, developed through agreed upon procedures and codified in the required readings for this course, functioned as cultural artifacts that mediated their learning and provided them with a discourse

through which they were able to express their emerging understanding of literacy education for poor, urban and diverse students. For these teachers, development was not simply the straightforward internalization of information from the outside in. Instead, Ball uncovered the processes through which these teachers appropriated alternative ways of thinking about the social practices associated with literacy instruction.

Although there is abundant evidence of the internal cognitive shifts in these teachers' beliefs and philosophies about literacy instruction, because Ball's data was limited to experiences in the teacher education program we cannot see whether changes occurred in these teachers' modes of engagement in literacy instruction. Thus, Ball's data provide us with internally constructed idealized conceptions of literacy instruction, but lack evidence of actual changes in teachers' material activity, or external literacy instructional practices.

In a retrospective account of her sense of loss and then eventual recovery of teaching expertise, Verity (2000) chronicles her fall into a novice-like state when she moved to Japan to teach English for a year. Having been a successful English as a second language (ESL) teacher for many years, the dramatic change in her material circumstances (large class sizes, passive students, new cultural norms, institutional constraints) left her unable to rely on a style of teaching that had long enabled her to teach ' "off" her students, rather than "to" them' (Verity, 2000, p. 182). During the first few weeks of the semester, she recalled, 'although I "knew" I was an expert, I "felt" like a novice' (Verity, 2000, p. 183). To cope, she turned to self-directed writing, a teaching diary, as a mediational space that 'became a zone for thinking, where, through externalizing and making explicit my thoughts and feelings, I struggled to regain a sense of control in my activity, to sort through the voices, facts, memories, skills, and resources that constituted my shattered sense of expertise' (Verity, 2000, p. 184). Her self-directed writing created an internal zone of proximal development (ZPD) where she was able to use her expert-self as her own 'other', in order to assist her novice-self in restructuring what she knew about language teaching. By storying her experiences she created a mediational space where the externalization of both her thoughts and feelings enabled her to reconceptualize and recontextualize what she thought she already knew, restructuring it in a new way and eventually regaining her professional identity as an expert language teacher.

Verity's study is a striking example of the need to explore the social origins of affect and its relationship to cognition, a realm that Vygotsky (1986) himself argued was largely ignored in traditional psychology. For Verity, the need to reintegrate her cognitive expertise with her affective sense of self-worth as a teacher became a powerful force that pushed her to turn inward, to scaffold herself, to regain her self-regulation and to reconstruct over time a new sense of professional expertise. Besides highlighting the critical role that emotional and cognitive dissonance plays in cognitive development, Verity's study also acknowledges that self-knowledge can act as a mediating artifact, playing the role of the 'other' in a learner's ZPD development, and that certain tools, such as keeping a journal and then writing about that journal, can mediate teacher learning.

Exploring teachers' narrative inquiry

In our most recent work, we have focused on teacher-authored narratives written by teachers as they inquire into their own experiences as learners of English language teaching (Johnson & Golombek, 2002). Our initial goal in this work was to make public language teachers' ways of knowing and, by doing so, recognize teachers' ways of knowing as a legitimate form of knowledge that can expand and enrich the traditional knowledge-base of language teacher education (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). However, what emerges as most striking in teacher-authored narratives is the journey of *how* teachers come to know as well as *what* they come to know. And it is this journey, of inquiring into one's own experiences as a learner of teaching, that we are interested in documenting.

In the remainder of this article we examine narratives written by three teachers of English as a second/foreign language, which we had solicited for publication in a book (Johnson & Golombek, 2002). The narratives, which form the data used in our analysis in this article, were originally authored by the teachers within their own professional development experiences (explained in each narrative) and revised for mostly stylistic features for inclusion in our book. These three narratives were chosen for analysis because they represent three different instructional contexts—university-level freshman composition, elementary-level science and secondary-level language arts—and, more importantly, because they illustrate the ways in which different teachers use different artifacts as tools that mediate their learning. They were also selected because they illustrate teacher development at different points of transformation, from the emergence of idealized conceptualizations of teaching, to the alignment of teaching practices to idealized conceptualizations, to carrying new conceptualizations and teaching practices from one instructional context to another. Our analysis focuses on: (a) what the internal activity of teacher development, or transformation, looks like; (b) how certain artifacts function as tools that mediate teacher development; (c) what initiates and then drives teachers' development; and (d) how these transformative processes enable teachers to change their modes of engagement in the activities of teaching.

Jenn's narrative inquiry: forgiveness and power in the classroom

Jenn was a student and teaching assistant in her second and final year of a Masters program in teaching English as a second language (MATESL). In her narrative inquiry, she storied her experience teaching a required undergraduate composition course for non-native speakers of English at a large university in the northeastern United States. During the 15-week semester, she wrote in a private journal about her class of 15 international students who had varied academic abilities. At the end of the semester, she reflected on themes she identified in her journal and then wrote her narrative for a graduate course she was taking in her MATESL program.

Self as temporary other

In the following, Jenn presents an excerpt from her private journal that enabled her to link her perception of grading as a student and then as a teacher:

> I keep thinking back to the first essay when Boris questioned me about his grade of 95. Five points were taken off because he didn't do a required pre-write. He approached me. He sounded mad. I immediately said, 'You still got an A. What's the problem?' How stupid of me. I know I have always been so obsessed with grades I guess I just forgot that my students are too. One of the questions on the final evaluations of the course, the SRTE's [Student Rating of Teaching Effectiveness] was whether the instructor promotes learning over grades. I was horrified at seeing this question and scared to see what my students thought. I wasn't rated too terribly but I still felt dissatisfied with myself in that respect and that was last semester! Have I learned anything since then? Grades seem to be such an intrinsic part of me that I can't separate them from learning. I think I sometimes rank them as the same. Undoubtedly I tell my students this. Should I apologize to Boris or is it too late? (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 110)

Jenn's private journal served as a 'cognitive act' (DiCamilla & Lantolf, 1994) in which her self-directed writing allowed her to act as a temporary 'other' in this problematic situation. Her journal created a mediational space through which she self-reflected and externalized her understandings of her sociohistorical context, giving voice to her inner understandings. She recognized the contradiction in her beliefs about teaching—a teacher should be concerned with learning—with her actions as a teacher—she has been overly concerned with grades. She feared that students might share her overemphasis on grades over learning by giving her low ratings on the SRTEs. Jenn had a strong emotional response when she recognized this contradiction, feeling 'horrified' and 'scared'. Although she was relieved that students did not evaluate her too harshly on whether she promoted grades over learning, Jenn still felt 'dissatisfied'.

After recognizing the contradiction in her beliefs and actions, she questions herself: 'Have I learned anything since then? Should I apologize to Boris or is it too late?' Jenn's need for an 'other' is reflected in her use of questions in her journal, like Verity (2000), who described her need for other-regulation as a dialog that took place in her journal writing. Verity described this as 'the urge to bounce ideas and questions off a virtual interlocutor' (p. 186). Jenn, likewise, asked her question to herself as a temporary other and answered it by acknowledging, although in a hesitant way (I think I sometimes equate them as the same), that she does not separate grades and learning.

Jenn's selection of this excerpt from her private journal to include in her narrative inquiry underscores how emotions drove her to seek mediation from external sources. This journal excerpt acted as a kind of catalyst that raised Jenn's metacognitive awareness of the experiences that influenced her attitudes towards grading and learning, thus enabling her to recognize a contradiction between her beliefs and her instructional practices. Such contradictions, according to Gonzalez Rey (1999), can be either a source of regression in personality development or a source of growth. If a person is not consciously aware of such contradictions, this person may experience

anxiety that inhibits growth; yet, if this person is consciously aware of such contradictions, this awareness, which involves feelings of conflict, 'may turn into an important force for personality development' (Gonzalez Ray, 1999, p. 271). Cole and Engestrom (1993), likewise, view contradictions as essential to the process of development and the resolution of contradictions as essential to the actualization of development.

Naming through 'expert' knowledge

Jenn's writing in her journal and her reflection on it, resulting in this metacognitive awareness of her historical and cultural situation, enabled her to create a ZPD, in which she appealed to 'expert' knowledge (Kennedy, 1999). She specifically appealed to research on self-concept to make sense of her experiences. In her narrative inquiry, she wrote:

> *Self-concept*, as defined by Cooper and Simmonds (1999), is 'how you perceive yourself intellectually, socially, and physically; how you would like to be; how you believe others perceive you; and how others actually perceive you' (p. 31). Self-concept is vital to how activities are carried out in the classroom, since it affects how we interact with students. Further, self-concept has a reciprocal relationship with communication in that self-concept affects how we communicate and how we communicate affects our self-concept (Kinch, 1963). This points to the importance of teacher's self-concept and communication in the classroom. If teachers are not fully aware of their self-concept, miscommunication can occur, and, often, these miscommunications can require forgiveness on the part of students.
>
> My journal recounted many occasions during the class where there was a need for my students, either individually or collectively, to forgive me for my mistakes. These incidents were the hardest to deal with both professionally and personally since they involved my self-concept as a teacher and my conception of power in the classroom. Fortunately, these incidents did lead to a deeper understanding of how I conceptualize teaching. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 110)

In the first paragraph, Jenn delineated her understanding of the concept of teacher self-concept, describing teacher self-concept through the quoting, paraphrasing, and citing of scholars, or expert others, in educational research. She used this idea of self-concept to structure her understanding and then suggested an overriding problem that can occur if teachers are not fully aware of their self-concept. Jenn underwent a process much like Kramsch (2000) describes: her semiotic mediation results in her linking the linguistic signs of an expert other to her own knowledge so that these signs help her to reframe the way she describes and interprets her experience. Her new understanding of self-concept enabled her to organize her knowledge, and this reorganization provided a lens through which she interpreted her re-reading of her private journal.

In the line, 'My journal recounted', she personified her journal, emphasizing the artifact that brought her this new understanding. In the final sentence, her agency is implicit as she notes, in language that reflects a cognitive change, that 'these incidents did lead to a deeper understanding'; that is, they led *her* to a new

understanding. By externalizing her understanding of these critical incidents and her role in them, she reflected on their meaning and developed an awareness of her self-concept as manifested in her classroom.

Critical though this self-reflection was, she appealed again to 'expert' knowledge to name an alternative conception of the self-concept she would like to manifest:

> My conceptualization of power, based on my apprenticeship of observation, is what Kreisburg (1992) describes as 'power over' students in a classroom. In this classroom structure, the teacher is the ultimate authority and the arbiter of decisions and the students are passive observers. From my journaling and reflection with regard to grading, instruction time, and 'moods', I realized that I wielded power over my students: I decided that a student should be happy with his A; that some students didn't need any individualized instruction, and that I need not try to control the mood of a class.
>
> This control of power is in sharp contrast to another term used by Kreisburg (1992)—that classroom power structures should reflect on an organizational framework of "power with" students. In this way, teachers and students share in the co-construction of power with the goal being to empower the students for both in and out of the classroom setting. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, pp. 112–113)

After reflecting on the incidents described in her private journal, Jenn again appealed to 'expert' knowledge, naming her interaction with this student, Boris, as exhibiting 'power over' students, thus enabling her to reframe her previous understandings of her interactions with him. In her narrative inquiry, she not only recognized this new understanding but also the artifact that mediated it: 'From my journaling and reflection in regards to grading, … I realized that I wielded "power over" my students: I decided that a student should be happy with his A'. She then used 'expert' knowledge to articulate a definition of self-concept that she would like to put forth, 'power with' students, and realized its implication for power relations in the classroom.

Although Jenn gained a metacognitive awareness of the artifacts mediating her new understandings from which to story these critical incidents, she still wondered how to develop instructional practices that align with her reconceptualization:

> I came to understand numerous incidents that occurred in relation to my understanding of forgiveness as it pertained to power structures and student voice. However, at that point, my journal only allowed me to recognize these occurrences. When I first began keeping the journal, I felt that my teaching practices would radically change in this class because of the amount of introspection I was doing. The more I continued the project, the more I realized that this wasn't true. Journaling is just a first step to becoming more aware of issues in the classroom and beliefs about teaching and students. Another step must be taken after this in order to change practices and to make practices align more with beliefs about teaching. As is evident in the reflections I have mentioned here, I am able to describe classroom incidents, even to categorize them, and to articulate my beliefs about and the influences on my teaching. I am now working on determining the methods to use to institute change in my teaching practices. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, pp. 116–117)

Jenn manifested a new confidence in her ability to articulate her beliefs, influences, and practices while recognizing the value and shortcomings of keeping a journal. She

prioritized what she had done and needs to do to continue to move her instructional practices beyond simply keeping a journal. Jenn's last line, by expressing what she is doing 'now', solidified her commitment to change, or 'an intrapsychological commitment to action' (Ball, 2000, p. 236). Jenn ended her narrative inquiry with an unspecified plan to change her instructional practices so that they would be aligned with her reconceptualization of power in the classroom. Although Jenn understood what she wanted to transcend in her teaching as a result of her self-reflection, she did not design and implement the material activities that would have enabled her to overcome her internal contradictions, remaining in her 'search for novel solutions' (Cole & Engestrom, 1993, p. 41).

The process of transformation we see here suggests that teacher learning is not a linear activity in which internal cognitive shifts concerning instructional practice lead to changed modes of engagement in that practice. Jenn's narrative inquiry shows how she externalized her understandings and reinternalized them, yet we see an idealized conceptualization of what she would like to do in this class as she was not able to realize this in actual practice. Her process of transformation, while dynamic, ends at that point in her narrative inquiry as only a commitment to action, and we do not have evidence of development in her material activity.

Michael's narrative inquiry: giving quiet children space

Michael had been working in a bilingual elementary English–Spanish school in Spain for approximately seven years. He was the fifth-grade English teacher responsible for natural science topics in a class of 24 Spanish-speaking children. At that time, he was also studying for a master's degree in teaching English as a foreign language. Michael wrote his narrative inquiry in response to an assignment in this program to examine a 'problem' in his teaching using Cooperative Development (Edge, 1992). He sought help from several peers who were studying for the same degree from the same distance education program in England.

A colleague as temporary other

Michael's attempt to understand how his behavior affected his students' interaction patterns are illustrated in the following excerpt from his narrative inquiry:

> Two of these techniques seemed important in terms of my own development at this initial stage: Reflecting and Focusing (Edge, 1992a, pp. 28–44). *Reflecting* describes the process whereby the Understander [*sic*, the person who listens to the speaker] helps the speaker to see his or her ideas clearly. This is done when the Understander acts as a mirror in order to reflect the speaker's own ideas. Henny, as the Understander, attempted to do this by paraphrasing what I was saying. At first, though, she seemed unable to accurately capture how I felt about my effect on my quiet children. This was because I was not very sure myself. In any case, her inaccurate reflections of what I was trying to say forced me to think again and express myself further. Indeed, as I became clearer, the reflections seemed more accurate. Here is an extract from our conversation:

Mike: Yeah, I'm serious in the classroom, and that's why they might participate in a limited way. I never smile, and I reckon that could make them a bit wary of me.

Henny: Let me see. You're saying that it's because you're serious that they don't participate in any great detail.

Mike: Hang on, perhaps it's not because I'm serious. After all, you can be serious, but still organise [*sic*] them into pairs whereby they are more likely to participate in greater depth, just that you do this in a serious way! No, I think it's because I'm a dominant type of teacher.

Henny: So you're saying that despite being a serious teacher, that's not important. You could provide them with pair work, just that you would go about organising [*sic*] this in a serious way. It's you being serious that puts them off.

Mike: Yeah, that's right. Being in pairs would probably make them feel more comfortable, and more likely to participate. No, it's definitely me being dominant that puts them off. I try to control absolutely everything in class, and what's more I rarely allow them to do pair work.

Henny: So it's your dominance that puts them off from contributing more.

Mike: Yeah I think it must be. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, pp. 183–184)

Michael constructs a ZPD in which his peer, Henny, acted as a temporary other by trying to rephrase what Michael was saying through a dialogic interaction. Although Henny phrased her paraphrases as declarative statements—for example, 'Let me see. You're saying that it's because you're serious that they don't participate in any great detail'—they seemed to act like questions in that Michael either confirmed them or disconfirmed them, enabling him to uncover what his meaning was. In this example, Michael rejected Henny's paraphrase, 'Hang on, perhaps it's not because I'm serious'. As he noted in his narrative, it is her 'inaccurate reflections' that compelled him to examine the issue more deeply: 'I think it's because I'm a dominant type of teacher'.

Michael next attempted to understand the reasons behind his dominating behaviors by having another dialog with Henny:

> At this point, I was not sure why I felt the need to control the quiet children's language and the quiet children themselves. I explained to my colleague, however, that I did know that I was under immense pressure at school to ensure that the children understood the content I taught. This comment led Henny to use another Cooperative Development technique, Thematising. Edge (1992a, p. 46) defines *Thematising* as suggesting that there could be a connection or a 'thematic relationship' between two statements that the speaker has made. My colleague asked me whether there was any connection between denying the quiet children space and feeling pressure from parents. This made me realise [*sic*] that perhaps there was a connection between the two. I explained to my colleague that, because I was responsible for ensuring that the children did understand the content, I felt I needed to control the language and activities within the classroom. My colleague then reflected this back to me: "Am I right in saying that you think that, because you'll be held responsible if the children don't understand, that is why you attempt to control the language and activities?"
>
> This helped me see that if they did not understand a particular topic, I would be blamed. Out of this came the idea of fear. My colleague asked me whether I wanted

> to focus on fear in more depth. This I did, commenting that I was afraid to give the quiet children control over their topic-related language and tasks. I felt that if I did, they might not understand the content. This explained why I tended to either interrupt and finish off what they were saying or summarise [*sic*] what they had said. Through using both strategies, I felt that I could make the quiet children's contributions clearer, so that they themselves—on hearing my explanation—would better understand the content. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 188)

Within this ZPD, Henny had a specific role in this dialog to draw links between statements Michael made. Henny asked a question to draw a connection between denying the quiet children a place to speak and pressures by the school to encourage them to participate actively, providing an opening for Michael to 'realize that perhaps there was a connection between the two'. Here Henny once again served as a temporary other that mediated his learning, but her role now was to suggest a link between several ideas that Michael had externalized. Her suggestion acts as a question that Michael should answer. Through this dialogic interaction, Michael externalized his understanding of his dominant behaviors, especially interrupting and summarizing, which he used as strategies, and articulated the emotions that drove these behaviors—fear of being blamed for the students' lack of academic progress. Michael acknowledged a contradiction in his teaching. He interrupted and summarized his students to give them a second opportunity to assimilate the information. Yet, by interrupting their contributions he was actually deterring them from speaking and, thus, did not know if they had understood.

With a detailed understanding of this contradiction and its root, Michael sought alternatives; that is, to mediate his activity strategically by developing an appropriate instructional response. After teaching a lesson on space, he created an activity requiring the children to construct a space mobile of the sun and planets. He planned not to intervene but to let the students create the mobile as they saw fit. Despite his understanding of the contradiction he faced in this class and his own plan of action to deal with it, he felt that the activity was unsuccessful. Again, he sought out his colleague as a temporary other to help him understand why his plan did not meet his expectations:

> On hearing this, Henny—taking on the role of Understander—asked me whether I would like to focus on this feeling of frustration. I explained that I had always denied the quiet children space, but now that I had provided them with an activity for which they were solely responsible, they had not known how to use their space. Henny drew on Thematising to help me see for myself how my concerns were connected: 'So you're saying that you're frustrated as you've always denied your quiet children space, and yet when you give it to them, they can't do anything with it. Could there be a link or a connection in here somewhere?'
>
> Hearing this made me realise [*sic*] that the reason the quiet children has not been able to use this space may have been exactly because they had never had it before. They had been taken from a situation in which they had hardly any space to one in which they were expected to plan and contribute orally as much as they wished. The fact that they had not been able to take advantage of this situation seems to support what Stevick (1980, p. 20) suggests about space: 'If there is too little, the student will feel stifled. If there is too much, the student will feel that the teacher has abandoned him.' (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 191)

In this dialog, Henny suggested a link between Michael's feelings of frustration with denying the children space and their inability to respond appropriately when space was given. Henny expressed what she understood Michael to be saying and posed a question that linked several of his ideas. Hearing this was important for him to externalize why this activity failed: 'They had been taken from a situation in which they had hardly any space to one in which they were expected to plan and contribute orally as much as they wished'. Michael reflected on the transcripts of this dialog and appealed to 'expert' knowledge to name why this activity did not meet his expectations. Michael used this 'expert' knowledge to mediate himself to be able to make these experiences visible and then reinterpret them.

Next, Michael attempted to mediate his activity strategically again so that he first gave some initial guidance to the students, explaining what a space mobile was and how the materials could be used. He then let the students construct the space mobile. After watching a videotape of this session, he reflected on his second attempt to change his instructional practice:

> At the beginning of the activity, I didn't want to be too involved; however, after awhile, I realised [*sic*] that I had nothing to fear by relinquishing some control. I noticed that the quiet children did know the topic and were more likely to participate if they had some space in which to do so. Furthermore, I realised [*sic*] that I had a role to play in creating this space, by providing the structure for, or giving some shape to, the activity itself. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 192)

Here, the videotape served to mediate his understanding of his attempt to teach in accordance with his reconceptualized understanding of dealing with quiet students. He reflected on the video, and in his narrative inquiry, he seemed to overcome the affective distress he was feeling and to regain self-regulation: 'however, after a while, I realised [*sic*] that I had nothing to fear by relinquishing some control', particularly where he noted his own agency with new modes of engagement that he now used in this class: 'Furthermore, I realised [*sic*] that I had a role to play in creating this space, by providing the structure for, or giving some shape to, the activity itself'.

In Michael's process of development, Henny acted as a temporary other that mediated Michael's learning, and the dialogic interactions central to Cooperative Development enabled him to externalize his understandings without evaluative judgments. Through these interactions, he was able to articulate the feelings of fear that were underpinning his instructional behaviors, allowing him to give voice to his inner understandings. Michael's appeal to a peer as a temporary other supports Lantfolf's (2000) assertion that the metaphor of the ZPD should include more than just expert/novice interactions. Like Jenn, Michael appealed to 'expert knowledge' to name and then reconceptualize his experiences with these students. Michael, on the other hand, eventually realized his reconceptualizations by changing his modes of engagement with his quiet students. We thus see evidence of him regaining internal control in his behaviors as he developed instructional practices that are aligned with his new conceptualization of himself as a teacher. Michael's narrative shows development in that he has changed both himself and his material activity, resolving the emotional dissonance that drove his inquiry.

Lynne's narrative inquiry: letting my students read

Lynne, an experienced ESL teacher, worked in a New York City public school at the time she wrote her narrative inquiry. She created and co-taught an English literature class, which consisted of 25 international students with varied English proficiency levels and academic abilities. She was working in a new school and decided that it was an appropriate context in which to integrate new theories gleaned from a two-summer MATESL program for working teachers and to write her MA paper.

Appropriation of expert knowledge: the third layer

Lynne began her narrative by describing the emotional tension that drove her to conduct a narrative inquiry:

> I had been teaching English to mainstream and ESL students in private and public schools for several years. Although I was well practiced as a teacher of writing, my real love was reading, and my students and colleagues generally appreciated my skills as a literature teacher. I had learned how to choose literary works that the students enjoyed, how to craft study guides that delved into the key themes of a text, and how to lead students in provocative class discussions. I was an effective teacher, no doubt, but somehow my teaching didn't feel right to me.
>
> My training had emphasized the importance of allowing students ownership over the reading and writing process, a philosophical orientation that I embraced in theory but failed to follow fully in practice. Perhaps my love of literature was part of the problem. As prepared a lesson plan, my excitement about a reading would sweep over me and thoughts would begin to race through my head. In the classroom, my ideas too often predominated, and my voice was too often the most assured in the room. Although students generally enjoyed and benefited from my classes, in the end, the literature we studied belonged more to me than it did to them. My new teaching position provided me with a chance to shift the balance. But how? (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 35)

Lynne's reflection, in the first paragraph, begins as she describes her perceived expertise and agency over her instructional practices: 'I had learned' … 'to choose', 'to craft', and 'to lead'. She delineated some of the skills that helped to make her an 'appreciated' teacher of literature, suggesting that she has developed the mental processes necessary through internalizing to be a competent teacher of writing and reading. This outward declaration of teaching expertise is countered by her internal emotional reaction of apprehension: 'but somehow my teaching didn't feel right to me', suggesting a gap between her cognition and emotions. Furthermore, Lynne recognized a contradiction between her beliefs regarding student ownership of texts while her practice embodied a strong sense of teacher ownership of texts.

This gap between her cognition and emotions appeared similar to Verity's (2000), where she described herself as having the 'emotions of a novice' and the 'cognition of an expert' (p. 183). Whereas Verity described her situation as 'devastating' (2000, p. 183), Lynne did not describe such debilitating emotions, but rather something did not 'feel right'. Even though Lynne was self-regulated, in the face of the contradictions between her conceptualization of student ownership and her practice, she sought out external mediation to regain control of her teaching activity. Lynne

detailed the instructional changes she and her co-teacher, after discussion, attempted to integrate into this class:

> Throughout the reading unit, we operated on the assumption that students' understandings would evolve as a result of several types of interactions with each story. An important part of the process was the use of story maps: graphic organizers that allow students to represent visually the meanings they derive from a text (see Hanf, 1971; Hyerle, 1996). Many reading theorists (Barnett, 1989; Grabe, 1991; Hudson, 1992; Mikulecky, 1984) have noted the effects of formal discourse structures on reading comprehension, as well as the importance of providing students with at least a basic orientation toward unfamiliar texts. In our short story unit, mapping proved to be an effective means of addressing these concerns. Before reading, students knew that they would be responsible for filling in a simple bubble map provided by the teacher, that included spaces for the story's "who, when, where, what, why, and how" information. They were given several days to read the story, and were required to complete their maps independently and to bring them to class. On a practical level, the story maps served as an efficient homework check, while also providing a glimpse of students' initial understandings of the text. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 40)

Lynne appropriated the ideas of L2 literacy researchers to support the theoretical basis of the instructional practices that she and her co-teacher developed for this class. Unlike Jenn and Michael, Lynne used 'expert' knowledge not to reconceptualize her understanding of this experience, but to provide a rationale for the instructional changes she and her co-teacher instituted. She delineated how 'mapping' fulfills this rationale, as well as provided a more personal explanation of the value of mapping since it oriented students to a text and provided her with a means to check student understanding. Later in her narrative inquiry, she further detailed her instructional practices:

> Group work played an essential role at virtually every stage of the process. Eskey and Grabe (1988) have described reading as entailing two levels of interaction: the interaction between the reader and the text, and the simultaneous interaction of various processing strategies within the reader. In our classrooms, we wished to add to this conception at least one other level: the social interactions of different readers as they worked together to make sense out of what they had read. While respecting the varying interpretations of individual readers, we attempted to structure group tasks that would encourage students to share their linguistic and cultural knowledge with each other as they engaged in the acts of reading, and re-reading and deriving meaning from the texts. We found it essential, as we charged students with the responsibility of constructing meaning together, to accept a range of approximative readings on their parts and to trust them to work toward more accurate understandings of the story within and among themselves. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 41)

Lynne and her co-teacher appropriated the ideas generated by L2 literacy researchers, found them lacking, and built onto them on the basis of their experiential knowledge. In Ball's (2000) terms, Lynne's appropriation can be viewed as her populating 'theory with her own intentions, in her own voice, and creates instruction that is meaningful for her own objectives' (p. 248). This becomes evident when she described what she and her co-teacher achieved by adding to what they called this 'third level': 'we wished to add to this conception …', 'we attempted to structure group tasks …', 'We found it essential, as we charged students with the responsi-

bility …'. In her narrative inquiry, Lynne recalled her dialog with her co-teacher as mediating her learning and enabling her to articulate her underlying rationale of allowing students to co-construct meaning by sharing their personal understandings of the texts they read. Her explanation for using mapping and group work can thus be seen as explanations for instructional practices that she has developed to align her conceptualization of student ownership with her practice, or as attempts to mediate her activity strategically to regain her self-regulation. She continued her explanation in the following paragraph:

> Maintaining such a stance toward the reading process required great discipline on my part. I often wanted to jump in and "correct" students' initial misinterpretations but soon saw how much more effective it was to let students work out as much as possible for themselves. Although they tended at first to look to me for answers when they disagreed with each other, students soon accepted their roles as co-teachers and called on me only when they were truly unable to work out an answer among themselves. On the rare occasions when a group arrived at a serious factual misinterpretation, I could intervene with a provocative question intended to throw them to another track. By encouraging students to work together, I was able to give them the space they needed to work out their own interpretations, while feeling confident that I had not left them completely 'alone' with the text. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 41)

Lynne changed her own modes of engagement in the classroom as well, disciplining herself to avoid dominating the large group discussions. She also realized that she needed to be consistent in her modes of engagement because students invariably expected her to answer their questions. Over time, the implementation of Lynne and her co-teacher's instructional practices, along with Lynne's new modes of engagement, significantly altered the patterns of interaction in the class. Through her self-reflection and search for alternatives, Lynne was able to create and implement a new model of activity for her class (Cole & Engestrom, 1993).

Later in her narrative inquiry, Lynne recalled occasions when she implemented this new model of activity, her new instructional practices and new patterns of interaction to other instructional settings:

> In subsequent classes, I have used similar approaches to the ones outlined in this chapter, adapting and refining them in relation to the demands of the curriculum and the needs of the students. The content-free guidelines developed for the short story unit have inspired similar sets of guidelines for full-class poetry and novel units. Student-generated questions now form the basis of almost all of my class discussions—about social studies content as well as literature—and I am continually amazed as I watch students in each new class establish their own unique methods of negotiating the discussion process among themselves. Although reading workshop and full-class literature units play notable roles in most of my classes, however, it is the use of book groups that has most transformed my teaching. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 48)

Her altered modes of engagement were also recontextualized in another set of instructional practices: the book group.

> Book groups have come to form the heart of my teaching, and of my students' learning each semester. By selecting groups of novels related to a common theme ('coming to America', 'equalities and inequalities' or 'adventure and survival'), I am able to meet the needs and interests of the wide range of students I encounter while still providing

> opportunities for full-class exchanges of ideas. With several different novels being read simultaneously in each of my classes, I can no longer be the primary owner of each text. As I circulate from group to group, helping students to address the issues they bring to my attention, I become a mentor and guide rather than a final authority. The use of book groups encourages—in fact, requires—me to take this role, thereby allowing my students to become expert advisors to one another as they establish their own sense of ownership over a wide variety of literary texts. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 48)

Here, Lynne articulated how these new modes of engagement were also appropriate for poetry and novels but she singled out book groups as the instructional change that has most 'transformed' her teaching. Not only did she believe she was able to meet individual students' needs, but the book groups enabled her students 'to become expert advisors to each other as they establish their own sense of ownership over a wide variety of literary texts'. This realization enabled Lynne to resolve the contradiction she experienced between her conceptualizations and practice. In resolving this contradiction, Lynne also addressed her affective concerns:

> My own growth as a teacher of reading, as I learned to step into the sidelines, allowing my students and their learning to take center stage was as significant as my students' growth as readers over the course of the semester. The size and heterogeneity of my classes, although challenging at times, ultimately helped me to make this shift. Faced with twenty-five students at such varying levels of linguistic proficiency, I had no choice but to abandon the teacher-centered methods that had worked well enough in my leveled ESL classes in the past. I was compelled to relinquish my old approach for a new one—one which would prove, over time, to be much more satisfying to me and my students. (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 48)

Lynne's narrative inquiry is a narrative of explanation (Polkinghorne, 1988) in which she reconstructs her teaching experiences by 'restorying' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1991) them. She described the resolution of the contradiction between her beliefs that were informed by 'expert' knowledge and practice as her 'own growth', 'this shift', and what she 'learned'. Moreover, she resolved this contradiction, through the realization of new modes of engagement, in a way that was 'satisfying', thus resolving her emotional dissonance. Lynne's recontextualization points to her development as she regained her self-regulation and developed a newly authored expertise. As a result of her cognitive restructuring, she is not the same self as before and her activity has been transformed.

Conclusion

Our analysis supports a view of teacher development that is socially situated and socially mediated, non-linear, dialogic, and without an endpoint (Bullough, 1989; Clandinin, 1986; Clandinin & Connelly, 1991, 1992, 2000; Grossman, 1990). It suggests an interwoven connection between cognition and emotion, which drives teachers to search for mediational tools to help them externalize their experiences throughout their careers. For these teachers, their emotional dissonance initiated the recognition of cognitive dissonance, a recognition of contradictions in their teaching context. Our research compliments the work done highlighting the emotional,

ethical, and relational components of teacher knowledge (Elbaz, 1983; Noddings, 1984; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Witherall & Noddings, 1991; Hollingsworth *et al.*, 1993), yet we argue, based on our analysis, that emotions are actually a driving factor in teacher development. The catalytic role of emotions in the process of transformation is an aspect that is not typically highlighted in other models of internal cognitive development (for example, Cole & Engestrom, 1993).

The mediational tools these teachers relied on all worked, in one way or another, to create a temporary 'other', which supported the transformative process and enabled teachers to move from external social activity to internal control over their cognitive and emotional states. The activity of engaging in narrative inquiry created a mediational space where teachers were able to draw upon various resources that in turn allowed them to reconceptualize and reinternalize their new understandings of themselves and their instructional practices. Within this space, their development was mediated by the intersections of experiential and 'expert' knowledge. These intersections represented the places where expert knowledge provided both a discourse through which to name experiences and a basis upon which teachers were able to ground their internal rationale for alternative ways of understanding themselves and the activities of teaching. These teachers used 'expert' knowledge as a tool to restructure themselves in an active way. Although teachers use expert knowledge to understand and name their practice, they still must work through the transformative process in a personally meaningful way that enables them to change their teaching activities.

Finally, our analysis indicates that teacher-authored narratives are not simply a device used to story one's experience, but a semiotic tool that facilitates teacher development and can document how teachers participate in and constitute their social reality. Teacher-authored narratives provide rich evidence of the cognitive and emotional dissonance with which teachers struggle and the resources they exploit to mediate their learning. They highlight, in teachers' own words, how, when, and why new understandings emerge, understandings that can lead to transformed conceptualizations of oneself and transformed modes of engagement in the activities of teaching. Depending on where teachers were in their professional development when their narratives were written, we may see idealized conceptions with commitment to actions or transformation of teachers and their material activities. How the process of development continues will, thus, depend upon teachers' cognitive and emotional responses to their teaching, new contradictions that emerge, and the activities in which they engage that further mediate their understandings.

Narrative inquiry can be used as a tool for professional development for both novice and experienced teachers. Because emotions appear to be a driving force in teachers' development and teacher-authored narratives seem to facilitate teachers' expression of both their cognitive and emotional understandings of their teaching, narrative inquiry creates a mediational space in which teachers can identify contradictions in their teaching. Teacher educators can play a key role within this mediational space by serving as expert other. As expert others, teacher educators can recommend 'expert knowledge' that may enable teachers to name their understandings, as well as expose them to other mediational tools that can be used to externally mediate their understandings of themselves and their teaching activities.

By highlighting that development is emotional, as well as cognitive, we suggest a key area that is, at times, overlooked in teacher education. Engaging in narrative inquiry will indeed bring emotions to the surface as teachers recognize contradictions in their teaching. Teacher educators must be aware that teachers can be in unsettling and vulnerable positions when conducting narrative inquiry, and work to support teachers as they move through these periods of dissonance and growth as professional educators.

Narrative inquiry does not provide a simple, linear resolution to any teacher's professional development. Rather, our analysis reminds us as teacher educators that systematic inquiry has unexpected and variable results for each teacher and that development is a highly individualized and recursive process. Narrative inquiry provides teacher educators and teachers alike with a way to recognize and nourish the unique path of professional development that each teacher pursues.

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