

**A Discourse Analysis of Teacher Professionalism  
in England since the 1980s**

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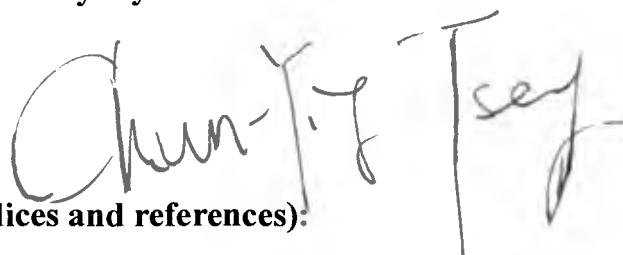
## Abstract

Teacher professionalism is a concept with a contentious history. In the midst of wider research debates concerning professionalism, however, less attention has been paid to the processes in which professionalism is discursively constructed. This thesis attempts to explore the conflicting notions of de/re-professionalisation and is mainly about the investigation and identification of the recurring and salient discourses of teacher professionalism in England since the 1980s. By addressing the changing power relations between teachers and the state, this thesis aims to examine closely the ways in which contemporary teachers have been made and remade via education policy centred on discourses of professionalism. This is done by examining policy and practices of both teacher education and school management. Through a discourse analysis of policy documents and data from 18 interviews this thesis argues that a new sense of *performative professionalism* in England has been produced via a neoliberal education policy that rests on the discourses of *practicality, standards* and *management*. A practical-based mode of teacher formation, standards-driven policies and systems of managerial control in schools work together interdiscursively and produce new ways of being professional.

Specifically, the ‘making up’ of new teachers with particular performative dispositions and sensibilities is facilitated by an interplay of heterogeneous powers, which involves assembling different forms of power—sovereign power, disciplinary power and governmentality in complex and subtle ways. ‘New’ teachers are technical experts operating within a delimited space of autonomy and expected to follow directives; concurrently, they are framed as having ‘freedom’ and made ‘responsible’ for

performance outcomes. Teachers are disciplined and empowered simultaneously within this dual transformative process. Moreover, professionalism is a discursive technology, which turns teachers into agents of governmentality who produce the human capital needed by the economy and serve the interests of capital. Teachers are made docile and productive at the same time.

**I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.**

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Chun-Yi Tsey". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line under the name.

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## List of Abbreviations

AST	Advanced Skills Teacher
CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
CPS	Centre for Policy Studies
ERA	Education Reform Act
GTC	General Teaching Council
HEIs	Higher education institutions
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEAs	Local Education Authorities
NAHT	National Association of Head Teachers
NPM	New Public Management
NUT	National Union of Teachers
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
SCITT	School-Centred Initial Teacher Training
TDA	Training and Development Agency for Schools
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCET	Universities Council for the Education of Teachers

## Introduction to Part One

My interest in teacher professionalism was triggered by my personal experience as a primary school teacher in Taiwan. During my 10 years of teaching there were intensifying patterns of increased workloads and bureaucracy, stress and burn-out and a diminished loss of control over teaching. At the same time, I witnessed how primary school teachers as a whole were implicated within an educational environment with proliferated reform initiatives enacted at a rapid and unprecedented pace. Moreover, at the core of these policies, which aimed at restructuring schools and teachers' work, an appeal to teacher professionalism was strongly promoted by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan. Under these circumstances, I experienced a state of ambivalence and unease and found myself having to constantly negotiate private settlements with the macro forces that placed pressure on teachers. In response to this situation, I was eager to find satisfactory explanations of what it meant to be a teacher and to explore the phenomenon of professionalism. Furthermore, given that many of the reform policies in Taiwan over the past three decades have been borrowed from England and I was granted a scholarship from the Ministry of Education in Taiwan to do my doctoral research in the UK. The context of England was chosen as the key site of investigation to clarify issues around teacher professionalism.

This thesis consists of three parts. In Part one entitled *Setting the Scene* I map some of the preparatory dimensions for understanding this research. In Chapter 1 *Introduction*, I offer an initial sketch of the context in which both teachers and schooling as a whole became policy concerns in England in the mid-1970s. Particular emphasis is given to the social, economic and political conditions in which teachers and teacher education

were embedded. I then consider some of the ways in which current research into teacher professionalism has failed to address the dichotomy of de/reprofessionalisation in the multiple ways in which the discourse of teacher professionalism has been constructed and mobilised in the period between 1970 and 2012. Based on my close engagement with research evidence on teacher professionalism, I outline the overall objectives and questions of this research. I then move on to spend some time discussing my theoretical understanding of professionalism and provide a brief historical account of teacher education in England before concluding Chapter 1 with an account of the design and methods employed in my research.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Scoping the Research

Over the past three decades, the pivotal factor triggering education reform has been the phenomenon of globalisation. Globalisation refers to a set of complex changes, not only within the transnational economic activities of capital and finance but also in cultural and political arenas (See Appadurai, 1996; Beck, 2001). As Rizvi and Lingard note, the idea that globalisation ‘represents both an ideological formation and a social imaginary that now shapes the discourses of education policy’ is particularly relevant to education (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 23). It is little wonder, then, that key words such as standards, modernisation and competitiveness are frequently adopted by politicians and are ubiquitous in education policy documents (Menter, 2009: 219). Influenced by globalisation, education has become a priority, which resourceful nation states manoeuvre to meet their goals of economic development and maintain competitiveness in the global economy. In other words, education now bears the responsibility for national prosperity. As Tony Blair pointedly put this in a speech in 2005, ‘education is our best economic policy’ (Blair, 2005, cited in Ball, 2008: 12). A discourse of legitimisation that places education policy in the field of economics is created.

However, it should be recognised that, far from being a unifying and homogenous phenomenon, globalisation is a heterogeneous process and its significance and impact are conditional, since ‘it is experienced differently by different communities, and even individuals, and is sustained and created by people and institutions with widely different histories and political interests’ (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 25). Of all the various

political, economic and cultural processes in which globalisation has been manifest, the oil crisis in 1973 particularly signified one point in time when global economic power shifted away from the West, and this also 'put a great strain on the weakest of the major industrial economies, namely Britain' (Perkin, 1989: 507). This oil price shock was experienced particularly acutely in Britain where it stimulated massive inflation. Furthermore, the unemployment rate rose to 7 percent, and then almost doubled, rising again to 13 percent in the late 1970s to the early 1980s (ibid: 508). As a consequence of the sluggishness and uncompetitiveness of Britain's economy, various aspects of the public sector and nationalised public services were subject to public criticism, and education was no exception. In 1976, the then prime minister, James Callaghan, initiated *The Great Debate* on education in his famous speech given at Ruskin College, Oxford. This influential speech encouraged the forging of closer links between schooling and the economy. It supported the subordination of schooling to the requirements of industry and argued that the quality of education and training was the key to global competitiveness and national prosperity. Most significantly, the speech reset the frame for stakeholders in the education policy process and renamed them, and enabled 'politicians to comment on, intervene and interfere in matters hitherto left to teachers' (Woodward, 2005). On account of both its political and educational significance (Ball, 1990a: 31), the 1976 Ruskin speech symbolised the beginning of a process in which power and influence over the education system shifted from professional judgement to a new level of state intervention.

The implications for the teaching profession and the professionalism of teachers in this historical reform process are many. Teacher professionalism has been both an object and a means of reform. The trust in teachers and their responsibility for the outcomes of their practice have become the focus of the processes of reform. I discuss trust and

responsibility in detail later. The government perceived that its objectives could be realised by ‘overhauling’ the teaching profession. Put simply, teacher professionalism has been harnessed ‘in a way that would ensure the centrally led reforms were a success’ (Furlong, 2008: 728). In his discussion of the efforts made to re-work the teaching profession, Ball persuasively argues that the reform technologies, namely the market, management and performance, have changed drastically the nature of professionalism. *What it means to be a teacher* has been re-defined and more significantly, the reform technologies have produced new kinds of teacher subjects (Ball, 2003: 217). Other scholarly work has also intensively documented the effect of various policies that have produced or created new teacher subjectivities (Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2002., 2004; Mahony, Menter and Hextall, 2004; Perryman, 2007., 2009; Woods and Jeffrey, 2002). In sum, the role of the teacher has been reconstituted over the past three decades. Teachers have been re-positioned within a particular landscape orchestrated by the state and harnessed to its economic agenda, and it is against this background that this research is based. By exploring the formation of the teacher subject within the power relations between the teacher and the state and through the medium of professionalism, this research seeks to further an understanding of teacher professionalism and consequently, contribute to the fields of Sociology of Education and Policy Sociology.

In seeking to address the ways in which the discourse of professionalism is deployed and how the new teacher subject is discursively constituted, I have divided this thesis into three major parts. **In Part One**, I present and provide a context for an initial understanding of my research. As already indicated above, I have attempted to give a brief historical account of the broader socio-economic context in which the redesign of teaching is taking place and the ways in which these structural factors, namely political, economic and historical determinants, continue to fuel contemporary educational



change related to the redefinition of teacher professionalism. I will go on to say a little more about my engagement with the current research which focuses on teacher professionalism. Based on and informed by my close reading of the research evidence, I will simultaneously outline the objectives and questions that are explored and investigated in this research. Given that the research focuses on professionalism, I will continue the task of understanding professionalism by exploring the meaning of ‘being professional’ on the basis of different interpretations proposed by different theoretical underpinnings. In order to illustrate the teacher/state power relations and some enduring policy trends in the Initial Teacher Education (ITE) arena, I will then present a historical account of teacher education in England, particularly since the 1980s, before finally moving on to elaborate my research design and explain the methods adopted and the data collected in this research.

The main concern in **Part Two**, which comprises Chapters 2 to 5, is to explore the dominant discourses of professionalism identified in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) policy in England since the 1980s. Firstly through a historical lens and in greater detail, I visit various significant discursive terrains, which were involved in the process of remaking the teaching profession during the turbulent decades of the 1970s and 1980s. Having indicated the extent to which teachers have always been a policy ‘problem’ for successive English governments, I move on to Chapter 3, *Discourse Analysis of Teacher Education Policy since the 1980s*, where the focus is on some of the key ITE policy documents related to the training of teachers and the opening up of new routes into teaching. A systematic analysis of the policy text, including the overall structure of statements or other usages of linguistic strategy in the formation of new teachers, is undertaken based on a selection of primary sources, and the way in which teachers and their work are framed/re-framed by three predominant discursive concepts, namely,

*competences, standards* and *flexibility*, is explored. Chapters 4 and Chapter 5 examine the assemblage of powers involved in producing teachers, and as such, are concerned with presenting and analysing discourses of *practicality* and *standards* respectively. I draw again on policy texts and interview data, and then look at what this data tells us about the different forms of power that work together to simultaneously discipline and empower the teaching profession. In particular, these discourses produce particular practices through which the importance of practical teaching skills and performance are inscribed in institutional forms, procedures and relationships.

Owing to the high relevance of teacher education to the formation of teacher professionalism, ITE policy is one dimension I consider to be of great significance when defining and articulating professionalism discourses. However, the concept of a ‘professional’ teacher is always located and constructed within multiple sites and practices. Another parallel and inter-related site for producing discourses of professionalism is, of course, schools. In **Part Three**, I continue the task of understanding the production of professionalism discourses by moving on to study the master discourse I have identified in the school arena, namely, *management*. This part seeks to explore the way in which teaching professionals, teachers and head teachers alike, are all subject to the discourses and practices of educational management in schools. Chapter 6 entitled *Headship, Leadership and Management* discusses the repositioning of schools’ head teachers since the 1980s by examining the way in which they have been gradually repositioned and constituted as the linchpin of the delivery chain of policy and rendered responsible for securing the link between classroom practice, managerial procedures and policy initiatives. Chapter 7 returns to the central question of the constitution of the new teacher subject, and here, I draw on the framework of the Labour Process Theory and its inter-connection with Foucault’s

concept of disciplinary power by exploring the complex inscriptions of power relations in the making of new 'professional' teachers. I shall also highlight the way in which a combination of practices and power formations has aligned teachers in England more closely with the broader social concern of national global competitiveness. Finally, in the *Epilogue*, I consider the possibilities for a professional teacher in contemporary society to think and act otherwise.

## **Intentions**

Teacher professionalism has long been a contested issue in research literature (see, for example, Ball, 2003; Gewirtz, Mahony, Hextall and Cribb, 2009; Hoyle, 1995; Seddon, 1997; Smyth and Shacklock, 1998; Whitty, 2005), and two main contrasting perspectives can be discerned from these debates. On the one hand, for those who take the stance of 'de-professionalisation', the education reform process has not only resulted in the work of teaching being increasingly routinised and proletarianised, but the nature and purpose of education have also been established within a political agenda (Barton, Pollard and Whitty, 1993; Landman and Ozga, 1995; Ozga, 1988). Others, however, argue that individual teachers are not only required to be competent in teaching and to improve standards, but also be sensitive to the demands of the market; thus, teachers are becoming more 'in tune' with the needs of a new era and are, in effect, being 're-professionalised' (McCulloch, 2001; Furlong, 2005). It could be argued that each position of de/reprofessionalisation has its own theoretical basis for analysis and interpretation; nevertheless, they only portray part of the reality and partly misconstrue the issue. What has been changed in terms of the professional lives and work of teachers is the pattern of control and the degree of autonomy teachers possess. As Dale (1989) lucidly conceptualises, there has been a move from 'licensed autonomy' to 'regulated

autonomy'. In the first, 'an implicit licence was granted to the education system, which was renewable on the meeting of certain conditions...subject to certain broad limitations' (Dale, 1989: 130). As for regulated autonomy, this is a shift toward a tighter control of the education system and greater teacher accountability, 'largely through the codification and monitoring of processes and practices previously left to teachers' professional judgement' (ibid: 133). From the early 1960s to the early 1970s, some crucial educational institutions and practices were far from being directly controlled by the government and industry. However, following the Ruskin speech (1976), a number of interrelated criticisms of the education system began to lay the groundwork for successive governments to directly intervene in the provision of education; thus, a 'policy window' was created (Kingdon, 1984) within which it was possible to re-work and re-construct almost all aspects of the professional lives and work of teachers.

Based on the above discussion, it is probably reasonable to assume that the dichotomy of de/reprofessionalisation is far too simple to reflect the phenomenon of professionalism. In the mean time, as Hanlon maintains, professionalism itself is a shifting phenomenon, and 'the values and attributes of professionals are always fluid and subject to change and struggle' (Hanlon, 1998: 45). Thus, I further suggest that the phenomenon of professionalism needs to be examined and explored within broader social, historical and political contexts to achieve a more holistic understanding of it, particularly given that, as Whitty points out, 'the characteristics of a profession are [have been] increasingly determined to a significant extent by the state' in England from the mid-1970s (Whitty, 2005: 2). Thus, the nature of teacher professionalism became the priority in educational reform for successive governments. In response to these concerns, this research takes account of the broader social, historical and political contexts within which teacher professionalism has been developed and changed since

the 1970s with a primary focus on investigating the relationship between teachers and the state. To achieve this objective, I have chosen to focus on teacher education policy as a key aspect of the construction of teacher professionalism. At the same time, since school is the key site for the contestation, proliferation and realisation of professionalism discourses, it is vital to consider school practices when examining the ways in which teacher subjectivities are constructed. By tracing the discursive forces that constitute the teacher as a subject of power within both the sites of ITE and schools, I aim to demonstrate an understanding of the following factors:

- the ways in which teachers are constituted through policy discourse;
- the changing power relations between teachers and the state;
- how meaning is produced through power relations in terms of what it means to be a teacher.

These understandings and objectives will be achieved by addressing and answering the following two sets of research questions:

**1. On discourses of professionalism:**

What was/is teacher professionalism? Who deployed(-s) it? How was/is it constructed and for what purpose?

**2. On the teacher-state relationship and policy:**

How have teacher subjectivities been constituted through the historical changes in teacher education policy? What forms of power relations between teacher and the state have been produced in relation to these policy changes?

A research method of discourse analysis is adopted to respond to these questions and it is undertaken by examining and analysing both policy texts and data generated by 18 interviews. All points related to the research design will be discussed in detail later; however, I would now like to further explore the theme of professionalism. My

intention is not only to provide a theoretical understanding of the different interpretations of professionalism; more importantly, perhaps, it is an attempt to consider the way in which professionalism has become a disciplinary mechanism (Foucault, 1978; Fournier, 1999) through which the nature and value of professionals' work has been re-orientated toward the government's political agenda, which is to realise the growth of the national economy. I will also provide a brief historical account of teacher education, focusing on the changing pattern of the relationship between the state and its educational workforce. This account will also highlight the position I am adopting throughout this research, which is that teacher education in England has always been one of the concerns of successive English governments and as such, the themes and discourses that permeate the ITE arena are utilised 'at specific points in order to facilitate state requirements' (Maguire, 1993: 25). Moreover, in line with Popkewitz, I see teacher education as the key 'social technolog[y] of governmentality' (Popkewitz, 1995: 57), which has been deployed to achieve certain objectives of government since the 1970s. Understood in this way, the prevailing professionalism discourses, which I identify as *practicality, standards and management*, are constructed to serve particular interests. Situated within this discursive network, which is underpinned by an assemblage of powers, teachers are simultaneously empowered and disciplined and their sense of professionalism is reworked.

## **Literature Review: Professionalism**

### **Introduction**

It is commonly recognised that the definition of the concepts of profession and professionalisation, the two core elements of professionalism, achieves little consensus (for example, see Evetts, 2003; Freidson, 1994). This section will begin with two

contrasting interpretations before moving on to the perspective of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism. Firstly, in the sociology of professions, functionalism presumes that society is stable and integrated, and in this scenario professionalism acts as a normative value system (Evetts, 2003: 399) which contributes to social order and the maintenance of consensus. In contrast, a more critical perspective views professionalism as being the ideological control of occupation (Johnson, 1972) and professionalisation as a collective process that aims for upward social mobility in order to achieve a higher social status (Larson, 1977). In addition to these, a later development based on Foucault's notion of governmentality regards professionalism as being a disciplinary logic that serves to 'profess appropriate work identities and conducts' (Fournier, 1999). It is apparent from these interpretations of professionalism that, rather than remaining a fixed and static phenomenon, it is constantly subject to re-interpretation and change over time.

#### **Trait approach: professionalism as a normative value system**

The functionalist theory of professionalism stresses the functional role played by occupational groups. Durkheim particularly emphasises the importance of occupational groups in reinforcing moral regulations and promoting a society of organic solidarity (Giddens, 1971: 103). According to Durkheim, the development of occupational groups serves the purpose of mediating between individuals and the state; more crucially, they are the organizing principle in the division of labour. The trait approach, which is also concerned with identifying the role of a profession within society and its defining characteristics, sees a profession as 'a relatively homogenous group whose members [share] identity, values, definitions of role and interest and who [are] governed by norms and codes of behaviour' (Ozga and Lawn, 1981: 13). Millerson lists the major defining attributes to be recognised within a profession. Serving as an "ideal type", these

characteristics include: (1) skill based on theoretical knowledge; (2) the provision of training and education; (3) testing the competence of members; (4) organisation; (5) adherence to a professional code of conduct; and (6) altruistic service (Millerson, 1964., in Johnson, 1972: 23). These characteristics certainly set a common framework for some highly-regarded traditional professions, such as medicine and law. Apparently, the trait approach uses measurable indicators to evaluate the degree of professionalism in any given occupation. On the other hand, as Johnson argues, the trait theory 'falls into the error of accepting the professionals' own definition of themselves' and 'functions as a legitimisation of professional privilege' (Johnson, 1972: 25), and this is largely due to the absence of theoretical rationales when listing professional attributes. Roth makes a similar observation, criticising sociologists and saying that they have 'become the dupe of established professions (helping them justify their dominant position and its payoff) and arbiters of occupations on the make' (Roth, 1974: 17). Recognising that 'there is no single, truly explanatory trait or characteristic', Freidson urges the development of more general theories of occupations that have an 'analytical importance in themselves and with which other institutional characteristics can be connected systematically' (Freidson, 1994: 25). Among these attempts, it is the critical stance taken by some scholars that I will now address.

### **Power approach: professionalism as an ideology and monopoly**

Among these efforts, Johnson includes a power dimension in his analysis of professions (Johnson, 1972). For him, a profession is a means of controlling an occupation, and professionalism becomes 'a peculiar type of occupational control' (ibid: 45). Johnson begins his analysis with the notion of 'social distance', which is a form of social and economic dependence between producer and consumer that stems from the social division of labour. One distinct feature of the social division of labour is the tendency



toward specialised occupational skills, and this specialisation creates the circumstances for more occupational autonomy. If the common ground for shared knowledge and experience between producer and consumer is restricted, the social distance will increase accordingly. More specifically, when a greater social distance exists between producer and consumer, the producer tends to possess far more autonomy. Johnson indicates that 'there is an irreducible, but variable, minimum of uncertainty in any consumer-producer relationship' (ibid: 41). To reduce this uncertainty and indeterminacy, certain institutional forms of control of an occupation will arise and this is where the role of power comes into play. By focusing on the degree of uncertainty within a producer-consumer relationship, Johnson presents three types of institutionalised orders of control, namely, collegiate, patronage and mediation (ibid: 45-47). Collegiate control and state mediation are particularly significant to this research and they will be my prime points of focus. In conditions of collegiate control, autonomous occupational associations have considerable discretionary power to define and control both the needs of consumers and their occupational practices, while in conditions of state mediation, 'a powerful centralised state intervenes in the relationship between producer and consumer' (ibid: 46). However, it would be wrong to suggest that these two extreme forms of control are incompatible and mutually exclusive; on the contrary, the system of control varies from time to time and is always contingent upon factors such as the nature of the consumers, the composition of the occupation, collegial relationships, or the dominant ideologies that define professions.

Within forms of collegiate control, the occupational authority, i.e. the professional organisation, has considerable discretion in managing professional practices and holds a dominant position when determining the substance of members' work. Each occupational group 'bestows status and identity and attempts to sustain uniform

interests among the members and promote uniform policies by imposing a monopoly on practice in the field and regulating entry to it' (ibid: 54). By regulating the means of entry and selection, an occupational group can reinforce its professional identity. For example, the General Medical Council (GMC) and the Law Society legitimise themselves by claiming high levels of self-control. They exercise occupational authority by controlling entry and qualifications and disciplining their members, particularly via the power of disbarment. Equally important, prolonged training taken charge of by the professions inculcates occupational norms and beliefs (ibid: 55). An implicit factor that contributes to such occupational dominance is that clients are unorganised, heterogeneous groups. Their needs are defined by practitioners and their 'choices' in terms of professional practices are limited. In short, within this collegiate control, professionalism serves as an ideology of occupational control by claiming high levels of autonomy and maintaining professionals' income, status and privilege.

Another model of the institutionalised form of control comes from the state, which, according to Johnson, intervenes in varying degrees in the process and organisation of professional services and acts 'in order to ensure a flow of services which are recognised as "in the public good"' (ibid: 78). Under state mediation, practitioner-client relationships are 'managed' by the state, that is to say, the state has mixed models to define needs and proposes how these should be arranged and met. Through the medium of state agencies that provide social services, occupational groups are incorporated into the category of 'state professionals' (Ozga and Lawn, 1981: 18) with these professionals being subject to some degree of state control. Consequently, selection and recruitment may be taken out of the hands of professions, and tasks are assigned and orders are given by their bureaucratic superiors. Moreover, state mediation permeates into the organisation of professions, since the state bureaucracy has control over occupational

roles. Johnson calls this the ‘bureaucratisation of professionals’ (Johnson, 1972: 85). These displacements are likely to cause greater differentiation in the professional community, and most crucially, professionalism itself is redefined. In the case of the education service, these displacements are evident in a number of ways. The Labour government established the General Teachers’ Council (GTC) in 2001, and this was abolished by the Coalition government in 2012. In a similar vein, the establishment of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) symbolises and enacts the state’s power to monitor quality. As will be further explored in the following chapters, the establishment of an institutional mechanism by the state serves the purpose of professional restructuring in order to suit the government’s economic agenda. Through these institutional mechanisms the teaching profession is thus unmade and remade.

By focusing on the professional-client relationship, Johnson’s typology presents a vivid account of the complexity of the interaction between professions and other powerful social groups. His account has the merit of providing explanations for, and presenting variations in, institutionalised forms of control. However, he fails to consider the broader social context of professional practice and ignores the way in which the formation of power relations is linked to the broader political and economic environment that provides both the impetus and the resources for the profession to claim and to justify their autonomy and prestige. Fortunately, Larson’s analysis of the rise of modern professions provides useful insights to compensate for this deficiency. In her work on professionalism, Larson aims to link the macrostructure of capitalism and social class to the microstructure of how professions ‘constitute and control their “market project”’ (Larson, 1977: 5). Based on this structural approach to the professional phenomenon, Larson focuses on the inter-dependent relationship between professions and the capitalist state. Acting as ‘agents of capitalism’ (Ozga and Lawn,

1981:20), modern professions are, in effect, ‘determining the structure of society in response to the needs of the capitalist mode of production’ (ibid: 19). Professionalism appears to be ‘a collective assertion of special social status and as a collective process of upward social mobility’ (Larson, 1977: xvi). For a better understanding of the economic and class-based account of the modern profession, it is essential to firstly address two of the most crucial elements of what Larson calls the ‘professional project’ (a quest for monopoly in the service market and social status). These consist of a body of relatively abstract knowledge and the potential market for their services (ibid: 40).

A body of knowledge is indispensable to the advancement of modern professions. Professional knowledge must be recognised as being specialised, so that its ‘commodity’ (skills and services) can be imparted with uniqueness. More importantly, it must be codified during the training process in order to enable ‘a measure of uniformity and homogeneity in the “production of producers”’ (ibid). To Larson, this codification of knowledge through the formal institutions of training is particularly important for unifying a profession. A standardised body of knowledge can provide both a cognitive and normative framework that leads professionals to act within the limits of ‘professional’ behaviour. Put simply, it socialises aspiring professionals and integrates them into the professional network. One aspect that accompanies the training process is the provision of credentials, which equips aspiring professionals with recognised *cognitive superiority* (ibid:47. *original emphasis*). Together, the professional training and credentials foster a sense of commonality and shared expertise among professionals, which builds professional solidarity in the long run. Parallel to this development in the standardisation of knowledge and the production of producers, various professions also attempt to secure and control the market of their services, and in order to achieve this monopolistic goal, they need to establish an ideological necessity of meritocratic

legitimation. In other words, the professions have a key role to play in ‘safeguarding’ the seemingly equal access to educational opportunities and professional training. However, in practice, a ‘regulation and control of access to the professional market on the supply side’ (ibid: 51) exists in the mechanisms of selection, entry requirements and licensing examinations. This enables professionals to achieve their monopolistic goal in fiercely competitive service markets. Thus, the orientation of a professional project is to achieve market control, and, in accomplishing this, the professions attain the monopoly of competence and credibility, which in turn, provides them with a basis for claiming social status and privilege.

Central to the advancement of a professional project is the state’s role. Professions require assurance from the public authorities that their services and privileges are protected and ‘only the state, as the supreme legitimising and enforcing institution, could sanction the modern professions’ monopolistic claims of superiority for their “commodities”’ (ibid: 15). However, Macdonald argues that, although Larson’s analysis frequently refers to the role of the state, it treats the state very much as a background factor, without providing a socio-historical account of it (Macdonald, 1995: 101). To probe the in-depth state/profession relationship, particularly in this research which focuses on the English case, it is useful to refer to Perkin (1989), who provides an ordered and well-documented examination of the advancement of professions in England from what he calls a ‘class-based society’ to a ‘professional-dominated society’. Similar to the competitive nature of professions proposed by Larson, Perkin sees professions as being groups of trained and certified experts who compete for power and resources, and who ‘live by persuasion and propaganda, by claiming that their particular service is indispensable to the client or employer and to society and the state’ (Perkin, 1989: 6). Thus, with the power of persuasion and possibly a subsequent professional

control of the market, the professions are able to derive the rewards of social status and prestige.

Perkin's analysis details the power relationship between professions and the state in the formation of English professional society. His argument begins by indicating that interest groups within any given society all compete and struggle for public resources, which are largely managed and distributed by the state. The main division within this struggle for resources is between the professions in the public and private sectors. Since these professions are divided by different material interests, they each form a rather different relationship with the state. Those professional occupations directly funded by the state have 'a greater stake in maintaining and expanding the [public] services' (Perkin, 1989: 14), and as a consequence of this, they see the state as being an ally who provides them with an income and, concomitantly, a sense of security and rewards of prestige and power. On the other hand, private sector professions are influenced by the ideology of a free market in which there is less intervention by the state. In their view, the possibility for professions to make a profit and attain a monopoly can best be realised when there is minimum encroachment by the state. However, as Perkin argues, the involvement of the state in regulating the market operation is, in essence, a necessary measure, regardless of the fact that such interference apparently inhibits control and confines the activities of private sector professionals. Intervention by the state can be best described as being 'Janus-faced': as mentioned above, it has an ugly face in setting the terms and constraints of the market, and a pleasing one that protects some professional groups (while excluding others), thus promising them a greater monopolistic opportunity. In brief, the state and the private sector professions have an ambivalent relationship, in which they would like to 'have the protection of the state for themselves but not for others against themselves' (ibid: 13).

In expounding his argument, Perkin captures the changing nature of English society from the post-war welfare settlement to a society dominated by private alternatives. The break-up of the post-war welfare settlement was also in effect a break up of the teacher-state settlement within which teacher professionalism was defined. In conditions of state intervention, the provision of medical treatment, education and social security is largely taken charge of by 'an authoritarian state run by powerful and domineering professional bureaucrats' (Perkin, 1989: xxiv). However, since the 1970s the prevalence of a free market ideology and the advocacy of managerialism have facilitated the insertion of private enterprise, as a mode of transformation, into the public sector (Ball, 2008: 47). In some sense, change in the state itself, and the political rationalities through which the state is articulated, i.e. from welfarism to neoliberalism, bureaucracy and monopoly have been displaced by management and markets. Managerialism, or specifically, the new public management (NPM), emphasises the quantifiable output measures and performance in pursuit of both efficiency (value for money) and effectiveness (the attainment of institutional objectives). In a sense, the management styles of the private sector are transplanted into the public sector; furthermore, management and market work together within this settlement, and two elements, namely, flexibility and performativity, are of particular significance to the re-constitution of subjects in public services, namely the teachers. I will now briefly discuss the effect of those two mechanisms on teachers before concluding this section.

Both the promotion of labour flexibility and the demands of performativity create the possibility for teachers to construct new roles and professional identities. Policies such as the introduction of teaching assistants into classrooms (DfES, 2003), the employment of non-qualified teachers in independent schools such as academies and free schools,

and the linkage of pay and performance all dramatically change the nature of teachers' work. As Ball points out, the intention of this 'flexibilisation' of the teaching profession is to make teachers 'more amenable to the requirements of competition between institutions and the generation of "profit"' (Ball, 2008: 200). Therefore, new subject positions are created and the meaning of being a teacher is re-defined. Apart from referring to performance management systems, according to Ball (2009), performativity 'alludes to the work that performance management systems do on the subjectivities of individuals' (Ball, 2009). It is about 'performing efficiency in a publicly accountable way' (Perryman, 2009: 618). Therefore, what is at stake in the performative culture of education is the pursuit of better forms of accountability. In order to achieve this, teachers and the work of teaching are subject to a pre-determined framework of judgements and targets, and teachers themselves are excluded from the setting of targets and standards in the practice of performativity. Teachers are simply required to make themselves accountable, and thus their work is measured and calculated in forms of tables, indicators and targets. These changes and requirements inevitably have the 'strong potential to exacerbate disequilibrium at the scale of the professional workplace' (Cunningham, 2009: 187). Furthermore, as Perryman points out, performativity is, in essence, a 'disciplinary technology' that 'uses judgements and comparisons against what is seen as efficient as a means of control' (Perryman, 2009: 617). One effect of this is that teachers have found their values challenged by 'the terror of performativity' (Ball, 2009), and it has also led to the 'commodification of the public professional' (Ball, 2009). Managerialism has recast both the structure and culture of the public sectors. Flexibility and performativity have reframed professional practice to a considerable extent, and thus have a marked effect on professionalism. In terms of the history of the state mentioned earlier, management and markets have superseded the bureaucracy and monopoly of the professionals with a massive reduction of spending on welfare since



the 1970s. Within this scenario, Perkin points out that public sector professionals were particularly seen to be ‘a cost to society rather than as creators of wealth’ and therefore they bore the criticism of being ‘non-productive’ occupations (Perkin, 1989: 482). In other words, professional institutions in the public sector and their claims to expertise were dismantled and marginalised. These developments underline the central role played by the state in what Larson terms the ‘collective project of professionalisation’. She reminds us that,

[I]ndeed, the structure of the market in which a profession transacts its services does not depend on the profession’s actions and intentions — or at least not until the profession gains considerable social power. The structure of a particular professional market is determined by the broader social structure which shapes the social need for a given service and therefore defines the actual or potential publics of a given profession. (Larson, 1977: 17-18)

To conclude, Larson and Perkin’s socio-historical accounts of the state in relation to professions do not imply that there is a dualism of state intervention and professional autonomy. As will become apparent in the next section, ‘*the professions are emergent as a condition of state formation and state formation is a major condition of professional autonomy*’ (Johnson, 1982: 189 *his emphasis*). Viewing professionalism as a disciplinary logic provides another platform from which to derive a clearer picture of the way in which the complex and ambivalent power relations between the state and the professions have been transformed over time.

### **Professionalism as a disciplinary logic**

Before examining the concept of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism, it is firstly necessary to return to history and see how the emergence of modern professions

in the nineteenth century was incorporated into the process of state formation. In this respect, Foucault's notion of governmentality (Foucault, 1978) is useful to illustrate the interplay between the professions and the state. This notion refers to 'a very specific, albeit complex, form of power' and is constituted by 'an ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses, calculations, reflections and tactics' (Foucault, 1978: 219). Faced with social problems that stemmed from the Industrial Revolution and subsequent urbanisation, the authorities with the responsibility to govern needed to develop policies or programmes to effectively 'manage' the population. Therefore, a new cadre of experts was recruited to govern the deployment of measures in fields such as public hygiene, city planning, mass education and the like. In other words, 'the professions were inextricably fused in this "transformation" of the strategies and technologies of power' (Johnson, 1993: 143).

In this situation, institutions such as courts, hospitals and schools acted as the apparatus of governing, aiming to maintain social order as well as constitute normality, and turning the population into docile and self-regulating subjects. Such a process not only involved the invention of new devices and techniques to render this social phenomenon governable; it also required 'the official recognition and licence of professional expertise as part of a general process of implementing government objectives and standardised procedures, programmes and judgements' (Johnson, 1993: 150). Depending on recognised professional jurisdictions and their accorded authority, the professions became part of the machinery of administrative control and acquired a stake in the exercise of political power. More specifically, the modern professions are the product of the state's disciplinary logic, a solution to an inter-related set of social 'problems'. They hold specific knowledge in order to exercise power in 'managing' the population.

Nevertheless, as Fournier indicates, the inscription of the professions in the complex network of governmentality is 'conditional upon the professions conducting themselves in appropriate ways' (Fournier, 1999: 285). He suggests that, at some point, professionals are accountable both to themselves and their 'constituency', such as clients, the state, or the market. However, prior to this, in order to sustain the accorded authority in terms of what Fournier calls a 'professional label', the professionals must demonstrate their worthiness and manoeuvre to maintain their legitimacy. According to Osborne, the most effective strategy for professionals to achieve this is the articulation of 'competence' (Osborne, 1993., cited in Fournier, 1999: 286) (although this still begs the question of who defines 'competence', the state or a professional association?). As discussed earlier in relation to Larson's argument, a body of standardised knowledge can help aspiring professionals to attain integration and socialisation. Fournier takes this argument further by indicating that the notion of competence 'is not indexed merely in terms of the extent to which the practitioners have mastered truth (i.e. the knowledge of the practitioner), but in terms of appropriate conduct' (ibid: 286). In other words, the appeal to competence is more than simply achieving accountability. It can be seen as a mechanism by which a code of accepted conduct is infused into knowledge and the process of socialisation. This serves the purpose of constituting a 'competent' professional as delineated by the government or relative institutions; therefore, the professionalisation of conduct is imbued with the discourse of professionalism, which has 'a powerful motivating force of control "at a distance"' (Miller and Rose, 1990., in Evetts, 2003: 406). In this regard, Kickert tellingly points out that control "at a distance" is, in essence, 'the appearance of autonomy' (Kickert, 1991., in Ball, 1993b:111) in relation to which accountability displaces prescription and self-steering replaces coercion. When the 'appropriate' conduct, practices and identities are inculcated and

internalised, 'professional' employees are able to govern themselves in a self-disciplinary way. Put simply, the mobilisation of professional discourse seeks to produce new kinds of professional, who act in particular ways depicted by the dominant professional discourse. What it means to be a professional and the way in which practitioners judge themselves are accordingly altered within this disciplinary logic. In summary, the idea of 'being professional' is re-orientated by discourses of professionalism, which produce a professional subject with a self-governing disposition.

### **Conclusion: from self-government to self-governing**

To conclude this section, I have attempted to present various ways in which the concept of professionalism can be envisaged. I have specifically drawn on the work of Johnson, Larson, Fournier, Perkin and Foucault, to outline a particular approach to the analysis of teacher professionalism, which is that the concept of professionalism is used by the state as a discourse to bring about institutional and occupational change. In many cases, if not most, the mobilisation of professionalism discourse also renders professionals (self-)discipline workers in the conduct of their work. In essence, professionalism is the government of professional practice 'at a distance' (Miller and Rose, 1993; Fournier, 1999; Evetts, 2003). Given the nature of this research, and of particular relevance to it, the discussion of professionalism has particularly focused on knowledge, training and the state-profession relationship. By and large, a profession is regarded as being a desirable and valuable occupation in the earlier literature of the sociology of profession. Characterised by autonomous and free practitioners, dependent and vulnerable clients, a functionalist society rests upon a consensus of social norms and values underpinned and organised by professional ideals (Lawson, 2004: 28). Practitioners of these ideal types of profession enjoy full autonomy in that they are free to exercise their judgement and discretion in professional practice (Hall, 1969., *ibid*: 31). However, over the past three

decades or so, there has been mounting public scepticism of professional practices, and the state has become 'engaged in trying to redefine professionalism so that it becomes more commercially aware, budget-focused, managerial, entrepreneurial and so forth' (Hanlon, 1999: 121). This new form of professionalism, which Hanlon terms 'commercialised professionalism' (Hanlon, 1998: 50) is now prevalent in both the public and private sectors. It emphasises the managerial and entrepreneurial skills, which are linked to the goal of maximising the profits and interests of their institutions. In the mobilisation of professionalism discourses, the nature and value of professionals' work is redefined by policies such as target-setting and performance management; thus, a professional subject with a self-disciplinary character is re-constituted in this process. I am making two related arguments about two different histories of teacher professionalism in England, which are set over and against a more mainstream or traditional analysis of professionalism (functionalism and trait theory), but both of which are centred upon the state-professional relation. The first suggests an evolution of professional autonomy, although different in form in the public and private professions, which is then subject to rupture and reformulation in the period between 1970 and 2012 in England. The second suggests a continuity, in which the professions are both agents of governmentality and subject to governmentality, the rupture identified previously being thus rendered as the shift from self-government to self-governing.

The concept of professionalism from self-government to self-governing is subject to social change, and we cannot arrive at a sound understanding of this change without considering the historical political context and the concomitant state-profession relationship. It is this issue of the significance of the broader socio-historical contexts in which professionalism discourses become defined and deployed that I want to begin to examine the changes in teacher education in England. In doing so I will specifically

focus on some key moments in the contemporary history of teacher education. The position I am advocating is that teacher education has been in its subordinated power-relations with the state (Maguire and Ball, 1995: 232) since the nineteenth century. It is particularly, positioned as 'social technologies of governmentality' (Popkewitz, 1995) which successive governments have utilised to facilitate economic requirements during the past three decades. In response to concerns about international competitiveness, the state uses the discourse of professionalism manifest in teacher education in an attempt to reconfigure the way in which teachers think and act in relation to their teaching.

### **A Brief History of England's Teacher Education Policy**

This introductory section includes a set of analytical principles on which my research is based. Firstly, a combination of determinants has been explored to consider the socio-historical context in which professionalism discourses have been played out. Building on previous research of the Sociology of Education and policy analysis, I argue that the dichotomy of re/de-professionalisation needs to be further elaborated by taking into account the vital role played by the state and the power relations between teachers and the state. In addition, different theoretical perspectives on professionalism have been introduced. Drawing on some of these contrasting theoretical lenses as a starting point I have sought to argue that 'power relations' and 'professionalism as a disciplinary logic' are of great significance in helping to understand the crucial role played by political and economic developments in transforming the position of the teaching profession. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the changing relations of the teaching profession to the state and to examine the close connection between changing economic circumstances and the redefinition of professionalism, the history of teacher education policy in England will now be outlined. I will approach the history of teacher

education in England by means of broad periodisation with the aim of indicating some recurring ITE policy trends within which teachers were perceived and framed. Throughout the thesis, it needs to be borne in mind that Initial Teacher Training (ITT) is adopted in many policy documents after teacher education was symbolically renamed as teacher training in 1994 when the Teaching Training Agency was established (Ball, 2008: 144). Given that my stance on teacher preparation is teacher *education*, therefore, ITE and ITT will be used interchangeably for the convenience of narratives in this thesis.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the first training college for school teachers was set up in 1840 by Kay-Shuttleworth in St John's College, Battersea. As briefly mentioned in the previous section on *Professionalism as a Disciplinary Logic*, educational 'experts' were part of the solution to a range of social problems caused by the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent urbanisation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Maguire (1993), there were various training colleges during this period, but the common concern that underpinned these various forms of training was to produce teachers cheaply, practically, and in a utilitarian fashion (Maguire, 1993: 18). The emphasis on recruiting and training teachers prior to 1870 was to ensure that 'the character of teachers would be appropriate as role models for their working-class students' (Ball, 2008:59). Thus teachers had 'multivalent responsibility for moralising the urban slum' while schools were to 'constitute a technology of transforming "wild beings" into ethical subjects' (Jones, 1990:65-66).

After the Second World War, there was a massive growth in the demand for teachers as a result of the high birth rate and the raising of the school-leaving age. At a time when the major political task was the construction and subsequent implementation of post-war

welfare systems, primary schools were seen to be the 'central plank of the new welfare state' (Maguire, 1993: 29). Thus, teachers had an instrumental role to play in the establishment of the better and fairer society envisaged by Beveridge (The Beveridge Report, 1942). Their work not only involved teaching, but more notably, they came under pressure to commit their time, energy and resources to the 'care' of children. As Maguire puts it, 'elementary teaching was a form of service, a vocation, a commitment to a new more egalitarian society' (Maguire, 1993: 29). The period between the 1960s and the mid-1970s was a time when teacher education bloomed and prospered. Firstly, attempts were made to establish an 'all graduate profession', and teacher training was brought within the university sector, as recommended by the Robbins Report (1963). Lowe rightly notes that 'we can see a real attempt to professionalise teaching' with such a development (Lowe, 2010). At that time, teacher education policy was underpinned by a social democratic ideal in which professional teachers were viewed as being 'rationally autonomous', and needing 'a strong personal education based on fundamental and general knowledge, which took priority over practical training' (Furlong, 2001:122). The number of teacher training colleges rapidly expanded within such a climate and the academic degree of Bachelor of Education was established, the study of which focused on the '4-ologies', namely, philosophy, history, psychology and sociology. In some sense, there were moves to develop more educated and reflective teachers during this period and there was also a great concern about professionalism (Maguire and Ball, 1995: 231-232). The stipulation of the Plowden Report in 1967 was significant. In fact, it was, as Simon termed it, 'the revolution in the primary schools'. This was not only because individual teacher autonomy was a primary organising principle within this report, but significantly, the recommendations made gained official support and were welcomed by the government (Simon, 1991:354,373).



However, Gewirtz cautions us, not to romanticise the welfarist era in education (Gewirtz, 2002:121), since there is a body of evidence that raises concerns about the use of professionalism as a form of state control (see Grace, 1985; Lawn, 1996; and Ozga, 2000a). Previously I have argued that the modern professions are the key apparatus of governmentality to promote and facilitate social change (see *professionalism as a disciplinary logic*). Since these were ‘incorporated into the process of governing’, in this sense professionalism was ‘a condition for the exercise of political power’ (Johnson, 1993: 144). However, it needs to be kept in mind that the pivotal means by which the legitimacy of expertise was established or even maintained was by gaining official recognition, and in some cases, a licence of professional expertise. This suggests that the professions could never govern from a position of independence; that is, the power of the professions depended on continuously working ‘in terms that map over with the norms and values of other actors in the network of liberal government’, such as their clients and the state (Fournier, 1999: 286). In other words, the professions may have reached a strategic importance in the complex network of governmentality, but at the same time, they were also targeted by the government, which meant that their practice was regulated and inscribed within certain political programmes. This echoes what Grace terms ‘legitimated professionalism’ in which spaces for teacher autonomy and freedom appeared to be available, but in fact, teaching and learning were set within parameters defined by the state (Grace, 1985: 11). In many respects, the culture of legitimated professionalism entailed a more de-centralised network of control in which the process and mode of the assessment and evaluation of teachers became much more diffuse and indirect. As a result, teachers found themselves ‘distanced from a formal apparatus of control and surveillance’ (Grace, 1985: 11-12). However, it is important to note that the thesis of ‘professionalism as a form of control’ also benefited teaching professionals in other ways. This means that, although professionalism may have been

used by the state to obtain teachers' consent to an officially legitimised version of 'professional' work ethics and to promote a particular set of values, at the same time, as Perkin suggests, teachers were also able to deploy professionalism to increase their standing among the general public (Perkin, 1989) or to 'improve their [teachers'] terms and conditions of service and their enjoyment of social status and occupational autonomy' (Grace, 1987: 195). In short, the professionalism discourse may have acted as a disciplinary mechanism for controlling the professionals at a distance, but at the same time, as Fournier argues, the deployment of the professionalism discourse also 'open[s] up new possibilities for resistance or subversion as the meaning of professionalism gets contested' (Fournier, 1999: 302).

I have briefly indicated that teacher education in nineteenth century England had a more utilitarian function of achieving social control. I then moved on to make the point that teacher education had more to do with the re-building of society in the post-war period. Each of these developments suggest that the state played a vital role in the construction of teacher professionalism. Moreover, this historically-informed discussion highlights the extent to which teacher education has long been embedded within a range of complex social, political and economic purposes. I would now like to further this argument by specifically looking at some of the key moments in the contemporary reform of ITE when the provision and content of teacher education began to be more centralised. However, it is important to firstly discuss the relationship between professional service and capitalist production, since a brief account of this will assist the understanding of why and how wider forces have shaped the work of teachers in England for the past four decades.

According to Larson's (1977) socio-historical analysis of the rise of professionalism,

teachers and social workers are salaried professionals whose services are delivered within the bureaucratic framework of the welfare state. Their labour power directly enters the process of capitalist reproduction and accumulation, and the professional services they deliver are not directly sold in the market (Larson, 1977: 213). In other words, their labour is subject to capitalist relations of production and is performed for the benefit of a capitalist society. Teachers are productive workers under capitalism in the sense that 'schooling is indirectly productive of surplus value [through teachers' part in skilling future labour power] and hence of considerable importance to capital' (Freeland, 1986: 214). This illustrates the importance of remembering that there is 'an intimate relationship' between professionalisation and state formation considering that, on the one hand, 'government regulation has been crucial for the formation of markets in professional services and securing the conditions for autonomous practice' (Johnson, 1993: 145) and on the other hand, in their capacity as collective labourers, teachers contribute to the production of surplus value. In other words, the professions are 'socio-technical devices through which the means and even the end of [capitalist] government are articulated' (ibid: 151). Bearing in mind the ambivalent relationship between the teaching profession and the state, I would like to now argue that, among the various interconnected social conditions in which teacher education is situated, the consideration of economy has a larger role to play in the contemporary reform of ITE. Since the 1960s, the modern state has suffered from a financial crisis as a result of the cost explosion related to welfare provision, and this economic factor has resulted in mounting public scepticism of the benefits of professionalism (Johnson, 1993: 146). Moreover, it could be argued that the second phase of the state's project of population management took place during the post-World War II period, with an emphasis on docility which was later replaced by productivity. Specifically in relation to professionalism, the existing professionalism no longer served the interests of the state

within the restructuring of welfare state processes. Professional enclosures, where power and authority of expertise was once concentrated and defended, must be penetrated through a range of new techniques for exercising critical scrutiny over authority (Rose and Miller, 1992: 188; Rose, 1996: 54). In other words, a new professionalism was needed to respond to a neoliberal policy framework which emphasises 'market arrangements, centralised testing regimes, publication of test results, strict school and teacher accountability procedures, centralised curriculum and standards, and a managerial approach to educational governance' (Angus, 2012: 233). In brief, the ground rules of what teacher professionalism meant must be reworked and the teaching workforce be changed in order to ensure the government objectives be realised.

As already noted, the Ruskin Speech in 1976 raised public awareness and began a debate on how schools as a whole should be made accountable to their 'consumers', namely, parents. The then Prime Minister, Callaghan, particularly identified 'incompetent' teachers and remarked that 'the teaching force is inadequately equipped in terms of formal qualifications' (Simon, 1991:449). He advocated that 'the time may now be ripe for change', and this can be claimed to be the first critical moment that indicated the subsequent changes, both in teacher education and the nature of teacher professionalism, in contemporary Britain. More of these discursive attacks will be detailed in Chapter 2, *Context of Influence*, but are simply stated here as the 'discourse of derision' (Kenway, 1990). They were mainly led by New Right ideologists, such as those in the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and the Hillgate Group (Hillgate, 1989), who created conditions in which direct forms of regulation and control were justified and brought into play. The first strategic and tactical use of power by the then Conservative government to intervene in teacher education was the establishment of a Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984 (DES, 1984,

Circular 3/84) with responsibility for initial teacher education in England and Wales. This meant that the CATE (see the Circular 3/84) was required to scrutinise all the courses for teacher training and the state asserted legal and discretionary powers over the detailed content and structure of initial teacher education. Additionally, the word 'competences' became prioritised in ITE policy texts, and there was strong and pervasive determination to locate professional formation in a competence-driven mode (of which I say more in Chapter 5). The introduction of a National Curriculum and National Testing in the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) represented a key stage, in which professional judgement was replaced by the official endorsement of what a 'professional' teacher was like. That is, a centrally-defined professionalism discourse was articulated and it delimited the scope for teachers to make decisions about the content and delivery of the school curriculum. In many ways, a competent teacher was constructed as being equipped with practical teaching skills and an expert in subject knowledge, which was largely defined by the National Curriculum. As Furlong, Barton, Miles, and Whiting and Whitty (2000: 22) point out, understood in this way, Circular 3/84 'was of fundamental and lasting significance' in establishing the mechanism of increased central control and marked 'the end of higher education's autonomy'.

In 1994, the CATE was replaced by a new quango, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), (now the National College for Teaching and Leadership), which can be seen as being another key change in both the structure and content of teacher education. At the outset, the TTA was established to promote more in-school 'training' and less time spent by student teachers in HEIs. Such a move paved the way to the subsequent development of training programmes such as SCITTs (School Centred Initial Teacher Training schemes) under which consortia of schools became the central providers of initial training courses with HEI validation and support (see also p. 91). (The development of SCITT schemes

meant that schools were given such a major role to play in training that it 'did not necessarily entail *any* higher education involvement' (ibid: 2, *emphasis added*) - although initially most SCITT programmes also involved tutors from the school's partner higher education institution.) This set a precedent for a form of 'practical' teacher training which would be extended further under New Labour and the Coalition government. In other words, greater emphasis was placed upon student teachers' achievement of 'competences' in managing life's practicalities in the classroom and the school. As Moore points out, this development suggested that there was 'a shift of emphasis away from the notion of *teacher education* traditionally favoured by universities and teachers towards one of '*training*', which had always been more popular in the official documentation' (Moore, 2004: 78. *original emphasis*). Similarly, Beck indicates that this reversal from teacher education to teacher training was to 're-shape the official professional knowledge' in a competency-based and behaviourist 'trainable' form (Beck, 2008: 135). According to Beck, this corresponded to what Bernstein termed 'trainability', which 'excludes trainees from access to those elaborated forms of academic study that would equip them to become more critically reflexive' (ibid:136). Another thrust of the establishment of the TTA was its mechanism of enhancing accountability by means of incorporating a new Ofsted inspection framework for teacher education. The Conservative government at that time was able to progressively gain more control over the system by directly linking Ofsted's quality-ratings of courses to funding. Put another way, the TTA and Ofsted worked together to facilitate a new form of regulatory control by means of a centrally-defined system of accountability in ITE. As will be explored more fully in Chapter 5, *Discourse of Standards*, these policy developments secured the regulatory compliance from HEI professionals, and both the content and process of teacher 'training' were subjected to more surveillance.

Throughout the Conservative years (1979-1997), according to Furlong, the priorities in reforming teacher education were to develop a more practically based form of teacher 'training' in the face of increased market competition (Furlong, 2005: 121). With the establishment of the TTA and Ofsted inspections, Conservative administrations had developed a highly centralised and responsive system of ITE. Later I will discuss the similarities and differences between the policy agendas of the Conservative and New Labour governments (see Chapter 5 *Discourse of Standards*), but my main concern in this section is to indicate some of the key moments of the reformation of ITE by New Labour and its predominant policy agenda, all of which not only represented a detailed and prescriptive intervention into the content of teacher training, but also into classroom pedagogical practice. The first was the stipulation of the National Curriculum for ITE in the late 1990s, which specified how to teach core subjects in considerable detail (DfEE, Circular 10/97; DfEE, Circular 4/98). At the same time, under New Labour's modernising agenda, a 'competences' model of teacher preparation favoured by Conservative governments had, in turn, been superseded by a more appealing notion of 'standards', which connotes more than a minimum ability of 'competences' and a more general pursuit of educational standards (Furlong et al, 2000: 151). This point relates to New Labour's pursuit of the Holy Grail in education, namely, *standards*. Its Green Paper entitled *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change* published in 1998 (DfEE, 1998a) introduced a thorough-going standards framework, which defined the characteristics of teachers at each stage in their career from Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) to Advanced Skills Teacher (AST). The performance of both aspiring teachers and serving teachers in schools was to be monitored within this new arrangement to achieve centrally-defined 'standards'. To a great extent, the policy objective of raising the 'standards' was given precedence over other policy initiatives under New Labour.

By enacting the QTS standards (see also *Professional Standards for Teachers: Why Sit Still in Your Career?* TDA 2007), New Labour sought to produce new cohorts of teachers who were socialised into the ‘profession’ via employment-based routes or Teach First (see Chapter 5). These arrangements were in line with the Conservatives’ ITE reform agenda, and New Labour located a professional formation in a more practical-driven mode and placed more control of that formation at school level. As will become apparent in Chapter 5, New Labour also placed a heavy emphasis on leadership and management to ensure that improvements at the school level could be linked more closely with centrally-set performance indicators, tables and targets. As suggested by Ball (2008), Mahony and Hextall (2000) and Ozga (2000a), fundamentally all of these policy manoeuvres concerning the reform of ITE and school practice were tied to the economic necessity of international competition. In other words, economic factors were central in triggering the changes in ITE under New Labour and such an economic context made it possible to shape a particular version of professionalism.

The Coalition government took power in 2010, and significant importance was accorded to teachers in its first White Paper on schools, *the Importance of Teaching*, (DfE, 2010a). The publication of this document demonstrated that the Tory-led coalition government possessed strong ‘determination to use the lever of ‘teacher quality’ to drive up England’s ratings in international league tables’ (UCU, 2011: 1). In relation to teacher education, firstly, Teach First, the training programme initiated under New Labour, was further expanded in order to ‘raise the quality of new entrants to the teaching profession’ (DfE, 2010a: 9). In addition, the Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, took up the impetus of his predecessors in the 1980s and continued his intention to create a new national network of Teaching Schools based on the model of teaching hospitals (DfE, 2010a: 9). This development required schools to take more



responsibility for training ‘trainees’ on the job and ‘focusing [trainees] on core teaching skills, especially in teaching reading and mathematics and in managing behaviour’ (ibid: 9). Such a policy move was essentially the re-assertion of the neo-Conservative thinking of the 1980s, in which core subject specialisms and practical skills were given precedence over other intellectual activities in teacher preparation (see for example, the Hillgate Group, 1989). Moreover, concomitant with this emphasis on the formation of teachers’ practical skills, the current government has firmly established accountability for performance measures. The Education Act 2011 extends the Secretary of State’s powers to tackle school underperformance and improve the way in which schools are held to account. The role of the inspectorate has also been strengthened and school inspections now focus on the four core areas of achievement, teaching, leadership and management, and behaviour and safety (Education Act 2011; DfE, 2012). More changes are currently being introduced and the story continues (DfE, 2011).

The analysis presented so far has been concerned with the key underlying themes of the reforms of ITE under successive English governments since 1970. It is apparent from this brief historical account of teacher education that the perennial theme throughout the last four decades has been ‘raising standards’ and locating teacher training in a practical-based mode. Based on these efforts by policy-makers to re-design teaching, moreover, it seems sensible to assume that teacher education is a critical arena, in which different views of the nature and purpose of teaching, or broadly, education, compete and contest. In varying degrees, as Ozga indicates, ‘policy-makers tend to emphasise the economic function of education, while teachers align themselves with education as a vehicle for equalising opportunities and/or enriching experience’ (Ozga, 2000a: 14). Discourses of professionalism that embody a range of values, priorities, and dispositions are mobilised to re-organise knowledge and practices at an institutional level. In turn,

these changes not only facilitate the further transformation of school education; more importantly, they make up new teachers and result in a new shape of teaching. To sum up, it is impossible to talk about the reshaping of teaching without making reference to the wider social context, and, more recently, the global forces that are shaping and moulding it. The education of teachers has been a distinctive focus of attention within the transformative processes and embedded in a cascading wave of educational reforms since the 1980s. As one of the key apparatuses of the state, teacher education is accorded with the highest priority to produce new cohorts of teachers, whose work is, in turn, intended to produce an appropriately skilled workforce.

This section has specifically focused on the key moments of the reform of ITE under successive English governments since the early 1980s. I now want to spend some time discussing my research methods before beginning to unpack the discourses of professionalism articulated by these reforms in Part Two. I draw on two supplementary perspectives for conducting discourse analysis, that is, Fairclough's textual analysis and Foucauldian sense of discourse, and these will be detailed before moving on to discuss the semi-structured interviews with a range of key policy actors in relation to the practice and realisation of professionalism discourses. I will end by referring to some ethical issues which arose in my research.

### **Methods: Designs and the Data**

Thus far, I have detailed and provided the historical, political and economic context of my research. I would like to use this final section of the Introduction to focus on the conduct of the research. My main intention is to present the research methods, namely, how the policy documents and interview data were collected and analysed. Most

importantly, particular emphasis will be paid to the two levels of analysis. To begin with, this research is primarily an exercise in what Ozga (1987) calls 'policy sociology', which is 'rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques' (Ozga, 1987: 144). My intention here is to identify and trace the origins, construction and enactment of the Initial Teacher Education policy and determine the effect of these on the formation of teacher subjectivities since the early 1980s. In so doing, I do not intend to adopt a positivist template with an orderly presentation of a literature review, followed by methodology and findings (Gunter and Forrester, 2008: 148). Moreover, in line with Gunter (2005), I do not approach my analysis and position myself as in a 'ritual embalming' via which ideas from a canon are worshipped and replicated (Bourdieu, 2000, in Gunter, 2005: 16). Rather, I draw on a range of intellectual manoeuvres and resources, specifically Foucauldian sensibility and Braverman's labour process perspective (1974), and use these strategically as tools 'for exploration and for thinking otherwise' (Ball, 1995: 268). It should be born in mind that this set of tools will be embedded in the subsequent chapters of analysis. In other words, concepts of an assemblage of powers drawn from Foucault and Braverman's (1974) work on the labour process are intertwined and they become closely implicated in my argument about the discursive constitution of the new teacher subject within the teacher/state power relations. In a sense, I am 'making theory useful' to guide my exploration and interpretation (Mason, 2002: 181); more particularly, I am aware that there are some fundamental differences between a Foucauldian and Braverman's (1974) Neo-Marxist perspective. However, the main reason for adopting a dual approach to reveal and understand what is most invisible and insidious in prevailing practices is to exempt myself from 'the old redemptive assumptions', which are based upon 'an unproblematic role for themselves [researchers] in a perpetual process of progressive, orderly growth or development achieved through scientific and

technological “mastery” or control over events, or by the assertive re-cycling of old dogmas and tired utopias (Ball, 1995: 267). Most significantly, as my analysis moves along, it will become clear that each of these perspectives provides modes of thought that generate analytic possibilities and benefits, and, as a result, this toolbox provides different means to examine the existing concepts of professionalism. Given that the research questions focus on the way in which the concept of professionalism is addressed and how the subject of teacher is constituted in teacher education policy, the methods of discourse analysis and interviews were adopted to collect the data. In this section, I will firstly discuss the two levels of my analysis related to discourse and the perspectives on which I draw for my discourse analysis. At the same time, I will address the two-strand methodological approach consisting of a policy text analysis and semi-structured interviews with a range of key policy actors before moving on to say a little about the data collection, the sampling strategy and the way in which the purposive sampling was adopted before ending section with consideration of ethical concerns related to conducting my research.

To begin, it is important to address the concept of ‘language’, which is central to theories of discourse, in order to present a fuller picture of discourse (Taylor, 1997: 25). In line with the socio-linguistic theory developed by Saussure, I take the stance of viewing language from a materialist angle, that is as ‘a set of social practices which makes it possible for people to construct a meaningful world of individuals and things’ (Codd, 1988: 241). Language is potent in that it can shape thought and discipline reality (MacLure, 2003: 175), and according to Fairclough, using language is a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992; 2001). He refers to the concept of discourse as the process and action in which language use is determined socially (Fairclough, 1992: 63). What is particularly important when elaborating the concept of discourse is the dialectical

relationship between discourse and the broader social structure. Since discourse is embedded within various social practices, it is determined by social structures at both institutional (such as education or religious) and societal levels; at the same time, it has an 'effect upon social structures and contributes to the achievement of social continuity and social change' (Fairclough, 2001: 30). This dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure is of central importance in the Critical Discourse Analysis approach (abbreviated as CDA). By attending to the social practice dimension of discursive events, it is possible to examine the nature of discursive practice and its effects. On this account, the CDA of Fairclough pays close attention to the textual dimension in order to achieve this end. To put it another way, the CDA is a textually-orientated discourse analysis, which focuses on a linguistic analysis of the real written text (Fairclough, 1992). According to Fairclough, this CDA can increase the value of discourse analysis as a method in social research in the sense that it can 'help to relate general statements about social and cultural change to the precise mechanisms and modalities of the effects of change in practice' (ibid: 61). With regard to policy analysis, as Ball rightly notes, 'policies are textual interventions in practice' (Ball, 1993a: 12). Therefore, one level of my analytic work focuses on policy documents as texts. I argue that policy is firstly, if not completely, enacted in semiotic forms and it is through these written texts that teachers learn how to act, think and be 'professional'. By adopting critical discourse analysis that puts more emphasis on the linguistic features of policy texts such as textual structures, vocabulary and grammar, it is hoped to be able to 'explore policy-making processes within the broader discursive domain within which policies are developed and implemented' (Taylor, 1997: 25).

Another form of discourse analysis in my research draws on the Foucauldian sense of discourse. While discourses are evidently composed of texts and signs and groups of

statements, Foucault sees them 'as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49); therefore, discourses are more than just the use of signs or texts to designate things. Certain statements (but not others) make it possible to produce and transform objects of knowledge at particular times and within a specific institutional context; that is to say, discourse is constitutive in the formation of relations and this in turn makes discursive objects possible. It is a process that establishes 'between institutions, economic and social processes, types of classification, modes of characterization' (Foucault, 1972: 45). Statements also position the subjects to whom they are addressed (Fairclough, 1992: 43). For example, the rules of formation in establishing a relation in the case of clinical discourses are 'between a number of distinct elements, some of which concerned the status of doctors, others the institutional and technical site from which they spoke, others their position as subjects perceiving, observing, describing, teaching, etc.' (Foucault, 1972: 53). Teachers can be thought of in exactly the same way. Power is invested in social practices (both discursive and non-discursive) in this discursive formation and this, in turn, affects the production of knowledge and a 'new' type of disposition and subjectivity of individuals. Moreover, it is worth noting that discourse is a power/knowledge system that offers particular kinds of subject positions in which people come to perceive and make sense of their world. More specifically, knowledge is the means by which the capillaries of power are exercised and circulated; power relations are produced, and at some point in time, they are consolidated by the establishment of a certain set of 'preferred' knowledges. From this "policy as discourse" perspective, policy acts as a regulated practice in which 'ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of "truth" and "knowledge"' (Ball, 1993a: 14), I attempt to identify the power relations that emerge from policy processes, and thus trace the policy effects in which the meaning of being a 'professional' teacher is generated.

The first task of discourse analysis in this research began with a textual analysis of policy documents. Key policy documents of teacher education dating back to the 1960s were examined and analysed (see Appendix 1 for the selected policy documents). According to Fairclough, textual analysis 'is an essential part of discourse analysis' (Fairclough, 2003: 3). Taking written texts as data, some attention was paid to their semiotic/linguistic aspects such as features of vocabulary, tense, grammatical usage, nature of text, or overall textual structure. However, particular attention was given to an analysis of the social aspects of texts, that is, the 'relations between discourse and other elements of the social process' (Fairclough, 2010: 10). Fairclough argues that texts are not merely the effect of linguistic structures; to a considerable extent, they are also the 'effects of other social structures, and of social practices in all their aspects, so that it becomes difficult to separate out the factors shaping texts' (Fairclough, 2003: 25). According to Fairclough, it is an 'interdiscursive analysis' from which discourses, genres (semiotic ways of acting and interacting) and styles in a text are drawn and articulated together (Fairclough, 2009: 164). In other words, an interdiscursive analysis begins by examining the internal relations of the text, i.e. a semiotic/linguistic analysis, and moves on to investigate the external relations of the text with regard to its wider social and cultural relations. More specifically, an interdiscursive analysis helps to 'link "micro-analysis" of texts to various forms of social (sociological, political and so forth) analysis of practices, organizations and institutions' (Fairclough, 2010: 7). By doing this, it aims to identify the way in which different discourses work together to achieve policy intentions. Given that this research focuses on the teacher/state relationship, 'how policy texts construct and sustain power relations ideologically' (Taylor, 2004:437) is of particular interest.

In summary, by adopting the method of discourse analysis that stresses both the linguistic and social analysis of texts, I attempt to examine how professionalism discourses were produced in different historical periods of teacher education policy. More specifically, I investigate the way in which teachers are spoken of and the image that is created of them. Thus far I have given a brief account of my research methods which involve two inter-related and supplementary levels of discourse analysis. I draw on Foucault's account of discourse to explore the discursive formation of new teacher subjects that are founded on statements and texts, as well as the changing conditions and practices in daily life. This is not a full example of a linguistic discourse analysis. The concept of discourse and the method of discourse analysis expounded by Fairclough are utilised in a broad and pragmatic manner, as Fairclough himself suggests that the vitality of the field depends upon people taking CDA 'in different and new directions' (ibid: 10).

Fairclough suggests that 'discourse analysis is one analytical strategy among many and it often makes sense to use discourse analysis in conjunction with other forms of analysis' (Fairclough, 2003: 2). Consequently, I also undertook a set of semi-structured interviews as a supplementary method in this research. The aim was to elicit the respondents' opinions, perception and experiences, *as well as* being another medium of the articulation of discourse. By setting the framework in a semi-structured fashion, I addressed major themes as key questions, thus allowing for greater flexibility and possibilities in exploring details and related issues. Particularly since the purpose of this research is to investigate how the professionalism discourses of teacher education and teacher policy are deployed and developed, in-depth interviews were conducted with a small group of key players in this field (Denscombe, 2007: 175). In other words, I adopted purposive sampling to target knowledgeable informants, who were selected



based on their 'typicality or possession of the particular characteristics' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007: 115) and 'by virtue of their professional role, power, access to networks, expertise or experience' (Ball, 1990a., *ibid*: 115). Interviews took place between 2009 and 2012 and included two sets of data sources. The first of which involved ten key actors in the teacher education policy-making process, including a former Education Officer in the National Union of Teachers (NUT), a former Senior Education Adviser and Project Manager in the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), a former additional inspector in Ofsted, and a former member of the General Teaching Council (now abolished). To ensure anonymity, the interviewees have been assigned letters rather than names, from A, B, C, etc...based on the order in which the interviews were conducted. In addition to these key policy actors, I also collected interview data from eight practising teachers aged between fifty and sixty, and they have been re-named pseudonymously to maintain the research confidentiality. The majority of this second group of interviewees are now HE-based, which is to say that they are teacher educators who attend to and are responsible for the enactment of teacher education policy. Concomitantly located within different spaces of practice in schools, more significantly, their experiences and utterances represent different strands of policy and provide me with a vantage point to reflect and think about the 'how' of policy, by which I mean the effects produced by the processes of policy interpretation and translation when they work together 'to enrol or hail subjects and inscribe discourse into practices' (Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins, 2011: 621). Throughout this thesis, moreover, it is important to remember that this set of interview data generated by serving teachers paints a relatively discontinuous picture in that new entrants do not articulate the discourse of dissonance in the same way as these senior teachers, given that new teachers have done their training courses differently and have experienced a different set of power relations. In a simple sense, there are 'different discursive

generations' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012b: 634) within this set of data, although overall their experiences and accounts of changes before and during the reform period, namely from the mid-1970s up to today, will enable me to access the 'experience' of changes in teacher professionalism throughout the recent historical development of the teacher education policy.

My initial contact with the first group of interviewees, i.e. key policy actors, was through my supervisor. As for the second set of interviewees, which comprised senior serving teachers, I made an initial contact with one teacher education researcher. Both my supervisor and the teacher education researcher introduced me to a number of possible informants based on their social networks of professional contacts with policy actors/ teacher educators. I sent out my requests for interviews and conducted interviews with all that agreed. A total of 18 interviews were conducted and these included 10 policy actors and 8 senior serving teachers (see Appendix 2 for list of interviewees). The semi-structure interviews were arranged at times and in places to suit the interviewees. Most of the interviews were conducted within London boroughs whilst two of the cases, I travelled to East Sussex and Kent. The informed consent was given to participants before interview began for the purpose of providing sufficient information about the research (see Appendix 3 for the consent form). In general, interviews took about one hour and all of were audio-recorded.

At the beginning of the research period, my engagement with research literature on teacher education policy and teacher professionalism informed a range of issues that I would like to explore. Moreover, I had already conducted initial discourse analysis of ITE policy since the 1980s prior to using interview as a data collection method. This examination of policy texts helped further refine the key themes and topics to be

addressed in interview questions. Even though I approached all of the 18 interviewees with some agenda and issues in mind, interviewees could 'develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher' (Denscombe, 2007: 175) on the basis of the semi-structured interview deployed in this thesis. Owing to the different positions and involvements of participants in relation to various aspects of policy and practice, I designed two sets of interview questions for each of the group (see Appendix 4 and 5 for interview questions for policy actors and senior serving teachers respectively). For those significant policy actors in the teacher education policy-making process the focus of interview questions was more on the policy process, particularly the historical changes in the content and structure of ITE. I am interested in how policy actors saw and read policies based on different authoritative positions they located. Interviews with senior practising teachers attended specifically to the enactment of teacher education policy and explored continuities and discontinuities in terms of how teachers were articulated and worked on by policy. Although there were different focuses of concerns in these two sets of interview questions, changes of teacher professionalism over the past three decades were the common thread running through these interviews.

All of the interviews was digitally recorded and the collected data was transcribed (see Appendix 6 for one of the interview transcripts). In total, I produced 303 pages of transcripts. The process of transcription was time-consuming and laborious, which was frustrating at times. I paid careful attention and listened repeatedly to each of the interview recordings and on average, 10 minutes of interview recording involved attentive listening and typing for one hour. None of the 18 transcripts made for joyful work; however, I later realised that engaging in such monotonous and tedious work was, in effect, an excellent way to begin to familiarise myself with the data. That is to say, by

repeatedly listening to the interview recordings and making effort to gain accurate accounts of the interviews, I immersed myself in the data. With these time and hard work that I put into producing transcripts I was able to become familiar with the depth and breadth of the content. It is important to mention here that the process of transcription overlapped with my coding. I coded the data manually by writing notes on the texts and using highlighters or coloured pens to indicate and identify potential patterns and produce the initial codes. Having organised the data into sets, I made remarks, developed ideas, and further codified it into overarching themes and sub-themes. Analysis is not simply a linear process of moving from the phase of transcribing to that of coding, or coding to writing; rather, it is a recursive process, in which I looked back and forth into the interview transcripts throughout the coding, analysing and writing phases.

As already mentioned, there were a number of strands which I wanted to investigate before collecting interview data. I wanted to trace how teacher education policy in England had changed over time; I wanted to map out the multiple facets in which teacher professionalism was discursively constructed within ITE and school sites; more importantly, what tensions and dilemmas might exist within this historical discursive work. These key issues have been paid particular attention when I analysed and looked to the responses from my interviewees. My theoretical underpinnings for my arguments were developed in parallel with the processes of data generation and analysis. Throughout my analysis and writing, I worked closely with data and attempted to relate generated themes with theoretical resources. These included Ball's conceptual policy framework 'policy as text and policy as discourse' (Ball, 1993), the sociology of the professions (Foucault, 1978; Fournier, 1999; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977 and Perkin, 1989), Foucault's work on the 'analytics' of power (Foucault, 1977;1978;1979) and the

Labour Process Theory expounded by Braverman (Braverman, 1974). As Coffey and Atkinson put it, 'theories are not added only as a final gloss or justification; they are not thrown over the work as a final garnish. They are drawn on repeatedly as ideas are formulated, tried out, modified, rejected, or polished' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 158). In a simple sense, theories worked as my analytical tools in this thesis; they were used simultaneously with data generation and analysis and were incorporated into my arguments to inform and enrich my understanding of the phenomenon of professionalism.

In contrast to a survey study, in which a large amount of quantifiable data is gathered, the methods of discourse analysis and interviews adopted in this research produced a small, yet intensive, amount of qualitative data, which provided me with a powerful basis to examine the relationship between the reform processes and the teachers as the subjects of the reform. Firstly, I selected important policy documents that directly related to teacher education policy as primary sources for the discourse analysis. They represented the official version of policy implementation and were indicative of the claims made by the government in the field of teacher education. The interviews with the key actors who participated in the policy process provided a historical overview of the changes and some direct accounts of the politics of professionalism. I am fully aware that this small selection of interviewees does not in any way comprise a representative sample of policy actors, whatever that may mean. Nevertheless, the sample is representative in the sense of the leading roles these key actors played in policy processes and the possibility that they may reveal the complex configurations of policy implementation. These accounts from direct witnesses to the policy processes are valuable in providing insights and an in-depth understanding of the policy changes. In brief, they are a potent source of data for policy research and are of particular value in

offering rich detail of the perceptions and attitudes of key actors toward the central research issues. At the same time, the interview data from these key participants enabled me to co-relate them with other sources of data, namely the written text in policy documents and the spoken text from interviews with serving teachers, which offered insights into the realisation of policy discourses in the practice of 'professionalism'. Clearly through the small number of texts and interviews analysed sets there are some limits to this research; and being aware of this, I analysed the data in a prudent manner and was cautious about the claims I made.

To summarise, my research attempts to draw together a critical discourse analysis developed by Fairclough and the Foucauldian perspective of discourse. According to Fairclough's approach, policy is regarded as text, and I aim to investigate the relationship between policy text and its broader societal and institutional context by means of conducting a fine-grained textual and linguistic analysis. At the same time, I also draw on the Foucauldian sense of discourse to view policy as discourse. This focuses on the transformation of power relations and the production of meaning in terms of being a 'professional' teacher. The main point I shall argue by conducting a discourse analysis on teacher professionalism embedded in ITE policy is that it is through discourse that 'the social production of meaning takes place and through which subjectivity is produced and power relations are maintained' (Kenway, 1990: 173). Therefore, under these propositions, discourse is a meaning system constructed within language and invested in broader discursive practices which involves predominantly power circulation in different social layers at historical moments. The deployment of discourse produces regulated effects by '[projecting] ways of acting and ways of being' (Fairclough, 2010: 292) and consolidates a 'preferred' regime of truth. In discursive practices in which different statements compete for dominance, meaning making and

social relations of subjectivity are thus confined by the various techniques of discourse. In short, according to Taylor, the concept of discourse is useful for policy analysis, not only because it enables us to 'address the complexity of education policy making', but because it also contributes to 'a deeper understanding of how policy-making processes *work* at a fine-grained level' (Taylor, 1997: 32 *original emphasis*).

### **Ethical Issues**

I conducted this research in accordance with the Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research under the ethical codes of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004). When involving human participants in interviews, it is crucial to take into account the rights and interests of the participants. Before conducting the interviews, I provided potential participants with a consent form, which also gave them a clear and sufficient explanation of the nature and purposes of this research. The voluntary nature of their participation was emphasised on the consent form. What is of particular significance regarding participants' rights and interests is the issue of confidentiality and anonymity. First and foremost, the participants were assured that any information they provided would be treated with absolute confidentiality. In this sense, the information collected would not be disclosed to anyone (other than the researcher herself and the supervisor) and no data could be traced back to any specific informant. All the interview data was stored in a password-protected file. Furthermore, for the purpose of protecting the privacy of the participants and to doubly ensure their anonymity, I have changed the real names of the key policy actors to A, B, C... and serving teachers to pseudonyms. Each individual has been allocated a number and a pseudonym respectively.

## Introduction to Part Two

In Chapter One, I presented and outlined the background for understanding this research in terms of how it has been designed and on what it is based. In Part Two, entitled *Initial Teacher Education*, I will begin the task of exploring teachers' professionalism by specifically focusing my attention on the teacher education site. In **Chapter 2**, entitled *Context of Influence*, I will highlight the way in which various discursive terrains have played their part in positioning teachers as a policy problem since the 1980s, and illustrate how the changing relations of teachers to the state can be more fully accounted for within both professional and economic sectors. This historical review of the context of influence will lead me to trace some enduring trends in the education of teachers, and these will be explored in **Chapter 3**. Three key discursive concepts in teacher education policy are identified as being *competences*, *standards*, and *flexibility*. These historically-constructed discourses act as a vehicle for carrying and transmitting policy messages in an attempt to reconfigure the way in which teachers think and act in relation to their practice. **Chapter 4** will consider the discourse of *practicality*. As previously noted, the reform of teacher education has been high on the agenda of successive English governments. Throughout all the reform processes, there was a strong sense that the formation of teachers should be placed in a practical-based mode and teaching was seen to be a practical skill which was best learned under the supervision of experienced practitioners. By engaging with data drawn both from policy texts and interviews, consideration will be given to the form of power relations embedded in producing a new sense and understanding of professional teachers. The discourse of *standards*, discussed in **Chapter 5**, will examine a variety of standards



technologies, such as the National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Education, QTS standards, and the Inspections that work on teachers. What underlies the discourse of *standards* is centralised specifications of teachers' work and more assertive regulating procedures in defining the quality of education solely on the basis of test scores in certain core subjects. Overall, the main point of the argument is that teacher education, which is characterised by continuous and consistent sets of *practicality* and *standards* discourses, has come to play a vital role in reconstructing educational values. More importantly, teacher education now socialises aspiring teachers to adopt a performative mentality, and by influencing their skills and knowledge, it has created a space in which professionalism has become re-defined.

## Chapter 2

### Context of Influence

#### Introduction

This chapter will primarily focus on the process of remaking the teaching profession under the force of globalisation and the principles of the New Right ideology throughout the 1970s and 1980s. By visiting some of the significant discursive sites on which policy and policy debates take place, I will explore the complex relationship between teachers, schools and the state. The purpose of focusing on discursive terrains, such as the *Black Papers*, the *Ruskin Speech* and others, is to illuminate the extent to which schooling and teachers became *distrusted* by the state and were implicated within ‘discourse of derision’ (Kenway, 1990) and were therefore, placed high on the agenda of social and political concern. My argument is that the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s, which I term ‘decades of turbulence’, were when new power relationships were forged between teachers and the state, and these were marked by distrust and hostility. The teaching profession was progressively overhauled because of both political and economic concerns, and this involved triple levels of work. Teachers were firstly positioned by New Right ideologists as being a policy ‘problem’ (Dale, 1989; Ozga, 2000) that required effective solutions to put it ‘right’. They were then deconstructed by way of marginalising their collective bargaining voice and delimiting the spaces in which they could exercise professional control. Finally, from the 1980s onwards, teachers and their work practices were reconstructed by/within new sets of discourses, such as *standards*, *practicality* and *management*, all of which made it possible to produce new teachers with a particular disposition and a new sense of professionalism. However, this does not mean that these triple levels of work in redesigning teaching are

mutually exclusive. On the contrary, these levels are overlapping and it is sensible to suggest that the reform processes reached a climax with the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act, when the concentration of power by central government was made clear. Overall, I view policies as being ‘discursive strategies’, which means that what constitutes a teacher is framed discursively. Sets of texts, events and practices can all speak to the wider social processes of schooling which include the constitution of ‘the teacher’ (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 16). Table 2.1 summarises some of the key texts and events during these two turbulent decades, each of which played a significant part, and which cumulatively have contributed to the whole edifice of restructuring teachers since the 1970s.

Table 2.1: Sequence of events in decades of turbulence and hostility

Year	Event	Key Features (in relation to education)
1971~73	Economic crisis	➤ education system was blamed for failing to focus sufficiently on skills, technology and employability
1969~77	Publication of the Black Papers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ two key themes: standards and choice</li> <li>➤ educational practices criticised with discourse of derision and the outlining of an alternative system</li> <li>➤ education linked with traditional social and political values and with social order</li> </ul>
1974~77	Establishment of the Centre for Policy Studies and the Adam	➤ a range of publications and public pronouncements pressed for a reworking of the educational settlement

	Smith Institute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ influential in disseminating New Right proposals and guiding the direction of policy-making for the Conservative governments</li> </ul>
1976	The Ruskin Speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ ‘world of work’ should be securely established at the centre of educational policy</li> <li>➤ a renewed version of teacher accountability</li> </ul>
1979	Conservative government in power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ cultural rightism: strong state in upholding tradition, discipline and authority</li> <li>➤ free market rightism: minimum state of facilitating competition and choice; anti-union</li> </ul>
1987	Abolition of the Burnham Committee; Pay and Conditions Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ teachers’ collective negotiating right taken away</li> <li>➤ removal of the responsibility of LEAs in pay settlements</li> <li>➤ undermining of the viability of LEAs</li> </ul>
1988	1988 Education Reform Act	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ introduction of local management of schools (LMS) and the creation of a quasi-market in education</li> <li>➤ the imposition of a National Curriculum</li> <li>➤ the introduction of a national testing system</li> <li>➤ overall, a significant degree of central</li> </ul>

		direction in schooling matters
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See Ball (1990a), Jones (1989) and Lowe (2007)

This analysis will proceed as follows. Firstly, I will explore the forces of globalisation through the lens of the transformation of modes of production and the concomitant new work ethic. These two aspects had a significant implication, not only for the way in which schools were repositioned and perceived, but they also profoundly altered the roles and work of teachers. Underpinned by a neoliberal concept of appealing to the market, individual choice and competition, the proponents of educational reform also played a major part in manufacturing a consensus related to the need to change the work practices of teachers. It is against this backdrop of global economic restructuring that my analysis moves to the second part by paying specific attention to the UK, particularly the educational debates in the case of England. In this respect, the New Right's discursive mapping of teachers dominated leading policy debates within this period. In essence, a massive change in the power relations between teachers and the state was witnessed in the two turbulent decades of the 1970s and 1980s.

### **Context of Change: Globalisation and Schooling**

As indicated already, globalisation is a complex phenomenon, which is broadly manifested in political, economic and cultural arenas. The breaking down of geographical barriers to facilitate international trade, the development of communicative technologies and the capacity to rapidly move international capital all play their part in constituting a world that is characterised by uncertainty and unpredictability (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid and Shacklock, 2000:3). In response to these unprecedented challenges, a Fordist economy, which is based on the mass production of goods, the

manufacture of standardised products by an unskilled workforce, has been substantially transformed into a more flexible post-Fordist form of production that pays close attention to the quality and diversity of products, and places greater reliance on the insertion of management techniques that can deliver a system to respond to customers' needs. According to Gee and Lankshear, within this transformation from a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of production and organisation, another important change takes place in relation to institutional arrangements. This was the requirement of a 'new work order' (Gee and Lankshear, 1995). Rather than following rules, regulations and directives from above, the emphasis is now on flat hierarchies, in which a combination of management techniques, such as devolution, incentives and self-regulation, is the preferred means of achieving 'productivity', 'quality' and 'excellence'. In some respects, this suggests that the roles and responsibilities of middle managers need to be passed to 'front line workers', who will thus "be transformed into committed 'partners' who engage in meaningful work, fully understand and control their jobs, supervise themselves, and actively seek to improve their performance through communicating their knowledge and needs clearly" (Gee and Lankshear, 1995: 7).

While engaging in a lengthy discussion of the restructuring of the world economy is beyond the remit of this study, I would still like to make a point in relation to education, which is that, overall, changes in schools in effect parallel and respond to economic restructuring at the level of the nation state. The changing form of schools closely mirrors the wider shift toward the re-arrangement of global capital, and the case of the UK can shed some light in this respect. Firstly, it should be noted that the impact of the transformation from a Fordist to a post-Fordist mode of production has not been homogeneous within the UK. The UK economy underwent an uneven restructuring against the backdrop of the global economic recession during the mid-1970s. On the

one hand, its fundamental manufacturing-based economy and some of its older industrial sectors, such as ship-building, the steel industry and coal mines experienced a sharp decline. On the other hand, the advancement of new technologies, such as micro-electronics, promoted rapid growth in a few new sectors and the fundamental reorganisation of all others (Gamble, 1988: 8). In other words, growth was concentrated in particular sectors, such as high technology, banking and finance, and the service industry. Jones calls these disparate processes 'uneven Conservative modernisation', in which prosperous industries facilitated a more thorough integration of the UK economy into international finance systems and divisions of labour (Jones, 1989: 106). Thus, to reconstruct the economy and assist its recovery, the Conservative government of the 1980s and '90s 'pinned its hopes for future prosperity on the continuing success of those sectors of the British economy already internationally competitive, on the development of new small businesses, and on the growth of internationally traded services' (Gamble, 1994: 198). Put differently, based on reconsidering its role within the global economic system, the UK re-arranged and re-distributed its capital with the aim of enhancing profit. Thus, a range of economic strategies and social policies were adopted to pursue and consolidate the national interest, and educational policies were one of these endeavours.

Within this framework of global economic restructuring, there were a significant number of widespread calls in some major industrialised countries, such as the UK, the United States, New Zealand and Australia, to re-orientate schooling and the work of teachers in order to impart the 'essential' skills and promote the 'appropriate' attitudes required by the post-Fordist economy. To put it another way, schooling was placed very much at the centre of building a knowledge-based economy, in which information technology and knowledge were seen to be the primary assets to create wealth and

further maintain the dominance of a nation state in a global competitive environment. Schooling was assumed to make a direct contribution to economic growth in the service of the newly-transformed capitalism. On this understanding, the economic function of schooling was greatly emphasised in bringing about the required changes in the development of human capital, which meant labouring to produce economic value by instilling supposedly relevant competencies, knowledge, and attributes in the future workforce. Within these assumptions, a ubiquitous argument could be made, which was that schools needed to change in order to 'supply' a new kind of workforce equipped with 'appropriate' skills and competences.

At the same time, teachers needed to be trained in the extent to which they prepared school learners to be 'ready' for employment, and attuned to the forms and 'disciplines' of employment opportunities (Mahony and Hextall, 2001). In this way, education attained unprecedented strategic importance and acted as an economic policy with the aim of producing a highly skilled and flexible workforce, which was seen to be indispensable to sustainable economic growth and Britain's competitive advantage within a global world. Gamble also points out that the New Right intellectuals argued that all levels of the educational system should become more responsive to market forces, not only as a means of improving educational standards, but more importantly, to maximise the accrued economic returns on educational investments (Gamble, 1988). In these circumstances, most accounts of the transformation of the economy by means of restructuring education focus on neoliberal thinking, which assumes that the invisible hand of the market makes for a better society and a more competent labour workforce. In this light, market-orientated neoliberal thinking generates a more open and competitive context in which schools are made more responsive to external outputs-based measurement and more receptive to consumers' wishes. In this regard,



greater emphasis is placed on enhancing institutional accountability, which includes raising the national testing and school inspection results in order to attract clients and maximise income. To some extent, schools are rendered into business units that are forced to compete with each other 'to ensure that they have a population [students] that they deem to be most likely to perform well in relation to external measures' (Ball and Youdell, 2007: 44). In other words, schools are expected to operate 'more like private enterprises, to market themselves, to compete against one another for students and resources' (Smyth, 2001: 39).

Overall, the changes in schooling outlined above are predicated upon changes in the wider process of restructuring the economy. As already noted, the competences, knowledge, skills and attitudes of school learners are tightly integrated with the formation of a post-Fordist labour force. They are seen to be the key asset for the purpose of maximising productivity, in the sense of both capital accumulation and economic growth. Up to this point, it needs to be remembered that, in relation to changes in schooling, ideas drawn from the private sector, such as partnerships, improvement and performance permeate the education services. This new vocabulary produces an environment in which older methods, culture and systems of belief based on professional judgement are displaced by mechanisms such as management and accountability. As Ball indicates, by installing reform technologies of the market, managerialism and performativity, public sector organisations such as schools become aligned with the culture and ethical system of the private sector (Ball, 2003: 216). To conclude, schools have been restructured, and to a great extent, teachers' work is also subject to external measurements, such as meeting certain targets, benchmarks, performance indicators and inspections, and these issues and their effect on the production of new teachers will be discussed in later chapters. However, I would now

like to focus specifically on the context of change in Britain, particularly in England during the period of the 1970s and '80s.

### **Decades of Change and the 1988 Education Reform Act**

In this section I want to focus on the discursive terrain in which the philosophical discourses of the New Right became influential within politics, policy-making, and policy thinking in England. This will not be a sophisticated account of the New Right's philosophical thoughts. What I intend to do is to examine the general features of the discourses of the New Right and their relationship with the initiation and formation of educational policy during the 1970s and '80s. Firstly, I briefly sketch the key elements in this discursive ensemble, with a specific focus on the *Black Papers*, the *Ruskin Speech*, the right-wing think tank manifestos, and in more general terms, the mass media. I intend to explore the professional aspect of the teacher-state relations by providing a discursive account of some of the major changes in the educational landscape throughout the 1970s and '80s. Secondly, I explore some economic aspects of the teacher-state relations by examining the event of teachers' industrial action in the mid-1980s before finally moving the analysis to the culmination of the decade-long reformation with the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

When referring to the changing roles in the structure of education in England between 1944 and 1988, Dale describes how teachers were recast as a 'problem' between 1974 and 1988 (Dale, 1989). If this was the case, then the initial attack from the radical right largely came from the publication of the *Black Papers*, a series of right-wing pamphlets published between 1969 and 1977, which contained a sustained attack on the educational establishment, particularly comprehensive education, egalitarianism, and

progressive teaching methods. The way in which teachers were projected and depicted is particularly relevant to this analysis.

Many of the new English teachers [in the 1960s] indoctrinated themselves and their classes in attitudes critical to the police, local government bureaucracy, industry and employers. They did not hesitate to encourage this ideology in the children's writing, or classroom discussion....The new wave of English teachers was committed to the comprehensive school, the unstreaming, subject integration and team teaching. (Thornbury, 1978, in Ball, 1990a: 25-26)

In a similar vein, Brian Cox, one of the originators of the *Black Papers* claimed that left-wing educationalists had dominated educational policy since the 1960s, with a destabilising effect of 'revolution, not by armed overthrow of the government, but by transformation of institutions from within' (Cox, 1981., in Dale, 1989: 93). The discourse generated here was that progressive teachers were dangerous and subversive. From the perspective of these right wing intellectuals, teachers should not only be held responsible for declining academic standards and large-scale illiteracy, but also the increasing lack of discipline among school students.

As noted above, another development related to the growing suspicion of teachers and of what was happening in 'the secret garden of the curriculum' in schools was linked to the wider social and economic changes in the mid-1970s. Overall, the period of economic expansion and sustained growth after the Second World War came to a halt with the world oil crisis in the early 1970s. Already Britain had experienced a significant fall in its industrial production and a massive trading deficit in the early '70s, the oil crisis worsened its economic situation causing a startling rise in inflation and a

soaring rate of unemployment. Consequently, there was widespread discussion in the press and among politicians and educationalists about 'the extent to which the education system was to blame for these problems as a result of its failure to focus sufficiently on skills, on technology and on employability' (Lowe, 2007: 62). In two articles entitled 'I blame the teachers' and 'What industry needs', Sir Arnold Weinstock and John Methven, both of whom were prominent industrialists at that time, respectively argued that schools were failing to produce a suitable workforce and teachers were resisting innovation and fostering an anti-industrial ethos among their students.

Teachers fulfil an essential function in the community but, having themselves chosen not to go into industry, they often deliberately, or perhaps unconsciously, instil in their pupils a similar bias. In so doing, they are obviously not serving the democratic will... Educationists in schools, and in the teacher-training colleges, should recognise that they do no service to our children if they prepare them for life in a society which does not exist and which economic reality will never allow to come into existence, unless at a terrible price in individual liberty and freedom of choice. (*The Times Educational Supplement*, 23 January 1976. quoted in Chitty, 2009: 35)

The question of standards rightly dominates much of our thinking about education today, particularly at the school level. Employers have contributed to this debate because there has, over recent years, been growing dissatisfaction among them at the standards of achievement in the basic skills reached by many school leavers...It is a sad fact that, after one of the longest periods of compulsory education in Europe, many young people seem ill-equipped for almost any kind of employment and woefully ignorant about the basic economic facts of life in Britain. (*The Times Educational Supplement*, 29 October 1976, quoted in Chitty, 2009: 35)

Concomitant with these employers' critiques, a number of national newspapers were

also generating a national ‘moral panic’ (Ball, 1990a). The following are just some of the examples in which a mood of ‘matters of great national urgency’ (Cox and Dyson, 1969) was generated in the general public and further fuelled by the mass media.

‘parents throughout the country are becoming increasingly frustrated by the lack of discipline and low standards of state schools’ (*Daily Mail*, 18 January 1975)

‘literacy in Britain is marching backwards’ (*Daily Mirror*, 7 February 1975)

‘only the naïve now believe that teachers can be left to teach, administrators to administer and managers to manage’ (*The Guardian*, 13 October 1976)

‘the brutal truth is that standards have fallen’ (*Daily Mail*, 4 November 1976)

Thus far, a whole repertoire of assumptions and speculations can be seen to have been made with regard to the role and work of teachers throughout the late 1960s to the mid-‘70s. Teachers were no longer to be trusted and they became the particular target of criticism from politicians, leading industrialists, and the national media. Embedded in this ‘discourse of derision’, teachers were named and recast as being not only dangerous and politically provocative, but were also constructed as being a ‘problem’ that needed to be ‘brought to heel’ and closely monitored to ensure national prosperity and social order. (‘Discourse of derision’ is a term coined by Kenway (1990: 201) to describe the way in which some politicians and media representatives focus ‘on the worst or the most problematic or contentious features of some aspects of the government system, by exaggerating these features through the use of ludicrous images, ridicule, and

stereotypification’.) As Lowe argues, these developments seemed to ‘legitimate parental anxieties and certainly had the effect of promoting education closer to the heart of the political agenda’ (Lowe, 2007: 63). Among the widespread press and media criticisms of the performance of state schools, the then prime minister, James Callaghan, initiated a Great Debate on Education after the *Ruskin Speech* (1976). This speech chiefly concerned the urgent need for the inculcation of the basic skills of literacy and numeracy to ‘equip children to the best of their ability for a lively, constructive place in society and also to fit them to do a job of work’ (the *Ruskin Speech*, 1976: 7). Moreover, it referred to a relatively new concept of teacher accountability.

To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future. (the *Ruskin Speech*, 1976: 6)

It is particularly important to note that, to a large extent, the basis for this assertion for more accountability stemmed from the already undermined public perception of the trustworthiness of teachers, who were accused of abusing their autonomy and preaching subversive ideas in the classroom. At the same time, there was a vast array of right-wing think tanks that played a crucial part in orchestrating and disseminating the Conservative Party’s educational thinking, which by now had been reworked by New Right market principles. The Centre for Policy Studies, founded by Margaret Thatcher and Keith Joseph in 1974, was particularly important in influencing the orientation of policy. I will now firstly focus on one of its publications entitled ‘The Right to Learn: A Conservative Approach to Education’. In the introductory section of this, the CPS made a point of ‘rolling back the state in education’ by indicating that ‘...it [has] become clear

to us that the state's excessive and expanding role in education is a major cause of the ills, and that we should aspire to diminish it' (CPS, 1981: 4). Furthermore, with an assertive tone, it condemned the then pervasive 'totalitarian uniformity', 'central control' and 'secrecy' that had been the result of Socialist thinking, and went on to propose the Conservative principles in education:

- 1 [to] maintain, improve and monitor educational standards of all kinds—standards of behaviours and morality, no less than standards of educational attainment;
- 2 [to] encourage more freedom of choice for parents, more individual responsibility and more accountability of schools to parents;
- 3 [to] increase choice which implies more diversity of provision and more information about that provision (CPS, 1981: 2).

These statements and the rhetorical way in which they were expressed represented the New Right's vision for education. It is clear from this that the notion of deregulation was central and was based upon a strong commitment to freedom of choice, competition, and an appeal to market forces. However, it is a misconception to only see these claims on the surface, because underlying these seemingly de-regulated neoliberal ideas, the reform process was, in effect, a re-regulating one, that is, it was the establishment of a new form of control (Ball, 2003: 217). To put it another way, there are requirements for performance structures and external validation through Ofsted, and taken together, these themes enabled the New Right government, i.e., the Thatcher administrations, to deploy an indirect, yet tighter, means of intervention aimed at dismantling the welfare tradition of educational provision. In one sense, the state was rebranded in another form with regulatory mechanisms and instruments to give effect to the government. This is to say that, while the state appeared to have been rolled back, and the major parts of its power devolved, in a real sense, it was able to govern in new ways. As Miller and Rose (1993: 82-83) put it, the state governed 'at a distance' by developing indirect mechanisms of

rule, such as the techniques of notation and calculation, procedures of examination and assessment, and devices such as surveys and tables. The later analysis will clearly illustrate that many of the discursive themes proposed by right-wing ideologists were articulated and realised in the 1988 Education Reform Act, which opened the door to profound changes to teachers' work and their relationship with the state.

The above analysis has shed some light on the professional aspect of the teacher-state relations in England. In brief, teachers bore the brunt of criticisms of the education system from politicians, right-wing educationalists, industrialists, and the mass media throughout the 1970s and '80s. They were discursively regarded as being an obstacle to reform and a policy 'problem' that required some effective solutions and varying degrees of change (Ozga, 2000a: 13). It is perhaps right to say that, under the then pervasive 'discourse of derision', changes in the broader political and economic context no longer permitted teachers to defend their 'licensed autonomy' (Dale, 1989). Dale suggests that space for teachers' discretion in professional matters such as the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment was gradually delimited and circumscribed. Therefore, for the purpose of re-tooling education in a new economic and political situation, teachers were harnessed by means of management and accountability measures to do their economic work (Smyth and Shacklock, 1998). In this way, they acted as agents of the state to produce a skilled and productive workforce for the broader labour market.

Nevertheless, when exploring the shifting power between teachers and the state, there is a further important factor which provided the state (the Conservative government) with a tactical advantage in outmanoeuvring the teaching profession. This was the aspect of a change in the terms and conditions under which teachers were employed after the



1985-86 industrial action, which Grace (1987) refers to as the economic aspect of the teacher-state relations. The Thatcher government was clearly characterised by its dislike of trade unions, and the period of its administration saw 'a systematic attack on trade union rights through government legislation' (Hatcher, 1994: 49). Against the backdrop of a year-long strike by the National Union of Mineworkers against pit closures in the early 1980s, the then Conservative government made various attempts to restructure teachers' work. At the 1984 North of England Conference, the Secretary of State, Keith Joseph, publicised this fact by announcing that the time had come for a review of teachers' conditions of service. A year later, he clarified this view by saying,

The employing authority can only be satisfied that each school is properly staffed if it knows enough about the skills and competencies of individual teachers. Such knowledge can only come from some form of appraisal system. ... To be fully effective an appraisal system would have to be complimented by better arrangements for the individual teachers' career development including induction, in-service training, guidance on possible teaching posts and promotion. When I refer to the management of the teaching force I have this whole range of positive activity in mind. (Speech by Sir Keith Joseph, North of England Education Conference, quoted in Ball, 1988: 292 ).

What was suggested here was the need for a management system of the teaching force by means of an appraisal scheme and other arrangements to monitor teachers' classroom activity. At the same time, the unsettled pay claim between the Local Authorities and teachers created an opportunity for the central state to intervene in the issue of teachers' pay. Keith Joseph attempted to 'trade-off' teachers' acceptance of the appraisal system against a revised pay and promotion structure by offering a pay settlement with more generous terms. Faced by this dilemma, teachers' unions were unable to collectively resist the direct intervention of central government, and the critical point the central

state was able to use to grasp the nettle was the long-standing inter-union rivalries and divisions. With regard to this point, Grace observes that there have always been ideological differences between professionalism and trades unionism among teachers on the one hand and structural differentials in terms of teachers' salary awards on the other (Grace, 1987: 220). As a whole, the teaching profession was split on the adoption of a collective stance against state intervention; thus, the state was able to outmanoeuvre the teachers and arbitrarily terminate their industrial action by the final settlement imposed by the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act in 1987. By imposing the condition that teachers must work 1,265 hours each year, the 1987 Act extended their working year by a week, and concurrently abolished the Burnham Committee, the national pay bargaining body, and lost the teachers their right to negotiate. The objective of the Conservative government was to impose a pay system that was determined at school level and was based on the appraisal of individuals' performance, which was parallel with developments in the private sector (Hatcher, 1994: 50). These developments were undoubtedly regarded as being measures to further regulate teachers; moreover, they 'left the profession politically weakened and ripe for reform' (Ball, 2008: 144). To a great extent, this development excluded teachers from becoming involved in the policy process and left them without a voice.

As Ozga comments, from earlier attacks on teachers blaming them and deeming them to be responsible for economic underperformance and the subversion of order, these developments in the industrial dispute of the mid-1980s were 'part of the process of reasserting direct rule'. Taking all of these repertoires together, the debates and struggles over education that took place from the 1970s onward 'prepared the ground ideologically for the major changes in the Act [the 1988 Education Reform Act]' (Ozga, 2000a: 19). The 1988 Education Reform Act and its associated policies enacted many

radical measures, such as the implementation of the National Curriculum, a programme to test pupils at the age of 7, 11 and 14 and the devolution of the financial management of schools to head teachers and governors, along with the reorganisation of school governing bodies. These changes marked the beginning of a new settlement in education, which meant that they 'laid down the main lines of policy and practice for the whole period since then' (Lowe, 2007: 96). Connected to the New Right ideologies discussed earlier, one significance of the 1988 Act lies in the fact that many of its key elements were those promoted and disseminated by New Right ideologists and advocacy groups. That is to say, the basis for this new educational settlement for primary and secondary schooling can be seen to have been based on the New Right's restructuring principles. In this regard, Ball enumerates some of these principles (Ball, 2008: 80).

- [The] establishment of a 'national' curriculum that would entrench traditional subjects and British culture heritage over and against 'misguided relativism' and multiculturalism;
- [S]uspicion of teacher professionalism and the 'politics' of teachers and the need for systems of control and accountability;
- [O]ffering parents 'choice', that is, the right to express a preference, among state schools submitted to the disciplines of the market;
- [The] devolution of control over budget from LEAs to schools.

The discursive themes of tradition, accountability and choice were clearly articulated in the 1988 Education Reform Act and they had a profound impact on the nature of teachers' work. Previously, the 1987 Pay and Conditions Act had brought in the closer regulation and intensification of teachers' work, such as the introduction of Directed Time, which effectively extended their work in both a qualitative and a quantitative sense. Moreover, as Hatcher argues, it was the 1988 Education Reform Act that 'makes

the installation of a new regime of regulation analogous to the technical-rationalist production process in industry' (Hatcher, 1994: 47). To put it another way, apart from the legislative controls stipulated in the Act, professional practices were increasingly subjected to surveillance and monitoring, which was made possible by managerial mechanisms. This was particularly the case when the prescriptive national curriculum revoked teachers' control of pedagogical practices, displaced their professional judgement, and set the boundaries of what they should teach. Equally important was the introduction of a national testing system, in essence regarded by many as a disguised form of teacher appraisal, which could be used to assess the extent to which teachers were effectively delivering the curriculum. It could be argued that, faced with this restructuring of their skills, teachers were subject to varying degrees of proletarianisation (for example, see Ball, 1988; Lawn and Ozga, 1988). These issues will be addressed in a later analysis, but overall, the 1988 ERA can be seen to have been a watershed in the recent history of the teacher-state relations. In brief, there was a huge and distinctive de facto power shift in the teacher-state relations, and it was patently clear that the state had established new technologies of power from 1988 onward.

The two decades leading to the 1988 Education Reform Act were eventful and critical in the formation of the teacher-state relations. Heralded by the *Black Papers*, the deployment of discourses of derision gradually brought the teaching profession under closer public scrutiny and subjected it to distrust. The *Ruskin Speech* symbolised a point in time when teachers became the focus of a policy debate. Concurrently, the growing suspicion of teachers was fostered by right-wing think tanks and the mass media, and in addition to these factors, the fragmented and marginalised voice of the teaching unions contributed to the failure of industrial action and the imposition of the 1987 Pay and Conditions Act, which also shifted the balance of the power relations toward the state.

All these developments created a space within which the state was able to justify its actions and articulate the necessities and possibilities of reform, and this enabled it to make a series of direct interventions into teachers' work. From the perspective of the policy-making process, a 'policy window' was created. In Kingdon's metaphorical model, he suggests that opening a policy window involves three convergent streams — the problem, the policy and the politics (Kingdon, 1984). When these streams converge and combine at crucial moments they provide an opportunity for action in forms such as policy proposals. Kingdon's 'policy-streams' model is useful here to explain and understand the changing relations between teachers and the state in England. Firstly, the sense of national urgency with regard to perceived declining academic standards, the supposed ill-disciplined student behaviour and underperformance in relation to global competitiveness enabled teachers to be positioned as a 'problem', 'a crisis or disaster that comes along to call attention to the problem, a powerful symbol that catches on...' (Kingdon, 1984: 100). Secondly, the administrative level of problem-solving (or generating problems in some sense!) involves different political actors attempting to influence the definition and purpose of schooling, as was the case with the CPS, one of the influential right-wing think tanks discussed earlier. Some key policy concepts or proposals, such as the appeal to market forces, freedom of choice, and standards in the CPS texts referred above, were established by articulating the influence of right-wing ideologists, and these acquired currency and credence, and provided a discourse and lexicon for policy initiation (Bowe and Ball, 1992: 20). Thirdly, developments in the problem and policy dimensions were related to the political relations between teachers and the state that had been played out in the industrial disputes during the mid-1980s, and teacher representatives were excluded from the policy process.

Clearly, the formation of policy discourse is always subject to power struggles between

different sites of articulation, and a window of opportunity is never fully within the control of specific policy actors or certain interest groups. In other words, various concerns and ideas are disseminated within policy communities and these tend to be contested and debated, and as Kingdon puts it, 'some ideas survive and prosper; some proposals are taken more seriously than others' (Kingdon, 1984: 123). Policy processes are constantly and repeatedly contested and negotiated. They are by no means linear and rational decision-making processes. Above all, various social forces, economic conditions, institutions, interests and forms of power are embedded and interact within the messy policy environment. It was within this complex and contentious historical process that teachers in England were discursively constructed as being a policy problem from the 1970s onward. Being marginalised, their voices were virtually erased from policy participation and they were finally reconstructed within a new sensibility of 'professionalism' in order to shoulder the prosperity of the nation by acting as agents of the state to produce a more efficient and productive workforce with the aim of enhancing economic competitiveness.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, in this analysis I have mapped the broad contours of the way in which teachers have been discursively constituted since the 1970s. This process was established in relation to the forces of globalisation and the regulative principles of New Right discourses, such as choice in a free market, enhanced accountability, and efficient management. In the midst of these changing economic, political and ideological conditions, the purpose of schooling and the practices of teaching were expected to contribute to the particular end of producing a productive workforce and enhancing Britain's economic competitiveness. Overall, this analysis attends to, what Grace (1987)

calls the professional and economic sectors of the changing teacher-state relations in England. With regard to teachers' work, the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a shift from 'licensed autonomy' to a more tightened form of 'regulated autonomy'. Given the limited scope of this chapter, many of the points introduced here will be explored and elaborated in subsequent chapters.

### **Note**

1. Gerald Grace proposed a way of exploring the changing teacher/state relations in Britain by focusing on two interrelated sectors, one of which is the professional sector, which covers issues of professional formation, a professional council, and in a general term, teacher policy. The other is the economic sector, which mainly concerns the pay and conditions under which teachers are employed. (See Grace, 1987).

## Chapter 3

# Discourse Analysis of Teacher Education Policy since the 1980s

### Introduction

In Chapter 2, I provided a historical review and explored the changing teacher-state relations in England since the 1980s. I also showed the way in which teachers were derided as being responsible for perceived declining academic standards and large-scale illiteracy in schools. Within this ‘context of influence’ (Bowe and Ball, 1992), in which New Right ideologists took the lead, a ‘policy window’ (Kingdon, 1984) was created and the state acquired opportunities and legitimacy to articulate subsequent reforms in teacher policy as a whole. In this chapter, which contains a textual review of policy documents, I begin my analysis by examining the professionalism discourses manifested in teacher education since the 1980s. My focus here is to identify and explore the predominant and enduring themes, based on a selection of primary sources. Beginning with the 1983 *White Paper*, I attempt to trace the changes in the form and content of teacher education and indicate that these were based on concerns about the relationship between education and the economy. My analysis suggests that different governments shared a common policy agenda and the three predominant discourses in ITE policy were: *competences*, *standards*, and *flexibility*.

What I am attempting to portray is an incremental process of change over a 30-year period of time, a sequence of often small changes and policy moves, building one on the other often subtly. There is no single point of transformation and reform is the outcome of the accumulation of these small changes over time. As the outcome of processes of



the reform, the professional teacher has been re-conceived as possessing a specified set of skills and competences for teaching. Based on pre-fixed competence criteria teachers have been re-framed as deliverers of knowledge and educational technicians whose job is to execute the government's policy priorities. This was linked to the discourse of standards that regulated teachers' work by measuring and calculating it against presumed standards. The rhetoric of standards, both in competence tests and via Ofsted inspections, acted as a taken-for-granted approach to the provision of education, and maintained firm control of what teachers did in their classrooms. Along with this went the notion of flexibility in terms of deregulation in the form of teacher education provision. Enabling new routes into teaching was embedded in this discourse, and schools gained greater independence in terms of recruiting graduates (or non-graduates in current Coalition government's policy). Intriguingly, what appeared to be a flexible arrangement on the surface was, in fact, more centrally controlled in the content of teacher education, i.e. the emphasis on outcomes in terms of prescribed standards and competences. In a certain sense, the policy agenda of deregulation co-existed with regulation by means of a more stringent control of both the inputs and outcomes of teacher preparation. These discursive concepts were inter-related and framed teachers in a new way. As Fairclough puts it, 'texts hybridise(d) discourses in constituting discourses' (Fairclough, 2010: 290), and as I attempt to show, these policy texts and discourses worked together to reconstitute teachers in the discursive processes.

### **The Discourse of competences**

As already indicated, one particular aspect emphasised in the formation of teachers was the articulation and use of competences. The necessity to train teachers to be subject specialists was a recurring theme in the competences discourse, and during the 1980s,

this focused on the match between qualifications and teachers' tasks in order to equip teachers to 'take a particular responsibility for one aspect of the curriculum' (DES, 1983, para. 33). This was similar to today, when the Tory-led coalition government also strongly advocates 'a minimum national entitlement organised around subject disciplines' (DfE, 2010a). For accreditation purposes, regulations required that training courses should pay attention to the methodology of teaching the chosen subject specialism and provide trainee teachers with 'adequate mastery of the basic professional skills, on which to build in their teaching careers' (DES, 1984, para.10). However, concomitant with this was a dispute about the nature and perception of subjects. As documented by Ball, this was particularly salient in the implementation of the National Curriculum framework when interest groups and subject committees competed for the definition of subject meanings and struggled with the 'definition and control of subject knowledge' (Ball, 1990a: 198). Issues of knowledge content and the scope of the subjects in teacher education were closely related to this struggle, and these concerns were also observed in a later circular, 24/89, which defined teacher competences in more specific and narrow terms. Not only was the minimum period of time spent on subject studies and subject application specified, but training courses were also required to prepare students to 'teach and assess the core subjects of the National Curriculum to the attainment targets appropriate to the age range for which they are being trained' (DES, 1989b, para. 4.7). Underlying these prescriptions, theoretical knowledge that was deemed to be irrelevant in the preparation of teachers was thus excluded; developing practical skills in teaching was deemed to be the best method of inculcating basic knowledge to pupils. The role of trainee teachers was constrained to 'delivering' knowledge in the core subjects of the Curriculum, and this announced the government's robust intervention in schooling in terms of curriculum and pedagogy. Moreover, such an emphasis on the technocratic approach to teacher preparation dramatically separated

‘conception from execution’ and excluded trainee teachers from accessing other complementary forms of knowledge (Giroux, 2004: 207). Teachers were re-inscribed as being educational workers with decreased professional autonomy and delimited judgment in pedagogic practices.

The emphasis on competences was also very clear during the mid-1990s. According to the circular *Initial Teacher Training (Second Phase)* (DfE, 1992):

Higher education institutions [HEIs], schools and students should focus on the competences of teaching throughout the whole period of initial training. The progressive development of these competences should be monitored regularly during initial training. Their attainment at a level appropriate to newly qualified teachers should be the objective of every student taking a course of initial training. (DfE, 1992, Annex A)

A similar phrase with regard to the accreditation criteria was also used in the later Circular, 14/93, which declared that “professional competences are at the heart of the criteria, they define the subject knowledge, teaching skills and personal qualities” (DfE, 1993b, para. 21). These excerpts illustrate the way in which the Conservative government specified and insisted on adopting a competence-based approach to the reform of teacher education. These centrally-defined competences (see comprehensive lists in Table 3.1), which contained details of everything trainee teachers were expected to know, understand and be able to do, pre-determined educational practice and took it out of the hands of the teaching ‘profession’. Moreover, it was over-determined in observable and measurable outcomes, for example, the competences in achieving the National Curriculum attainment targets (DES, 1989b; DfE, 1992; DfE, 1993b). As Norris put it, the specification of performance or outcomes in teaching contained a

fundamental contradiction 'between the autonomy needed to act in the face of change and situational uncertainty and the predictability inherent in the specification of outcomes' (Norris, 1991: 335). Newly-qualified teachers were increasingly confined to the specifications of competences and outcomes in their professional work, but what was more significant for our concern was that this competences approach signified 'a technical mode of control over expertise' by the state and 'a technician model for the role and status of the practitioner', as indicated by Jones and Moore (1993: 391). By regulating the content in teaching, the government was able to encroach on teaching expertise. In addition, other discourses of flexibility (e.g., shortened course length and diversified routes into teaching, which are further discussed later) and discourses of standards in terms of regimes of inspection (which I shall be focused on later) all served the purpose of more direct state intervention to regulate the teaching profession.

Circular 9/92 stated that the aim of ITT was that all newly-qualified teachers 'should have achieved the levels of knowledge and standards of professional competence necessary to maintain and improve *standards* in schools' (DfE, 1992, para. 1.1 *my emphasis*); The Teacher Training Agency (TTA) transformed these general competences (see Table 3.1) into a more 'precise and prescriptive language' (Furlong et al, 2000:151) of standards in circular 10/97 (DfEE, 1997a). It could be argued that, in linking the *competences* discourse with *standards*, the policy document apparently ignored the complexity of teaching. It lacked a vision of valuing creativity in teaching, regardless of other interrogative and elaborative activities in the pedagogical process. Tidy and simple categories of standards implicitly informed a set of standard operational procedures for practising teaching, and these specifications meant that not only were teacher educators constrained (Furlong et al, 2000: 154), but the teaching force was simultaneously made easier to manage (Smyth and Shacklock, 1998).

Teaching was reframed and narrowed down by the discourse of competences, depicting teachers as 'mental labour' (Ball, 1993, in Smyth and Shacklock, 1998: 54), whose work was reduced to technical elements, and 'spaces for professional autonomy and judgments (were) reduced'. As noted already, this displaced what Dale calls the 'licensed autonomy' (Dale, 1989) of teachers. In this 'golden age of teacher control' (Le Grand, 1979, in Whitty, 2005: 3), the teaching profession experienced a considerable degree of autonomy and professionalism served as an organising principle that 'came to supersede class and in particular supersede the plutocratic landed and capitalistic ruling class' (Perkin, 1989: 25). Furthermore, teachers' voices and their involvement in policy-making were represented in a triangular relationship of 'bargained corporatism' (ibid: 286) between employers' representatives, trade union leaders and the government. Nevertheless, discourse pertaining to teacher professionalism was subject to social development and change. As Lawson put it, professional roles and work 'reside within a broader social network, and as society changes, so too does professionalism' (Lawson, 2004: 26). Based on this proposition, society's expectations of professionals and the way in which professionalism operated in society were contingent upon social developments in political and economic aspects. In the post-war society, Perkin maintained that 'ability and expertise were the only respectable justification for recruitment to positions of authority and responsibility' (Perkin, 1989: 405). Nevertheless, the rise of the competences movement since the 1980s, particularly in terms of teacher preparation in which teachers were trained to be curriculum deliverers, had significant implications for the reconstruction of 'professionalism'. More accurately, it maintained discipline over teachers in order to serve economic imperatives (Furlong et al, 2000; Smyth and Shacklock, 1998).

To sum up, by deploying the discourse of competences, successive English governments were able to re-define the meaning of a professional teacher. The intervention into course content and the proclaimed ‘truth’ of a ‘professional’ teacher as a transmitter of subject knowledge who deploys practical skills and is outcome-orientated had a profound effect on the formation of teacher subjectivity (this aspect will be addressed further in Chapters 6 and 7). However, I am not trying to suggest that these changes at any one point in time or over time have had the effect of totally erasing professional agency, by which I mean what Giddens outlines as the capacity ‘to act otherwise, being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs (Giddens, 1984: 14). Teaching is not entirely defined or encompassed by policy, and the interpretation of policy involves ‘creative social action not robotic reactivity’ (Ball, 1993a: 46). The relationship between policy and practice is not a simple one (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012), and the re-contextualisation and practice of professionalism discourses will be explored and discussed in Part Three, which examines the policy effects on serving teachers. I now turn to the discourse of standards to continue my investigation of the discourses manifest in ITE policy documents.

### **The Discourse of standards**

Another dominant assumption in relation to the nature and purpose of teacher preparation is the notion of standards. The intervention of successive governments into the content of teacher education was transmuted from the discourse of competences to one of standards, which involved ‘more precise and prescriptive language’ (Furlong et al, 2000:151). Soon after the New Labour government was elected in May 1997, it proposed *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* (DfEE, 1997) stating:

[The] successful completion of a course or programme of initial teacher training (ITT), including employment-based provision, must require the trainee to achieve **all** these standards. **All** courses must involve the assessment of **all** trainees to ensure that they meet all **the standards specified**. (DfEE, 1997a: 7., *original emphasis*)

The standards were set out under four broad headings, namely, knowledge and understanding; planning, teaching and class management; monitoring, assessment, recording, reporting and accountability and other professional requirements. The discursive style of this document was interesting, since it ‘d(id) not engage its readers in dialogue’ (Fairclough, 2000: 13), but rather addressed them in an authoritative and commanding tone. This was evident by the use of phrases such as ‘for all courses, those to be awarded Qualified Teacher Status must, when assessed, demonstrate that they...’, which appeared more than ten times. Furthermore, in terms of the language deployed in the circular, the government itself was not mentioned in the first person such as ‘we’ or ‘our’, whereas trainees and pupils were constantly referred to in the third person, such as ‘improve their teaching’, ‘they have been trained to teach’ or ‘to think and talk about their (pupil) learning’. The ‘oscillation between personal and impersonal sentences’ (ibid: 37) did not merely create language of objectivity and neutrality; it also made the source of regulation invisible. By constituting a seemingly powerless world, standards were presented as being both the highest principles and a common framework for all who were to be awarded the QTS. The focus throughout the document was on the detailed standards, readers were led through the text with the aid of an orderly layout using roman numerals and bullet points, and in this respect, as Fairclough argued, it was ‘a device that (might) be “reader-friendly”, but by the same token (was) “reader-directive”, and d(id) not encourage dialogue’ (ibid: 13-14).

Another striking feature of the content was the considerable detail under each heading. For example, fourteen methods were listed under teaching and class management, which teachers were required to use in order to engage pupils and encourage them to learn. The following are some examples of the prescriptive language used:

- stimulating intellectual curiosity, communicating enthusiasm for the subject being taught, fostering pupils' enthusiasm and maintaining pupils' motivation (i);
- clear instruction and demonstration, and accurate well-paced explanation (v);
- effective questioning which matches the pace and direction of the lesson and ensures that pupils take part (vi);
- providing opportunities to develop pupils' wider understanding by relating their learning to real and work-related examples (xiv). (DfEE, 1997a: 13-14)

It can be seen from these excerpts that the discourse of standards was organised around a set of meticulous and patiently-constructed daily teaching activities and practices. According to Ted Wragg, one of the leading critics at that time:

There's nothing wrong with asking whether people can manage a class or explain things clearly. The problem arises when you subdivide it until it becomes, 'can hold stick of chalk in right hand'. It's the worst kind of Gradgrindery. (*TES*, 23 March 2001)

In doing so, 'it implic(d) an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity' (Foucault, 1984: 181). Moreover, as Shumway tellingly pointed out, 'the more subdivision (could) be assigned to an action, the more that action (could) be controlled' (Shumway, 1989: 126). Underlying these standards power was exercised both invisibly and meticulously for the purpose of regulation and control.



In a similar vein, the detailed prescription in the content of teacher training was developed into the National Curriculum. The initial circular included primary English and mathematics (DfEE, 1997a), and this was later elaborated in a subsequent circular 4/98 to include other subjects like primary and secondary science, secondary English, mathematics and ICT (DfEE, 1998b). The standards of these seven aspects of the ITT national curriculum were all laid out in three major sections: (1) Pedagogical Knowledge and Understanding; (2) Effective Teaching and Assessment Methods; (3) Trainees' Knowledge and Understanding of the Subject. These seven curricula, each ranging from 18 to 31 pages, were all extremely specific and detailed and represented a 'key element in the Government's plans for raising the attainment in literacy and numeracy and making progress towards the national targets' (ibid: 5). According to these centrally-defined standards, ITT providers were required to ensure that trainees were taught as the curriculum prescribed. It was evident that training providers were being constrained, and as Furlong et al cautioned, the effect of these should not be underestimated, since the 'official prescription of teaching approaches [was] beginning to encroach on autonomous professional judgments' (Furlong et al, 2000: 154).

Another aspect of the machinery of the National Curriculum that merits discussion is that, in order to meet all the required standards and be awarded QTS, all trainees were obliged to sit computer-based skills tests in literacy, numeracy and ICT (DfEE, 1998b). Such an emphasis on the outcomes of training illustrated the way in which the government narrowly interpreted the whole idea of teaching and learning, particularly 'linear views of teaching as instructional practice that (led) directly to demonstrable learning gains' (Cochran-Smith, 2001: 180). Of equal importance was the fact that the attachment of assessment programmes to the National Curriculum circumscribed trainees in terms of creativity in teaching. In this respect the notion of passing the test to

be awarded QTS was based on a naïve assumption that teaching was a wooden and mechanical activity, and disregarded the complexity of classroom and school practices and the diversified backgrounds and experiences of pupils. By imposing an ITT National Curriculum and an assessment based on training outcomes, the discourse of standards re-positioned teachers to be more directly responsive to the government's priorities, i.e. the desire for 'Britain to have a modern world-class education system capable of competing in a globalised world' (Furlong et al, 2000: 159). More significantly, the test itself aimed to establish the norm HEIs and trainees should seek to achieve. This regime of assessment controlled and disciplined trainees by measuring, comparing and differentiating them in the course of being awarded QTS. The award of QTS rewarded those who conformed to the standards, while at the same time, 'punishing' and 'excluding' those who did not. In essence, the disciplinary function of 'rewards by awards' (Shumway, 1989: 128) helped the government to maintain control. Equally important, the government was able to exclude alternative teaching models and work toward a new 'project of identity change' by exercising powers and deploying other disciplinary technologies, such as inspections (see below) (Beck, 2008: 135). The inspection mechanism was central in shaping the new model of professionals. However, such compelling mechanisms did not guarantee total compliance, since this still largely depended on the way in which individual teachers enacted those measures in their teaching practices and activities.

Inspection was hardly new when considering the quality assurance of England's school system over the past three decades. The early form of quality assurance in ITT involved HM Inspectors visiting and scrutinising training courses in HEIs and making reports to the Secretaries of State and CATE (DES, 1984, 1989b; DfE, 1992). Ofsted was established under the Education Schools Act in 1992, and two of its duties were to keep

the Secretaries of State informed about the quality of education provided by schools in England and the educational standards achieved in those schools (Education Schools Act, 1992). It was not until 1994 that Ofsted's responsibilities were expanded with a statutory duty to inspect ITT in all educational departments in universities and other higher education institutions (Sinkinson and Jones, 2001: 223). In practice, the results of ITT inspections were published for the purpose of 'ensuring quality', and the allocation of training places and funding of ITT to providers directly reflected the results (DfE, 1993a: 10).

The inspection of ITT was underpinned by the Framework for the Assessment of Quality and Standards in ITT (TTA, 1996), which defined the basis on which 'judgments about compliance and quality (would) be made and provide(d) a consistent basis for inspection and audit, as well as for development' (ibid: 6). Overall, the aim of the framework was to ensure the 'maintenance of high standards' (ibid), and the areas for inspection centred on the *Teaching Competence of Students and NQTs* and the *Quality of Training and Assessment of Students*. While a detailed discussion of the procedures of inspection is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth exploring the most significant mechanism that impinged upon the discourse of teacher professionalism, namely, the taming of HEIs within an externally-determined framework. The subsequent effects of inspection on trainees were that they were harnessed to achieve centrally-imposed competences by means of assessments, all of which were implemented to appeal to 'standards'. As far as what can be seen, the framework worked as a one-size-fits-all strategy to enhance the quality of the provision of ITT. More 'effectively', HEIs were coerced to 'go through hoops' by making direct links between the allocation of student intake numbers and funding and the inspection results. As commented by Newby, Chair of the Universities Council for the Education

of Teachers (UCET), the disciplinary effect was obvious when ‘institutions risk having their funding withdrawn if they did not comply’ (TES, 23 March 2001). Furlong et al also pointedly indicated that the inspections were effective ‘as a means of increasing conformity to the spirit and the letter of government regulation’ (Furlong et al, 2000: 148). As a consequence of all this, HEIs had to accept the discourse of standards and ‘increase conformity to perceived expectations’ (Perryman, 2009: 617) for the purpose of institutional survival and success. In short, teacher educators and trainee teachers were brought under more rigorous central control under the radar of inspection and in some case, existing benefits and relations were brought into conflict with the new requirements and expectations.

To sum up, by constructing the discourse of standards in teacher education, the government was able to use compelling common sense (in the form of the ITT National Curriculum and framework of inspection) to justify the drive to achieve its own agenda, namely, to enhance Britain’s competitiveness in the world market. In effect, the reform in teacher education, particularly under the discourse of standards, imposed a single concept of the definition of a qualified teacher or good training provider, and thus, defined the features of a ‘weak’ teacher and ‘poor’ provider. In essence, this ‘binary thinking’ (ibid: 615), for example, between good/bad or qualified/unqualified, was within the disciplinary functions that ‘provide(d) a constant pressure to conform to the same model, and thus attempt(ed) to make them all be like one another’ (Shumway, 1989: 129). Furthermore, in all of this, there was a shift from a high-trust to a low-trust system based upon surveillance and discipline.

## **The Discourse of flexibility**

Thus far, I have indicated and analysed two of the enduring policy discourses in ITE since the 1980s. As essential qualities of being a good teacher, competences-based approaches to teacher education had a significant impact on the nature of teaching. Similarly, policy emphasis given to the discourse of standards also played a crucial role in influencing the skills and values of being a teacher. It is important to remember that, throughout the processes of reform in ITE, competences discourses gradually evolved into those of standards (see Chapter 5). Moreover, to a great extent, these two discourses were operated and intended to change teacher professionalism via regulating the content of teacher preparation. In addition to these attempts, another crucial issue, which mainly related to the government's concern about ensuring an adequate supply of teachers, was also a major policy priority. This was the opening up of new routes into teaching and giving schools the freedom to recruit non-graduates and non-QTS teachers, which I term the discourse of *flexibility*.

The policy discourse of flexibility has been apparent in government circulars and documents since the 1980s and this discourse articulates various different aspects of teachers' work, conditions of work, work relations, career progression and security, as well as access to teaching. An example of this can be found in the White Paper, *Teaching Quality* (DES, 1983) which proposed to implement the flexible deployment of the teaching force by redeploying them from one school to another. It suggested that teachers were contracted to serve the whole of the authority's area, or a major part of it and that, in some cases, strategies of short-term contracts and part-time teachers could be adopted (DES, 1983, para. 80, 82). With the assumption that these flexible strategies served 'as a means of using teachers more effectively' so that 'their talents [could] be

more fully exploited' (ibid: para. 80), the Conservative government at that time aimed to strategically maximise the utility of the teaching force and enhance 'value for money' in terms of both teachers' contracts and school staffing. Furthermore, the extension of trainee teachers' time in schools, which included School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) programmes, required serving teachers to share the responsibility for 'planning, supervision and support of students' school experience' with training institutions (DES, 1984, para. 3). A much larger portion of responsibility was given to serving teachers in the later circulars, which argued for a partnership between training institutions and schools. Practising teachers were coaxed into the 'planning and management of courses and the selection, training and assessment of students' (DfE, 1993b, para.34). The Conservative government stated that these moves could be beneficial for serving teachers as 'a valuable form of staff development' (DES, 1989b, Annex B, para. 2).

However, concerns were expressed at the time about the increased workload demands being placed upon teachers, such as in providing cover for the mentors responsible for supervising training activities in schools (*TES*, 17 September 1993; *TES*, 5 November 1993). This was responded to by changes in the distribution of funding for initial training. In the first year of the new arrangements universities were required to make payments to schools and were provided with funds by Central Government, via the newly established TTA, to facilitate this. However, in subsequent years, universities were expected to fund such payments largely from their own resources at a time when HE funding was already being cut, effectively creating a quasi-market in ITT – a development which created obvious financial pressures for university providers of ITT, resulting in turn, in the diversification of the role and responsibilities of teacher educators and the casualization of labour in higher education (see Furlong et al, 2000:

104). For instance, staff in education faculties were expected to take on additional teaching duties, such as work on other ITE programmes or in other faculties. Concurrently, an increasing number of HE teacher education staff were appointed on part-time contracts, and/or a greater proportion of full-timers were appointed on temporary contracts (ibid: 105). As Furlong et al documented, there were redundancies in education faculties, and teacher educators experienced a greater sense of insecurity about their position and their future in the profession (Furlong et al, 2000: 105). More generally, as noted already, the introduction of school-centred training courses, with a primary emphasis on the formation of skills and the building of competences, had the effect of encouraging ‘the teacher trainer to get out of the business altogether’ (*TES*, 10 September 1993).

The flexibility discourse reached a climax in relation to the ‘management’ of teachers after the 1988 Education Act teachers became directly employed by schools. This seeming deregulation of the local management of schools enabled schools to have more freedom in areas of teacher employment and deployment. The main purpose was to employ teachers more flexibly and create differences in salaries, contracts and working conditions. Furthermore, the discussion of the performance management model in the *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change* under New Labour (DfEE: 1998a) raised the possibility of paying teachers individually according to their performance outcomes and professional standards. These imperatives, which floated with ideas of flexibility are part of the incremental changes, and they subjected teachers to specific working criteria and prescribed targets. The definition of good teaching practice is mainly determined by school managers, and teachers are reduced to ‘agents of policies which [were] decided elsewhere’ (Ball, 1990a: 171). Points related to performance management and its impacts on school teachers will be revisited in Chapter 7, which pays particular

attention to the deployment of management discourses in schools. However, the main point I want to address here is that the logic of industry, which emphasised ‘workers [teachers] as units of labour to be distributed and managed’ (Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2004: 137) in an individualised and competitive working environment was embedded in these policies. Additionally, when an external Ofsted inspection is set alongside these internal performance management schemes, and interwoven with the discursive concepts of standards, flexibility and management there are significant implications for the constitution of teacher subjects and the work of teaching. According to Mahony et al, the values and assumptions that underlie this competitive and performative model of progression were ‘at odds with professional cultures of teaching’; moreover, ‘the sense of permanent visibility (was) leading to increased levels of self-surveillance’ (ibid: 146). Therefore, the flexibility in pay differentiation was paradoxically operated in a highly prescribed and surveillance context.

Another recurring theme in the discourse of flexibility was the diversified routes into teaching. Circulars issued in the 1980s explicitly advocated training courses for ‘special entrants’, mature applicants, or ‘extended postgraduate courses’ where there was a shortage of teachers of particular subjects. Apart from the standard route into teaching, which is ‘by [the] successful completion of a course of initial training for teachers in schools approved by the Secretary of State for Education and Science’ (DES, 1988a, para. 3), these alternative routes into teaching were designed to meet one of the government’s policy priorities, namely, maintaining an adequate supply of recruits into the teaching profession when there was an acute shortage of teachers in the late 1980s (Furlong et al, 2000: 43). The flexibility in diversified routes into teaching concurrently created alternatives to training institutions. As documented by Furlong et al, ‘off site’ training courses were provided in local polytechnics and the Open University (ibid: 58).



An example of this is the Licensed Teacher Scheme, launched in 1989 (DES, 1989a), under which employers (Local Education Authorities [LEAs] or governing bodies) could recruit mature entrants, apply for a license for them to teach immediately, and train them on the job (provided applicants had a minimum of two years' higher education). According to Maguire (1993), the enactment of the Licensed Teacher Scheme at that time was the result of a miscalculation of supply and demand. Both the Licensed Teacher Scheme and the Articled Teacher Scheme, which was also a largely school-based route to qualified teacher status (QTS), aimed to produce new teachers quickly, and they both, in effect, responded to the political expediency to resolve the mismatch between supply and demand (Maguire, 1993: 49). This flexibility of access into teaching is even more obvious today, when initial teacher training 'comes in all shapes and sizes' (TDA, 2010), regardless of applicants' earlier qualifications, experience, preferences, or personal circumstances. This particularly applies to the scheme of Teach First, which not only emphasises leadership and management skills, but also provides the potential to develop a commercially-orientated career (The Teach First programme will be explored further in Chapter 5, *The Discourses of Standards*).

In this discourse of flexibility, it is clear that what it means to be a teacher is reworked through the way in which one becomes a teacher, and this is all a fundamental challenge to the traditional concept of professionalism. In the traditional model of professional training, a longer period of education enabled aspiring practitioners to 'internalise the attitudes and values embodied in the service ideal' (Lawson, 2004: 32), and this service ideal served as a moral claim that purported to put public interests above individuals' own, and thus 'enable the institutionalisation of trust between the client (and society) and the professional' (ibid). However, the new and often shorter periods of teacher preparation prevented trainee teachers from immersing themselves in the acceptable

norms of behaviour and this may have affected their views and values with regard to the meaning of being a teacher. The train-on-the-job route into teaching implied that teaching was essentially a practical skill, and on-the-job experience was credited with the most significance. To a certain extent, forms of theory were eschewed. More precisely, these new entrants were 'trained' in an apprenticeship mode; thus, they would not have 'their brains stuffed with the dubious material' (Hillgate, 1989., *ibid*). It is apparent from these developments that the discourses of flexibility and practicality enmesh and place a greater emphasis on 'training' teachers' in technical skills, in delivering particular focused curricula, and preventing them from theorising the purposes and values of their work. It is also notable that, when the issue of the demand-and-supply of teachers was paramount, teacher quality was soon sacrificed for the urgent resolution of the teacher supply problem.

At the same time, the government asserted that new routes into teaching were to have the net benefit of a more efficient system for granting QTS (DES, 1989a). This 'efficient' system was consistent with later circulars and could be described as a way to 'encourage this more cost-effective form of preparation for teaching' (DFE, 1993b, para. 27). Clearly, it was mainly based on the principle of 'value for money', which the government used to calculate the effectiveness and efficiency of teacher preparation. Therefore, three-year BEd courses and other flexible and shortened courses open to mature entrants were also promoted in Circular, 14/93. I suggest that, up to this point, successive English governments were extremely 'economic' in how they saw their responsibility for the training and provision of teachers. In short, the state aimed at minimal input, yet demanded optimal output in terms of producing a future competitive workforce and building a 'world-class' school system. So, what sense can be made of this account of teacher professionalism? As maintained by the NAS/UWT in their

condemnation of the Licensed Teacher route, ‘they [governments] want to pedestrianize the teaching profession. Yet this government talks about raising standards’ (*TES*, 27 May 1988). In contrast to the ‘professional’ preparation of teachers, in which trainee teachers spent longer time in training institutions and could ‘master a body of knowledge, including both practical knowledge and esoteric theory’ (Lawson, 2004: 32), this ‘seductively “easy” and “cheap” method of covering teacher vacancies’ transformed professionalism by ‘de-theorising teacher education, privileging the practical over critical, and through this method, deskilling teachers’ (Maguire, 1993:52). In line with this argument and to borrow a term from Mahony, Hextall and Menter, who refer to the tendency to conduct teacher assessment, I would further suggest that there was also a policy trend of ‘McDonaldisation’ (Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2002) in teacher education, i.e. not only cheap, but also quick to deliver. With these developments, a different version of teacher professionalism was gradually taking shape, which re-constructed the meaning and value of being a teacher. To summarise, the techniques and devices embedded in these discourses focused on teachers as both the object and subject of reform. The discursive concepts analysed above were transformed into techniques of objectified tests, performance targets, and so on in practice. As a result, as I will demonstrate in *Management Discourse*, explored in Chapters 6 and 7, ‘new’ teachers, who saw themselves and made sense of their work differently, were gradually produced.

## **Conclusion**

In undertaking a discourse analysis of ITE policy documents, three key interconnected discursive concepts, which have played significant roles in reshaping the meaning of being a teacher and re-defining the nature of professionalism, have been identified in

this chapter. These discursive concepts facilitated the re-organisation of knowledge and practices related to being a 'professional' teacher over a period of time. In other words, the operation of professionalism discourses constituted an image of the preferred professional teacher, which embodied a range of values, priorities, and dispositions for how teachers should (and should not) think and act in relation to their work. Statements and texts in policy documents thus project certain 'knowledge' or 'truth' about how the preferred model of a professional teacher should act and behave. From this perspective, successive governments have exerted power over educational practice by the stipulation of circulars or education acts. At the same time, policies were 'discursive strategies', by which Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) mean a set of texts and practices that speak to the wider social processes of schooling, such as the construction of the 'teacher' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 16). Therefore, the meaning of teaching and what it means to be a teacher have been gradually re-defined in this discursive formation of a 'professional teacher'. The next chapter, which focuses specifically on the discourse of practicality, contains a more complex analysis of the enactment of ITE policy by engaging concurrently with policy texts and interview data provided by various policy actors. As my analysis moves on, I further examine the changing power relations of teachers to the state.

Table 3.1 Lists of competences in Circular 9/92 and 14/93

Circular 9/92 (secondary course)	Circular 14/93 (primary course)
Subject knowledge	Curriculum content, planning and assessment
Subject application	
Class management	(a) whole curriculum
Assessment and recording of pupils' progress	(b) subject knowledge and application
Further professional development	(c) assessment and recording of pupils' progress
	Teaching strategies
	(a) pupils' learning
	(b) teaching strategies and techniques
	Further professional development

## Chapter 4

### The Discourse of Practicality

#### Introduction

In the previous chapter, three dominant discourses in teacher education since the 1980s were identified and elaborated: those of *competences*, *standards* and *flexibility*. A textual review reveals that successive governments have adopted an interventionist approach to construct a highly centralised system of ITE. Strategies of diversifying teacher recruitment and flexible employment practices in schools have been promoted to ensure an adequate supply of teachers. At the same time, with greater control of the content of teacher education and specified standards for the award of QTS, the state has succeeded, to a great extent, in establishing the system of ITE as a major means of ‘re-tooling’ the teaching profession (Furlong, 2008: 730). Having analysed and discussed the emerging patterns in ITE policy documents since the 1980s, I now move on to study one of the identified recurring themes in teacher education. Drawing data from policy texts, as well as interviews, this chapter begins with a discussion of the extent to which teacher education has been steadily re-located in, and placed under the control of, schools. As an aside here, I will also indicate some school practices that exhibit trends of the proletarianisation of teaching as a result of the significant policy emphasis placed on practical teaching competences. The remainder of the chapter will focus on discourses of practicality in teacher education, and these will be illustrated by arguing that two forms of power facilitate the production of a new version of teacher professionalism. As signalled in the conclusion of Chapter 3, the state firstly exerted power over educational practice by stipulating a set of rules, norms and regulations. These attempts, which aimed to reconfigure teacher preparation, carried with them certain assumptions about

the nature of a ‘professional’ teacher; namely, that learning to teach was a matter of learning on the job and that teaching was simply a practical skill, and over time, these dominant assumptions became responsible for the production of a particular version of professionalism. In a simple sense, practicality discourses bring into play the different aspects of the power relations existing between the state and the teaching profession. Moreover, I suggest in the conclusion that power with a productive effect re-constitutes teachers in a heterogeneous and non-unitary way.

### **The Discourse of practicality**

The primary discourse that relates to teaching today is that of *practicality*, which is a set of statements constituting that teaching is a craft best learned in schools. The government White Paper, *the Importance of Teaching*, clearly indicates that the specific purpose in reforming initial teacher training is to ‘increase the proportion of time trainees spend in the classroom, focusing on core teaching skills, especially in teaching reading and mathematics and in managing behaviour’ (DfE, 2010a: 9). Drawing from an international comparison and a market research-based perspective, the Coalition government aims to ‘train [their] teachers rigorously at the outset, focusing particularly on the practical teaching skills they will need’ (ibid: 19), and from a historical perspective, a focus on developing training trainees’ practical skills has been evident in government policy since the 1980s. For example, Circular 3/84 stated that ‘Initial teacher training courses should be so planned as to allow for a substantial element of school experience and teaching practice’ (DES, 1984, para. 5) Concomitant with this was the promotion of teacher competences in the aspects of subject specialism and curriculum studies. Circular 24/89, which was issued in 1989, took the two elements of practical teaching skills and subject specialism further. Not only did it indicate the

minimum periods of time to be spent on subject studies and subject application, but ‘school experience is [was] used as far as possible to illuminate students’ educational, professional and curriculum studies and their applications work’ (DES, 1989b, Annex B, Section 2-4). Concurrent with the introduction of the National Curriculum via the 1988 Education Reform Act, the circular also specified that training courses should prepare students to ‘teach and assess the core subjects of the National Curriculum to the attainment targets appropriate to the age range for which they are being trained’ (DES, 1989b, para. 5.2). The articulation and use of terms such as ‘school experience’ and ‘teaching practice and skills’ in describing teachers’ work carries with it certain assumptions about the work done by a ‘professional’ teacher. Within the interplay between the discourses of practicality and competences, teaching is firstly constructed as a mechanism to deliver the curriculum and teachers as technical and mental labour. Furthermore, as Mahony and Hextall decisively point out, the language and procedures in these policies frame and define the nature of teaching activities, and in essence, these transformations cannot be understood without referring to the contemporary changes in the labour process (Mahony and Hextall, 2001).

This is not the place to begin a lengthy discussion of the theory of the labour process (Braverman, 1974). All points related to the labour process of teaching will be further explored in Chapter 7, which primarily considers what is happening to the work of school teachers today. However, Freeland’s argument is useful for the present purpose:

Schooling is essentially linked with the capitalist labour market through the credentialing processes and more directly through developing skills and knowledge which increase labour productivity. In this sense schooling is indirectly productive of surplus value and hence of considerable importance to capital. (Freeland, 1986, in Reid,



2003:565)

This account shows the ‘relative autonomy’ of education to some extent (Ball, 1990a), which is that the education system tends to be used ‘as the key machine tool in their [politicians] own projects of social engineering’ (Dale, 1979., in Ball, 1990a: 13). Viewed in this light, it is necessary for the state to control the work of schools, since education shoulders the responsibility of national prosperity and teachers are crucial to the success of policies aimed at improving educational competitiveness. One of the various ways to achieve this is by imposing management techniques, and this will be addressed in Chapters 6 and 7. The more relevant concern here is the proletarianisation of teaching as a result of a series of educational reforms since the mid-1980s. There is abundant research that identifies the extent to which teachers have become proletarianised (see, for example, Apple, 1988; Ball, 1988; Ozga and Lawn, 1988), and the common element among these studies is the deskilling of teachers. In Braverman’s term, deskilling means ‘the space, the freedom of manoeuvre available for the worker [teacher] to influence or control production is significantly closed down’ (Braverman, 1974, in Ball, 1988: 293). One of the teacher educators interviewed in my research, who has witnessed the process of successive reforms, said:

what has changed [for the past 18 years], the way teachers’ work is, I think, these days my students [PGCE students] certainly and the people I work within schools are much more focused on doing what they are told. And they [are] always told to do something. They never, they never seem to have things left to their own discretion any more. *What is taught, how it’s taught, when it’s taught* is all decided by someone else now. And the sad thing is that many of them seem to like it. (Brian, teacher educator, 18 years school experience; *my emphasis*)

Such a view suggests that the deskilling of teachers undermines their professional judgement in the sense that it substantially reduces the space for making discretionary decisions. Another interviewee with 20 years' experience of teaching English in schools described the circumscription of professional judgement after the imposition of the National Curriculum:

When I started teaching in...my first school teaching in 1985, if a child in my class said 'why we [are] reading this?', the text that we were reading. The answer that I gave at that time had to be, in some sense, about my professional judgement. I mean I could say 'because it's what at the stock room'. But to defend the choice of texts in the year before the National Curriculum would involve me saying, 'well, we're reading this because I think it's got these qualities or characteristics or values or whatever.' In the period from 1988 onwards, from the imposition of the National Curriculum, in some sense, the teachers' answer to the question 'why are we reading this' is because the government says so. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

In some sense, however, teachers may be seen to be simultaneously becoming re-skilled in the practical aspects of their daily work, such as pupil assessment, teaching reading and mathematics, or managing classrooms within a framework of competences. This re-working of teachers' skills constitutes a new pattern of relationships in which teaching activities are drawn more closely to the need of 'new times'. In this project of overhauling the teaching force, in which the government aims to re-define the new practices of professionalism, the subject position 'assigned' to teachers is narrowly that of a trained technician, who disciplines and delivers work to students in schools in order to 'ensure[ing] that schools more efficiently and effectively satisfy national economic priorities' (Smyth, 1991: 324). Thus, the central government adopts an interventionist stance in attempting to re-frame teachers' thinking and control their behaviour. Another

interviewee, who is a senior policy analyst regarded the initiatives and changes in re-designing teachers' daily lives to be a 'political project', in which the old professional settlement of teachers has been redefined and a new particular version of professionalism has been constructed to meet government objectives:

[T]he Labour government wanted to re-engineer, that they wanted to work on the profession and made it look different. That was actually a project, a political project to change it. Because I think the previous government, the Conservative governments, were hostile to the profession, just thought it was very negative and backward-looking. And New Labour took the view that actually it needed to be modernised. So they..and they... the whole notion of "new professionalism", [it] was an attempt to develop from professionalism... develop the teaching profession in a way to allow it to work effectively in a competitive market school system and more centrally government control. That's how they see the profession, as something that has to be managed...trying to manage it. (H, senior policy analyst)

The evidence presented here suggests that the state played a 'mediating role' (Johnson, 1972) by more directly controlling and regulating the services and practices that used to be controlled and regulated by the teaching profession. Based on the notion of 'licensed autonomy' teachers enjoyed a higher level of autonomy in the heyday of professionalism before the mid-70s, centred on an implicit licence which 'was renewable on the meeting of certain conditions...subject to certain broad limitations' (Dale, 1989: 130). (At the same time, however, it is vital to remember that professionalism might be used by teachers as a basis for claiming social status and privilege; see Chapter 1, the power approach in the *Literature Review on Professionalism* and the discussion of *A Brief History of Teacher Education in England*). Nevertheless, for the last three decades or so, 'professionalism' has been re-defined

from the 'outside' in. By introducing policy that represents teaching as technical and curriculum-delivery work, the state provides closely defined specifications of what teachers do. Furthermore, it 'reconfigures the ways in which teachers talk about, think and act in relation to their teaching' (Mahony and Hextall, 2001: 144). The exercise of power on the part of the government has a profound influence on re-shaping how teachers think, see and feel about their work.

The encroachment of the state is also manifest in the preparation of teachers. Within the discourse of practicality, the government has adopted pragmatic approaches to promote a more practically-based apprenticeship model of teacher formation, and talk about the notion of teacher 'training' rather than education. Furthermore, by promoting more alternative school-based and employment-based routes into teaching such as Teach First and School Direct, successive governments have sought to 'introduce a more practically focused professionalism' and bring in a new population of teachers (Furlong, Barton, Miles, Whiting and Whitty, 2000: 25). One former senior policy adviser in the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) gave her opinion:

I think [the] previous government [the Labour government] thought that as well. [The] HE [higher education sector] is a bit of out of touch and that somehow employment-based routes and school-based routes are more rooted in the ground, or whatever you want to call them--- practical. (...). I think it's [this is] part of an ideological assumption and I think, I mean, ideological political assumption, seeing [that] teaching is just about a set of skills rather than a deeper understanding which informs what you are going to do. (D, senior policy advisor)

A senior teacher educator also offered a similar account:

‘I think some of the routes [school-based routes] are basically based on the view of [a] teacher being a technician not a professional. A teacher just needs to [be] told what to do and put it into practice’. (C, senior teacher educator)

First of all, it is interesting to see from these excerpts that the discourses of *flexibility* and *practicality* are articulated together. Different groups of statements, that is, notions of diversified routes into teaching and a greater emphasis on teaching skills, co-constitute a framework in which professionalism is re-defined. These interdiscursive relations also construct a system of teacher ‘training’ which is used in a utilitarian way. That is to say, policy changes in both the structure of the teacher education system (flexible routes into teaching) and content (emphasis on practical teaching skills) make it possible to imbue aspiring teachers with values and skills articulated in policy texts.

More importantly, by challenging conventional models of teacher education and placing teacher ‘training’ within schools, successive English governments have sought to ‘dismantle[ing] teacher education institutions and break[ing] up the monopoly that the profession has “too long” enjoyed’ (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2001: 3). One of the interviewees expressed his concern that the input of higher education institutions (HEIs) in teacher preparation is being superseded by other alternative routes:

it [the promotion of diversified routes into teaching] undermines the essential contribution of higher education. It’s very hard to have debates to say that we are important if there is another way of getting to the same point(...). We are used as, for utilitarian reasons(...). the government doesn’t [don’t] see higher education having anything particular to give which is sufficient. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher educator)

He referred to the significant role played by HEIs in the preparation of teachers, and at the same time, implicitly cited the monopolistic nature of HEIs. He continued to indicate that policy here is essentially a political act to reduce the contribution of HEIs and curtail their power:

[W]hat I object to is [that] all of these have been set up to [in] opposition to higher education(...). it was set up in opposition and that [is] what made me cross. (...). Teach First has only 6% of its students staying in teaching. Well, we'll be closed down if that's with us; that the Graduate Teacher Programme, I mean it constantly comes on the bottom in terms of its Ofsted. They'll be closed down if that's with us. So it's hugely political. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher educator)

As indicated earlier, Johnson perceives that the state plays a 'mediating role' (Johnson, 1972) in bringing in more direct control and regulation of services and practices that used to be controlled and regulated by the teaching profession. From this perspective, external power is imposed from above for the purpose of achieving the government's priorities. Acting as a form of sovereign power (Foucault, 1980), policy changes make it possible to establish a certain set of rules, norms and regulations in the practice of teacher education. Statements like 'practical skills' or 'school-based training', to some extent, become common currency in formulating and achieving a 'common-sense' concept of teachers. On the account of 'policy as discourse', these practicality discourses in teacher education have the effect of redistributing 'voices'. Therefore, according to Ball, 'it does not matter what some people say or think, only certain voices can be heard as [being] meaningful or authoritative' (Ball, 1993a: 15). In the process of reform, this coercive and repressive power legitimises some and undermines others. That is to say, the higher education sector's input into teacher education is marginalised

and other social actors, such as schools, are given much more responsibility in the 'training' of student teachers. Moreover, bureaucratic agencies such as TTA/TDA and Ofsted are able to re-define the content of teacher education and police the implementation of policy (Furlong, 2002: 24). These mechanisms enhance the state's control of the curriculum and introduce tighter inspection regimes which provide a platform from which it is able to challenge professional autonomy and substantially re-define teacher professionalism. Therefore, policy and practice are intertwined in power relations which, to some degree, encapsulate intervention and control.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that power is not exercised in a static and unchanging way. The practice of the process of reform in teacher education does not simply follow policy. On the one hand, the state concedes some professional power to the teaching profession at some points in time. For example, one interviewee suggested:

[W]hen they [the government] revised them [policy on teacher competences] there were consultations and I think over the years the university view was listened to. (F, Former additional Inspector)

[O]ver the years universities had quite considerable input into shaping them [Standards for Qualified Teacher Status]. So it's not quite right to say that they just come from the government.... universities have shaped them they had more say over the years. (F, Former additional Inspector in Ofsted)

On the other hand, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, there have always been long-standing inter-union rivalries and divisions, and as such, teachers' organisations have adopted various positions. According to one respondent, the teaching profession lacks a collective voice to act homogeneously in resisting the interventions of the state:

...there has been nobody speaking in a collective way for the teaching profession, [who] actually looks at what the government has trying to do. They try to modernise them [teachers], none of the teaching unions, professional associations that... they were opposed a little bit, they didn't like the Performance-related Pay but no one has actually set back and thought 'we are being reformed here and we need a collective voice about what our views of this are. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher educator)

A former Assistant Secretary of the NUT also noted the significance of the split within the teaching profession after the NUT and the National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT), two of the major teacher unions, refused to sign the Workforce Agreement in 2003 with the result that both of these teaching unions were excluded from the so-called 'social partnership', in which the employers (central government) and unions 'forged an alliance based on the promotion of a "common-interest" agenda' (Stevenson, 2007: 226). However, according to Stevenson (2007), the NAHT has a more 'ambivalent attitude' toward this remodelling policy and has occupied positions both inside and outside the partnership (ibid). The interviewee quoted above provided his opinion on this issue:

[W]hat it meant was that profession was profoundly split and it did mean that primary teachers particularly weren't represented in discussion with [the] government. Because the National Union of Teachers, National Association of Head Teachers are the dominant bodies for representing primary teachers. So primary teachers fail to have an effective voice in discussion with successive Labour governments from 2003 onwards. (A, former Assistant Secretary, NUT)

While a further examination of the effects of the division within the school workforce related to the influence of policy and responses to policy is beyond the scope of this



chapter, the impact of the remodelling reforms on teachers' work is of particular concern. As Stevenson et al helpfully point out, remodelling policies are cast in terms of a 'new professionalism', which represents,

a narrowing of teachers' professional concerns with a clear focus on technical questions of 'delivery' rather than wider questions of pedagogy and the curriculum. At the same time that teachers are being encouraged to focus on the 'core task' of teaching and learning, fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of the curriculum are removed yet further from their control. Teacher professionalism therefore is increasingly being conceived in terms of technical questions relating to the detail of pedagogic practice, with wider issues about teachers' ability to design curricula, or determine appropriate forms of assessment, removed from them. (Stevenson et al, 2007: 5-6)

Having discussed the role of sovereign power in imposing certain rules and regulations concerning the preparation of new teachers, the existence of another form of power relations between the government and the teaching profession is also particularly relevant here. This is a power that has a fluid quality and productive effects. As Popkewitz and Brennan put, 'it circulates through institutional practices and the discourses of daily life...embedded in the governing systems of order, appropriation and exclusion by which subjectivities are constructed and social life is formed' (Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998: 18). Power inscribed in policy and policy discourses delineates the boundaries and possibilities for teachers to think and act upon a particular version of professionalism. Within the discourse of *practicality* in which governments place greater emphasis on practical school-based work and a list of teacher competences, a certain type of 'professional' behaviour is produced through daily practice and a particular teacher subject is made up by the government's promotion of basic teaching

skills. To borrow an idea from Vincent and Ball (2007), who refer to the ‘making-up’ of the middle-class child, teachers are in a sense, ‘understood as a project—soft, malleable and able to be developed and improved’ (Vincent and Ball, 2007: 1065). The making-up of new teachers with particular dispositions and character traits is facilitated by the investment of power in *practicality* discourses. For example, teacher competences are constructed in policy and practices as being the essential and natural qualities of being a teacher, regardless of the wide range of abilities, aptitudes or cultural backgrounds that may be present in real classroom settings. The idea is to make teaching genetic and standardised, and the teacher should be adapted but not necessarily adaptable.

However, it is equally important to recognise that my data does not point to an overarching picture in terms of the re-positioning of teachers’ subjects. There are conditions of transformation in which teachers are formed and re-positioned in varying degrees. One senior policy adviser described the changing process of teachers’ work:

They’re [teachers] surprisingly resilient and surprisingly able to carry on in whatever ways they think is right for children even if the government is trying to impose stuff. Because actually [the] implementation of policy in education happens in the classroom, not in the government ministry(...). The teaching profession has the power to sabotage to a large extent any policies [they] doesn’t [don’t] like if you don’t persuade. (D, senior policy adviser)

More specifically, new discourses do not eradicate all existing practices. Accommodation to policy and compromises between new requirements and earlier experience are all mixed up in a complex way. A teacher educator with considerable school experience appropriately pointed this out, echoing a point made earlier.

There is more going on in the work that teachers do than is defined in policy. And teachers are towards to a great extent aware of that and operate both within the discourses of policy but also within older discourses, to different degrees. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

Moreover, he took the view that, in fact, teachers do not respond in a homogeneous way when they are confronted with different discourses:

I think teachers are still having actively to negotiate their ways through competing discourses; and because the existence of competing discourses it won't do to see teachers now as formed monolithically as it were through a single dominant discourse. I think that's just over-simplification. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

Another teacher educator referred to this 'new' teaching practice as 'private creativity':

[T]here is much more private creativity in the classroom, trying out things and wanting to teach in different ways in lots and lots [of] schools(...). People have been suggesting trying out in the classroom. I think that has always been the case. (E, teacher educator)

Therefore, policy may be read and interpreted into practice in different ways. As Bowe and Ball rightly note, 'practitioners do not confront policy texts as naïve readers; they come with histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own. They have vast interests in the meaning of policy' (Bowe and Ball, 1992: 22). In this sense, power with a productive quality is exercised, challenged and contested in an unpredictable configuration.

## Conclusion

In summary, the UK state has adopted an interventionist stance toward teacher education in that teacher education has been subjected to greater control and regulation since the 1980s. On the one hand, the government has exercised a top-down approach to challenge and curtail the role of the higher education sector in the preparation of teachers. By promoting alternative models of teacher ‘training’ rather than university-based ones and giving much more emphasis to practical teaching skills, a new version of teacher professionalism has been imposed from above to facilitate change toward the ‘preferred’ ways of being a professional. This assertive ‘mediating role’ played by the state has resulted in a profound shift in the relationship of power between the teaching profession and the state. In other words, there has been a growing loss of teacher autonomy and an erosion of professional judgement, both in the higher education sector and in school classrooms. On the other hand, certain possibilities for practice are legitimated and promoted in the *practicality* discourse. Thus, policy discourse ‘creates social positions (or perspectives) from which people are “invited” (“summoned”) to speak, listen, act, read and write, think, feel, believe, and value in certain characteristic, historically recognisable ways...’ (Gee, Hull and Lankshear, 1996: in Mahony and Hextall, 2001: 144). This form of power with its productive quality traverses through practices and creates diverse effects in which teachers are re-positioned differently. Therefore, the meaning of being a ‘professional’ teacher and the re-constitution of the teacher subject are to some extent, contingent.

I have made the point in this chapter that *practicality* has become one of the dominant discourses in ITE policy. Its focus on practical teaching skills and ‘training’ on the job (in relation to diversified routes into teaching) offers a particular kind of subject

position and identity through which aspiring teachers come to view and think about the nature of the educational enterprise. Concomitant with the prevalence of the *practicality* discourse in ITE policy there is also another primary discourse which is articulated through the course of ITE. In the next chapter I explore the *Discourse of Standards*.

## Chapter 5

### The Discourse of Standards

#### Introduction

One of the most direct interventions into the content of teacher education by successive English governments since the 1980s was the establishment of frameworks of standards for teachers' work. Encapsulated in these standards policies is the common notion that frames teaching within 'firmer definitions as to the purposes of teaching, clearer specifications of the what and how of teaching, more rigorous and assertive vetting and regulating procedures' (Mahony and Hextall, 2000: 85). My analysis in this chapter aims to identify the way in which the standards agenda has become embedded in policy since the early 1980s and has contributed to the restructuring of the teaching profession. As indicated in Chapter 2, the initial articulation of the reform of teaching was derived from political concerns in which teachers were held responsible for perceived economic underperformance and the levelling down of academic achievement. This critique of the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of public services specifically provided legitimacy for more direct and tighter forms of control of teachers' work and the role of schooling.

Following the previous chapter on the discourse of *practicality*, one of the predominant discourses in teacher education, this chapter focuses on the discourse of *standards*. It consists of two sections, the first of which outlines the establishment and development of notions of teacher competences in the 1980s under Conservative governments. The second section begins with a brief discussion of some of the policy similarities and differences between New Labour and Conservatives in their overall vision of education before unpacking a number of specific policies that articulate the standards discourses.

The imposed National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Education represents a critical point in time when the state's involvement in the content of teacher education gradually usurped the monopoly and discretion of the teaching profession. In addition, the Standards for Qualified Teacher Status, the continuum of Professional Standards, and the mechanism of Ofsted inspection were all established under New Labour. These not only set in place narrow and prescriptive approaches to professional formation, but, more importantly, the standards discourse constructed and positioned teachers differently in the sense of articulating a particular vision to which a 'professional' teacher should be committed. Overall, the main point I will argue in this chapter is that teacher education is one of the key social technologies of governmentality and is deployed to construct teachers with certain dispositions and sensibilities (Popkewitz, 1995: 57). In conclusion, I point out that the standards discourse produces particular discursive practices by which performance is accorded particular importance in the institutional practices of schools. The disciplining of teaching and teacher education by means of the standards discourse is in effect, part of a set of relays aimed at producing a workforce with the relevant skills to enhance international competitiveness.

### **The Discourse of Competences**

The discourse of standards has prevailed for the past three decades in teacher education policy. However, discourses are not immutable; they are evolving, shifting, and socially constructed. As Foucault reminds us, discourse is not merely groups of signs or elements that refer to content or representation, but 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49). The discourses of standards were set in place in relation to the development of teachers' practical teaching competences in order to reassert the need for subject specialisation and basic professional skills (for

example, see DES, 1983 and 1984). In this section, I focus specifically on the discourse of *competences* before moving to the various threads that permeate standards discourses. As already discussed in Chapter 2, *Context of Influence*, schooling was constructed as being dysfunctional, and teachers were constructed as being responsible for the supposed ineffectiveness and failure of the school system within a ‘discourse of derision’ beginning in the mid-1970s through to the present day. Concurrently, teacher educators were also implicated in this scapegoating of teachers. They were seriously challenged and came under attack. One of the direct criticisms was that school teachers ‘have been influenced by higher education, and so promote progressive and anti-establishment/anti-capitalist ideas’ (Ozga, 2000a: 21). The discourse of derision established a profound distrust in teacher educators’ professional knowledge and competence in the preparation of future classroom teachers. Some ephemeral examples can be seen from the press.

‘It is rather remarkable that teacher training colleges have for so long been allowed to be so lax’ (The Guardian, in the Times Education Supplement, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1983)

‘...the raw recruits are marched into action only to find that the parade-ground has given them all too little preparation for the realities of the battlefield’ (The Times, in the Times Education Supplement , 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1983)

‘...That is why the Department’s plans for more rigorous selection and training of teachers must be enforced as soon as possible...Before more children are thrown undeservedly on the dole scrap-heap’ (Daily Star, in the Times Education Supplement, 25<sup>th</sup> March 1983)

In a similar vein, the following comments illustrate some of the ways in which teacher



educators were depicted.

[T]here was a good deal of extremely bad press around teacher education and a lot of lies... we [teacher educators] were supposed to be locking student teachers in lecture halls and indoctrinated them with Marxism studies. (G, former member of R&D, UCET)

....particular Conservative governments. They buy into a stereotype that teacher education is not relevant, it's too academic, it is somehow left-wing and doesn't pay attention to the need of the schools. (I, UCET representative)

[Y]ou know there is a kind of underlying sub-text that these lefty liberal teachers actually want to subvert things in this country, which again, is a paradox....as if you were a teacher who wanted to undermine, going into teaching to undermine the educational standards for ideological purposes. It's completely an ideological discourse and there to derogate teachers, but one that is widely perpetuated. (Mathew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

The above data highlights 'the use of ludicrous images, ridicule, and stereotypification' (Kenway, 1990: 201). As Ball points out, all of this distorted representation and criticism of the 'failures' of teachers and teacher education 'provided massive legitimation for greater school and teacher accountability'; at the same time, it also 'provided justification for much greater direct intervention into school processes' (Ball, 1988: 290-291). In other words, the deployment of the discourse of derision provides a platform on which it is possible to 'manufacture' consensus about an educational crisis and thus bring into play direct forms of control.

One of the ways in which the Conservative government sought to exercise its control over schooling in the early 1980s was the use of the discourse of teacher competences in

teacher preparation. The major focus of these competency approaches to teacher formation was training teachers to be subject specialists, particularly charged to take 'responsibility for one aspect of the curriculum, such as science, mathematics or music' (DES, 1983, para. 33). For accreditation purposes, the regulations required training courses to pay close attention to the methodology of teaching the chosen subject specialism, and provide trainee teachers with an 'adequate mastery of the basic professional skills, on which to build in their teaching careers' (DES, 1984, Annex para. 10). The later Circular 24/89 defined teacher competences in a more specific and narrow way. Not only did it specify the minimum amount of time to be spent on subject studies and subject application, but, as noted already, it also required training courses to prepare students to 'teach and assess the core subjects of the National Curriculum to the attainment targets appropriate to the age range for which they are being trained' (DES, 1989b, para.5.2). To a great extent, the continual focus on teacher competences in teacher preparation was an attempt to achieve the effective implantation of the Education Reform Act of 1988, in which a prescriptive National Curriculum and national testing were introduced. Most importantly, traditional and subject-based forms of education in schools were regarded by New Right commentators as being an appropriate basis for a more educated and competitive workforce as required by industry. The Conservative administration at that time sought to 'raise standards' and re-enforce the economic role of education by focusing more closely on teaching, learning and examining. One of the ways in which it addressed this was by reasserting its control over teachers' work and intervening in teacher education and training in order to produce a new kind of teacher. In other words, teachers needed to be trained to adhere to the curriculum policy, to be made 'competent' in order to secure higher standards in education.

Statements about the competency model of teaching were subject to some modifications throughout the 1990s. For example, the circular, *Initial Teacher Training (Second Phase)* (DfE, 1992) proclaimed that

Higher education institutions, schools and students should focus on the competences of teaching throughout the whole period of initial training. The progressive development of these competences should be monitored regularly during initial training. Their attainment at a level appropriate to newly qualified teachers should be the objective of every student taking a course of initial training. (DfE, 1992, Annex A para 2.1)

The deployment of precise and new vocabulary such as ‘progressive development’ and ‘monitored’ is clear from this paragraph, which articulates a new kind of teacher framed within a set of technical procedures. Teachers and their work are spoken of and written about in a new language and represented differently. Similarly, the later Circular 14/93 indicated that

professional competences are at the heart of the criteria [for accreditation] - they define the subject knowledge, teaching skills and personal qualities. (DfE, 1993b, para.21)

These excerpts from policy documents illustrate the Conservative governments’ preoccupation with the competency approach to the education of the teaching profession at that time. These centrally-defined competences detail what all trainee teachers are expected to know, understand and be able to do. To some extent, the determination of educational practice was taken out of the hands of the teaching ‘profession’; moreover, it was over-determined in the sense that the government specified teaching in relation to certain measurable outcomes, for example, the achievement of the National Curriculum

attainment targets (DES, 1989b; DfE, 1992; DfE, 1993b). Viewed in this light, there was an ongoing change in the power relations between the teaching profession and the state.

Ozga comments that the framing of teacher competences can be seen as being ‘appropriate prerequisites at different levels of responsibility’. That is to say, discourses of competences were imported into teachers’ work as a means of shifting their focus more to techniques of target-setting and performance improvement (Ozga, 2000a: 20). It is clear from the level of policy text that there were some open requirements, expressed as ‘an understanding of...’, ‘the ability to...’, and ‘the capacity to...’ in circulars issued in the 1980s (DES, 1989b). In Circular 14/93, however, more technical terms and active verbs are used at the beginning of each separate competence; for example, ‘demonstrate’, ‘use’, ‘test’, ‘judge’, ‘show’, ‘set’, ‘devise’ etc. The simple use of these active verbs, as Beck argues, has a cumulative effect in reducing teaching to a ‘model [that] is a technicist one involving the acquisition of trainable expertise’ (Beck, 2009: 8). In this very restricted and ‘selective’ notion of a ‘competent’ teacher, other alternative elements that constitute teaching, such as being reflective and considering issues of justice and equity, are partially excluded and silenced. An interviewee gave his account of this issue.

In principle, [t]he very notion of competence doesn’t in principle allow you to ask questions about ‘why’. (...). And those competences could be taken at face value, and as long as you know the practicalities of assessing children, you haven’t got to ask any hard questions about why or is it the best means. They become... not sufficient, that’s the point. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

It is possible to suggest from this extract that the critical sensibility of being a teacher is

gradually being worn down to some degree by this behaviourist and competences-driven model of being a teacher. A school headteacher interviewee expressed his view based on abundant school experience over the last three decades.

There is part of me which still thinks though, that young people coming into teaching, I just wonder how much their critical faculty is developed. As part of the job of teacher is to exercise and to feel free to critique things, issues in the classroom in any sort of way. To question the existing order. (...) I just feel today, I want to know is that happening? To what extent is that happening? Would teachers feel comfortable doing it? I don't know, I mean I get the feeling [that] a lot of teaching now is very, sort of 'middle of the road', very safe and this ability to...this feeling of equip or conscious enough as a teacher to critique things with students maybe lost, I mean, I don't know. (Nigel, Headteacher, 30 years' school experience)

In addition to scant consideration being paid to the intellectual dimension of being a teacher, the language deployed to describe a 'competent' teacher also fails to address the relational and emotional aspects of the teaching process. With regard to this point, two of the interviewees in my research provided their comments

It's [There's] more to teaching than having a solid subject base. You've got to be able to connect with [the] children, you've got be able to explain things, you've got to have a view about well, [an] understanding of what helps them to learn as opposed to what doesn't. (G, former member of R&D, UCET)

Another teacher educator with a considerable amount of school experience offered a similar view.

Teaching is an irreducibly interactive job. It involves interacting with,

you know generally speaking, thirty other human beings like all the time. And an adequate account of what it is to be a teacher would attend more to that interactive and dialogic quality which lies at the centre of teachers' identity. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

He went on to criticise the competency model.

It completely ignores the question of pedagogy. It doesn't acknowledge that pedagogy is an aspect of education. The idea of you deliver a subject, like you can deliver a sack of potatoes or a bag of rice or something. (...). It's as if...as if it were a question of delivery. It...wasn't sad, it would be funny. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

Discourses are potent in the sense that they construct certain possibilities for thought and exclude others (Ball, 1990a: 18). In the case of discourses of competences, 'delivery' is the language that has gradually gained currency and is accredited with significance in representing teachers' work. Discourses are also selective. Not only do they define what is possible and 'proper' to say, to act, to think, but at the same time, they also delimit what it is not possible to say. In some sense, the extract provided above indicates a key discourse that has been silenced or subjugated within the struggle to establish the 'truth' about teacher professionalism. In other words, the discourse of pedagogy is being marginalised over and against the discourse of competences. As already discussed, areas of decision-making about the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment are now lodged 'elsewhere', set within prescribed regulations. Thus, the pedagogic autonomy of teachers is increasingly circumscribed by behaviour-based curricula, pre-specified teaching competences, and centrally-defined assessment arrangements. On this understanding, the older version of teacher professionalism being underpinned by a

certain degree of curricular and pedagogic autonomy has gradually given ground to a technicist version of being a teacher within these competency approaches. Consequently, as Hoyle puts it, a competent and 'professional' teacher is 'to have acquired a set of skills through competency-based training which enables a practitioner to deliver, according to contract, a customer-led service...' (Hoyle, 1995, in Hoyle, 2008: 291). As I have argued previously, the notion of 'professional' itself has gradually evolved within this articulation of competence discourses. More importantly, the 'new' professionals are further required to be responsive to external requirements and specific targets set by other policy initiatives. Thus, it is the multi-policy context or an ensemble of policies that are producing new teachers.

Thus far, I have indicated that a restricted interpretation of teaching is developed and facilitated within the discourses of competence. An emphasis on practical elements, such as skills, assessment, and classroom management eliminates the purposes that underpin teaching and schooling as a whole from being scrutinised. In some respects, these developments have been made at the expense of a more complex form of professional understanding and an elaborate interpretation of teaching. However, it should be noted that, in addition to the specification of teacher professionalism in terms of competences, a technology of performance is also working to transform the meaning of classroom practice and the social relationship of teaching and learning by providing 'a new language, a new set of incentives and disciplines and a new set of roles, positions and identities...' (Ball, 2008: 42). Performance management systems work to tie policy objectives directly to teachers' efficiency and productivity.

I will further analyse performance management in Chapter 7, but my concern here is the effect of the discourse of competences on performance management, whereby teachers

are rendered as being ‘units of labour to be distributed and managed, their characteristics being deemed largely irrelevant, providing that they comply with certain specifications and meet particular working criteria’ (Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2004: 137). More importantly, a mutually reinforcing system of surveillance has been established in the nexus of teacher competency and school performance, and these two elements essentially represent two forms of power. While the state asserts its authority by legitimising the appeal to teacher competences via policy mandates, a straightforward direct imposition and intervention is insufficient to achieve its policy objectives in a more profound and effective sense; therefore, other policy mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure the achievement of the desired outcomes. By inserting performance management systems into schools, the state provides a framework of incentives and sanctions within which teaching professionals become ‘self-governing’ subjects (this will be further discussed in Chapter 7, *Teachers, Policy Subjects and Management*). These two forms of power represent different modes of control. One relates to the direct imposition of a competency model, while the other concerns indirect regulatory control by the policy technology of performance. Taken together, this ensemble of policies constitutes new possibilities for being a teacher.

To sum up, discourses create a space in which teachers are gradually and literally rearticulated in some way. Discourses of competences are embedded with assumptions about what teaching is and what counts as being professional. Concepts used in the competence list, such as subject knowledge, subject application, classroom management, teaching strategies and techniques, produce a new set of tools for teachers’ self-understanding; thus, the work of teachers is re-configured. Technically competent teachers are re-positioned as being ‘deliverers of knowledge, testers of student outcomes and pedagogical technicians’ (Smyth and Dow, 1998: 293). The extent to which this



reform process, embedded with various inter-related discourses, impinges upon the re-design of teaching and the production of new teachers will become clearer as this analysis proceeds. Teachers are assigned new roles and identities in making sense of the work of teaching, and concomitant with this transformation, competition between schools is encouraged, parents and students are positioned as consumers, and teachers are impelled to drive up pupils' performance in the interest of their school. Overall, a new ethos system of performance has gradually displaced the traditional vocational commitment and service ethos. A number of technologies of reform are linked together within this transformation process, and these act to re-design teachers' work, re-arrange their social relationships, and produce new sensibilities.

### **From Competences to Standards**

The preceding section sought to identify some of the crucial developments embodied in the Conservatives' competences agenda for teacher preparation. This section will focus on the standards discourse, a modified version of a competency-based model developed by the New Labour government from 1997 to 2010. Before unpacking the various threads embedded in the discourse of standards, namely, the National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Education and Professional Standards and the Ofsted Inspection, I would like to take time to discuss some of the continuities and differences between the policies of the Conservative and New Labour governments. The main point I will try to make in relation to this transition is that the Conservative reforms in teacher education during the 1980s and 1990s to a great extent paved the way for further reforms under the Labour government. First and foremost, there was a continued importance given to the roles and functions of teacher education for the purpose of achieving the policy objectives of successive governments. By influencing the skills, knowledge and values

of teachers through professional preparation, successive governments have attempted to produce a new generation of teachers imbued with different orientations toward their work than those already in place. In addition, there has been a continued focus on market mechanisms and related forms of new managerialism, all with the aim of ensuring greater 'efficiency' and 'quality' in the 'delivery of services' (Furlong, 2005: 124). As a consequence, managerial techniques, such as the use of performance league tables, the establishment of attainment targets and inspection mechanisms were significantly reinforced under the New Labour administration. At the heart of these policy priorities was the concept of *standards*. Fundamentally, New Labour saw raising educational standards as a key vehicle for the creation of a more competitive workforce and, in the long run, for securing and enhancing a prosperous economy. At the same time, however, it is perhaps necessary to indicate that the education policy under the Conservative government placed more emphasis on teaching and teacher competences, whereas in many respects, New Labour mainly focused on student learning and the aggregate performance of classrooms and schools. Thus, a range of learning policies were enacted under New Labour, such as literacy and numeracy strategies, the Key Stage 3 strategy and the promotion of Personal Learning and Thinking Skills (PLTS) (see Ball et al 2012, *How Schools Do Policy*), all of which were aimed to raise the level of performance and standards.

What I want to argue is that, among the continuities and differences between the Conservative and New Labour governments, New Labour 'took the Conservative infrastructure and gave it meat and teeth' (Ball, 2012b: 94). That is to say, New Labour's vision and structure of modernising education was, in effect, built on the work done by the previous Conservative government, although as already mentioned, there were some differences of emphasis. Certainly, New Labour was more actively

prescriptive and sought to micro-manage the processes of teaching and learning. As one interviewee put it,

At the high point of the Labour government [in] 2005, there was an attempt by [the] central government to even define pedagogy to the various strategies...trying to not insist upon, but very strongly encourage, certain ways of teaching, for which the schools became accountable and then individuals became accountable. (...) It was very, very managed indeed. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

In effect, New Labour was able to specify 'what to teach' and 'how to teach' by two standards 'techniques', the first of which was achieved by means of institutional arrangements. New Labour widened some of the existing government agencies' activities and responsibilities in an attempt to even further develop the centralised system of teacher education, that is, the TTA (now the National College for Teaching and Leadership, the merger of the Teaching Agency and the National College for School Leadership since April 2013) and Ofsted (which is discussed later). Essentially, the TTA set the 'standards' trainee teachers had to meet to achieve QTS, and at the same time, a new 'professional' body, the GTCE (now abolished) was established to facilitate the disciplinary function of the teaching profession. The *Code of Conduct and Practice* published by the GTCE acted as a 'codification of minimum standards for use in regulating the conduct and competence of registered teachers' (Saunders, 2007: 65). However, as Wilkinson notes, teachers perceived as incompetent were, in effect, directly dealt with by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), and the GTCE's role was essentially 'ceremonial', since the full professional regulatory rights of those on its register were controlled centrally (Wilkinson, 2005: 425). Another significant way in which New Labour was able to make a more detailed intervention into teaching and learning was by constructing a pervasive official discourse centred on standards.

Broadly, three threads permeate the discourses of standards, namely, the National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Training, the Professional Standards, and the Ofsted Inspection. The National Curriculum for ITE was initially developed under the Conservative government, but it was put into practice in 1997 by the newly-elected Labour government. However, this was abandoned after a short span of five years and replaced by 'non-statutory guidance' to advise HEIs how standards in ITE should be achieved (DfES/TTA, 2002). In the following section, I intend to firstly indicate that the short-lived National Curriculum for ITE was a crucial threshold for the introduction of direct forms of regulation and government control of teacher education before moving on to discuss the Professional Standards framework and the Ofsted inspection, which are two different, yet overlapping, strands implicated within the discourses of standards in teacher education.

### **National Curriculum for Initial Teacher Education**

As already indicated, concurrent with the election of New Labour in the late 1990s, teacher competences were transformed into standards of teaching. In her *Letter to Providers*, the then chief executive of the TTA, Anthea Millet, indicated that,

These standards replace the more general “competences” which have been in force previously and apply to all those assessed for QTS, no matter what initial teacher training course or route into teaching they may be on. (Millet 1997)

According to Mahony and Hextall, the TTA was active in formulating a framework of National Standards for teaching between 1994 and 1998. In the first Green Paper entitled *Teachers Meeting the Challenge of Change* (DfEE, 1998a), the newly elected

Labour government laid out its own vision for ‘modernising the teaching profession’ underpinned by principles of standards (Mahony and Hextall, 2000: 29). Implicated within these developments is the stipulation of Circulars 10/97 and 4/98, known as the National Curriculum for ITE, which mainly concerned the content of teacher preparation (DfEE, Circular 10/97; DfEE, Circular 4/98). The document of the National Curriculum for ITE is organised under four headings: knowledge and understanding; planning, teaching and class management; monitoring assessment, recording, reporting and accountability; and other professional requirements. What merits attention is the fact that the content under each of these headings is set out in considerable detail amounting to many hundreds of standards, ‘each using more precise and prescriptive language than in the past [under the previous Conservative governments]’ (Furlong, Barton, Miles, Whiting and Whitty, 2000: 151). In particular, Circular 4/98 indicated that,

The new initial teacher training national curricula represent a key element in the government’s plans for raising attainment in literacy and numeracy and making progress towards the national targets. (DfEE, Circular 4/98: 5)

As a result, the National Curriculum for ITE prescribed the time students should spend on practical teaching and the amount of time that should be allocated to the core subjects in the National Curriculum. Moreover, it contained a lengthy and detailed specification of how to teach these core subjects. In many ways, the imposed National Curriculum for ITE can be seen as being the high point of direct intervention into teacher education since the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in the DES Circular 3/84 (DES, 1984) (see Chapter 3, *Discourse Analysis of Teacher Education Policy since the 1980s*). The further

significance of a centralised curriculum for ITE is that it represents another step in the changing power relation between the teaching profession and the state. In Johnson's term, the 'mediating state' increasingly makes a certain set of rules, norms and regulations in the services and practices of the teaching profession (Johnson, 1972). By controlling entry, qualifications, and the definition of competence of teachers, the state also defines 'good practice' and what counts as 'professionalism'! This 'mediating role' played by the state not only changes the knowledge of teachers and their relationship with it, but more significantly, it also results in the further loss of teacher autonomy and the further erosion of teacher educators' professional judgement. An interviewee commented on this point saying,

[W]ith the introduction of National Curriculum it totally changed what to teach. (...) that became how much time you have to teach particular subjects and focus on what's important to teach in terms of what goes on in the league tables. So, in a very subtle way, you can see that they're taking the choice out of teachers. You focus on these kinds of regulations and rules that you expense sort of other areas which might be ways of getting trainees to think about [the] classroom in different ways or try new things out in the classroom, to experiment. (E, teacher educator)

The detailed prescription of what trainee teachers must be taught in specific subjects means that their professional judgement has to give way to the authoritative curriculum. In essence, this is a common framework that silences other possible forms of constructing teaching and learning, as well as pre-empting social and political debates about the purpose and vision of education. What followed was a series of accumulative sets of standards operating across ITE with the aim of producing and providing new cadres of teachers for schools. Thus, the discussion now turns to the standards for awarding Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) and Professional Standards.

## The QTS Standards and the Professional Standards

Concomitant with the introduction of the National Curriculum for ITE, the Labour government proposed *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* (DfEE, 1997) and stated that the

Successful completion of a course or programme of initial teacher training (ITT), including employment-based provision, must require the trainee to achieve *all* these standards. *All* courses must involve the assessment of *all* trainees to ensure that they meet *all* the standards specified. (DfEE, 1997a: 7, *original emphasis*)

As indicated above, the QTS Standards were set out under four broad headings, these were: knowledge and understanding; planning, teaching and class management; monitoring, assessment, recording, reporting and accountability and other professional requirements. At the level of 'policy as text' (Ball, 1993), the circular 'does not engage its readers in dialogue' (Fairclough, 2000: 13); rather, an authoritative and commanding tone is pervasive. As I have argued previously (see Chapter 3), this is evident from phrases such as 'for all courses, those to be awarded Qualified Teacher Status must, when assessed, demonstrate that they:' which appears more than ten times. Furthermore, in terms of the language deployed in the circular, the government itself is not mentioned in the first person, i.e. 'we' or 'our'; instead, trainees and pupils are constantly referred to in the third person, such as 'improve their teaching', 'they have been trained to teach', or 'to think and talk about their (pupil) learning'. This 'oscillation between personal and impersonal sentences' (ibid: 37) does not merely create a language of objectivity and neutrality; it also makes the source of the regulation invisible. The focus throughout is

upon addressing the detailed standards, presented as being the highest principles and a common framework for all those who were to be awarded the QTS. Readers are led through the text with the help of an orderly layout using roman numerals and bullet points, and in this respect, as Fairclough argues, it is ‘a device that [might] be “reader-friendly”, but is by the same token “reader-directive”, and does not encourage dialogue’ (ibid: 13-14). In addition, as Furlong et al argue, the explicit utilisation of the term ‘standards’ in professional practices has its political advantages. Firstly, few people would disagree that pursuing higher standards in education is a good thing. At the same time, by displacing the notion of ‘competences’, which implies the minimum ability, with standards, the Labour government made the enforcement of raising educational standards even more difficult to resist (Furlong et al, 2000: 151).

To an extent, the overall tone of the *Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status* is technocratic and authoritarian, which represents command and control from the centre. This policy document also seems to suggest that it is a highly standardised teaching model, designed to improve teaching and learning, in which notions of teaching and learning are narrowly conceived (see Chapter 7, *Teachers, Policy Subjects and Management*, on standardised teaching practices in schools). The implicit assumptions underlying such a framing of teaching and learning are again particularly relevant to the issue of professionalism. ‘Professionalisation’, according to Larson, is a collective project in which modern professions constitute their professional markets, attain market power and aim to achieve monopolistic control of market services (Larson, 1977). One of the necessary means to this end ‘demands regulation and control of access to the professional market on the supply side’ (ibid: 51). In other words, professions seek jurisdiction over the production of professionals and the conferment of professional titles. However, the account of the above text paints a rather different picture of an overt



state control of the entry into the profession. In addition, the government distinguished qualified teachers from unqualified ones by the mandated framework of the Standards by which these trainees were assessed. From this perspective, teaching became a state-mediated profession (Johnson, 1972) at this point with centrally-regulated autonomy. In terms of the Standards for QTS, a senior teacher educator summarised the situation from the perspective of HEIs, commenting that,

...because we can't set the standards and we can't, you know, assess ourselves. So the universities are in a position of relative powerlessness. (...) So I think that we are treated not as a full professional group who had a lot of power. The government controls us; the government says how we are going to be educated. (C, senior teacher educator)

To some extent, the underlying philosophy of pursuing standards on the part of the government can be 'seen as a sort of level, a rather simplistic lever for achieving good teaching' (D, Senior policy adviser), although what counts as 'good' teaching is contestable. Moreover, another respondent commented that,

Those policies [on Standards] fitted into a period when considerable control of the education system was desired. So I think they were part of a system, it was designed to make sure [that] the different parts functioned in the way they [the government] wanted them to function. (H, senior researcher and teacher in HE)

As already mentioned, New Labour prioritised a student learning agenda and placed a remarkable emphasis on classroom and school performance. By exercising control of both the content and process of the teacher education system and then relating these to performance outcomes, New Labour aimed to make teacher education 'highly

centralised and highly responsive to government policy initiatives' (Furlong, 2005: 121). More generally, this was achieved by bringing new policy technologies of management and performance into play, operating across practices in both HEIs and schools. I will pick up on the Ofsted inspection as a technology of surveillance later and pay some attention to school practices in Chapters 6 and 7. My focus here is specifically on the use and effects of these QTS Standards on HEIs. Acting as a regulative ensemble, these reform technologies not only enable a thorough reassertion of the state's control over teachers' work, but also serve the purpose of reconstructing teaching practices. One of the impacts of the enactment of QTS standards is the inevitable existence of tension between the policy agenda of standardised teaching practices and the exercise of professional judgement by teacher educators in universities. To some extent, the reflexive judgement and ethical discomfort of teachers 'require' to be suspended and set aside in these imperative/disciplinary policies, which involve agendas of standards and competences (Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins, 2011a: 612). The following comments illustrate the kind of value conflict between the teaching profession and the government.

There are commitments [in HEIs] to a more independent and critically aware profession, exercising judgement in particular contexts; for example, reflecting on what they do. That kind of respect comes with a little bit of tension with the simple matter of supplying competent teachers which TDA systems tend to require. (H, senior policy researcher and teacher in HE)

The above quote points to the contradictory dimensions that existed between the teaching profession, Higher Education and the state. That is, the QTS Standards provide an example of the control and regulatory function of standards discourse imposed by the state. By deploying discursive interventions and specifying standards for the purpose of changing practice, New Labour was able to exert an aggressive and direct form of

control over professional practice. Viewed in this light, teaching is not only structurally 'standardised', but the regulatory-orientated QTS standards framework is also an effective tool for eliminating the possibility of discretionary and professional judgement. As a result, 'a narrower concept of teacher professionalism is gradually being achieved' in what traditionally has been relatively autonomous HEIs (Furlong, Barton, Miles, Whiting and Whitty, 2000: 176). As will be seen later, this controlling and delimiting power becomes even more strengthened when the TTA funding decisions on HEIs are closely tied to the Ofsted inspections, the yardsticks of which are, in turn, based on the QTS standards framework. In this respect, standards are seen as being a managerial tool for measuring the effectiveness of the system of teacher training. As such, a set of inter-related elements — standards, accountability and management — establishes a new mode of state control and these 'policy technologies' (Ball, 2003) make new possibilities of teaching practice and even new understandings of oneself possible.

I have argued so far that the establishment of a national system of teacher education underpinned by standards discourses indicates a greater central control over the content of teacher education. The imposed National Curriculum for ITE means that the autonomy of HEIs is challenged and increasingly usurped by the state. At the same time, a technical specification of QTS standards by the state has also been used as a regulative device to 'train' and bring out the preferred 'professional' orientations of new entrants into teaching. In many ways, such moves are intended to align teacher professionalism more closely with general policy objectives in education. In other words, by influencing and changing the skills, knowledge and values of teachers, successive governments have sought to bring teachers in line with their reform agenda, i.e., to enhance accountability, improve 'standards' and, in the long run, create economic growth. Moreover, behind the rhetoric of enhancing the quality of the teaching force and raising

educational standards, there has been another combined measure concerning the production of qualified teachers. As already indicated in Chapter 3, successive governments have introduced a more practically-focused teacher preparation by opening up the ITE 'market', and developing more flexible routes into teaching. Particularly through the Blair years, there was a progressive and significant diversification of the ITE system, involving more new training courses being undertaken on the job, such as the Graduate Teacher Programme and Teach First (Furlong, 2008: 730). Teach First is of particular relevance when discussing the relationship between the government standards agenda, teaching quality, and teacher professionalism because it provides a useful viewpoint of the patterns of regulation in teacher education. To begin with, Teach First is one of the employment-based routes into teaching launched in 2002, which has grown and expanded under the current Conservative-led coalition government. In the first White Paper issued by the coalition government, *The Importance of Teaching (2010)*, Teach First was named as an example of good practice.

As well as raising the minimum standard, we also need to make sure that teaching is sufficiently attractive to the country's most able young people. (...) Teach First is a very effective third sector organisation backed by business and government which has shown what is possible. It recruits highly able graduates, who would not otherwise have considered teaching, to work in some of the country's most challenging schools for at least two years. It trains graduates for six weeks in the summer and then places them in schools as paid trainees, also offering a range of opportunities for them to develop as leaders. (DfE, 2010a, para. 2.12)

Fundamentally, the assumptions underlying Teach First are that both the quality of new entrants to the teaching profession and the status of teaching as a career choice among top graduates can be raised by recruiting high-calibre graduates with a 2:1 degree or

above (DfE, 2010a; 2011). Moreover,

Teach First recruits outstanding individuals with real leadership potential who are looking to make an impact in the classroom of one of our partner schools and on inequalities in education in the long-term. We look for *a passion for social change* and a desire to build first-class leadership skills that can be used inside or outside of the classroom in participants who embark on the two-year Leadership Development. (*Teach First Website, 2013a, my emphasis*)

Alongside the Leadership Development Programme there are also opportunities for networking and internships. Participants also have the opportunity to work towards a Masters qualification to further develop their leadership skills and knowledge of education. (*Teach First Website, 2013b*)

The articulation and use of ‘outstanding’, ‘social change’ and ‘leadership’ in these texts is powerful and carries with it certain assumptions and priorities about being a teacher. Teachers represented in the Teach First programme are like ‘saviour teachers’ within the charismatic subject discourse framing (Moore, 2004), who ‘enter the imperfect, put-upon world of constrained, symbolically abused young people...taking some of them [students] into that alternative world’ (Moore, 2004: 56). This creates a strong sense of charisma and passion in aspiring teachers and raises their enthusiasm with the ideal of making ‘social change’. In addition, Teach First is more about leadership development and skills than teaching and learning. The following quote is again taken from the Teach First website:

Teach First believes that excellent teachers can close this achievement gap, and works to achieve this by developing participants, through the Leadership Development Programme, to become outstanding classroom leaders in schools in challenging circumstances, committed

to leading in their classrooms and tackling educational disadvantage.  
(*Teach First* Website, 2013b)

Clearly, leadership has a particular place in this route of teacher formation. As mentioned already, teachers branded with Teach First closely resemble ‘knights in shining armour’ who come to rescue those in challenging schools. In effect, this representation of teachers who ‘make a difference’ by tackling educational disadvantage is predicated upon teachers exhibiting entrepreneurial behaviour in the role and tasks of leadership positions to ‘effectively’ achieve social change. However, it is important to remember that such a construction of teachers is conservative in nature, which, as Moore cautions us, fails to ‘attack the social conditions that generate social inequalities in educational achievement’, and this representation may support ‘a certain de-politicisation of the teachers’ (ibid: 58, 69). Overall, in contrast to Bernard Shaw’s observation that ‘those who can, do and those who can’t, teach’, it is now academically able entrepreneurs who teach within this brand of Teach First. As such, it is clear that Teach First attempts to foster a different way of understanding the nature of being a teacher among new entrants to the profession. This new brand of professionalism certainly views teachers differently. Apart from the centralised specification of ‘effective teaching’, which mainly comes from a ‘competent’ and ‘exceptional’ graduate, who may not see teaching as being ‘a career for life’ (Furlong, 2008: 730), perhaps the most significant aspect is seeing entrepreneurial attributes and behaviours as the core of ‘teacher quality’ and linking such dispositions above all other factors to enhancing pupils’ attainment.

Nonetheless, in more prosaic language, teaching is seen as being a craft in Teach First, which requires only on-the-job training and a focus on the pragmatics of teaching (six

weeks of intensive training before teaching in a school in a low-income community for two years). A former Additional Inspector commented,

It seems to be quite an elitist route because it's saying: they are the brightest and the best and they will make good teachers. (...). Being academically bright, being a good teacher are not the same thing. And just because you've one doesn't mean you'll be the other as well. You know, so saying that people with first class degrees are going to be excellent teachers it doesn't necessarily follow. (F, former Additional Inspector)

A teacher educator expressed a similar view,

I mean the fundamental problem with Teach First is that it's established in such a way as to underplay the significance of pedagogy. Because it's predicated on the idea that the quality of teaching is basically dependent on the quality of subject knowledge derived from an undergraduate degree. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

There are a set of paradoxes here. Teach First teachers are seen as being 'the brightest and the best', who presumably come to teaching with a deep and complex understanding of subject matter knowledge. Teach First takes the view that an extensive programme of teacher preparation to learn the trade of teaching is not required, and that knowledge of subject matter is in itself a sufficient basis for high quality classroom practice. Pedagogy, as a theoretically informed understanding of the processes of teaching and learning - grounded in HE based research - is residualised, as signalled by the above quotes. The relationship of HE to teacher training is thus further reduced. To put this more precisely, notions of teaching method and teacher-student interaction are in effect being re-worked as a process of transmission (see Ball, 1999) within which

teaching is accomplished by ‘telling’ and learning through repetition. An impoverished concept of learning is gradually constituted, particularly when teaching is inevitably ‘linked to and configured within a particular model of school *curriculum* with a strong emphasis on an identified body of knowledge and skills and the formal, standardised testing of the teaching and learning of that knowledge and those skills’ (Moore, 2004: 46. *original emphasis*). Operated within a content-based and facts-compiled curriculum, learning thus becomes driven and re-defined by the short-term and by narrowly focused demands of measurement and assessment. Points relating to the re-orientation of the nature of teaching and learning will be discussed in Chapter 7. The crucial issue raised here is that in many respects, a new vision of what it means to be a teacher is being articulated by Teach First.

The underlying assumptions and tensions in Teach First discussed above draw our attention to that fact that successive English governments have drawn a simple causal connection between the quality of teacher education and its impact on teacher effectiveness by prioritising the effects of subject matter expertise on pupils’ performance (see Darling-Hammond 2000a on the relationship between teacher quality and student achievement). More crucially, Darling-Hammond criticises such a ‘bright person myth’ of teaching, saying that,

Individuals who have had no powerful teacher education intervention often maintain a single cognitive and cultural perspective that makes it difficult for them to understand the experiences, perceptions, and knowledge bases that deeply influence the approaches to learning of students who are different from themselves. The capacity to understand another is not innate; it is developed through study, reflection, guided experience, and inquiry. (Darling-Hammond, 2000b: 171)



It is beyond the scope of this chapter to further detail the philosophy and methods of Teach First, but I want to highlight the fact that policy aspirations to improve the quality of teaching by attracting graduates with high academic competency serve particular political and governmental purposes and are significantly influenced by the McKinsey Report (2007, 2012). Acting as an international benchmarking study of school improvement, the McKinsey Report accords an overwhelming importance to teacher quality in creating and sustaining a 'successful' educational system. Moreover, drawing from surveys undertaken by the programme for international student assessment (PISA) run by the OECD, these two reports identify the so-called 'best practice' and 'high-performing' educational systems in the world. To a great extent, the McKinsey Report has succeeded in establishing an internationally accepted view of teacher quality as being the linchpin of a 'world class' school system. Such a view of the importance of teacher quality is specifically endorsed and articulated by the school White Paper 2010,

So, there are three key areas where we need teachers to be very well equipped: subject knowledge and academic preparation, overall literacy and numeracy, and the personal and interpersonal skills that are necessary in order to interact successfully in the classroom. (DfE, 2010a, para. 2.8)

While recognising the fact that the essential aspects of personal and interpersonal skills of teachers is welcome, Coffield argues that a 'good' school as espoused by the McKinsey Report is one that is

'characterised by relentless pressure, competition, line managers, customer services, data for performance management, accountability and value for money; and professional autonomy for teachers only

when granted by the centre' (Coffield, 2012: 145).

What becomes apparent is that a distinctive focus of attention on 'good' schools or 'best practice' is primarily placed upon a comparison of student outcomes. More specifically, the view of teaching and learning and vision of education are predicated upon the level of performance of the school system. Within this global cult of performance, promoted by policy analysts in powerful agencies such as the OECD and the World Bank, teacher education becomes a strategic site, where politicians and educational bureaucrats can act directly to achieve the objectives they consider to be desirable. As a result, QTS standards have been created in England, more training on the job is promoted, and academically able individuals are recruited to ensure that the skills and knowledge of new entrants are changed; at the same time, teachers are constructed with particular dispositions and sensibilities. As Ball, Maguire and Braun indicate, such a scenario, in which teachers are harnessed to concentrate on the 'learning outcomes' of their students, is the operation of a new science of 'deliverology' in which discursive articulations of 'expectation', 'focus' and 'pressure' make it possible to steer schools at a distance (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 73). Moreover, as will be seen later, there is, in effect, an assemblage of different forms of power and discursive formations that enable an alignment between daily practices at an institutional level and broader social and economic objectives. I would now like to turn my focus to a concurrent development of the QTS standards, namely, the Professional Standards in schools.

I have indicated that teacher education is seen to be an important social mechanism through which teachers can be trained differently and equipped with new skills, preferred competences and necessary knowledge. The stipulation of QTS standards, the recruitment of talented graduates into teaching, and training on the job particularly

provide a platform on which it is possible to instil new skills and values into a new cadre of teachers. However, attempts made to change the bases are notably not restricted to teacher education. As indicated earlier, the TTA developed a framework of National Standards for teaching between 1994 and 1998, which was laid out later in the Green Paper, *Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change* (DfEE, 1998a; TTA, 1998). For the present purposes, I will focus my analysis on the later version, namely, the *Professional Standards for Teachers: Why Sit Still in Your Career?* (TDA, 2007b). I will begin by attempting to evaluate the textual form of this document, and at the same time, I will argue that the Taylorist tendency underpinned by a sovereign power (Hoffman, 2011) is evident within this tightly specified and regulated framework of teacher development. Moreover, as I proceed, it will become clearer that the regulatory performance standards are, in effect, imbued with discursive power by means of which new values and norms of teaching and learning are created.

In *Professional Standards for Teachers: Why Sit Still in Your Career?* (TDA, 2007b), New Labour set out a ‘cradle-to-grave’ framework (Beck, 2008), which defined the characteristics of teachers at each stage in their career, ranging from QTS to Advanced Skills Teacher (AST). Each of the five career levels was organised in three interrelated sections that covered ‘professional attributes’, ‘professional knowledge and understanding’ and ‘professional skills’ (TDA, 2007b). ‘The standards provide the framework for a teacher’s career and clarify what progression looks like’ (TDA, 2007b: 2). The use of the singular form, ‘the framework’, as Beck indicates ‘is revealingly indicative of the TDA’s view that it has now constructed the route to the best and most relevant forms of professional development’ (Beck, 2008: 137). Most apparently, by posing the rhetorical question ‘*why sit still in your career?*’ in the sub-title, it constructs a progressive career path which is promising and future-orientated, and teachers are

'invited' to become part of this forward-looking teaching force. However, underlying New Labour's modernising agenda, concepts like standards or professional knowledge are treated as though they were neutral without any particular interest tied to any particular group or purpose. To put it another way, this framework encapsulates a universalistic presupposition that positions teaching in a vacuum. As one of the interviewees in my research commented,

Part of what's entailed by having a set of standards is assuming that those terms are universally applicable; there is no need to attend to local circumstances. Our view is that's rubbish basically. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

In addition, this document speaks the language of 'all' teachers, i.e. '*all* teachers should have a professional responsibility to be engaged in effective, sustained and relevant professional development throughout their careers and *all* teachers should have a contractual entitlement to effective, sustained and relevant professional development throughout their careers' (TDA, 2007b: 2, *my emphasis*). Firstly, it is essential to note that the so-called 'professional development' still invites questions in terms of its substance and purpose. With regard to the usage of 'all' teachers, Mahony and Hextall argue that this usage 'renders this apparent language of inclusivity potentially socially excluding' because it makes the characteristics of teachers, such as ethnicity, gender and class, invisible (Mahony and Hextall, 2001: 136). In effect, the totalising notion of 'all teachers' is built upon an arithmetic economy based on the continuous calculation of individual teachers and judging them against the performance 'standards'. By measuring performance management, moreover, this thorough-going path with five career levels classifies and distributes teachers according to their skills and attributes. Here, Frederick Taylor's notion of scientific management is a useful analytical device

for thinking about this particular policy (Taylor, 1911). Concepts and techniques of scientific management primarily deal with the workshop division of labour and the control of it. Taylor began with a meticulous watch and study of a group of 75 workmen combined with enquiries into their character, habits and ambitions (ibid: 1911: 43). By prescribing the regularity of body movements, giving clear and definite work instructions, and setting up rigorous record-keeping procedures, these scientifically-managed practices made workers into useful individuals with maximised productivity, but at the same time, turned them into docile bodies. As already indicated, the *Professional Standards for Teachers* (TDA, 2007b) similarly defines teachers' standards of performance at five career stages with rigorous sections specifying their professional attributes, knowledge and skills. In many ways, this breaking down of teaching practices into components intends to develop all teachers to their greatest state of productivity and efficiency. As such, professional standards closely resemble one of Taylor's accounts of efforts to raise the levels of productivity of individual workmen at the Bethlehem Steel Company by planning the fine detail of their work. What is more, like scientific management, the framework of professional standards is a form of 'disciplinary apparatus', which 'measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of value the abilities, the level, the nature of individuals' (Foucault, 1977a: 183). An experienced teacher educator talked about one of his experiences, which illustrates the disciplinary character of the QTS standards.

What student teachers do, one of the things student teachers do [in] the course of that training year is to accumulate ridiculous big evidence folders to demonstrate that they have met each and every one of the 33 Standards. So they produce pieces of paper that showed that they can do whatever it is. The significance of that is that in most places what would that shows, I think, the emphasis is more on compliance than is the case here. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

According to Foucault (1977), the act of documentary accumulation referred in this excerpt is an essential part of the mechanism of discipline. The routine documentation of individuals facilitates an analysis of each individual's particular abilities or stage of development. Techniques of notation, file-keeping, making tables and columns are of decisive importance in making each individual 'a case'; that is to say, individuality is constituted 'as an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power' (Foucault, 1977a: 191). Intertwined within such a network of power/knowledge, individuality is open to being described, judged and measured, and at the same time, trained, corrected and normalised. In a sense, as already suggested, teachers can be 'understood as a project—soft, malleable and able to be developed and improved' (Vincent and Ball, 2007: 1065). Therefore, the standards discourse as manifested in the documentation of trainees' performance is a process of 'making-up' new teachers with particular individuality focused on 'the acquisition of particular performance capabilities and associated dispositions' (Beck, 2009: 10) rather than 'on attitudinal and intellectual development' (Evans, 2011: 867). More specifically, the production of new teachers with preferred dispositions and character traits is made possible by an assemblage of power, which includes a sovereign and a disciplinary power (which is discussed later). Again, what is apparent from this documentation is the extent to which standards discourse seeks to re-shape teachers' understanding of their work, and at the same time, these standards 'exercise over them [teachers] a constant pressure to conform to the same model,...and to the correct practice of duties and all the parts of discipline. So that they might all be like one another' (Foucault, 1977a: 182). In this sense, other possible ways of constructing standards are silenced and 'official' standards are obviously and naturally established in everyday practices. An informant addressed the impact of professional standards upon teachers at schools, saying that,

It's a lot more formalised; everything is a lot more formalised. Everything that we do as teachers is related to obviously, to a standard. (...). I mean there are, I can't remember, fifty criteria or together, a thing that needs to be met....criteria that need to be met. You need to provide evidence for it. So, on the one hand, I can see that you can't have somebody just say 'oh, yes, you are a good teacher' you know, 'carry on doing what you want to do' kind of thing. But on the other hand, I think it becomes too tick-boxy, you know with 'oh, yes. You meet that criterion so we can tick it off'. (...). The box you tick is sort of strenuous in some way to you as a person, 'oh yes, I've done that criterion'. But you can do it in a way that has no real meaning, I don't know if I'm making sense but like I said, this whole idea of ticking boxes, you can tick them in a needy way but it doesn't actually really mean anything, I don't know, pedagogically or...it's a bit superficial. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

To some extent, the above quotation points to a lack of authenticity and meaning when 'standards' policies are translated from policy texts to practice. In stark contrast to the purpose of achieving effective teaching under the centralised specification of standards, the notion of 'standards' at school, in effect, tends to obscure the nature of effective teaching. As Mahony and Hextell cynically put it, 'standards' do not guarantee standards (Mahony and Hextell, 2000: 32). The account of the 'tick-boxy' mentality referred to above was seconded by another teacher educator who had almost 20 years' school experience. He added,

[W]hat has changed [about] the way teachers' work is, I think, [that] these days my students certainly and the people I work with in schools are much more focused on doing what they are told. And they [are] always told to do something. they never, they never seem to have things left to their own discretion any more. What is taught, how it is taught, and when it is taught is all decided by someone else now. (Brian, teacher educator, 18 years' school experience)

This is an example of the way in which the standards discourse increasingly erodes teachers' professional judgement and makes teaching focus more on 'standardised' practices. On the one hand, a regulatory-orientated standards agenda brings direct forms of regulation and control into play, and teachers' work is increasingly subject to the centralised specification of 'effective' teaching through surveillance, monitoring and management (standardised teaching with management discourses is more fully discussed in Chapter 7). On the other hand, the enactment of professional standards is suffused with disciplinary power through which a new understanding of teaching is produced. To summarise, the framework of professional standards embodies a range of values, priorities and dispositions, which specify or construe the way in which teachers may see their work and act in relation to it. It is essentially a mechanism 'for differentiating performance for the purpose of reward or for determining the boundaries for entry into the profession or occupation of positions within it' (Mahony and Hextell, 2000: 33). The imposed standards make it possible for the state to take control over contemporary teachers' labour, and more significantly, they also make the formation of a new version of professionalism possible. In what follows, I will detail and describe another crucial thread embedded in the discourse of standards. Deployed as one of the key mechanisms of educational reform, the Ofsted inspection provides an infrastructure for performance-led teaching and learning. It not only inserts a new mode of power into education, but simultaneously contributes to 'making up' teachers with particular dispositions and sensibilities.

### **The Discourse of Standards: the Inspection**

Ofsted was established in 1992 by the Education Schools Act. Its duties were specified



as informing the Secretary of State about the quality of education provided by schools in England and reporting the educational standards achieved in these schools (Education Schools Act, 1992). It was not until 1994 that Ofsted's responsibilities were expanded to include a statutory duty to inspect ITT in all educational departments in universities and other higher education institutions (Sinkinson and Jones, 2001: 223). In practice, each institution's courses are judged by the progress made by its student teachers against QTS Standards. The results of ITT inspections are published for the purpose of 'ensuring quality' and the allocation of training places and funding of ITT to providers is directly reflected in these results (DfE, 1993b: 10). Therefore, intakes into training courses are centrally controlled. One senior teacher educator explained:

The situation is that the TDA (now the National College for Teaching and Leadership) sets what the standards are and Ofsted comes around and makes sure that they are doing them. So, in a sense, both of those things work together [to have an] impact on universities and colleges.  
(C, senior teacher educator)

The standards discourse inscribed in the inspection process constructs a certain set of possibilities or concepts that acts as a one-size-fits-all framework. This means that the process of inspection carries a certain set of assumptions about the way in which effective teacher training providers should act and what they should be like. The inspectors have the power to judge whether or not HEIs are 'successful' course providers, based on a centrally-defined Standards framework. The inspection has a profound impact on HEIs in the sense that the outcome is linked to funding and the allocation of student numbers, and this can create a high level of anxiety.

People are always very frightened about Inspections because of the impact they can have on their reputation. I mean Ofsted Inspections

are hugely important because of the power to shape your reputation. You know beyond your own institution (...) they [TDA] are significant in shaping your funding, not directly because of Ofsted but because of what the TDA then does with the grades. (F, former Additional Inspector)

This extract from a former Additional Inspector indicates the key regulatory device of the inspection in which HEIs are required to meet a 'set of simple performatives and representations' (Ball, 1997: 318). The inspection seeks to ensure that HEIs are operating within the accepted modes of practice as they strive to become 'good' or 'outstanding' providers. Moreover, teacher educators are rendered as 'subjects of power' who 'internalise expected behaviours and learn these behaviours through the acceptance of a discourse' (Perryman, 2009: 614). To put it in another way, inspection plays a significant role in 'delivering' official discourses of control by which teacher educators and the management of training courses are modified in relation to a set of acceptable 'standards'. A senior policy researcher and teacher in HE provided a more direct and bald view of this point:

[T]here is a significant kind of power, funding, jobs, survival relationship tied up with all these issues for teacher education institutions. So they do pay attention to the standards and that influences the way they manage and run the courses. (J, senior policy researcher and teacher in HE)

In these circumstances, it is evident that one of the ways in which successive governments have attempted to re-define new teachers is by this machinery of Ofsted/TDA. By the use of 'expert' judgement and acting as 'disciplinary technologies of surveillance', inspections work to immediately link 'government mentalities and policies' with 'everyday organisational realities' (Ball, 1997: 327). To a great extent, the

internal life of HEIs is regulated by a concatenation of disciplinary and performative techniques, such as self- assessment, interviews and routine visits from inspectors. One teacher educator explained,

[W]ell, I know what I think will work, what would make a good teacher, but I have to be very mindful of what the TDA says, what Ofsted says. If you don't play by their rules you'll be in trouble. (...). So I think it's taking away some of the innovation and creativity that you have within the sector because you are constantly looking to see.....you know it has become very centralised, very centralised. (E, teacher educator)

As indicated above, as a form of disciplinary power, inspection manifests its potency when teacher educators internalise the discourses of control and police themselves to the extent of performing the 'expected' behaviour. Teacher educators are constantly brought within the gaze of inspection within this panoptic regime. As Perryman puts it, inspection is 'the modern equivalent of the Panopticon, or rather the panoptic metaphor made real' (Perryman, 2009: 617); at the same time, the effect of this panoptic regime on HEIs is paramount. In an account provided by a former Additional Inspector and her previous experience of being inspected, she remembers what the atmosphere was like when her institution was graded as a 'failing' training provider.

There was [a] failing, there was very punitive atmosphere (...) you know it's really terrible, very de-motivating de-moralising for everyone'. (F, former Additional Inspector)

In this case, the unsatisfactory results of the Ofsted inspection produced negative emotions across the training provider as a whole. In addition, what needs to be emphasised is the extent of invisible 'stage-management' and 'cynicism' prior to and

after the inspection (Perryman, 2009: 619). One teacher educator interviewed specifically talked about one of the ‘warm-up’ exercises purposely performed to meet the designated criteria before the inspection.

[Y]ou had to fabricate some kind of experience where you were pretending you were on a school trip so that they knew that you had organised a school trip, which became the wrong thing to do. (E, teacher educator)

Within this performative regime, fabrication involves ‘selections among various possible representations’ informed by ‘the priorities, constraints and climate set by the policy environment’ (Ball, 2003: 224). In this deliberate act of demonstrating effectiveness and accountability, on the one hand, the purpose of providing transparent information to stakeholders is obscured by pretence; on the other, the focus on this ‘art of persuasion’ (Maguire, Perryman, Ball and Braun, 2011: 6) leads to neglecting the ‘true’ nature and purpose of teacher education. Thus, the selection of the ‘truth’ to be presented and the process of adding high performance values to the institution become ‘an investment in plasticity’, in which authenticity is displaced and the organisation becomes an auditable commodity (Ball, 2003: 225). What is actually achieved in the pursuit of ‘outstanding’ and ‘excellent’ ratings is a contrived form of effectiveness in the process of presenting the required ‘truth’. This produces a particular and purposeful institutional reality.

[S]o all of our courses are written to show that we are meeting the standards, [so that] students can see it, Ofsted can see it, everybody can see it(...). That’s exactly what has to happen so we ensure that everything we do, all the stuff in our courses fits the standards’ (C, senior teacher educator)

The creation of textual accounts by HEIs is intended to fabricate themselves as being 'good' training providers. In one sense, what has to be achieved in this deliberation is the construction of a persuasive text that persuades the reader (school leaders, inspectors, potential teachers) that this is a 'good' training provider (Maguire et al, 2011: 6). There is constant pressure to demonstrate their effectiveness and accountability in these ways. To some extent, HEIs' preparation for inspection can be seen to be a performative act in which teacher educators work hard to fabricate a version of 'good' practice within their documentation. In this way, the content and delivery of training courses are structured by the government. The UCET representative commented that universities 'have to dance to their tune to a great extent' (I, UCET representative). One HEI policy analyst and teacher also commented in a somewhat cynical way,

I just think it's [the Ofsted inspection] an outstanding bureaucratic and political achievement. They put so much machinery in place...and I think we have put this machinery in place, a version of it, in teacher education. I think many non-democratic countries would be highly jealous of what we have here. (H, senior policy researcher and teacher in HE)

A culture of performativity is inculcated under this inspection regime. According to Ball, performativity is 'a culture or a system of "terror"' in which 'the teacher, researcher and academic are subject to a myriad of judgements, measures, comparisons and targets' (Ball, 2008: 49-50). There is a strong sense of teacher educators' distrust throughout the data, as well as a sense of fear of the 'educational police'.

I think that the whole situation has been always one of mis-trust, that [the] central government mistrusts the universities, the central government doesn't recognise the expertise within the universities and [the] central government sees this as an area it wants to be active in.

(...) a low-trust setting within which nobody is trusted to do their job properly, where everybody is inspected, targets are set and more and more there's been an encroachment into teacher education to de-power it, doesn't recognise it as having its own expertise and [the] government is getting more and more involved. (C, senior teacher educator)

As a teacher educator you think you know what works the best for trainees. You think you have a programme, you have ideas about how it might work but, at the same time, you are side-tracked by thinking, well, I know what I think will work, what would make a good teacher, but I have to be very mindful of what the TDA's saying, what Ofsted's saying. If you don't play by their rules then you'll be in trouble. (E, teacher educator)

Well, we have to meet those standards. We have a statutory obligation to whatever is published there, to assess our people against [those] standards. (...) We have to justify this to the educational police, Ofsted. Yes, they ARE educational police. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

The constraints at work here make teacher educators subjects of conformity. Their options are limited and opportunities denied in terms of making judgements based on their understanding of 'teacher professionalism'. They are subject to a set of pre-fixed educational 'truths', a desired norm, judged accordingly, and then allocated to socially-constructed categories such as 'satisfactory' or 'failing' providers. Simultaneously, however, inspection also works when it makes us think about ourselves in certain kinds of ways (May, 2011: 76). Disciplinary and performative techniques, such as self- assessment, interviews and routine visits from inspectors, make-up the teaching professionals into a particular kind of docile beings. On this understanding, the operation of power is not simply predicated on prohibition and domination; it is also modelled on production and creation. The following comments illustrate the focal point

where two dimensions of power are enmeshed with one another.

I mean we manage ourselves after all that happens. Now you know, after doing the stuff [Ofsted inspection] for 15 years (...), all the machinery came in 15 years ago, we can do without it.. we are entirely internalised. Look at our website and if you look at our planning, we have internalised now that thinking, which makes it much more easier than it was when I first came here to actually prepare for external review. It's the same [logic] with the Ofsted one. We are running around, worrying about it, but actually it's something we worry about all the time (...). The real trick to doing high quality work is that I am doing it all and I am accountable in terms of competences and all those frameworks they give me and things like that. In fact, I saw fine ways of doing high quality work within that. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

Specifically teacher educators, but also the sector generally, are becoming 'normalised' by working within a performative culture in HE. In the Foucauldian sense, normalisation refers to a social process through which individuals are disciplined into behaving and acting in accordance with the constructed ideal norm of conduct (Foucault, 1977a). Additionally, discipline works most effectively when power subjects become actively engaged in their self-formation with the aim of becoming 'better' and 'effective'. By means of measurement and practice, certain ideas or actions are made objective and natural and individuals are encouraged to strive for excellence against these simple indicators or criteria of judgement. In other words, normalisation is a 'mechanism of power which is achieved through the hegemonic internalisation of discourses of control' (Perryman, 2009: 614). Acting as a normalising judgement, the inspection has a regulatory capacity to establish and secure a definition of the 'professional' and the modes of preparation within which aspiring professionals are legitimised.

Up to this point, however, the effect of normalisation should not be thought of as totalising. There is no straightforward and simple development by which the standards discourse can be translated from policy text into practice. The regulatory function of the inspection policy does not result in a totally robotic outcome, and the discourse of standards is constantly contested and challenged in practice. The multi-faceted nature of policy enactment is revealed in the following interview extracts.

There's autonomy there. As long as you meet the competences [standards], which is what you're paid for, what you are assessed on...then there actually is still space and system to do other sorts of things as well. (...). It's something we do privately, not something we're paid to do, something that's recognised. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

People will adapt to their particular context, reflecting their own particular values and cultures whatever, in relation to a broader system.(...). You've got ...you know, the state with its operators, making some suggestions and you've got these people who have some expertise, who feel it's their responsibility to exercise their judgment to.....mediate these requirements in relation to the students they have in front of them. (J, senior policy researcher and teacher in HE)

So far the evidence seems to show that different actors in different institutions interpret or 'decode' policy in various ways. Codd maintains that, when viewing policy documents as texts, they are 'capable of being decoded in different ways depending upon the contexts in which they are read' (Codd, 1988: 236). In other words, policies are 'complexly and creatively enacted within the limits and opportunities of discourse' (Ball et al, 2011a: 622). Perhaps it is right to indicate that policies tend to unfold in an uneven and contested configuration, and therefore simple generalisations of connection



and prescription fail to account for the complexities of the policy process.

In this section I have indicated the way in which Ofsted inspections have gradually subjected teacher educators, student teachers and HEIs to a normative standards framework which includes certain assumptions about the nature of the 'professional' teacher. I have also pointed out that a performance-orientated inspection functions as a technology of surveillance and policing to control and regulate teachers. As such, it is very clear that professional expertise and judgement give way to the greater centralised control. Moreover, it needs to be noted that there is an intertwined disciplinary power playing a crucial role in laying the groundwork for the reconceptualisation of the 'professional' within the discourse of standards. By carefully examining, reviewing, calibrating and comparing various inspection techniques, individuals are made more productive in the sense of raising their educational 'achievement' and enhancing their 'performance'; at the same time, they are more docile within this inter-connected network of power relations. As Foucault puts it, 'discipline makes individuals' (Foucault, 1977a: 170); thus, teachers become 'objects' of standards discourse and their subjective states are transformed and inculcated with new norms and values. However, I have also indicated that there are still spaces and moments within this regime of standards within which other different versions of professionalism can be glimpsed.

## **Conclusion**

The standards movement has been one of the predominant discourses in the reform of teacher education for the past three decades. Competency frameworks, professional standards and inspection all serve a range of functions in teacher education in relation to the regulations of entry, recruitment, and the specification of competences and

credentials. More importantly, this standards discourse can be viewed as being ‘a particular systematic organization of knowledge by which individuals are to regulate and discipline themselves as members of a community/ society’ (Popkewitz, 1995: 59). Successive English governments have developed continuous and consistent sets of official knowledge, manifested as standards that ‘enable’ teachers to make sense of what counts or does not count as being professional. The discourse of standards is constructed as common sense that has implications for teachers’ understanding of positions, functions and hierarchies in their workplace, and what counts as being ‘professional’ at different stages in their career. More significantly this represents an ongoing political project in which teaching is being redesigned and re-engineered at the expense of their professional autonomy. It is perhaps sensible to point out that, in the end, the discourse of standards entails the imposition of rules and regulations with which successive governments have been able to ‘manage’ practitioners to ‘develop ways that result in their practices better matching the government’s ideologies and aspirations in order to better meet its goals’ (Evans, 2011: 864). Viewed in this light, teacher education is one of the key social technologies of governmentality through which successive governments have sought to intervene and regulate with the aim of increasing economic productivity (Popkewitz, 1995). Standards policies, embedded in a range of disciplinary techniques, provide teachers and teachers of teachers with certain ways of talking, speaking and thinking in relation to their practices. New cadres of teachers enter schools with sensibilities of ‘professionalism’ which are closely aligned with broader socio-economic objectives.

## Introduction to Part Three

In the previous chapters I have explored some of the recurring themes and key discursive concepts in teacher education. At the same time, I have also attempted to show the extent to which teacher education has been redesigned and reformed with the objective of producing new cohorts of teachers to do 'economic' work. This has involved imbuing teachers with a new sense of 'professionalism' which encouraged them to focus on practical school practice, pupil outcomes, inspection results and performance indicators, while at the same time, their legitimacy as professionals who exercise judgement and autonomy has gradually been undermined. Having considered the policy and practices in teacher education, I would now like to focus on the school practices within which discourses of professionalism are realised. I will particularly identify management as being a *master discourse* with a significant influence on the mobilisation of teacher professionalism in schools. The repositioning of school headteachers will firstly be examined in **Chapter 6** and I will outline what I term the '*trilogy*', as well as indicating the extent to which senior management teams have been set in place to secure the achievement of policy requirements since the 1980s. This means that management has been empowered and given the responsibility of aligning classroom practice more closely with policy initiatives and priorities. This leads to **Chapter 7**, in which the central question of the way in which teachers have gradually been constituted as new performative subjects is examined. Here, I will draw on a framework of work control, namely, the Labour Process Theory expounded by Braverman and the Foucauldian concept of disciplinary power to consider the making up of 'new' professional teachers. More specifically, my findings suggest that the discursive formation of teachers involves an assemblage of powers, i.e. a combination

of sovereign, disciplinary and governmental discourses and practices work together to produce 'new' teachers. On the one hand, teachers are subject to tighter forms of control, and in many respects, they are deskilled and proletarianised. However, on the other hand, 'new' 'professional' teachers are made up with a strong sense of 'responsibility' for pupil outcomes and performance tables, and the nature of teaching is thus changed and teacher professionalism re-defined within this dual transformative process.

## Chapter 6

### Headship, Leadership and Management

#### Introduction

For the past three decades, management has been one of the catchwords in educational reform. The term 'educational management' began to be commonly used in the 1970s. Educational Management operates around a number of different themes and involves a set of tools, techniques and concepts, such as goal-setting, institutional planning, competition, performance, budgetary control, monitoring and accountability. Borrowed from the private sector, the implantation of educational management into the public sector aims to break the traditional organisation of service provision and facilitate effective organisational practices in order to meet the challenges of globalisation and the rise of a knowledge-based economy. On a certain level, the articulation of the discourse of management has challenged and transformed the shape and role of the public sector. In education, the Education Reform Act of 1988, implemented by the Thatcher administration, introduced educational management as the key principle in the delivery of education. Many New Right ideologists regarded this as a necessary condition for schools to become more efficient and effective. At the heart of successive reforms initiated by the Conservative and New Labour governments throughout the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, the discourse and practices of educational management have continued to be a central feature of government thinking about how schools should be run. A whole range of school-related educational policies, particularly concerning the curriculum, assessment, pedagogy and teacher education, are all imbued with the discourse and practices of management. My analysis in this and the following chapter, *Headship, Leadership and Management* and *Teachers, Policy Subjects and Management*,

is based on this broad background of change.

This chapter will primarily focus on the shifting discourses that frame and position headteachers in schools, particularly from the Education Reform Act of 1988 (ERA) onward. At times I will also refer to issues that relate to attempts made by successive governments to control and specify 'teaching'. I am specifically concerned here with the way in which management discourses were set in place, and have gradually achieved discursive supremacy and transformed professional work in schools. Grace (1995) proposes that there were two types of school headship from the social democratic period (the 1940s to the 1970s) to the introduction of the Education Reform Act of 1988. He uses the terms 'modern professionalism' and 'managerial professionalism' to delineate the characteristics and features of being a school head pre- and post-1988. In this analysis, I attempt to take Grace's argument further by suggesting that a new form of '*performative professionalism*' has gradually emerged, in which headteachers are repositioned as 'leaders' whose practices are narrowed down to focusing on and being responsible for learning outcomes and measures of school performance, and whose behaviour is dominated by the need to fulfil technical requirements and entrepreneurial duties. I refer to the re-positioning of school headship from head teachers, to managers, to leaders as 'the trilogy of school headship in England' (see Table 6.1). It should be noted that I do not mean to suggest that the transition from one point in time to another is a clear break with a completely fresh start; rather, it is a gradual process and there are certainly contradictions and other minor, and sometimes inconsistent, discourses articulated in practice. What is more, there are some continuities and patterns embedded in this process of transformation and in the re-construction of school headship.

Essentially, the discourse of contemporary headship deploys two forms of power, the

first of which is a sovereign power that serves as an instrument of state power via the construction and consolidation of a managerial and bureaucratic hierarchy within schools in which headteachers are the 'leaders' and teachers are to be led and managed. The second is a non-sovereign form of power that is constantly exercised through disciplinary techniques. This is indirect and non-coercive, but is potent in generating 'apparatuses of knowledge (savoir) and a multiplicity of new domains of understanding' (Foucault, 1976a: 106). Within the discourse of performative professionalism, notions of granting conditional freedom and awarding responsibility to school headteachers are regarded as being crucial in promoting 'effective' learning and raising 'standards'. In a sense, headteachers position themselves through this new understanding of their practices and they adopt assumptions that underpin the kinds of policy discourses outlined in previous chapters. This means that power becomes manifested when it legitimates the policy process, makes certain sets of ideas 'true', and induces headteachers to subject themselves to policy requirements. In some sense, new forms of self-governing individuals and, thus, organisations, are produced under this twin process of 'autonomization plus responsabilization' (Rose, 1999).

I want to argue that the underlying discourses of freedom and empowerment that currently structure school headship make it possible to develop a changing relationship of headteachers, both to the state and teachers. From the perspective of the state, headteachers have increasingly become the linchpin of what Barber (2007) calls 'the delivery chain' of policy. They have strategic importance in establishing and securing a link between classroom practice, managerial procedures and policy initiatives. Additionally, I regard the repositioning of headteachers as being a process parallel with the one of reshaping teaching. To a significant degree, the process of re-designing teachers' work is predicated upon the re-positioning of headteachers, both of which are

inter-related and not mutually exclusive. Thus, issues related to headteachers' repositioning and the re-definition of teacher professionalism will provide a further analytical perspective of the re-tooling of professional practices, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

Table 6.1: Trilogy of school headship in England

Phases Features	1944~1988	1988~1997	1997~2012
Socio-historical context	Social democratic period	New public management within the quasi-market of education	Neo-liberal policy complex
Roles of education	Professionally autonomous cultural service	A product in the marketplace	A lever for sustaining global competitiveness
Key concepts	Moral energy Team working Interpersonal skills	Market forces Choice Diversity Accountability Effectiveness Efficiency	Targets Measurement of Outcomes Achievement Standards Comparison
Modes of regulation	Licensed autonomy	Regulated autonomy	'Autonomization plus responsabilization'
Subject position of headteacher	Head teacher	Manager	Leader



Types of headship mission	Professional and pedagogical progressive mission	Market mission for institutional survival	Policy delivery mission in securing the centralised reform agenda
Types of professionalism	Modern professionalism	Managerial professionalism	Performative professionalism

See Angus (2012), Dale (1989), Grace (1995) and Rose (1999)

### **The Trilogy: From Headteachers to Managers to Leaders**

In the social democratic period from the 1940s to the 1970s, education was regarded as being one of the most important means to achieve social and economic transformation. By and large, the state needed the school headteacher to play a role in effectively implementing reform. As explained by one of the Green Papers in the 1970s, ‘The character and quality of the headteacher are by far the main influences in determining what a school sets out to do and the extent to which it achieves those aims’ (DES, 1977: 32). Headteachers were then the key agents for facilitating the desired changes in the education system. According to Grace, the type of school headship required in this earlier period was ‘modern professionalism’, which involved headship being ‘grounded upon a personal and professional record of successful innovation, and evidence of interpersonal skills and capacity for team working’ (Grace, 1995: 31). Apart from being characterised by forms of professional and participative administration, the discourse of headship in this period also incorporated notions of pedagogical headship, which permitted and respected ‘the professional autonomy of specialist subject teachers in secondary schools and the pedagogic autonomy of primary teachers’ (ibid: 32). As indicated in the previous chapter, *the Context of Influence*, a whole series of political

and economic changes, particularly New Right doctrines, transformed the landscape of English schooling from the mid-1970s and culminated in the introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA). In a broad sense, the ERA decisively re-orientated the work of the school Head by the implementation of the Local Management of Schools (LMS). Essentially, LMS involved 'the delegation of financial and managerial responsibilities to governing bodies...to improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools' (DES, 1988, Para. 9). The role played by the headteacher in this implantation of site-based management into school systems was pivotal, but in new ways. As DES Circular 7/88 clearly indicates,

Local management will give head teachers power to match their existing responsibilities. Head teachers are already managers, and the Secretary of State expects that across the whole range of decisions relating to local management the governing body will consult and take the advice of the head teacher. The head teacher will have a key role in helping the governing body to formulate a management plan for the school, and in securing its implementation with the collective support of the school's staff. (DES, 1988b, para. 22)

At the heart of the ERA was an attempt to introduce market forces and install a set of educational management practices in schools. It was evident from the official discourses that represented school headship, that the role of the headteacher was being re-positioned and affirmed as a manager. Driven by the imperative of self-management, school heads became mainly concerned with budgets, appointments, and monitoring the efficiency and effectiveness of day-to-day school business.

[W]hen you spend a lot of your time worrying about money and where you can save money and you know, I have to try and find the cheapest possible staff or I have to cut, you know, not [to] replace people, and

all of that is very hard and really limits one's freedom. (Nigel, school headteacher, 30 years' school experience)

This extract highlights the fact that issues around organisational matters, such as budgets, staffing and marketing, became the major concern of headteachers, and at the same time, these preoccupations distracted them from becoming professionally engaged with teaching and learning. To put it another way, headteachers were made 'managers of the conditions' in which teaching and learning took place, such as the buildings and the budget (Gunter, 2001: 97) (Interestingly, the deputy headteacher has the 'responsibility' for teaching and learning issues in many of today's secondary schools, see Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 54). Acting as a chief executive, the headteacher was now expected to provide and articulate a 'market mission' in English schooling (Grace, 1995: 41). This meant that schools were now budget centres, and headteachers' work became largely involved with 'running budgets, steering governors, determining staffing, promoting and marketing their institutions, and striving to optimize public representations of performance' (Fergusson, 2000: 210). In relation to teachers, headteachers must ensure that the activities of workers/teachers are appropriate for the needs of the business. In some sense, they are responsible for instilling the 'proper' attitudes and culture into teachers, so that the teachers feel that they are accountable to the school, both personally and professionally (Ball, 2008: 48-49). Viewed in this light, some significant parts of headteachers' work are grounded in the internal monitoring of teacher performance, and, in turn, teachers are increasingly subject to new forms of control.

According to Gunter and Forrester, the New Labour government came into power with an even stronger focus on the idea of 'effective' headteachers than the preceding

Conservative administration (Gunter and Forrester, 2008: 153), although they were represented as *leaders* rather than *managers*. In its first Green Paper, set to ‘modernise’ the teaching profession, the New Labour government highlighted the importance of leadership as an effective lever for school improvement at the outset.

All the evidence shows that heads are the key to a school’s success. All schools need a leader who creates a sense of purpose and direction, sets high expectations of staff and pupils, focuses on improving teaching and learning, monitors performance and motivates the staff to give of their best. The best heads are as good at leadership as the best leaders in any other sector, including business. The challenge is to create the rewards, training and support to attract, retain and develop many more heads of this calibre. (DfEE, 1998a: 22)

Similarly, the official definition of an ‘effective’ head is detailed in the National Standards for Headteachers, as follows:

The core purpose of the headteacher is to provide professional leadership and management for a school. This will promote a secure foundation from which to achieve high standards in all areas of the school’s work. To gain this success a headteacher must establish high quality education by effectively managing teaching and learning and using personalised learning to realise the potential of all pupils. Headteachers must establish a culture that promotes excellence, equality and high expectations of all pupils.

The headteacher is the leading professional in the school. Accountable to the governing body, the headteacher provides vision, leadership and direction for the school and ensures that it is managed and organised to meet its aims and targets. The headteacher, working with others, is responsible for evaluating the school’s performance to identify the priorities for continuous improvement and raising standards; ensuring equality of opportunity for all; developing policies and practices;

ensuring that resources are efficiently and effectively used to achieve the school's aims and objectives and for the day-to-day management, organisation and administration of the school. (DfES, 2004: 3)

At the linguistic level, these policy texts are illustrative of the change of language in relation to school leadership since the 1980s. The key concerns related to headship managerial responsibility under the Conservative government were allocating resources, determining staffing and managing school performance. According to Thrupp and Willmott, headteachers were recast as managers within site-based management and exposed to a plethora of generic managerial ideas and practices that flowed from the wider policy and business environment (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003:44). Fundamentally, headteachers in the 80s and 90s had to familiarise themselves with a set of 'new' managerial skills to oversee the routine management of their 'business' in relation to overall system maintenance, all of which could be termed 'managerial professionalism'(Grace, 1995). When New Labour came to power, the project of restructuring the teaching profession continued with a particular focus on the re-positioning of headteachers. New Labour established the National College of School Leadership (NCSL) in 2000 (now the National College for Teaching and Leadership, since April 2013), the chief function of which was to use the mandatory standards of assessment and accreditation for school leaders (the National Professional Qualification for Headship) previously established by the TTA.

While further exploring the process within which school leaders were produced in relation to prescribed national standards is beyond the limitations of this chapter, what was distinctive about New Labour was its re-worked conceptualisation of the key elements underlying school 'leadership'. In many ways, the orientation under the Conservative administration was to make teaching and learning more effective by

emphasising the technical, strategic and operational capacity embodied within school headship, whereas New Labour celebrated the leadership spirit, and a policy rhetoric framing headteachers in terms of their leadership style. It continued to use a range of concepts and models mainly drawn from business and management science (see below), and as a result, notions such as ‘direction’, ‘culture’, ‘vision’, ‘commitment’ and ‘mission’ were regularly repeated in policy texts. Another example from the TTA is as follows:

[Headteacher] ‘working with the governing body...provides vision, leadership and direction for the school and ensures that it is managed and organised to meet its aims and targets’ (TTA, 1998: 4)

The particular significance of the way in which headteachers were articulated by New Labour is that it saw leadership as being about ‘hearts and minds’, about generating cultural change within institutions to meet the requirements of the market and the wider economic restructuring (Ball, 2008: 139). Similarly, Thrupp and Willmott indicate that this appeal for the ‘reculturing’ of schools essentially adopted the culture of theories and methods taught in business and management schools in the 1980s (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 182), when books written by Peters and Waterman (1982) and Deal and Kennedy (1988) and the like re-focused managerial interest on transforming organisational culture, and further provided ‘the fertile ground for a form of description and prescription that privileged entrepreneurial values and elevated managers into heroes’ (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 183-184). Fullan’s work is of particular relevance in relation to educational change in leading debates of the ‘reculturing’ of schools. Drawn largely from business management literature, Fullan’s work criticises the lack of innovation in the culture of the traditional ‘professional’ sector. Moreover, he claims that schools are not so different from business organisations and argues the need for the

‘reculture’ of schools in times of complexity and chaos (Fullan, 1999, in Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 207). Under these circumstances, the morality of business was and is being implanted in schools, and managerial ideas and practices are being promoted. In other words, school culture is to be fostered to become a performative organisational culture in which ‘the organisation’s overriding goal is to optimise performance by maximising outputs (benefits) and minimising inputs (costs), thereby providing “value-for-money” ’ (Elliott, 2001: 193). Acting as school leaders, headteachers are pivotal in advancing and propagating particular values that constitute the school ethos within this transformation. However, this gradual transition of headship does not suggest that there is total submission to the dominant framing of headship. As Moore, George and Halpin indicate, headteachers in England negotiate, accommodate, resist and mediate mandated policy differently when they are situated in an environment with a mix of pre-existing pedagogic discourse and an entrepreneurial competitive culture. Moreover, a strategic pragmatism—one kind of institutional pragmatism Moore et al have identified—was found, within which compromises made by managers involve ‘calculated acts of resistance as well as of accommodation and assimilation’ (Moore et al, 2002: 186).

Thus far, I have indicated the cultural turn in schools since the introduction of the Education Reform Act (ERA) 1988, which was largely underpinned by the management theory of business, and the re-inflection of this as school leadership. I have made the point that headteachers were constructed as the key agents in re-shaping and re-defining school culture within this transformation. The recasting of headteachers as school managers under Conservative administrations essentially involved a certain degree of reculturing of English schools in that the budgetary and staffing responsibilities of headteachers under LMS had already required a certain degree of new culture within

headship and in schools. Within this 'managerial professionalism' in the 1980s, a 'street-wise' capacity to survive in the market and exploit market opportunities became the dominant construct for an effective school headteacher rather than 'moral, scholarly or professional qualities' (Grace, 1995: 42). Gunter helpfully points out that leadership under New Labour was firmly located in a neo-liberal version of the 'performing school' in that 'leadership is being defined by notions of controlling uncertainty through charismatic behaviours and strategic tasks' for the purpose of advancing a performative organisational culture (Gunter, 2001: 28). Transformational leadership is a strong feature of leadership style within this neo-liberal version of the 'performing school'. Such a headship model is celebrated in times of rapid social change and intensive global competition because it 'fits with the quest for higher standards in teaching and learning, the search for more effective schools and the drive for continuous improvement in schooling' (Southworth, 1998: 46-47). Clearly, headteachers were further repositioned under New Labour as being 'single directly accountable leaders' who were to 'improve school performance in regard to national testing, and implementing national reforms' (Gunter and Forrester, 2008: 150). In addition to controlling their school's budget and workforce, headteachers were required to monitor the overall performance of the school in order to make it accountable, although accountable to who was contestable.

Thus, school leadership was gradually made up with a strong feature of 'performative professionalism' which connotes an abundance of managerialist practices in terms of measurement, comparison, judgement and monitoring, all of which are aimed to maximise school performance and learning outcomes. In short, the repositioning of school headteachers throughout the Conservative and New Labour governments was set within a common managerialist ground of change. However, there was a subtle shift within these two political periods from a technical focus on developing the new



managerial skills of headteachers within a quasi-market environment to an emphasis on a more cultural dimension of leadership. Thus, it may be possible to argue that the neo-liberal restructuring of education under New Labour, in effect, ‘proceeded with a much firmer and more confident resolve’ (Thrupp and Willmott, 2003: 214). New Labour strengthened the intensity of cultural change within schools by remaking headteachers with a sense of ‘performative professionalism’. They were no longer seen as head *teacher*, but as ‘a leader and manager in an educational setting. (...) Headship was reworked around strategic business models rather than leadership growing from pedagogic expertise (Gunter, 2001: 96. *original emphasis*). As will be shown below, this transformation has profound impacts on the changing relations of headteachers both to teachers and to the state. I particularly argue that these aspects of changing relations are predicated upon the constitution of an empowered headship since the 1980s, in which headteachers chiefly acted as government agents to monitor the processes of teaching and learning. I am specifically concerned with official discourses of ‘freedom’ and ‘responsibility’, which are used to delineate the nature and purposes of teaching and learning; that is, headteachers are framed as having the ‘freedom’ to deliver what they are made ‘responsible’ for. In other words, the changing relations of headteachers, both internally with teachers and externally with the state, are in effect a political project which aims to achieve a very specific version of a school. These are the issues I would like to address in the next section.

### **An Empowered Headship and ‘Performative Professionalism’**

As already mentioned, headteachers in English schools have been repositioned as the key locus of institutional power since the 1980s, when the culture and practice of managerialism became prevalent in the educational domain. They are now not only

engaged in achieving the performance requirements set by central government, but, in relation to these, they are responsible for promoting a new institutional culture for the effective planning and delivery of education within the discipline of market forces. On some level, their role has significantly shifted from that of a leading professional who works with teachers to that of a middle-manager, who directly brokers state-school directives. On this understanding, the discourses constructed in the policy texts for school headship tend to represent the headteacher as a strong school leading figure; in other words, as an 'empowered' headteacher who takes on the greater responsibility of conferred powers and freedoms. Headteachers are expected to uphold a sense of being managers, and have the capacity to ensure the survival of the institute. By deploying strong leadership, headteachers are to exercise influence and make decisions in order to facilitate institutional changes for the better performance of their schools. However, this does not suggest that headteachers are the single 'responsible' agents in the process of educational reform. Concurrent with the remodelling of headship in educational institutions, senior managers have also become more privileged in the process of educational reform. As Gunter and Forrester (2008) make very clear, effective leadership of a local provision is 'secured through distributed networking and brokerage' (Gunter and Forrester, 2008: 149) This means that headteachers are encouraged to see that improving their school is best achieved through distributed forms of work practice within which leaders of various kinds, e.g. so-called 'middle leaders', in various roles and positions, are given the responsibility to implement national reforms and made accountable for learning outcomes.

[T]hat form of accountability culture goes hand in hand with management culture, in that pressure is always directed down to the classroom teacher. And then the head of department is made responsible for all the results, so there will be accountability managers

within her or his department. So it's a very hierarchical system of accountability. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

It is important to recognise that a cascade of responsibilities has been created in which headteachers are mainly responsible for the improvement of school performance, while middle-managers and teachers are directly accountable for pupil achievement. To an extent, headteachers and teachers now work together 'through multi-level, multi-agency networks where accountability is complex and diffuse' (Newman, 2004: 23). Everyone is now encouraged to take a leadership role and be responsible for leading a subject, key phase, pastoral care or other aspect of schoolwork, as espoused in programmes for Middle Leadership Development, Future Leaders and Teaching Leaders (see NCSL website for more detail). In a sense, the teaching profession is made up of 'responsible' experts within such a distributed leadership system. As Ball sees it, these responsibilities taken together are fundamental and pivotal to the competitive well-being of the organisation. Moreover, a new set of professional values is produced within which 'new' professionals 'act prudentially and innovatively to protect and further the interests of their organisation— to achieve targets, to maximise income and to compete effectively with other providers' (Ball, 2012a: 35).

This chapter has only time to briefly engage with the way in which the model of distributed leadership has been created and put in place to share the responsibility for pupil achievement and secure the extent of school performance. My intention now is to detail 'empowered headship', which has been a consistent and predominant policy discourse in the (re)-positioning of school headship since the 1980s. I will specifically pay attention to the way in which headteachers are implicated within a dual process of automisation and responsabilisation. I will also argue that such an articulation of school

headship is essentially a political project in which broader social and democratic values gradually lose ground over and against a presumed necessity of pupil performance in the face of international competition. What is more, policy discourses of ‘responsibility’ and ‘autonomy’ promote a particular understanding of ‘professionalism’. Under such a construction, as Newman puts it, headteachers and teachers alike are within fields of power the strategies of which are ‘simultaneous empowerment and discipline’; that is, ‘the dispersal of power enables and empowers actors but at the same time subjects them to new strategies of surveillance and control’ (Newman, 2004: 18).

As quoted already, DES Circular 7/88 states that the headteacher has a key role to play in developing a management plan for the school, and ‘local management will give head teachers power to match their existing responsibilities’ (DES, 1988b, para. 22). Under local management schemes, headteachers were required to align themselves with the statutory duties of school governors,

...to deploy resources within the school’s budget according to their own educational needs and priorities. They will determine the number of both teaching and non-teaching staff at the school, will select for appointment and will be able to require dismissal...(DES, 1988b, para. 21)

Furthermore, subsequent Circular 2/94 sketches a clearer discursive representation of school headteachers, who are conferred with greater powers and more freedom to undertake their managerial tasks.

Delegation refers to the freedom of governing bodies and head teachers to deploy the resources allocated to them through the formula — including their most valuable resource, their staff— to maximum

effect in accordance with their own assessment of their schools' needs and priorities. (DfE, 1994, para. 9)

Similar developments in which headteachers are given the role and powers to deliver desired changes at school level can also be found today in the policy case of opting out and becoming academies.

[T]he autonomy and freedoms enjoyed by Academies have been eroded over recent years as they were made subject to more and more bureaucratic requirements and targets. (...) So there is great scope for us to extend autonomy and freedom for schools in England. It is our ambition that Academy status should be the norm for all state schools, with schools enjoying direct funding and full independence from central and local bureaucracy. Some schools are not yet in a position to enjoy full Academy freedoms and we will ensure that all schools, whatever their status, are freed from unnecessary bureaucracy, and enjoy progressively greater autonomy, with their own funding, ethos and culture. (DfE, 2010a, para. 5.5, 5.6)

It is evident from these developments that policy texts have been consistent in representing school leadership as having the capacity to run a school as a 'business'. A further extension of such an empowered headteacher to organise and reculture schools can be seen in the notion of *super-headship*, which was deployed in the early years of New Labour's time in office. An interviewee pointed out,

We have this notion of superheads. (...) So there have been huge rewards for very senior people if they take part in this competitive system and perform in the way the government wants them to. (...) Also the reward of running your own budget, employing your own staff, setting your own agenda, all the government discourses about giving headteachers more and more autonomy and power. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

Given that New Labour was persistently preoccupied with securing school improvement and maximising educational outputs, superheads had the particular responsibility of 'saving' failing schools, which were seen to be 'underperforming'. They gained a high profile and credibility for their expertise in budgeting, marketing and monitoring. As already indicated, they were not only crucial in terms of their work in enhancing overall management effectiveness, but also in initiating cultural changes within schools and bringing the 'vision' to bear. In short, superheads were seen to be catalysts for system change, and they were expected to take responsibility for realigning schools to policy requirements. In a similar development, the later version under New Labour's framing of an empowered headship was the executive headteacher, who was in charge of turning around difficult schools (usually more than one) in the most challenging circumstances. Most specifically, the principal feature of the executive head was task-orientation; that is to say that executive heads were parachuted from successful schools into 'failing' ones and were responsible for 'rectifying failure' in the sense of raising educational 'achievement' (Gunter, 2012: 4). Moreover, their practices essentially involved the pursuit of 'standards' and measures of 'improved' performance, all of which was again founded upon the management styles of the private sector, particularly the techniques of performance management. The way in which executive heads are constructed is crucial to teachers. Heads are positioned as single powerful leaders within schools, while at the same time teachers are positioned as followers and their performance is judged and monitored by management. To a significant degree, a more rigorous and hierarchical structure of management is formed within which teachers are led and managed according to their performance. Overall, the construction and development of the official discourses of headship under New Labour were centred on a business culture model. By framing headteachers as leaders and celebrating their capacity to rectify

‘failure’ and improving the prescribed educational standards, New Labour aimed to turn schools into efficient and effective business units through the work of empowered school leaders. Therefore, under New Labour, headteachers had enormous strategic importance in ensuring that school systems were in place to deliver what was required by the government and the economy.

The phenomenon of superheads and executive heads is echoed by Grace’s (1995) research on the changing nature of English headship. One of the distinctive ideal types of headteachers identified by Grace (1995) in response to the changing leadership culture in English schools is *headteacher-managers*, who ‘celebrated their perceived empowerment in the local management school initiative, and were confident about their new working relations with governors and the likely success of their schools in a new and competitive market culture in education’ (Grace, 1995: 73). To a certain degree, both the *headteacher-managers* in the 1990s and the superheads and executive heads today are experts endowed with managerial power and constituted as the key actors in the process of reform. They are able to assert their superiority based on a range of practices found within the private sector. On this understanding, it is sensible to claim that the policy discourse of empowered leadership re-establishes and re-enforces a new form of managerial expertise. At the same time, it also privileges certain practices and silenced others. Headteachers who ‘contribute’ more to aspects such as good school performance and pupil achievements, which are labelled ‘outstanding’ in government terms, are rewarded with higher pay and perhaps in some senses, superior status. In short, by discursively reconstituting school headteachers as ‘managers’ ‘leaders’ and ‘chief executives’, the logic of market competition and accountability measures has produced a new hierarchy of management. Ball calls it ‘the emergence of a professionalised cadre of specially trained teacher-managers’ who are characterised by

‘specification, impersonality and stratified monopolization of intellectual knowledge’ (Ball, 1994: 57). Because of holding a certain type of ‘truth’ about a well-managed school, this new professionalised cadre of school managers is crucially located within a nexus of policy power-knowledge (Foucault, 1977b). They are granted a managed form of freedom in varying degrees to monitor and discipline their professional colleagues. The power with which they are ‘entrusted’ creates a new culture in which particular sets of norms and common sense about managerial practices become established, and new forms of institutional control are gradually consolidated on a day-to-day basis. This emphasis on strong school leadership is also evident under the current Coalition government. Drawing rhetorically, if not always accurately, on some of the most ‘successful’ education systems in the world, the Coalition government repeatedly states that it will give school leaders more powers and freedoms:

The most important people in driving school improvement aren’t inspectors, advisers, school improvement partners or Ministers. It is teachers and school leaders. And that is why I am passionate about extending the freedoms denied to you by the last government. (...) But we will now also provide you with the kind of autonomy that has served schools in America, Canada, Sweden and Finland so well and *allow all schools the freedom to develop their own curriculum and fully control their own budget and staffing.* (Speech by Michael Gove, the National College Annual Conference, 16 June 2010, *my emphasis*)

The above extract makes it possible to discern many of the current government’s policy concerns. First of all, the discourse of international competitiveness is predominant. By highlighting the world’s most successful education systems in countries such as Finland, Sweden and Singapore as exemplary models, it is evident that the government is attempting to justify its actions in articulating more reform. To put it another way, other country’s ‘successful’ policies are constructed as one of the key factors leading to



self-examination with regard to the overall school performance in England. The role of the school leader is again framed and narrowed down in this process for the purpose of ‘driving up’ improvement and school performance. Furthermore, the focus here is again upon autonomy and freedom. Essentially, this kind of self-managing capacity in terms of being autonomous and having control of budgeting and staffing is ‘permitted’ from above, i.e. from the central government. It is clear that there is continuous dominance on the part of successive governments in the way in which they delineate a certain regulatory order, embedded in techniques like inspections and the standards framework, within and through which school leaders are meant to act and think. In a sense, headteachers (and teachers) are subject to conditional empowerment, in as much that they are ‘empowered to govern themselves in approved ways’ (Newman and Clarke, 2009: 23). The White Paper published in 2010 is helpful to further elaborate this point:

An important part of making teaching and school leadership more attractive is that we should reduce unnecessary prescription and bureaucracy. It is not necessary for government to issue detailed advice or instruction about most matters which are the responsibility of schools. Head teachers and teachers enter education because they are guided by a sense of moral purpose and a desire to help children and young people succeed. They do not need to be patronised, directed and hectored at every turn. (DfE, 2010a, para. 2.46)

Here, the moral purpose of being a teacher is rearticulated as a combination of commitment and performance. To a significant degree, a ‘professional’ school manager/leader is defined by and realised through a constraint-free space with a range of responsibilised practices. Rose argues that this is a new form of governing within the ‘advanced’ liberal rationality (Rose, 1999). What is distinctive about these technologies of government, i.e. the modern forms of rules that seek to ‘shape, normalize and

instrumentalize the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others', is that it has enabled *government at a distance* (Miller and Rose, 1993: 82-83. *original emphasis*). This means that individuals are constituted as being autonomous subjects with responsibilities delineated within a set of 'appropriate' practices and targets or measures of performance. This is essentially 'a twin process of autonomization plus responsabilization — opening free space for the choices of individual actors whilst enwrapping these autonomized actors within new forms of control' (Rose, 1999: xxiii). An interviewee, who acts as a school head and has witnessed the reform process since the 1980s, described the notion of 'granting greater autonomy to the front line' (DfE, 2010a):

There is an apparent freedom or there is a type of freedom where, as long as you are successful in their terms, in the government's terms, you can probably design your school and have the kind of ethos you want. (Nigel, headteacher with 30 years' school experience)

To an extent, this extract is an example of what New Labour called 'earned autonomy'.

Similarly, a senior policy analyst and teacher in the HE sector commented:

[I]f you are in a high performance school there is a considerable autonomy for teacher professionalism. (...) It's the same with the Department [in HE]. We have lots of freedom because we do well in the assessment; we have to do well in the assessment. (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

These accounts highlight the fact that there is an unevenly dispersed 'freedom'. In other words, the underlying discourses that structure various levels of 'freedom' are distributed in relation to a centralised system of target-setting and auditing. In effect, the autonomy offered to school headteachers, or, more broadly, the teaching profession as a

whole, is conditional. Both schools and headteachers can ‘earn’ the right to manage their own budgets and win greater freedom in relation to their managerial practices as long as they have consistently demonstrated the required ‘standards’ of educational provision. It *appears* that today’s headteachers have greater control over their practices in terms of budgetary and staffing issues; however, the extent to which they are entitled to exercise these powers is set within a certain set of government technologies, such as inspection, league tables and market competition. In Foucault’s sense, there is an apparent contradiction between the rhetoric of policy and the practices of government. To put it another way, the extent to which school leaders can determine professional practices is subject to them reaching achievement targets or benchmarked levels of ‘performance’. In effect, headteachers are required to play their part in the government’s game. Under these circumstances, the official version of ‘freedom’ is a ‘managed’ freedom framed by target-setting and goal-orientation. At the same time, it is also a ‘conditional’ freedom in which the state retains the role of ‘meta-governance’. This means that the state still ‘reserves to itself the right to open, close, juggle and re-articulate governance arrangements’ in the sense of allocating power to different agents (Jessop, 2000: 19). This leads to the issue of central control in relation to the appearance of empowered headship, and this was nicely captured by two of the interviewees:

...the rhetoric was [that] we wanted self-managing schools. So we’ve got wonderful headteachers out there in some cases, and we give them more power to do what they need to do locally. Now..... the Free school stuff. But actually what it was then...was more control for the government. (D, senior policy adviser)

Some people like me might think we’ve gone too far down that line of accountability and we are micro-managing and not giving enough

space to teachers. Now Michael Gove actually believes that, so he is apparently going to be arguing today that he is going to free teachers up, but I think it's going to be a strange sort of freedom because some of them may have more freedom, but a lot more power I think, is going to the centre. (C, senior teacher educator)

This was also vividly described at the school level by an experienced school head who was interviewed.

So if you succeed you get a pat on the back; if you fail you know you'll be gone. It's kind of not real freedom at all. And the accountability framework is still there for headteachers. (Nigel, headteacher, 30 years' school experience)

In effect, a concatenation of initiatives, such as inspections and the publication of school performance league tables, together with techniques of target-setting, benchmarking and annual reviews, provide a platform upon which the reassertion of central authority is made possible. This process has transformed what was 'modern professionalism', replacing it first with 'managerial professionalism' and later with 'performative professionalism', which mainly rests upon a network of accountability techniques, such as results, targets, comparison and measures. Based on Rose's argument about the indirect mechanisms of rule in liberal democratic societies, this shift, both discursive and practical, is an attempt to *govern through freedom*. Notions of both freedom and autonomy are used to promote a certain type of subject. In other words, individuals are encouraged to exercise their freedom in appropriate ways, which are wrapped in the demands of responsibility and accountability. As a result, both headteachers and teachers are implicated within a dual process of automisation and responsibility in some respects, and they are made malleable to certain kinds of action and amenable to regulation. Overall, the state exercises its power through new forms of governance in

which a 'regulative space' cuts across the boundaries of state legislators, inspection bodies and service delivery organisations (Hancher and Moran, 1989, in Newman and Clarke, 2009: 100). Within this 'regulative space' headteachers are developed to understand themselves as leaders and managers through a concatenation of policies and strategies, such as the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH), the Leadership Programme for Serving Heads (LPSH), the Headteacher Leadership and Management Programme (HEADLAMP) and the Future Leaders programme characterised by a fast track to senior leadership. Gradually transformed by these discourses and practices, headteachers are invested with a particular set of decision-making logics that privileges economic over social criteria, and performance in a competitive field instead of collaboration and integration (Newman and Clarke, 2009: 104). To a considerable degree, they are 'empowered' and remade as 'economic agents' (ibid: 82), invested with managerialist authority over and against which other forms of professional expertise and knowledge are gradually marginalised.

When taking a combination of the above analyses, I argue that the trilogy of headteacher formation from head *teacher*, to manager, to leader involves the process of assembling two rather different, yet complementary, forms of power. The first is the sovereign power, a hierarchical and coercive form of power exercised through inspection mechanisms and policy imperatives in relation to school headship, such as the appointment, selection, development and training of headteachers. Another more covert form of power relates to the discursive constitution of headteachers as 'economic agents' instilled with a particular set of mentalities and sensibilities in running their managerialist-orientated and performance-driven school 'businesses'. The underlying discourses of conditional 'freedom', earned 'autonomy' and 'responsibility', increasingly colonise the meaning of being a leading professional with the mentality of

being a manager. These two dimensions of power work together and change the relationship between headteachers and the state. In some respects, the discourses embedded within the policy of empowering headship make it possible to steer schools 'at a distance' and they are potent in marginalising other versions of professional values and judgments. As a result, I suggest that headteachers have increasingly become the linchpin of what Barber (2007) calls 'the delivery chain' of policy; that is, 'hierarchies of expectation that connect the front line service delivery to the responsible minister by ensuring a sharp focus on performance priorities' (Barber, 2007., in Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 75). Their locus of action and concern has been re-orientated and their practices re-worked, all of which has been gradually achieved under the logic of management driven by performance-related and calculating mechanisms. As Gunter usefully puts it, 'leadership was the means by which the reform agenda was configured and secured', and more importantly, 'leadership was constructed and promoted as a means of suturing together a vast array of interventions in the curriculum, staffing, lesson planning and assessment' (Gunter, 2012: 4-5). In these accounts, policies are discourses that represent the interplay between power and knowledge. Enacted through the day-to-day experience of schools, policy discourses provide headteachers with an understanding of what matters on their working agenda. Moreover, disciplinary mechanisms, such as inspection and performance management, further sustain these as a particular form of common sense and shared understanding. All of these practices are permeated by power relations, which in turn, make new forms of control in contemporary English schools possible.

## **Conclusion**

Thus far, I have highlighted the discursive shift and cultural turn in articulating school

headship under the Conservative, New Labour and Coalition governments between the 1980s and 2012. Additionally, I have mapped out the broad contours within which an empowered headship is constructed and suffused with power, responsibility and freedom. Essentially, the framing of an empowered headship since the 1980s is an ongoing process assembled by two forms of power, and these two dimensions of power work together to establish sets of beliefs and meanings. Policies and practices relating to an 'effective' school headteacher give rise to new form of 'performative professionalism', which prioritises a certain agenda and issues related to the purpose of schooling. These developments have not only subjected headteachers to 'a twin process of autonomization plus responsabilization' (Rose, 1999); they have also fundamentally changed the relations of headteachers both to the state and teachers.

On the one hand, the changing role of headteachers and the new ethics of managerialism have created a considerable distance between headteacher-managers and pupils, the experience of direct classroom teaching, and the collegial relationship with staff. As Whitty et al argue, the increasing divergence created between headteachers and teachers consolidates a vertical management structure, as well as leads to 'a growing gap between the manager and the managed' (Whitty, Power and Halpin, 1998: 57). On the other hand, as already indicated, a cascade of responsibilities has been created for the improvement of school performance. Headteachers, other leaders in various roles and positions and teachers are all held to account for pupil achievement. Viewed in this light, three decades of neo-liberal educational reforms have increasingly moulded the teaching profession (students included) into a coherent unity in the pursuit of the 'holy grail' of education policy, namely, standards. In other words, these neo-liberal policy themes, such as market arrangements, centralised testing regimes, strict school and teacher accountability procedures, and a centralised curriculum and standards impose a very

powerful disciplinary template over schools (Angus, 2012: 233). To a great extent, the overwhelming standards agenda and emphasis on performance and accountability have become ‘normalised’ discourses in which teaching and learning are perceived to be mechanical and functional activities. Moreover, schooling has become a ‘normalised’ system in which only certain behaviour and attitudes are sanctioned and prioritised. As will be shown in the next chapter, the seemingly multi-dimensional reforms, by which I mean the repositioning of headteachers, the remaking of teachers and the re-orientation of schools are, in effect, implicated within a single broader discursive project, namely, to take ‘responsibility’ for pupils’ performance and the further sustaining of economic growth in a competitive global world. In the next chapter, I will exemplify the changing relations between headteachers and teachers by specifically focusing on the impact of managerial discourses and practices on the processes of teaching and learning. The ways in which ‘new’ teachers are produced and new sensibilities of professionalism are constituted, both practically and inter-discursively, will also be discussed.



## Chapter 7

### Teachers, Policy Subjects and Management

#### Introduction

In the previous chapter, *Headship, Leadership and Management*, I discussed the way in which school headteachers are enmeshed by multifaceted discourses. They have been repositioned within these discourses from school headteachers to managers and to present-day leaders, who occupy a strategic position as translators of policy into practice within a management regime. Implicated within two dimensions of power, namely, sovereign and disciplinary forms of power, the relations of school headteachers to teachers has profoundly changed. This chapter specifically focuses on teachers in England's state schools. The first part of the analysis draws on the traditional conception of power as being oppressive and diminishing. I portray teachers as 'losing' autonomy and being subject to new forms of control and processes of deskilling. In the second part of the chapter I employ the Foucauldian conception of power as being productive and enhancing, when I portray teachers as being subject to processes of reskilling; that is, the making up of a new kind of professional teacher with new skills of performance, monitoring and performance improvement.

The analysis is partly organised around a framework of work control, drawing upon the perspective of the labour process (see Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid and Shocklock, 2000), and is presented in an inductive way. The chapter begins by explaining my thinking tools, namely, the Labour Process Theory (LPT) and its inter-connection with Foucault's concept of disciplinary power. The way in which learning has been re-orientated toward an outcomes-based, transmission model is outlined. The second section analyses

dimensions of managerial control by the state. One aspect of this managerial control is achieved by techniques such as reductive behaviourally based curricula, pre-specified teaching competences and pre and post testing (Smyth et al, 2000: 40). A further aspect of this managerial control relates to teachers' pay and promotion arrangements, and the establishment of third agencies, such as the Training Development Agency, Ofsted and the General Teaching Council in England (now abolished). Subjected to these structural forms of control, teachers' work has become gradually framed and monitored by management-driven regulations. A concatenation of initiatives and changes, particularly the 'technology of performance' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 74), which comprises league tables, performance indicators, Ofsted inspections and targets, renders teachers into manageable and calculable labour units. These two inter-related systems of managerial control lead my analysis to focus on *Interdiscursive Configuration*, which explores the interplay between discourses of management, accountability and teachers' professionalism. The main point I will try to make here is that there are various discourses at play in the constitution of a new understanding of being professional. The interdiscursive configuration resides in the power/knowledge regime of management, accountability and professionalism, and these discursive practices have gone a long way toward re-defining what it means to be a professional teacher.

Systems of bureaucratic control and disciplinary techniques that produce new ways of being professional are analysed separately; however, this does not mean that these systems are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, 'new' teachers are produced with this interrelated network of constitution. In the concluding section, I propose my overall argument for this chapter, which is that a more responsive and market-orientated form of 'performative professionalism' has been produced within an environment characterised by new 'policy technologies' (see Ball, 2003). Teachers are positioned

within a duality of enabling and discipline, which is facilitated by complex inscriptions of power relations. Fundamentally, teachers are remade with new skills, new ways of working and new sensibilities, all of which 'make-up' a 'professional' teacher. At the same time, in effect, these 'new' teachers are increasingly being transformed from 'professional' to 'proletarian workers', who have diminishing autonomy in relation to their pedagogical practices and whose conditions of work have been gradually changed. More importantly, I remark on the exercise of a composite power, namely, governmentality, in the aligning of the conduct of organisations and individuals in their capacity as self-regulating agents with the purpose of achieving political objectives through 'action at a distance' (Miller and Rose, 1993). Specifically, sovereign and disciplinary power merges within the domain of governmentality and constitute a specific assemblage of practices and power relations.

### **Analytical Tools**

Based on a Marxist perspective, *Labour and Monopoly Capital* published in 1974 by Harry Braverman looks at the organisation of labour under the capitalist mode of production, with particular emphasis on the institutionalised systems of management and control. Braverman retains Marx's position by maintaining that,

In capitalism, the social division of labor is enforced chaotically and anarchically by the market, while the workshop division of labor is imposed by planning and control. (Braverman, 1974: 73)

Within the capitalist mode of production, labour power is essentially a commodity, the organisation, distribution and material value of which are arranged and decided by its purchasers, namely, employers, and according to Braverman, it is in the special and

permanent interests of these purchasers to cheapen this commodity. Such a view suggests that the interests of buyers and sellers are incompatible in as much that 'the employee will seek to obtain the best possible wages and conditions, while the employer looks upon labour power as a cost to be minimized' (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid and Shocklock, 2000: 21). Additionally, in order to adapt labour to the needs of capital and secure the management's production goals, concepts, tools and techniques like that of scientific management initiated by Frederick Taylor serve as 'the fundamentals of the organisation of the labor process and of control over it' (Braverman, 1974: 87). Elements of scientifically-managed labour processes involve (Braverman, 1974; Taylor, 1911):

- the development of science (knowledge) based on systematically-collected and recorded data;
- the scientific selection, training and development of workmen to their greatest level of efficiency and prosperity;
- the separation of conception and execution and the concentration of the knowledge of labour processes in the hands of management;
- management's capacity to exploit the monopoly of knowledge to control each step of the labour processes and its mode of execution.

At the core of the Labour Process Theory, Braverman details the application of the Taylorist approach, which employers deploy to maximise the accumulation of the capital extracted from labour. All of these processes may be considered to be contemporary features of teachers' labour. The tendency for labour to become increasingly deskilled and intensified under systems of control is particularly significant to this research. Every activity in the production is required to be 'devised, pre-calculated, tested, laid out, assigned and ordered, checked and inspected, and recorded throughout its duration and upon completion' (Braverman, 1974: 125). In

many ways, workers are increasingly subject to a process of fragmentation and degradation. A rigid separation of conception and execution significantly reduces the space available for workers to control the production. In this account, management stands at the vital point of exercising coercive power and the drive to 'develop each individual man to his highest state of efficiency and prosperity' (Taylor, 1911: 43). In essence, management constructs systems of control in order to secure and maximise capitalists' profit from labour production.

In the main, Braverman's labour process analysis provides an illuminating and influential perspective on capital-labour relations, although it is not without its limitations. The main line of criticism lies at the point where Braverman's analysis 'marginalises, and indeed aspires to exclude, consideration of the role of consciousness and action in the reproduction and transformation of the interdependent, though asymmetrical, relations of capital and labour' (O'Doherty and Willmott, 2001:458-459). A sovereign power manifested in a regulatory framework of managerial strategies suggests that there are totalising generalities of determinism and structuralism under which workers are 'the passive recipients of managerial control' (Smyth et al, 2000: 19). In other words, Braverman's failure to pay attention to the mediating role of subjectivity in the labour process means that individuals are simply seen to conform to the rules and norms contained in social forces. Hoffman points out that the scientifically-managed labour processes propounded by Braverman are fundamentally disciplinary in the overall goal of maximising the utility, as well as docility, of individual bodies (Hoffman, 2011: 35). In his view, there are abundant examples of disciplinary practices bound up with the application of scientific management, and these practices constitute a specific technique of power that 'regards individuals as objects and as instruments of its exercise' (Foucault, 1977a: 170). However, rather than simply acting as a coercive power in

devising, ordering, checking, recording and inspecting, labour processes are imbued with managerial strategies and practices, which are manifestly disciplinary and 'make individuals' (ibid). In other words, discourses embedded in managerial practices are productive in that they produce the objects about which they speak. As Foucault puts it,

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body. (Foucault, 1976b: 120)

Power which is embedded in systems of management control cannot only be regarded as being repressive and prohibitive; rather it simultaneously circulates through managerial practices and strategies in relation to which individuals construct both possibilities and impossibilities for what they do and how they feel. What I am suggesting here is that, rather than presupposing that scientific management is the sole form of mechanistic control, as Braverman implies in his writing, it is reasonable to argue that we should ground our analysis in the way in which control is exercised and pay equal attention to the effects it generates (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid and Shocklock, 2000: 23). By combining notions of sovereign and disciplinary power and tracing how they work together, traversing particular institutional sites to the extent of producing a particular subject, we are able to think beyond the structuralist dualistic antagonism of which Braverman is often accused. As a result, implicated within the duality of power relations, i.e. sovereign and disciplinary power, subjects are produced with new dispositions and sensibilities. In brief, I take the interpretation of power as being productive in the making of a subject as a complementary perspective when engaging with the ongoing debate about the neglect of subjectivity that results from the dualistic

separation of structure and agency in LPT. In addition to explaining domination and direct control from the perspective of ‘power as sovereignty’ disciplinary technologies and practices co-exist in shaping the way we think, feel and see ourselves. Therefore, multiple subject-positioning of subjectivity is possible within the interplay of the sovereign and disciplinary power and the re-articulation of power. I will address this point further in the concluding section by commenting on the ‘recombination of powers’ (Dean, 2007), in which heterogeneous powers, namely, discourses and the practices of sovereign and disciplinary power and governmentality, work together to make it possible to think about teaching and learning in contemporary regimes of education policy and practice differently than before.

### **The Re-‘tayloring’ of Teaching and Learning**

The above section focused on the analytical tools I use to examine the changing ‘professionalism’ of teachers. Before exploring the way in which management discourses impinge upon teachers, I will briefly look at how the nature of learning has been re-orientated within discourses of management. To a great extent, learning is implicated within the monitoring process, particularly since the ERA (1988) established attainment targets for core and foundation subjects, against which students are to be assessed at four key stages, and the subsequent efforts of the New Labour government to enforce these targets. The following extracts reveal the range of change in relation to learning.

I think there is so so much emphasis on assessment and that’s [there’s] much more attention on testing, but not only testing in the formal sense where you do a paper-and-pencil test. Now the National Curriculum has very detailed levels of [attainment targets] and

teachers spend a lot of time having to assign levels to individual students in school. Also, they come under much, much scrutiny when they set tasks. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

...you know, it's an accountability culture that's lost sight of what learning looks like, that learning is messy, dialogic, social and not entirely predictable; it's also...it doesn't happen in a linear way. The whole of the accountability culture is predicated on the idea that learning is linear. I mean that's just not the truth. Learning is not linear. So any model of learning that makes it look linear is at best, over-simplification, and at worst, a misrepresentation. It takes schooling out of culture and history. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

The emphasis on assessment and 'results' was regarded by many New Right groups in the 1980s as providing 'market information' for parents to make a decision about their choice of schools. One of the significant ways in which New Labour framed its vision of education was to connect performance more closely to teachers' practice. According to Ozga, there was a whole repertoire of assumptions and relationships within the 'modernisation' project, ranging from professional formation and an enhanced version of managerialism in schools to the formal mechanisms of inspection, assessment and appraisal that profoundly changed the nature of teaching and learning under New Labour (Ozga, 2000b: 225). In a sense, the overall redesign of the education system came to be seen as being a pivotal lever to create economic growth, of which modernising teaching and raising educational standards are the core concepts. The first White Paper of New Labour set out a clear vision of education in schools in England underpinned by a firm commitment to 'Education, Education and Education' (Tony Blair).



In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, knowledge and skills will be the key to success. Our goal is a society in which everyone is well-educated and able to learn throughout life. Britain's economic prosperity and social cohesion both depend on achieving that goal. (DfEE, 1997b, para.1-1)

Good teachers, using the most effective methods, are the key to higher standards. The government values teachers and intends to build on the knowledge and skills they have developed over many years. We must make sure that all teachers, whether they are just joining the profession or have many years' experience, understand the best methods of teaching and know how to use them. (DfEE, 1997b, para.1-2)

The first task of education service is to ensure that every child is taught to read, write and add up. But mastery of the basics is only a foundation. Literacy and numeracy matter so much because they open the door to success across all the other school subjects and beyond. (DfEE, 1997b, para.1-3)

As I have already argued, New Labour's approach to learning was largely linked to the requirements of global economic competitiveness. On the one hand, the rhetoric of meeting the needs and ends of economic and international competitiveness legitimated a particular set of values and practices, namely, raising standards in the narrow sense of learning outcomes. On the other hand, such needs and ends were enacted in a series of policies that established a culture of 'performativity', in which measures of productivity or output take precedence over the worth or value of an individual within a field of judgement (Ball, 2003: 216). Furthermore, there was huge enthusiasm on the part of the New Labour government 'to intervene in the detail of educational processes with advice on all aspects of teaching and the day-to-day running of schools' (Furlong, 2005: 125). As such, prescriptive strategies were developed with a focus on learning, such as primary literacy and numeracy strategies. In this way, the New Labour government not

only assertively defined what should be taught, but also how to teach it. Furthermore, other policy technologies of measurement and monitoring performance, like Assessing Pupil Performance (APP), work together to ensure that students' progress in reading, writing and mathematics is continually tracked, and at the same time, schools are required to play their part in relentlessly raising 'standards' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 73). Essentially, these interventions into teaching and learning fed into New Labour's concern about global competitiveness. As Tony Blair said, 'education is our best economic policy' (Blair, 2005). The education policy was high on New Labour's political agenda in the sense that education functioned as a 'producer of labour and skills and of values' and as a 'response to the requirements of international economic competition' (Ball, 2008: 11).

Nonetheless, my intention here in relation to teachers is not to sketch an all-embracing picture in which all teachers experience a single unitary policy enactment and re-contextualisation. There are always possibilities for action and 'discretionary spaces' (Fenwick and Edwards, 2012., in Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 6) available for multiple interpretations and translations. The different positioning and extent of the engagement of teachers in relation to policy can best be illustrated by Ball et al (2012b), according to whom there are, for example, policy enthusiasts who embody policy in their practice and act as the key medium in the processes of translating policy texts into action by means of talk, meetings, plans or the production of artefacts. At the same time, there are also policy entrepreneurs, who rework and recombine aspects of different policies to the extent of challenging 'ingrained assumptions about practice' on the basis of their previous career (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012b: 628). However, at the other end of the spectrum of policy actors in schools, most newly qualified teachers 'exhibit policy dependency and high levels of compliance', which is to say that the number of

‘discretionary spaces’ available for these new entrants is somewhat limited and the ways in which they cope with policy rely, most of the time, on senior colleagues, materials, guidance, etc. (ibid: 632-633). Particularly given that new teachers have undertaken training courses and been ‘educated’ within an accountability-driven regime, Ball et al further point out that it is difficult for these ‘different discursive generations’ to imagine a different way of being a teacher (ibid: 634). In other words, new entrants may not experience a sense of loss and a diminishing of their autonomy because they have no ‘field of memory’ (Foucault, 1972) or ‘discursive archive’ to set over and against present policy (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 6). In short, teachers perceive and act upon policy differently. They are not naïve actors and have various degrees of adaptation, neither are they stable and unified school subjects. As Moore puts it, ‘teachers’ positioning and ways of experiencing and responding to professional life are seldom internally consistent discursively’, and they are ‘likely to occupy positions at the overlapping margins of various discourses’ (Moore, 2004: 33). There is a danger of portraying teaching and learning as being bleak and over-determined and failing to take into account the complexity and diversity infused with different sets of power relations. Nonetheless, taken as a whole, my data conveys the sense of a very restricted notion of learning which denies students an active role in their own learning. The following are some ephemeral examples:

I mean there are other effects in the way in which you can think about teaching, what teaching is for. Even the concept of school students as autonomous thinking beings is attenuated and worn down. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years’ school experience)

...to think that those numbers [test results] attached to students are meaningful and define them. So on a bad day, you’ll hear the teacher say, ‘oh, she is level 5, he is level 4’, not that this piece of work might

be considered to be level 4, but SHE IS, as if that's the pupil. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

It has meant that children have become slots in a machine who have to come up with the right numbers and we're the ones who have to make them come up with the right numbers. (Cloe, in Woods and Jeffrey, 2002: 94)

Clearly, learners are also, in various senses, constituted by numbers within the current apparatus of schooling within which the preoccupation is largely with a restricted range of attainment targets. This means that the way in which learners are perceived largely depends on their level of performance and grade of attainment. To put it another way, for the most part, New Labour's approach to learning produced a passive and impoverished learning subject. Based upon a transmission mode of learning in primary school which, under New Labour, rested on a set of pedagogical strategies in the form of Literacy and Numeracy Hours, outputs in the form of national targets, and the publication of national test and examination results, learning and assessment policies were rendered devoid of any social and psychological meaning (Ball, 1999: 201). However, such a transmission mode of learning does not mean that learning processes were ignored by New Labour; indeed, in certain respects, student learning was given top priority. Attention was given to students' different learning styles and skills in subsequent policy developments, such as the Personalised Learning agenda, and particularly the promotion and policy enactment of PLTS (Personal Learning and Thinking Skills) for the 14-19 age range (DCSF, 2009). Fundamentally, New Labour saw the emphasis on 'effective' teaching and learning as being a key part of their curriculum reform, and as a result,

It's become a lot more formalised, and I feel that teachers teach to a

formula in some schools. You know this [the] idea; you've got to have a starter, you've got to have a sort of middle part and then you've got to have a plenary at the end. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

[I]n some schools they [senior leadership team] would say, 'No, your lesson has to be structured like this. It has to have a starter, has to have an introduction, has to have a developing part and has to have a plenary'. 'You have to write the objective on the board, and you have to return to that objective at the end. OK? If you don't have that, we will think you've taught a bad lesson'. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

The detailed specification of teaching and learning and the prescription of pedagogical strategies has led to standardisation in the form of a three- or five-part lesson. Additionally, the classification of students in relation to their 'productivity' is a matter of concern. An experienced teacher pointed out,

There are some schools in which we place our students where...what appear on the staff room notice boards are lists of students in classes and their most recent National Curriculum levels and its subjects. And the...all of those data are [is] colour-coded as it appears on the wall. The wall of the staff room where the levels are above expectation and students are progressing faster than they were expected to is shaded green. The one where students are progressing more or less as expected is shaded yellow, and to complete the traffic lights, the one where they are not progressing effectively is red. Now the point about that display is that it happens in real schools in London. Not all schools, right? Absolutely not all schools, but it does happen. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

In essence, traffic lighting students' performance defines learning and what is and what is not rewarded. Students are under constant surveillance, reported and classified as

being good, satisfactory or inadequate. Imbued within such a monitoring process schools are becoming 'learning machines', machines for 'supervising, hierarchising and rewarding' (Foucault, 1977; in Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 86). In many ways, emphasising examination outputs has become the mechanism by which schools demonstrate that they have focused on 'standards' by monitoring progress, which is now the predominant 'necessarian logic' in schools (Watson and Hay, 2003., in Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 78).

In short, represented largely in quantitative forms of assessment and outcomes, students are tagged with market value. At the same time, the publication of schools' performance acts as a kind of market index by which parents can make their selection decision. To varying degrees, students' individuality, such as personal values and aspirations and other social ideals and purposes of learning, is largely undermined and displaced. Here, I am not suggesting that policy discourse on learning is totalising, that it has unequivocal meanings and concerns. On the contrary, policy discourses that frame teaching and learning are contradictory and sometimes conflicting. A wide range of policy purposes and meanings have been articulated and mingled together to form complex policy ensembles, which in many ways, are constructed by a paradox. For example, one senior teacher with considerable classroom experience made the following observation:

What do the government want? They want teachers who are successful, who you know, get students through certain hurdles; a certain percentage, who achieve level whatever, you know, the National Curriculum. They want teachers who just conform to their criteria basically. (...) I mean they say they want teachers to produce interesting and creative lessons but at the end of the day, they just want to be able to again, tick the right boxes, the percentage of

students who achieve this, percentage of students who achieve that.  
(Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

More specifically, concerns about creativity and innovation in teaching and learning are still given some emphasis in the rhetoric of policy. However, these are minority discourses, which tend to be marginalised in practice and displaced by other predominant policies that receive wider currency. As Ball et al argue, 'in the policy enactment environment, these [minority] discourses become subordinated to the production of order and the ordering of productivity' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 135). Teachers are caught up in this complex web of contradictory policy discourses, such as creativity versus narrow test results. Nonetheless, the priority of teachers' labour is to deliver a centrally prescribed curriculum, and produce 'productive' students in the sense of achieving a better performance and enhanced learning outcomes. However, as noted already not all teachers experience the pressures of policy in the same way. They are subject to hierarchies of 'expectation'.

When the government decided that in the reporting of GCSE results, English and Maths results would have particular significance. (...) One of the effects of this on teacher identity within schools was to put more pressure on English and Maths teachers and make their lives more stressful, but also to make them more important within the institution and make their departments more important. This marginalised teachers of History, teachers of the Arts, teachers of Music and teachers of Drama. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

This extract is again indicative, but in a different way, of the fact that teachers are 'positioned differently and take up different positions in relation to policy' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2011b: 625). The relationship with policy for teachers of core

subjects like English and Maths is important since they are 'expected' to take on a significant amount of 'responsibility' in the production of learning outcomes. To some extent, perhaps they enact different ways of being a teacher. While different policy roles and positions available to subject teachers and their relationship with subjectivity is too complex an issue to pursue here, I want to stress that underlying all these developments, teaching is reshaped as a technical activity to meet up the end of the delivery of the curriculum and achieve certain targets. To some extent, other claims to know about teaching and alternative understandings of pedagogical and educational values are made difficult. With regard to this point, Smyth and Shacklock point out that there has been a profound shift from 'teachers as responsible professionals, trusted with collectively constructing curriculum with others in the direction of educative interests, to teachers as competent technicians, working in an industry where the interests have to be formulated elsewhere, most notably in the marketplace and the international economy' (Smyth and Shacklock, 1998: 56). This is certainly the view provided by an interviewee who has witnessed the reform process for the past four decades,

...but then we were in this result-driven culture where, you know, we are constantly being pushed by our schools and by the government to improve results. Yet, when we do improve the results, they criticise us, saying that the exams must have been easier. You know, that's what the government constantly tells us. You know, the results are good because the exams are easier not because we're working harder or because... (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

As discussed in Chapter 2, *Context of Influence*, teachers have been criticised and blamed for ineffective teaching and a low level of student learning outcomes since the 1970s. It is significant that this 'discourse of derision' (Kenway, 1990) is based upon a profound distrust of teachers' professional knowledge and competence. A long series of



teacher policies and regulative practices has ensued in an attempt to retool teaching through discourses of practicality and standards (see chapters, *The Discourse Analysis of Practicality, Standards*). This relationship of distrust between the teaching profession and the state is ongoing. An example of this is the ‘naming and shaming’ by the government of those schools whose 11 year-olds’ progress in English and maths had stalled. These ‘underperforming’ schools were told to improve, face closure, or be required to work alongside other ‘successful’ schools. On the other hand, some schools and new teachers were identified as being ‘successful’ and ‘outstanding’ and, as noted previously, may have become less subject to the immediate pressures of regulation as a result. All of this demonstrates a strong sense of policy continuity from the Conservative to the New Labour government to a great extent. Teachers were still enmeshed in the discourse of derision, but with some subtle differences of articulation. Suffice it to say that, although there is still an implicit low-trust relationship between teachers and the state today, the official rhetoric of the Coalition government with regard to teachers at least appears to give praise and empowerment (see note 1). The interviewee quoted above went on to elaborate:

[I]f teachers were trusted more for their professionalism then there wouldn't be those questions asked. I don't know if that makes sense, but like I said, it's just that thing of being questioned constantly about what we're doing, why we're doing it. Most of the time we're doing something because we think it's the right thing to do; we make a professional judgement. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

The lack of trust in teachers has been reinforced by transplanting managerial practices into school, as successive governments have attempted to both monitor and ‘re-culture’ the processes of schooling, and have directly and indirectly sought to regulate teachers

and control their work. I want to take this argument a little further by specifically looking at two aspects of managerial control, as a result of which teachers are gradually being reconstructed as educational workers.

### **Managerial Control: through Curriculum and Assessment**

To begin with, an ex-member at the GTCE specifically talked about the issue of the entitlement to a National Curriculum:

I think this [teacher autonomy] is an area that deserves to be debated. I don't think it's a given that teachers always know best. (...) that there should be a National Curriculum to which all children are entitled seems to me to be beyond dispute. Why wouldn't you have a National Curriculum that [to which] all children are entitled? Because when teachers were in control of the curriculum, you know it would completely depend on which teachers you have, which school you go to, what you learn, and that cannot be right. Lots of children would come out with a very narrow curriculum or whatever. (B, ex-member of staff, GTCE)

As indicated in my earlier analysis, the school curriculum was one of the major concerns of the New Right critics of state education in the 1970s. The implantation of the system of management in schools after the ERA of 1988 has recast headteachers as managers. Concurrently, the subject orientation of the prescribed National Curriculum and national testing informed a new order of priorities with regard to classroom practices. Additionally, when taken with other managerial techniques, such as inspections and teacher appraisal, these management practices denote new and 'preferred' classroom practices in which the 'curriculum becomes a delivery system and teachers become its technicians or operatives' (Ball, 1990b: 154). All in all, these

arrangements contributed to the formation of a centralised specification of ‘effective teaching’ over time, and middle management in schools now particularly plays a key role in monitoring and evaluating the quality of teaching and learning through classroom observation and the gathering of statistical evidence of learning outcomes (Gunter, 2001: 110). In many ways, heads of department or line managers are pivotal in securing policy implementation; more specifically, middle management teams are put in place to make interventions into teaching by means of strategically monitoring the delivery of outcomes. The interview extract describing traffic-lighting students’ performance referred to earlier exemplifies managerial intervention into teaching and indicates the way in which a ‘technology of performance’ is implemented in schools. Similarly, another example was given of how resources, such as time, are used to focus teachers on pedagogy:

There is more pressure on exam results, and again, this maybe means organising intervention groups after school, more exam preparation, and holiday classes. So there are holiday revision lessons over the Spring breaks before the exam, and I know that some teachers even go into school over the Christmas holidays for a couple of weeks to ‘prep’ some students. (Liam, teacher educator, 18 years’ school experience)

According to Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012), the ‘technology of performance’ is made up of league tables, national averages, comparative and progress indicators, Ofsted inspections and benchmarks (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 74). From this perspective, a sharp focus on performance outcomes in schools is achieved by shifting the ‘expectation’ of higher standards of performance downward from responsible minister, to school, to department, and finally, to the classroom. This is essentially a ‘delivery chain’, as mentioned earlier, as well as a ‘regulatory system’ which ‘works by establishing strong links between the micro-world of classroom interactions and

macro-level objectives of standards and achievements' (ibid: 76). These links are made through a variety of management tactics and teacher development initiatives, which are established as common practice within the everyday life of schools. A teacher educator with a decade of experience in the classroom specifically talked about the 'developmental' monitoring mechanism, now common in schools, which subtly articulates the management and surveillance in classroom practice:

... then there [is] something called 'learning walk', have you heard of it? Ok, this is where the senior managers in the school walk around school and go in to a lesson for just 10 minutes to see if everything is alright, like an internal inspection. They think that by sort of sniffing the air a bit, watching for a few minutes and then walking out, they can tell how the learning is in the classroom. That's what 'learning-walking' is. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

This quotation highlights the point that teaching practices and teachers are inspected and judged based on claims made by middle managers who possess a certain form of knowledge and expertise. Management here defines a set of expectations in relation to 'professional' teachers and what can be counted as being 'effective' teaching, and within this dominant discourse, teachers' knowledge of teaching gives way to managerial prerogative. In other words, the space within which teachers can make a professional judgement is gradually being eroded. This contestation between management and teachers' sense of professionalism is implicated in the power/knowledge nexus, i.e. two different kinds of power are being played out. Specifically, management, particularly a performance-centred and results-driven NPM (New Public Management), clashes with professionalism, characterised by commitment and reflective decisions in relation to teaching practices. What becomes apparent from the above analysis is that systems of

managerial knowledge serve to facilitate a whole series of tactical interventions of calculation, surveillance and control. Education professionals have become objects of managerial knowledge and the functioning of this discursive regime, i.e. management, brings technologies of power into play with the aim of constituting and consolidating a contemporary understanding of what it means to be 'professional'. As such, particular conceptions pertaining to professional practices have gradually been developed, accepted and accredited by managerial knowledge and its attendant practices. In essence, there is an antagonism between 'discursive regimes' equipped with different claims to knowledge struggling for dominance and aiming to establish the 'truth' of what it means to be professional. Teaching is increasingly set within parameters defined by management. Teachers are bound to certain patterns of behaviour and their work is subject to sanction by managerial practices. Therefore, acting as a 'technology of power', management discourse 'defines power relations in terms of the everyday life of men' (Foucault, 1977: 205).

Another important aspect of the way in which teachers' work is increasingly controlled by, and implicated in, a managerial regime is the emergence of, and preoccupation with, the term 'skills' (competences alike). The discussion of the discourse of derision in Chapter 2 illustrated that the two turbulent decades of the 1970s and 1980s marked the beginning of the end of what Lawton called 'the Golden Age of teacher control (or non-control) of the curriculum' (Lawton, 1980: 22). Various discursive sites, particularly the *Black Papers* and the *Ruskin Speech*, gradually cleared the ground for the shift of control over the curriculum away from local authorities and teachers to the central government. Following these discursive attacks on teachers for irresponsible and incompetent teaching and the low level of student learning outcomes, certain concepts such as skills and competences were put forward. In many ways, as I have tried to

describe, the discourse of competences gradually gained currency over time and was subtly imported into the work of teachers. To a great extent, skills and competences have now replaced teachers' professional judgement, planning and design of works. Thus it is perhaps right to say that the 'discretionary spaces' (Fenwick and Edwards, 2012., In Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 6) available for teachers have been reduced and delimited. Moreover, these skills and competences are closely linked with different clusters of responsibilities which are claimed to make teaching more 'effective' and improve performance outcomes. All in all, the discursive strategies mentioned above have made it possible to talk about 'effective' teachers, specifically framed within preferred clusters of skills and competences. Rather than having a reflexive understanding and interrogation of pedagogy, teachers are repositioned as technical labourers who focus on the 'here and now' in classroom practices and put into operation the designs and goals of a centrally-set curriculum.

I indicated in the previous section that workers are increasingly subject to a process of deskilling and degradation within a managerial system marked by a rigid separation of conception and execution. Nonetheless, in some sense, within the transition from the 'golden age' to centrally-promoted technical skills and competences, teachers have also been subject to the process of reskilling. For example, the introduction of self-managing schools has created a new layer of entrepreneurial teachers with new skills in budgeting, marketing, monitoring and managing (Hatcher, 1994: 49). In a similar vein, for classroom teachers, assessment arrangements, such as the setting, marking and moderating of tests, and more recently, the use of technical-aided software for Assessing Pupil Performance (APP), to track learning progress, all require a range of different skills teachers need to acquire, and these new skills may be developed either through initial teacher education or in-service training. A headteacher interviewee with 30 years'

school experience expressed his view of the new skills possessed by 'new' teachers:

[T]oday, as I said, I think you know, teachers, particularly young teachers, definitely understand that technology, like keeping accurate records, devising activities you know, using technology to enhance both teaching, pupil management, assessment, and all of that can make them work much faster. I think that teachers are able to do that today. (Nigel, headteacher with 30 years' school experience)

[T]heir subject knowledge [is] very good and their knowledge of classroom management. They deal with students in a pleasant and productive way, devising and creating and using activities that make learning enjoyable. All those things are there today. (Nigel, headteacher with 30 years' school experience)

Drawing on Apple's work (Apple, 1982, 1986), Smyth et al point out that teachers are reskilled in the sense that these new skills enable them to cope efficiently with 'the changing managerially-determined context of their work' (Smyth et al, 2000: 48). However, in the case of technologically pre-packaged curriculum materials, teachers are, in effect, simultaneously being 'ideologically deskilled'. Teachers are expected to operate within the imposed curriculum frameworks and are prevented from theorising the purpose of their work by the separation of conception from execution, which is the outcome of managerial arrangements. Overall, with regard to teachers' work, the reform process can be viewed as being a skill-restructuring process, which involves both the deskilling and reskilling of teachers. To an extent, 'new' teachers are produced, equipped with a different ensemble of skills and capacities. What is more, as already mentioned, by means of creating various leaders in a variety of roles and positions, the responsibilities of almost all teachers are directly tied to learning outcomes. In other words, the enhancement of teachers' capacity to monitor, measure and evaluate

performance within and across systems is seen to be the highest priority in the restructuring of teachers' work. On this understanding, interventions and surveillance are put into practice to engage teachers' attention and professional development activities in issues of performance and improvement. Thus far, I have highlighted how teaching and learning are regulated by managerial practices. Teachers' attention is particularly gradually focused on outcomes and school performance through the construction of a sense of 'responsibility' on the part of middle managers and what Ball et al (2012) term, the 'technology of performance'. Teachers focus on raising the standards agenda, in which procedures, performance, data and initiatives become points of concentration, and practices are invariably made visible and subjected to the 'gaze of judgement' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 77-78). I would now like to move the focus to another dimension of managerial control which involves differences in teachers' salaries, working conditions and chances of promotion.

### **Managerial Control: through Pay and Conditions**

As already mentioned, the increasing codification and monitoring of teachers' work through curriculum prescriptions and within the discourse of management makes teachers 'deliverers of knowledge, testers of learners and pedagogical technicians' (Smyth and Shacklock, 1998: 20). However, directly related to this, another significant and relatively new dimension of the relations between management and teachers is the changing practices of teachers' pay and promotion. The 1987 Teachers Pay and Conditions Act saw the removal of teachers' collective negotiation rights with regard to their pay, and the establishment of individual teacher contracts, and Hatcher argues that this was intended to pave the way for pay to be decided at school management level (Hatcher, 1994: 50). Moreover, with the introduction of local management of schools,



headteachers were given control of school budgets and staffing, including appointments, contracts, promotions and incentive awards. Furthermore, the discourse of management reconstructed school heads as chief executives with the responsibility for monitoring teachers' performance. In the realm of management, on the one hand, headteachers are responsible for various arrangements for accountability, such as competition for student recruitment, the monitoring of learning outcomes and Ofsted inspections; on the other hand, they operate within a professional domain where they undertake leadership roles in relation to teaching and learning activities, developing teachers' skills, and providing guidance for staff and pupils. In relation to teachers, both the managerial and professional capabilities of headship are brought to bear to ensure the effective monitoring of staff performance to the extent that targets are met or performance improved and staff morale and commitment are simultaneously maintained. Viewed in this light, it is sensible to presume that headteachers are drawn into the 'heartland' of management discourse and practice, specifically in terms of the methods and sensibilities of performance management. Moreover, I also want to argue that the implementation of performance management exemplifies the extent to which managerial techniques and structures are set in place to control teachers. Firstly, under New Labour's modernisation agenda, the Green Paper, *Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change* (DfEE, 1998a), signalled the putting into practice of performance management policy in schools. The Performance Management Framework (DfEE, 2000) states,

Performance management is a way of helping schools improve by supporting and improving teachers' work, both as individuals and in teams. It sets a framework for teachers and their team leader to agree and review priorities and objectives within the overall framework of schools' development plans. It focuses attention on more effective

teaching and leadership to benefit pupils, teachers, and schools. (DfEE, 2000: 3)

In an annual cycle of performance management teachers are set targets by team leaders, after which progressive monitoring and a performance review is usually carried out by headteachers or members of the senior management team. While the policy rhetoric presented in the above text refers to professional development and talks of supporting teachers and improving teaching, a contradiction arises when performance management is integrated within the framework of professional standards. Indeed, the framework of standards defines the work of teachers at five key stages of their professional development (TDA, 2007b) and this can be seen to be the core element that underpins the performance management system. Fundamentally, teachers are evaluated against these performance standards, which are mainly developed by the TTA (previously the TDA, TA and now the National College for Teaching and Leadership), an external agency specifying a centralised version of 'effective' teaching. In a sense, individual teacher performance is measured by external forces and what counts as 'good' teaching is set by a preordained and prescribed template, namely, the standards framework. Moreover, the emphasis on 'standards' of teaching is, in effect, couched in a narrow form of accountability, which focuses almost entirely upon improvements in pupils' progress. Another concern related to performance management is the issue of pay for performance up to the Threshold, whereby teachers need to provide evidence that they have continuously improved and meet the Threshold standards. After being assessed by their headteacher and an external Threshold Assessor, teachers are eligible (or not) to receive incentive payments. This pay review beyond the Threshold is the most significant stage in the performance management process. It involves judgement of whether teachers have met a set of pre-delineated standards, which is used to inform

decision-making about pay at school level. Essentially, this is an incentive mechanism to elicit greater effort from teachers in their generation of added value to pupils' performance. These procedures and systems establish both an abstract and a practical relationship between teachers' pay and pupils' performance. As Estelle Morris, Education Minister under New Labour (2001–2002) put it,

[P]erformance management—planning, recognising and rewarding the contribution of individual teachers... They challenge teachers to be accountable individually for their own contribution. They challenge school managers to manage the performance of teachers...It's a nonsense to pretend that all teachers perform at the same level. (...) There is a discussion to be had about how to take account of pupil performance—but what you can't, I think, deny is that there should be some form of link. It's the core of the job, and we're entitled to ask what teachers are doing if they are not improving pupil performance. (Speech by Estelle Morris, the NASUWT Conference 1999, quoted in Tomlinson, 2000: 289)

It is clear that a performance review is being used as a lever for continuous improvement based upon evidence of measurable targets and standards, which are largely contingent upon pupils' performance. Viewed in this light, performance-related pay is a mechanism to enhance internal accountability in schools based on the assumption that pay is the determinant motive behind teachers' capacity to generate better outcomes. An interviewee gave her account of such an assumption:

After the threshold project, people were really really angry and just wanted to leave. They felt so insulted and misunderstood as if what motivated them was money and not the good [for] the kids ...a lot of them felt that, and a lot did leave. [...] I know they didn't last very long in teaching. It's a very stressful job and you don't have a lot of flexibility, SATs, the NC. It's so tightly prescribed that it's quite tough

I think. (G, former member of R&D, UCET)

The effects of this version of the teachers and of teacher motivation are apparent in this extract, (although, as explained earlier in the methods section in Chapter 1, some teachers, particularly new entrants whose work identity has been differently formed during teacher training and who have experienced a new career within a different set of power relations, may not have a similar sense of loss or anger). Teachers are made visible and 'accountable' by being measured from a mix of quantitative evidence based on pupils' outcomes and qualitative judgement based on classroom evaluation. In effect, the codification and monitoring process of the performance review firstly reworks the intimate moral and emotional sense of being a teacher; secondly, it transforms the teacher/student relationship into a set of calculabilities and indicators, so that the relationship is instrumental rather than educational in a broader sense (see Mahony, Menter and Hextall, 2004). Additionally, as Mahony et al indicate in their empirical study of the Threshold assessment, the most significant work done as a result of the Threshold assessment is the establishment of 'a system of internal regulation for teachers'. In other words, performance review is a sophisticated process of surveillance (Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2002: 158). School 'leaders' and 'managers' play a pivotal role in the measurement of teachers' performance. As already indicated, teachers who meet the Threshold standards and cross the performance threshold are entitled to a substantial (£3000) pay increase. Decisions related to greater rewards and faster progress are informed by a rigorous annual appraisal. However, given that school budgets are limited, promotion after the threshold is selective and based upon the discretion of headteachers and senior management teams in terms of their judgement of who has grown 'professionally' and performed better. Moreover, to a great extent, judgements about teachers' performance are profoundly influenced by management

priorities and headteachers' responsibility in managing the whole institution (Mahony, Menter and Hextall, 2004: 448). In other words, headteachers have to review teachers annually and this is done together with senior management teams, who are tasked with gathering performance 'information' and monitoring teaching and learning. Therefore, reviews and 'information' are used to decide whether or not teachers have performed 'satisfactorily' and who is 'entitled' to be moved further up the pay scale. These practices suggest that the discourse of management plays an essential role in achieving and justifying new forms of teacher control, as headteachers and middle managers evaluate teachers' progress.

This is not the place to examine in detail the procedures, resourcing, training and the timing of performance management. However, of particular significance to our concern is that the emphasis on performance-related pay has been taken a step further by the current Coalition government. The education secretary, Michael Gove, proposes to scrap the teachers' national pay scale and replace it with a site-based pay system more closely linked to performance, and has now confirmed that teachers' pay rises will be based on performance from September, 2013 (*The Guardian*, 16<sup>th</sup> May 2012; 15<sup>th</sup> January 2013). Over time, from the end of collective bargaining with the teaching unions in the 1980s to the current proposals for pay flexibility, the policies related to teachers' pay and promotion have placed a 'powerful weapon in the hands of management at school level' and 'raise a variety of possibilities for the monitoring and control of teachers' (Hatcher, 1994: 50-51). The effect of these policies on teachers is profound when considering that pay flexibility is tightly tied to learning outcomes.

I don't think [there] was that much competition when I was starting teaching, (...) [w]hereas now the results are looked at straightaway.

That may make it more pressurised because you are obviously competing with local schools or competing with the next teacher. (Liam, teacher educator, 18 years' school experience)

[I]f [performance] is what schools are primarily judged on; it becomes the currency, so that [a] good teacher is the one who enables his or her students to get the grades. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

[I]t's very difficult to sustain, well, to live outside the system [of assessment regime], no matter how much you hear 'we want you [trainees] to think about the children and their learning', and, 'base your teaching on what you think they will learn. We want you to take [into] account individual differences and how individual differences comprise social groups'. Whether or not we send them out with these kinds of things, I think it's very difficult to sustain that perspective when your day-to-day work in school is being monitored and policed. This increases your isolation. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

Clearly, teachers are placed in a competitive school environment and their work is increasingly evaluated solely in terms of measurable outcomes predicated upon managerial specifications of what 'effective' teaching is. Teachers are selected for promotion after the Threshold, and contracts are individually negotiated based on their 'productivity' in generating better outcomes. Within this system of motivating/de-motivating teachers with a sense of both rewards and tension, these developments might lead to a stratified organisation characterised by wage differentials, work divisions, uneven promotional opportunities, and specifications of responsibilities. As Mahony, Hextall and Menter suggest, teachers 'are presented as units of labour to be distributed and managed' (Mahony et al, 2004: 136). In many ways, the incentive structure is seen to be part of the overall aim of raising standards and the assumption

that recruiting and rewarding the most talented staff and responding more flexibly to local needs can enhance pupils' performance in the most disadvantaged areas (see DfE, 2013 and the Centre for Market Reform of Education, one of the leading think-tanks that works to promote a 'more diverse, competitive and entrepreneurial provision in the education sector and the feasibility of market-led solutions to public policy issues' (CMRE website, 2013)). Moreover, other technologies of policy, such as inspections and the publication of school performance league tables are set in place to work together to produce teachers with a new understanding of their work. Overall, the dismantling of the bureaucratic system of pay and service conditions can be seen to be one of several attempts to align teachers more closely with a performance-orientated school, in which they are kept in a continuous state of activation and directly tied to the primary interests of the school (Elliott, 2001: 193). Perhaps it is sensible to assume that a regulatory regime permeated with material and discursive practices is capable of creating a space in which certain patterns of behaviour are gradually embedded and a new sensibility of what it means to be a teacher is produced.

In this section and the previous one, I have documented the processes by means of which managerial control is exercised over both the curriculum and teachers' conditions of service. From a labour process perspective, teachers are subject to a process of skill (re)-formation within a management regime. This means that a greater emphasis is placed on their capacity to build managerial and technical skills to 'effectively' deliver the centrally-specified curriculum, while they are excluded from decision-making in relation to policy, and the worth of their teaching is primarily judged upon measurable outcomes. Moreover, in a broader sense, both teachers and students are reshaped within the logic of the market. To put it another way, as subjects of managerial practices, teachers and learners alike are orientated toward maximising institutional productivity.

They are now expected to 'generate' interest and commitment in the maximisation of performance indicators and the improvement of achievement targets, since these are related to the survival of their institution in the educational market. Based on this understanding of the above two systems of managerial control, I would like to move on to another mode of control, which is mainly manifest in 'ideas, language and beliefs' in organising 'teacher consent to the values embedded in the prevailing educational settlement, and to the organizational structures and practices which support it' (Smyth et al, 2000: 43). This is the network of disciplinary power as a mode of control.

## **Interdiscursive Configuration: Management, Accountability and**

### **Professionalism**

Thus far, I have explored the various discourses that re-frame and re-orientate teaching and learning, within which teachers are managed and their 'productivity' calculated. Teachers' work is increasingly subject to the surveillance of outcomes and comparison by performance. To a certain extent, earlier versions of professionalism that defined teachers in terms of their discretion to determine students' needs and problems and design responses to them, namely, control over both definition and design, have been gradually usurped by managerial discourses and practices. As I have attempted to show, this transformation has involved a steadily increasing codification and monitoring of teachers' work through aspects of the curriculum and their pay and service conditions. It is significant that there is a common thread running through this reform process in the form of a wide and public appeal to enhance teachers' accountability. Given the main concern of this research, I will pay particular attention to the interplay between the discourses of management, accountability and professionalism in this section. These



discourses are built upon languages and practices in schools on a daily basis, and they constitute a regime of disciplinary power, by which I mean that teachers are subjects of change because their work is permeated by techniques of judgement, measurement and comparison. Fundamentally, this is an arena in which different claims to knowledge and truth related to 'professionalism' struggle for dominance and new sensibilities in terms of 'professional' teaching practices are constructed. I mainly see these as a mode of implicit control to produce a certain version of being a 'professional' teacher. I will begin by giving a brief historical account of the development of accountability before moving on to illustrate the way in which teachers are implicated within the mutually-enforcing discourses of accountability and management.

As discussed in my earlier analysis, the assertion of the need for teachers' accountability, as it relates to the effectiveness of schooling and the definition of professional practice, is largely the result of mounting public scepticism incited by New Right ideologists (see *the Context of Influence*). In the beginning, when waves of 'teacher-bashing' began in the 1970s, various discursive sites, such as the *Black Papers* and the *Ruskin Speech* derided schools for their poor performance and accused teachers of not being accountable to the community. The following is an extract from the *Ruskin Speech* (1976):

To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future. (*The Ruskin Speech*, 1976: 6)

According to Newman, accountability is a socially-constructed and contested concept.

There are multiple conceptualisations of accountability that are underpinned by ‘multiple discourses through which legitimacy is accorded to social action in a dispersed field of power’ (Newman, 2004: 29). In a sense, being accountable means being involved in different social processes as well as relationships. To put it another way, different forms of accountability not only reveal patterns of power and purpose in service delivery, but they also define the reasonableness of communication and indicate the way in which the exchange of accounts of meaning and value in the context of multiple and reciprocal answerabilities should proceed (Ranson, 2003: 461). In the interviews I conducted there are diverse views of the appropriate forms and meanings and methods of accountability related to teachers. Teacher accountability is essentially a contested terrain in which different kinds of conceptualisation are enmeshed. Three of my interviewees pointed this out very well:

The fact that I felt obliged to provide an answer was a form of accountability. The fact that I went to Parents’ Evening and met their parents and talked about their progress is another form of accountability. The fact that I wrote reports, and reports in those days were often maybe not ideal but were continuous prose; they were attempts to capture something about a student’s work in a particular subject in words. (James, teacher educator, 20 years’ school experience)

My responsibility is to the children, not to the school. If the[se] two are together that’s good, but kids’ first and school reputation and league tables second. (Brian, teacher educator, 18 years’ school experience )

[O]bviously that [accountability culture] [has] changed hugely since the 1980s. Being accountable to governors, the government, parents, pupils themselves, to colleagues. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years’ school experience )

These comments from experienced teachers refer to the earlier pre-reform forms of accountability. This pre-reform version of professional accountability not only acts as a set of general principles that guide and inform teaching, but more significantly, this professionally-driven accountability is shaped and underpinned by a recognition of the complexity of professional purposes and practice (Ranson, 2003: 464). In contrast, the later development of an explicit accountability discourse is articulated in terms of achieving certain policy objectives. In particular, a regulatory-orientated neoliberal form of accountability based on students' learning outcomes, which arguably works on the weight of the school rather than the students (see Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012) has gradually displaced the traditional lines of accountability, which were more focused on a broader view of 'education', but did not always operate in the interests of all students. The following extracts, given by individuals who have influenced the arena of policy-formation, serve the purpose of highlighting the frame within which teachers are expected to be held accountable.

[I]n a very complicated society where a lot of tax-payers' money is spent on public services like teaching, it would be ludicrous not to have some form of accountability. (B, ex-member of staff, GTCE)

Because teachers definitely have to be accountable..... It's right to think that teachers exercise their expertise within a framework endorsed by the government because it is, after all, elected and has legitimacy. (...) Accountability is very important. (J, senior policy researcher and teacher in HE)

Clearly, these quotations indicate the way in which the current discourse of accountability is located within a specific set of expectations and values. Particularly, it

is derived from an assertion of the need for a more effective deployment of public spending, namely, value for money. In a sense, financial accountability is given greater emphasis than other possible alternatives, such as securing community benefits or public value. Additionally, as the second extract suggests, it is particularly notable that the establishment of this claim about teacher accountability is based on certain types of knowledge that can be employed to facilitate change and legitimise policy objectives on the part of the government. Within such a framing, as Newman suggests, teachers are caught between ‘top down’ and ‘bottom up’ accountability because ‘governments emphasize the need for increased emphasis on accountability to local communities and/or service users, at the same time as imposing stringent accountability requirements for delivery of government targets’ (Newman, 2004: 26). I would now like to elaborate the multiplicity of accountabilities to which teachers are subject by specifically looking at New Labour’s particular emphasis on an outcomes-based approach to accountability. In doing so, I will also partly indicate the way in which new teachers are produced with certain dispositions and subjectivities in relation to this issue.

New Labour took office in 1997 and sought to ‘modernise’ and transform public services through a combination of ‘investment for results’ (Blair, 2006) and accountability (Gunter, 2012: 12). One of the key features of its education policy was to enhance students’ outcomes and raise education ‘standards’ by the imposition of centrally-determined assessment and specified classroom methods. Its first White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* (DfEE, 1997b), asserted that:

[B]ecause teachers play such a key role, they must be held accountable for their success in sustaining and raising the achievements of their pupils. We will be prepared to act when the performance of teachers or heads falls below acceptable standards.

(DfEE, 1997b, para. 5-3)

The message is straightforward here. Excellence in schools becomes synonymous with pupils' achievement, and it is through teacher 'performance' that 'standards' are raised. In its subsequent White Paper, *Schools Achieving Success*, (DfES, 2001) New Labour clarified its commitment to 'zero tolerance of underperformance', and its concurrent commitment to decisive intervention to ensure high standards and the enactment/enforcement of accountability:

Two clear principles underpin our approach to LEA and school performance. We will combine challenge with support and continue to intervene decisively where necessary. (...) But in case of failure, we will take decisive steps to secure rapid and irreversible improvement. (DfES, 2001, para. 6.1)

These policy developments have a profound implication for teachers in that they represent an increasing amount of centralisation within which the state specifies explicit expectations of school performance and emphasises sanctions to address underperformance. As Ozga's (Ozga, 2009) account clearly indicates, the policy emphasises on measurement of attainment levels, national testing and the national setting of performance targets are all part of the 'governance turn'. This indicates that there was a strategic shift on the part of the New Labour government involving strong central steering achieved through various policy technologies and policy instruments, particularly the massive growth in the collection and usage of data (ibid: 150). To a significant degree, a sophisticated national system of measuring and monitoring performances was put in place to ensure that schools were continually held accountable for learning outcomes. As one of the interviewees put it,

I think schools are now much more in the public consciousness than they were in the 1970s. (...) Now the scrutiny over exam results, different ways of measuring results and pupils, and target-setting and all that means that the role of school teachers is quite different from what it was then. You know, then you would really spend all of your time just getting ready for teaching the children, whereas now you have to spend some of your time on things different. (Chris, teacher educator, 31 years' school experience)

[I]n the course of my professional lifetime numerical data has become hugely more significant in shaping teacher discourse and teacher identity. (...) So individual teachers, as well as departments and schools, are held accountable for test scores basically. (James, teacher educator, 20 year' school experience )

The proliferation of data used for target-setting, pupil-tracking, output comparisons, performance management and school inspection has introduced a set of interconnected processes through which the performance of schools is judged and their productivity measured. The concern here is that this new mode of 'governing by numbers' makes increasing demands on teachers, while at the same time, gradually diminishing the extent of their discretion and control over their work:

In terms of teacher efficacy, what you have is the results... the school students' results usually achieved by standardised tests. The school's performance is measured by these things, and in a sense, these kinds of matrices constrain the teaching. (Matthew, teacher educator, 10 years' school experience)

I mean they say they [governments] want teachers to produce interesting and creative lessons, but at the end of the day, they just want to be able to tick the right boxes, the percentage of students who achieve this, percentage of students who achieve that. (...) Well, we are kind of being pushed down that road. (...) [W]e are pushed into a

kind of strait-jacket of having to tick the right boxes. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years' school experience)

In order to enhance teacher accountability, numerical data has been used to justify or question the 'effectiveness' of the teaching and performance of schools. In many ways, the production, collection and comparison of data in almost every aspect of school life renders teachers into calculable objects and opens the performance of schools to the gaze of disciplinary regimes. Put differently, this new mode of data governance promotes an indirect control of what teachers do in their classrooms by focusing on outcomes. As one of the interviewees put it,

Now I think it's much much [more] stressful because there is a checking of data, so that teachers can be checked straightaway. I mean, it's there; it's on the computer, whereas before it may [have been] in marked book [teachers' own written records] that wouldn't [have been] checked as much. (Liam, teacher educator, 18 years' school experience)

Similarly, a school headteacher reflected,

[A]nd then they started to obviously get statistics about schools and about your group and how many were on which level and all of that, and it was [a] statistical data-driven system which probably put a grip on teachers who have been used to giving 7 out of 10 not knowing what it meant. You know, so they have spent twenty years doing that and are trying to grasp this technical Sudoku, I would probably say that. (...) So this makes everybody much more accountable. (Nigel, school headteacher, 30 years' school experience) .

As already indicated, hierarchies of 'expectations' are established to ensure that policy enactment focuses on the standards agenda and pupil outcomes. However, on the other

hand, a new kind of technical professionalism is gradually taking shape, as most of the time, teachers are engaged in measuring outputs and other inter-related improvement programmes characterised by the exercise of a new set of skills in the collection, integration and use of data. In other words, as Ball et al attempt to show in *How Schools Do Policy*, teachers are reskilled in aspects of information literacy by the use of measurement and monitoring software systems to assist their work in the specification of pupils' performance (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012: 85-86). Viewed in this light, it is perhaps feasible to say that teachers are enabled, as well as constrained, in an environment in which, on the one hand, there is an intensive focus on measuring, monitoring, collecting and using data, while on the other hand, what is taught and how it is taught is pre-specified elsewhere (See previous section on *Managerial Control: through Curriculum and Assessment*). Another effect of the prevalence of numerical technologies in schools is the intensified competitiveness in the educational market. As quoted earlier, Liam, a teacher educator with considerable experience in schools, said,

I think the thing about data now is that it is between schools and between boroughs and it's in the press a lot and [in] the media. I don't think [there] was this much competition when I was starting teaching. I don't think there was, there definitely wasn't as much competition in the area where I worked between schools, whereas now the results are looked at straightaway for whatever....which may make it more pressurised. You are obviously competing with local schools or are in competition with the next teacher. (Liam, teacher educator, 18 years' school experience)

The 1988 ERA had already made moves toward a quasi-market schooling system in which the dynamics of competition were introduced by enabling parents and students to have a choice. New Labour retained this emphasis on competition as a lever for raising quality in the delivery of public services. With the installation of a new culture of



competitive performativity marked by the pervasiveness of figures, grids, indicators and numbers, teachers have become pivotal agents in an intensive system of evaluating and accounting for educational practice, and their work serves the purpose of driving up institutional productivity. As indicated already, a key component within this competitive education market is the issue of comparability based on performance data. Essentially, competition between teachers has become a managerial tool through which performance can be improved or raised. Moreover, comparison of outcomes or performance data offers a convenient and 'objective' yardstick for school-level management to judge and check on teachers. As clarified by Novoa and Yariv-Mashal, such an approach of making schools accountable by comparing data about their performance is a very effective mode of governance (Novoa and Yariv-Mashal, 2003., in Ozga, 2009: 158). In other words, performance indicators or targets are used to 'steer at a distance' (Rose, 1999) so that teaching practices are made visible, and further actions and interventions can be justified when there are 'unsatisfactory' outcomes in some cases. Again, as noted above, such a managerial form of governing through data is particularly evident when school management is required to meet externally-set targets, such as inspections and standards frameworks.

In many ways, managerial priorities have to be located in the areas of institutional activity most emphasised by external scrutiny, that is, standards in the form of test and examination results, or more generally, pupils' progress. To put it another way, techniques of management, such as annual reviews, the publication of results and the performance management of teachers, function as acts of surveillance intended to raise standards and deliver accountability. In these circumstances teachers need to be competitive to the extent of 'mak[ing] themselves different from one another, to stand out, to improve themselves' in their day-to-day practice (Ball, 2003: 219). More

importantly, these practices shape new ways in which teachers see themselves and understand teaching. As shown below, the new shape of teaching and teacher subjects is made possible *through the complex inscription of power relations*; more specifically put, as accountability techniques and management practices insinuate themselves in day-to-day school practice, certain limited possibilities for thought and claims to knowledge in relation to teacher professionalism are thus created. ‘New’ teaching and ‘new’ teachers are constituted within an ‘interdiscursive configuration’ (Ball, 1990b), as discussed below.

Managerial techniques such as inspections, appraisal and league tables constitute a new work order and a set of ethics to which teachers are expected to conform. On this understanding, it can no longer be assumed that teachers know best when it comes to classroom practices and organisation; on the contrary, they are distrusted and expected to think and act in certain ways within the framework of accountability. In a broad sense, their work is driven by the need to meet targets set by management teams, and satisfy the needs of ‘customers’. Viewed in this light, the discourse of management and accountability displaces teachers’ claims to be experts in teaching as autonomous professionals. It subordinates teachers’ claims of professionalism to a management discourse. As previously quoted, Brian, an experienced teacher, now a teacher educator, summarised the situation thus;

[W]hat has changed in the way teachers work, is, I think, that these days my students and certainly the people I work with in schools are much more focused on doing what they are told, and they [are] always being told to do something. Things never, ever seem to be left to their own discretion anymore. *What is taught, how it’s taught, when it’s taught [are] all decided by someone else now.* (Brian, teacher educator, 18 years’ school experience, *my emphasis*)

This account suggests that control of the teaching process has been removed from teachers in favour of a culture of compliance. Put differently and perhaps in a more helpful way, managerial and other regulatory technologies help to develop pragmatism and eclecticism as features of educational practice (see Moore, Edwards, Halpin and George, 2002). A stance like this adopted by teachers in practice still invites debates in terms of it is good or not, but the main point I argue is that, such a displacement suggests an interplay between power and knowledge in that accountability deploys the language of effectiveness, responsiveness and responsibility to promote an indirect control of what teachers do in their classrooms. Therefore, teaching is increasingly subject to what Rose and Miller (1992) term the ‘calculative technology’ of management, underpinned by an appeal for accountability. Controls over the processes of teaching and learning have been set in place under the banner of ‘effective’ teaching and an ‘accountable’ profession. More examples:

[T]oo overly restricted government priorities policies have undermined...teaching. Things like the National Curriculum, National Strategies, which impose standards on the way teachers are trained to an extent, have reduced teachers’ autonomy and undermined their professionalism, so that they have less freedom to deliver lessons in the way they think appropriate, as well as less freedom on the content. (I, UCET representative)

But just in terms of the whole kind of ethos of being a teacher in that period of time [the 1988 ERA until now], I feel that government regulations have meant that teachers have to conform to a quite narrow view of what a teacher should be and how teachers should do their job; so basically, there is much less flexibility in the way in which teachers operate. (Ellen, teacher educator, 37 years’ school experience)

These views are unequivocal with regard to the profundity of educational reform and its impact on teachers and their sense of being 'professional'. Even so, there are circumstances and spaces within which teachers modify 'previous practice to "bring it in line with" current policy' and make 'selections or reselections from a range of educational "traditions"' (Moore et al, 2002: 552). Nonetheless, in a straightforward sense, teachers' professionalism has been 'managed' and reshaped. A senior policy analyst pointed out that,

... the whole notion of "new professionalism" was an attempt to develop professionalism... [to] develop the teaching profession in a way to allow it to work effectively in a competitive market school system and more central government control. That's how it [the government] sees the profession, as something that has to be managed...trying to manage it." (H, senior policy analyst and teacher in HE)

It is clear from this quotation that one of the most crucial strategies in reforming the teaching profession is by way of changing the grounds of what teacher professionalism means. In other words, teachers' professionalism has to be harnessed in a way that can ensure the success of the centrally-led reform (Furlong, 2008: 728). Teachers are no longer trusted to exercise their professional judgement within this process; rather, trust is attached to different kinds of evidence and purposes. Moreover, acting as a mechanism for securing teachers' compliance, accountability measures degrade teachers' work to an extent that they are increasingly becoming more like industrial workers with intensified workloads involving both the deskilling and reskilling of different aspects of their work. It is apparent that the restructuring of teachers' work involves a dual process. On the one hand, the imposition of a National Curriculum with its tightly specified

content and assessment, the codification and monitoring of teaching and learning through managerial techniques and practices, together with more non-negotiable and hierarchical conditions of service, which specify the procedures for promotion and a flexible school-based and performance-based pay structure all subject teachers and their work to more direct managerial control and surveillance. On the other hand, these new forms of control and processes of deskilling provide a platform on which it is possible to constitute a new understanding of being a 'professional' teacher. Specifically, this renewed notion of teacher accountability, which pays particular attention to performance indicators or targets, in turn constructs a new sense of the way in which 'good' and 'professional' teachers are identified. On this basis, a new common sense of 'good' teachers is gradually produced within this model of test-based accountability. Previous comments by James are also helpful here:

Not all goals of education can be reduced to numbers and grades, but the danger is that if that's what schools are primarily judged on, it becomes the currency, so the good teacher is the one who enables his or her students to get good grades. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

In other words, this is a process of re-professionalisation, in which a 'professional' teacher is reskilled to deliver what is designed and prescribed elsewhere. In this process of re-professionalisation, teachers are mainly made responsible for the attainment of learning, performance improvement, and the raising of national standards. Therefore, a 'new' professional teacher is defined in terms of having adequate subject knowledge, 'new' classroom and leadership skills, and competences to meet these aims. To reiterate, I am proposing that the 'making-up' of teachers is predicated upon two forms of power, the first of which is a traditional sovereign form of power embedded in the managerial

regime of practices, which leads to the weakening of teachers' control and autonomy and degrades teachers' status from that of professional to that of technician. Simultaneously, a Foucauldian sense of productive power enters zones of contact with the sovereign power. As Moore puts it, 'discursive practices are themselves producers, actually creating common sense, reality, and truth' (Moore, 2004: 30). A certain conceptualisation of 'good' teachers, characterised by managerial skills and mindfulness of performance, becomes legitimised and consolidated while other educative aspects are silenced. Moreover, one interviewee, James, talked about the narrowing representation of learning and teaching in forms of targets and outcomes, indicating that,

It's a very reductive form of accountability. It's also a very seductive form because it's one which is very easy to manage and it also makes management very easy. It does both things. So it's...the accountability culture; a form of accountability culture that goes hand in hand with management culture because pressure is always directed down to the classroom teacher. And then the head of department is made responsible for all the results, so there are accountability managers within his or her department. So, it's a very hierarchical system of accountability. (James, teacher educator, 20 years' school experience)

It is clear from this extract that *the discursive production of a new understanding of 'good' teaching involves various interrelated discourses and practices*. Essentially, the interplay between accountability and management discourses and their techniques and practices facilitates the production of 'new' teachers in schools (I will return to this shortly). In other words, strong claims for teacher accountability made by successive governments provide the necessary condition for the transplantation of management technologies and new leadership styles into public sector organisations such as schools. At the same time, teacher accountability is entrenched at the core of classroom activity by means of management technologies of assessment and surveillance. In effect, the

discourses of accountability and management are mutually reinforced within school practices. Additionally, other practices such as inspection, professional standards and standardised testing are woven together to delineate an 'appropriate' space in which new work identities are constructed for teachers and, at the same time, they change the nature of schooling and what it means to learn. Overall, these discursive practices draw upon each other in complex ways; they overlap to constitute a powerful 'interdiscursive configuration' which thoroughly displaces other weakly-articulated educational values such as equality and participation (Ball, 1990b: 164).

Thus far, I have mapped some of the dimensions within which the discourses of management and accountability are closely intertwined and the way in which these affect teachers and their work. I have also briefly signalled the constitutive nature of discourse in establishing a particular version of 'good' teaching. On the one hand, particular definitions of teacher professionalism are promoted and 'managed'. This new understanding of what it means to be a 'professional' teacher acts as a device to embed and increase the effectiveness of policy initiatives, which is the 'calculated management of human forces and powers in pursuit of the objectives of the institution' (Rose, 1999: 2), and these new professionals are objectified in the nexus of disciplinary power, by means of evaluation, accountability and management (see for example, Ball, 2003; Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012; Newman, 2004; Perryman, 2009; Ozga, 2009). On the other hand, the discourse of professionalism is productive in the Foucauldian sense. It reconfigures the way in which teachers talk about, think and act in relation to themselves and their teaching. Teachers are gradually constituted as new kinds of self-regulatory and self-governing subjects. The older version of professionalism rested on different forms of self-regulation and government and a different set of technologies. In other words, new 'responsibilities' and 'freedoms' are offered to teachers who can

demonstrate their capacity to deliver what the government wants, while at the same time, policy technologies such as accountability and management subject them to new strategies of control (Newman, 2004: 18). In effect, they are simultaneously 'empowered and disciplined' (ibid). As discussed in previous sections, in many ways, this new version of teacher professionalism is the cumulative effect of various forms of technical and performative control. More significantly, the constitution of this new sensibility of being a professional teacher also acts as a disciplinary mechanism, since the appeal for professionalism 'allows for control at a distance through the construction of appropriate work identities and conducts' on the part of the state (Fournier, 1999: 281). According to Fournier, the conditions within which professionals are entitled to be autonomous have already been inscribed in particular forms of conduct embodied in the notion of 'professional competence' (ibid: 280). This means that an appropriate code of conduct is offered as a version of professional development through the process of restructuring skills. Additionally, a series of techniques, such as target-setting, self-review and performance indicators articulates the way in which teachers are to do their work and be regarded as being 'professional'. These threads of policy constitute a regime of disciplinary power which is permeated by knowledges of certain kinds, more importantly, professional practices are implicated within this power/knowledge nexus. In other words, the prevailing 'reality' or 'truth' that is realised and established through policy language and institutional practices (mainly management, accountability and professionalism) articulates a professional subject position for teachers, and new teachers with particular dispositions and characters are gradually produced in such circumstances. The following comments provide an insightful account of what it means to be a 'professional' teacher today:

I would probably say that they [school teachers nowadays] are more



professional, they are certainly hard working. (...) They are much more obsessed about the exam results and they are also being measured. (...) Well, there'll be more evidence in their lesson planning, more evidence [in] using assessment monitoring, there will be much more data on their achievements, looking at their results. They attend more meetings they are not expected to, so by and large, just a feel[ing] that [they are] more professional. (Chris, teacher educator, 31 years' school experience)

I think that, in some way, they [teachers nowadays] are more professional than we were in that they... they've got a grounding and really, they need it to perform in lessons. The lessons need to be good enough so that the children learn and behave and that kind of stuff. So from the performance angle, I can see they are very good at that. They seem very professional in the sense of being responsible. I mean, I would say that in my generation in the 80s, we weren't that responsible, we didn't feel that. The feeling of responsibility, professional responsibility for the students' results, they've got that. They've been brought up in a climate where they've got that, and we didn't have that so much. We probably felt that we were responsible for teaching them the wonderful secrets of the world but we didn't feel so responsible about the results they got. (Nigel, school headteacher, 30 years' school experience)

These new professional teachers are made responsible chiefly for learning outcomes. The systems and ethos of management not only legitimise new mechanisms to rework teachers into useful resources that are both 'manageable and calculable' (Ball, 1994: 63), but they are also capable of delineating particular ways of doing things, and producing certain subject positions within which teachers act and think. All in all, various threads of policy produce a new reality and common sense with regard to what it means to be a teacher. Inscribed in a disciplinary regime, new teachers are therefore discursively produced in this new version of teacher professionalism.

## Conclusion and Some Remarks

This chapter has offered an account of the way in which a narrow managerial agenda has displaced teachers' judgement and decision-making, particularly in terms of the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment. To a certain extent, management opens a new space in which the purpose and methods of learning are redefined, and produces a new sensibility of being a professional teacher. By exercising bureaucratic control over curriculum, pay and conditions, together with an interdiscursive mechanism, the 'mediating state' (Johnson, 1972) has been able to assert its role and authority in the provision of education. In addition, this transformational process parallels the labour restructuring within the post-Fordist economy, and has resulted in a profound change in terms of what it means to be a teacher in that through the implantation of the logic of the market and management practices, the reform process has had the effect of delimiting professional judgement, separating policy from execution, intensifying workloads and both deskilling and reskilling teachers' labour. In short, these changes suggest that teachers have gradually become educational workers with 'regulated autonomy' (Dale, 1989), and they are now proletarianised to some extent. According to Lawn and Ozga,

[P]roletarianisation follows from the removal of skill from work, the exclusion of the worker from the conceptual functions of work. Worker autonomy is eroded, the relationship between employer and employee breaks down, management controls are strengthened and craft skills and the craft ethic decline. (Lawn and Ozga, 1988: 87)

Given what has been analysed and discussed so far, this quotation serves to summarise one of the major points of this and the previous chapter in relation to the teaching

professionals. Headteachers have been repositioned from head teachers, to managers, to leaders, and teachers have been reshaped from 'professional' to 'proletarian'. Under tighter control, more 'effective' forms of accountability, and the sophisticated monitoring of outcomes and performance, teachers' work has profoundly changed, and at the same time, new 'professional' teachers have been produced. They are discursively produced within a network of disciplinary power, as well as practically constituted through structural changes in the curriculum and their conditions of service. In the process of teacher education, 'new' teachers are equipped with a renewed set of pedagogical and managerial skills. They are made responsible for learning outcomes and they make sense of their professional selves and work in a different light. Thus, a cadre of 'new' teachers has been discursively produced within the reform process.

As already discussed, the remaking of teachers takes place through a complex inscription and combination of power relations, which simultaneously includes a sovereign form and a productive form of power. Alexander (1984) maintains that the changing purpose of education inevitably leads to the changing requirements of school teachers and thus, how good teaching is configured and understood (Alexander, 1984., in Moore, 2004: 39). Given that the process of remaking teaching is located within broader economic and social transformations, I think that what Alexander suggests is that the shifting notions of 'good' teaching or 'professional' teachers cannot adequately be explained without referring to the changing nature of education. More generally, consideration needs be given to the extent to which the actions and behaviour of individuals and organisations are aligned with a set of broader socio-political objectives. On this basis, I further argue that the way in which 'new' teachers are produced is structured within a broader discursive territory, namely, governmentality. According to Foucault, governmentality is an 'ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures,

analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power' (Foucault, 1978: 219). From his perspective of 'governmentality', the management of the population is viewed as the new subject and objective of governmental techniques. Specifically, one of the characteristics of governmentality is the extent to which programmes of government depend upon the applicability and utilisation of information such as written reports, numbers, charts and statistics (Miller and Rose, 1993: 81). In other words, the development of expert knowledge is essential to the process of managing a population. As Rose puts it, government depends upon 'the production, circulation, organization, and authorization of truths that incarnate what is to be governed, which makes it thinkable, calculable, and practicable' (Rose, 1999: 6). Additionally, rather than obeying laws that enact sovereign power, the needs of government can be met by employing a range of multiform tactics, including making a move toward more autonomy and self-responsibility for individuals and institutions alongside a more hierarchical mode of regulations and coercion to achieve political objectives.

I have previously argued that the way in which schools are being re-positioned and perceived should be understood against the background of global economic restructuring, particularly the transformation of modes of production and the new concomitant work ethic (see Chapter 2, *Context of Influence*). I have also addressed the extent to which education has attained unprecedented strategic importance and the way in which schooling is seen to be the major means to produce a highly skilled and flexible workforce, which is seen as being indispensable to sustainable economic growth and competitive advantage within a global world. Within this transformation, the changing techniques of management, such as devolution, incentives and self-regulation, become the preferred means of achieving 'productivity', 'quality' and 'excellence'. In the

educational domain, practices and techniques embedded in management are a new mode of government formed within the language of freedom and responsibility (See previous chapter, *Headship, Leadership and Management*). These notions have become significant when they are used to articulate and legitimise a diversity of ‘rectifying’ programmes, as in the case of the superheads and executive heads noted in the previous chapter. Moreover, this new language of management enables these programmes ‘to be translated into a range of technologies to administer individuals, groups and sectors in a way that [is] consonant with prevailing ethical systems and political mentalities’ (Rose, 1989; in Miller and Rose, 1993: 98). Bearing in mind these historical understandings of the relationship between the purpose of education and the changing requirements of labour market, I suggest that sovereign and disciplinary power have become thoroughly enmeshed in re-defining the meaning of a ‘professional’ teacher. Governmentalising techniques, namely the complexity of mundane programmes, calculations, techniques, apparatuses, documents and procedures through which authorities seek to embody and give effect to governmental ambitions (Rose and Miller, 1992: 175) render the educational domain and education professionals calculable and predicible, to the extent of facilitating a series of reforms and meeting particular political objectives. What I want to stress is that the power relations involved in this constitution of new understandings of teaching and learning are multidimensional. There is ‘a combination or recombination of different strategies and techniques of power’ within this specific assemblage of practices and power formations (Dean, 2007: 179). These multifaceted forms of power, that is, sovereignty and discipline, and their repositioning within the space of governmentality, together with the interplay of calculative technologies, forms of evaluation and procedures of documentation act as powerful mediations between the activities of individuals, institutions and the broader political objectives of the state. In short, it is through ‘the power of truth, the potency of rationality and the alluring promises of

affectivity' that productive subjects become moulded and 'action at a distance' achieved (Miller and Rose, 1993: 93).

**Note**

1. For example, in the speech at the annual conference of the Association of School and College Leaders, the Secretary of State, Michael Gove, made his view clear by saying, 'We have the best generation of young teachers ever in our schools. We have the best generation of heads ever in our schools, and our whole school system is good, with many outstanding features'. Also, the Department for Education said earlier that educational reforms had "put power back into the hands" of teachers. (See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-17481888>, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2012)

## Epilogue

The 'secret garden' of the curriculum was opened up in the 1976 Callaghan Ruskin speech, when education came into the scope of political and economic concerns. In the run-up to the 1988 Education Reform Act, schools and teachers were the subject of a trenchant critique of unsatisfactory standards of school performance. Concurrently, the monopoly of higher education over the content and form of teacher preparation was challenged. After the 1986-7 teachers' pay dispute, the state strengthened its encroachment to impose teachers' pay and conditions and the undermining of teachers' collective negotiating rights. The influential 1988 Act introduced a centralised prescription of the National Curriculum and assessment regimes, by which schools and teachers were subjected to performance requirements and market accountability. In addition, the Conservative years saw the emphasis of professional formation placed on the achievement of practically-based competences and teachers as subject specialists. A series of measures was introduced during the 1990s to further undermine teachers' claims to expertise. The Teacher Training Agency was established in 1994 with remits of funding, teacher recruitment and supply, and most crucially, the accreditation of teacher education courses. With the establishment of the TTA, the input of higher education in teacher education was gradually curtailed and the state was able to gain control over the system of teacher 'training'.

The Conservative reforms from the 1980s onward provided a fertile seed bed for further subsequent reforms initiated by New Labour. In its modernisation project, there was a continued focus on the redesign of the profession via the teacher education site and school practice. In its policy regime marked by the imperatives of raising standards and



optimising performance, the economic function of education was given a distinctive focus of attention. Various policy moves were set in place aimed at preparing a new generation of trained workforce to meet the requirements of the knowledge economy and further enhance the national interest of competitiveness. One of the significant ways in which this political objective was achieved was by constructing a pervasive official discourse centred on standards. The standardisation of professional practice via a technically-driven and competency-based model of teacher preparation, standards frameworks and Ofsted inspections entailed the re-organisation of professional knowledge and practices. More importantly, standards frameworks acted as a regulatory function imposed by the state against which the work of teaching was measured and judged. Managerial technologies such as performance indicators and quality assurance were closely interrelated to this enactment of standards discourse. In a simple sense, management was devised to supervise and evaluate the work of teachers by rendering the performance of professional communities transparent to the gaze of disciplinary regimes. These discursive tactics rendered teachers visible, calculable and comparable, especially in terms of measures of accountability and performance, and subjected them to specific tasks and conditions of service delivery. In brief, teachers' work, their role and working conditions were profoundly changed within these discursive practices.

An assemblage of practices and power formations has worked on teachers for the past three decades, bringing both indirect techniques and direct intervention in their work and service conditions. An older version of professionalism that enabled decisions to be made about curriculum, assessment and pedagogy has been displaced by a new understanding of professional practice. The operation and mobilisation of the discourses of *practicality*, *standards* and *management* has constituted a new *performative professionalism*, which facilitates the making up of new teacher subjects. Empowered

and disciplined simultaneously, an entrepreneurial headship and self-governing teachers are produced with their sense of responsibility reworked and mainly framed in certain areas, such as curriculum delivery and learning outcomes. These developments subordinate schooling to the demands of the labour market. Schools are now the key medium sutures of student learning outcomes with national/global competitiveness and their main function is to produce outcomes and serve the economy. Teachers are turned into close allies with the market, particularly in terms of productivity and employability, and serve the interests of capitalism. Therefore, what it means to be a teacher has been redefined.

In this thesis, I have attempted to tell a policy story that portrays the (re)-configuration of teacher professionalism in England since the mid-1970s. Set over and against the backdrop of the transformation of the broader global economy, more specifically, this story tells of the making and remaking of contemporary teachers. At the heart of the story, furthermore, I have tried to trace sets of many particular changes over the period of 40 years, which, taken together, have transformed higher education and teacher subjectivity and redefined teacher professionalism. Drawing on the two strands of teacher education and school practice, a complex and changing power relations flows between the state and its educational workforce. This process of making and remaking teachers is not linear, but dynamic with an accumulation of small changes and incremental moves. Although the depiction of 'closing down' the professional space is a constant presence in this thesis, this does not imply the exclusion of other possible spaces to think and act differently. The 'half empty' of my interpretation resides concurrently with a 'half full' perspective. In other words, I disagree with the idea that there is not a vestige of judgement and autonomy left to teachers to act otherwise. For some, these changes mean the loss of control and autonomy while, for others, they may

open up new possibilities for action. Looking ahead, what might the policy story of teachers be like in the immediate future? Will it be articulated differently? At the moment, given that there is a proliferation of educational policies under the Coalition government within which the direction of policy still privileges economising the agenda of education, the intensity and profundity of teacher policy is likely to continue and flourish along the time trajectory. Perhaps teaching will be totally deregulated while paradoxically adopting a closely specified technical practice. However, one thing is certain. This may be the end of my thesis, but it is not the end of the story.

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## Appendix 1: Selected policy documents

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## Appendix 2: List of interviewees

<b>I. Policy makers</b>	
<b>Name</b>	<b>Identification</b>
A	former Assistant Secretary, NUT
B	ex-member of staff, GTCE
C	senior teacher educator
D	senior policy adviser, DfES
E	teacher educator
F	former Additional Inspector, Ofsted
G	former member of R&D, UCET
H	senior policy analyst and teacher in HE
I	UCET representative
J	senior policy researcher and teacher in HE
<b>II. Teacher educators and senior serving teachers</b>	
<b>Name</b>	<b>Identification</b>
Brian	teacher educator, 18 year' school experience
James	teacher educator, 20 year' school experience
Ellen	teacher educator, 37 year' school experience
Matthew	teacher educator, 10 year' school experience
Nigel	school headteacher, 30 years' school experience
Liam	teacher educator, 18 year' school experience
Chris	teacher educator, 31 year' school experience
Claire	school teacher, 14 years' school experience



## Appendix 3: Consent form

### Introduction

First of all, thank you for your interest in participating in this research. I am a PhD student in the Department of Educational Foundations and Policy Studies at the **Institute of Education**, University of London. Currently, I am conducting interviews for my research entitled *A Discourse Analysis of Teacher Professionalism in England since the 1980s* under the supervision of Professor Stephen Ball. The main purpose of my research is to explore the ways in which teachers have been historically constituted through discourses of teacher education policy and investigate the teachers/ state power relations. By participating in this interview, the data you provide will be of great value in better understanding of the nature of professionalism and the relationships between teachers and the government.

### Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose to participate or to withdraw from your interview at any time. Deciding not to participate or choosing to discontinue participation in the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. If for any reason you decide not to continue, the data you have already provided will not be revealed and used.

### During and After Interview

The interview will last approximately for one hour, but it may be slightly less or greater. During the interview, you will be asked questions either relate to the involvement of your participation in policy making process or the ways you perceive changes in teacher education policy. Particular focus will be on its impacts on teacher professionalism and the implications for what it means to be a teacher. You are welcome to have your ideas, opinions and perceptions fully expressed. However, if there are any questions you would rather not answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, please say so and we will move on to the next question. The interviewing process will be recorded so that your responses can be taken into account fully and carefully. After interview, data you provide will be transcribed and all identifying information will be stricken from the transcription.

### **Confidentiality and Anonymity**

All the data will be kept confidential. I will keep and store the data in the password-protected files. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to the data you provide. Any of your personal identities will not be disclosed during and after this study. Issues of anonymity is absolutely guaranteed.

### **Participant's Agreement**

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary. I understand the intent and purpose of this research. If, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give any explanation. The data gathered in this study are confidential with respect to my personal identity unless I specify otherwise. If I have any questions about this study, I am free to contact the student researcher. I have been offered a copy of this consent form that I may keep for my own reference.

I have read and understood the above form and I consent to participate in today's interview.

Participant's signature:

Date:

Interviewer's signature:

Date:

Please contact me if you have any questions. I can be contacted by e-mail at [ctsen@ioe.ac.uk](mailto:ctsen@ioe.ac.uk) or my mobile number is: 075 5498 1452.

Again, thank you for your participation.

Thank you,

Chun-ying Tseng

#### Appendix 4: Interview questions for policy actors

1. Before the interview begins could you briefly talk about your involvement and professional background and experience in the policy making process of teacher education policy?
2. Teacher education policy has drastically changed in the early 1980s in terms of its course content and providers. In your view, what would be the main factors triggering such changes? And what would be the government's intentions and concerns underlying this?
3. Emphasis on trainees' competences and standards has been prevalent in ITE policy. What is your view in terms of its impacts/implications on HEIs and the formation of teacher professionalism?
4. The idea of flexible routes into teaching has been promoted by successive English governments. How do you think teachers' professional identity might be affected when they are trained differently?
5. What is/was teacher professionalism? How do you see the change of it over the past 30 years?
6. Do you think what it means to be a teacher has been changed?

## Appendix 5: Interview questions for senior serving teachers

1. How was your own teacher education? What were involved? What was it like?
2. Could you please say something in terms of the difference between teachers who are trained these days and your own training? Do young teachers have different kind of professionalism? (Does this professionalism mean something different now?)
3. How appropriate/suitable the current teacher education is for the demand of contemporary schooling?
4. What kind of teachers were being formed as you saw it? How do you see new teachers these days? Do you see them differently?
5. How things changed in terms of teachers' day-to-day work and their skills difference?
6. How do you see school's involvement with school-based teacher training? Why are schools interested in getting involved? Do they produce teachers differently?

## Appendix 6: Selected interview transcript (senior serving teacher)

CY: First of all, thank you very much for being my interviewee. Before the interview begins could you please say something about how was your own teacher education? What were involved? What was it like?

Brian: I started..I did my PGCE, I think in 1986, no family background in teaching at all. I came from a very working-class family background and most of my degree, I've never thought about teaching at all, never ever considered teaching. Er..there was not much around at the time in terms of work so I saw that there was PGCE going, so I thought 'why not'. So right at the very last minute I ended up of doing Geography PGCE, did that in Nottingham, qualified as a teacher, came down to London or back to London because I was, I've been a student in London. I did my PGCE in Nottingham and came back to London to teach within the IEA. Sort of being a bit left-wing political motivated, I set that I wanted to teach in tough side of London, so they accommodated me with that and I ended up teaching in what used to be called 'Division 5' and 'Division 5' would now be Tower Hammerland, in a very very tough school. And I taught in that school, first as a Geography teacher then as Head of ICT for, I think, 12 years? 13 years? Then I moved to M Forest where I taught for 3 years, I then was Head of Department. And then I became Advisory Teacher with local authority for 2 years I think, and then I ended up here. And all of that time I've done lot of teacher training. I did a MBA in educational background, just sort of interest rather... I avoided school management. Rather than spied something like Headship which I really didn't want to do. I saw more interests in the academic side of teaching, so I guess that's why I ended up here. [So you have abundant experiences in terms of school]

Brian: Yeah, probably not what you'd call push schools. All I've been teaching is quite difficult schools.

CY: How was your own teacher education? What were involved and what was it like?

Brian: Right, well, I am all surprised that whenever I used to talk to teachers, mentioned I was doing teacher training in PGCE, and they would all laughed and said how dreadful it was, how awful it was. I was quite surprised by this because I thought the course I did was absolutely brilliant. As I've said I sort of did it by chance and I find myself with two people as tutors. They were absolutely excellent whom I still occasionally swap sort of emails with. And I was sort of beaten by the bugs of teaching then. Because they seemed quite socially committed to what they were doing. I got on with them really well, [wanting] to schools on the experience. In

those days you did a primary school experience and a secondary school experience equal. [Went] to primary school and the teacher I was working with was excellent, er, very very interesting. Almost at that point I've decided change to primary but then moved on to secondary. Of course, as soon as you get positive feedback, they tell you that you are good, I guess you hooked there. So I ended up sort of finishing the PGCE, ... both teaching experiences really enjoying that. Luckily, the people I was working with, mentors both in schools and university all knew each other and they sort of got the same political background as myself and they all got similar academic interests, so I sort of already felt part of it, if you see what I mean? Rather than being a student, I felt, I felt part of becoming sort of part of what they were and it's the reason I do this job. Because I think they did so well that I thought I like to do something similar. [So can I put it like that they act as role models, both of them...] Yes, very much so.

CY: Do you think that being a professional teacher now means something different when compared with the time at which you began teaching? Does this professionalism mean something different now?

Brian: Yes, I do. I think it's changed quite dramatically and I can tell you in terms of a few words that symbolise that change. When I started teaching I've never heard the word 'line manager'; I've never heard the word 'job description'; there were no such things as 'senior managers' or 'senior leaders'. And the concept of professionalism was defined by custom and by working with role models. It was implicit of what being professional was rather than explicit. [you mean by the time you when you just began?] Yes. In the early days of my teaching, we knew we were good professional teachers and if you wanted to be a professional teacher that is the kind of people you emulated. It was never written down anywhere, a code of what should be done. It was implicit, we all sort of knew. And then people started writing down good teachers do this, good teachers do that. The word I think that bother[s] me is the word 'managerialism'. Shoe shops used to have managers not schools; headteachers had their job, teachers had their job and head of department had their job, they were much much less hierarchical. Teachers were empowered with respect that came from their status in the community, not through qualifications or...you were very much what...parents and kids saw you as very much about what you did, not what your title was in the school. And I think one of the things that I would want to include in your study is an event that happened to me which symbolises how professionalism is changed. Having once ended up in a disagreement with senior leader in the school, myself and several colleagues would describe it as unprofessional. And I in response to that, I said 'that is because your definition of

being professional is simply doing what you said'. My view of professionalism is I do what I think is right, that's what makes me professional. Doing what you said doesn't make me a professional. And professionalism, I think, has become sometimes in the worse cases, defined by compliance with authority. And I don't think it is.

CY: And can you give an example of this so-called professionalism means compliance to authority?

Brian: Yes. An example would be where a teacher in a department meeting, the idea would come up, 'oh, let's do this new course. In our department let's do a new course'. Many teachers would say 'ok, let me see how many examine resource that gets'. Because their responsibility has become seen to the school. whereas I think professional teacher says 'you tell me how this new course supports these children?' Because my responsibility is to the children, not to schools. If the two are together that's good. But kids first school reputation and league tables second. Whereas I think we move towards a technical professionalism based on good practice and model behaviours. Compliance, compliance with authority, and I don't think that's what professionalism means.

CY: How does this kind of change get reflected in teacher education?

Brian: I think what tended to happen is...well, first of all, the top-down authority model has made its way to teacher education because we've got... effectively, we've got National Curriculum, we've got QTS standards, all...so we are told what the students must see themselves as terms of professional. And interestingly, just as I've been saying, that model of professionalism is: you must do this, you must do this; you mustn't do that, you mustn't do that, like a set of rules rather than a set of principles. And I think one of the things that we do, that perhaps some institutions don't do, we encourage the students to challenge the morality and some of that. Perhaps, perhaps we are all keen back to the old days, trying to bring in into students' consciousness. That it's their conscious, professional conscious is the issue rather than....profession conscious rather than professional competences.

CY: So you are saying that as a course tutor here, you encourage those 'trainee' teachers to be reflective...

Brian: About the nature of professionalism. Because they can take... Of course, there is general...the General Teaching Council Guidance which is quite sensible, there is nothing wrong with it but it's not professionalism, it's rule of conduct. That good rule of conduct for teachers, you mustn't do this kind of things... that kind of things

that were embedded implicitly in the kind of professionalism that they used to be. But I think what's been lost by codifying all those rules is that that little voice in your ear that used...the conscious that used to sit on teachers' shoulders saying, I should do this and I shouldn't do that. It's almost [to see]... that teacher now could learn a set of guidance on what professionalism is. Somebody, a Minister might change those rules then we say 'ok, that's changed then.' Well, I don't think you can do that. ...been internalised what your responsibilities are as a teacher. Other people can't change it, you can't change it by changing the document. It's part of your internal beliefs about... it's the value set you behave as a teacher.

CY: So, in your view, teacher professionalism has something more within your personal identity rather than technical...

Brian: Well, absolutely, yeah.

CY: How things changed in terms of teachers' work and skills difference?

Brian: the nature of teachers' work in their professional role? [Yes, and their skills] Ok, I don't...well, fundamentally, I don't think they [teacher's work] change much. However, what has changed, the way teachers' work, is, I think these days my students certainly and the people I work within schools are much more focused on doing what they are told. And they [are] always told to do something. they never, they never seem to have things left to their own discretion any more. What is taught, how it's taught, when it's taught is all decided by someone else now. And the sad thing is that many of them seem to like it. I would find it very difficult to get back to schools with that level of control whereas I guess they're growing up with it. They find that it's perfectly acceptable. Somebody quite like it because to be fair, that kind of moral tensions that you get sometimes by doing this but I know I shouldn't, they tend not to have because their view is, 'well, I am just...I am told'. And therefore, you know, it's the old, you know, Nuremberg Defense: I was only following orders. Some teachers feel that as long as they [are] following the instructions that they are given, they are not responsible for the outcomes. I don't know may be teachers who used to think that, we were very much responsible for, we used to call them out.... Does that make sense?

CY: So you are saying that teachers, nowadays they tend to just do what they are told to do and they are quite happy about that?

Brian: Many of them are. Many of them are. Because it just makes life easier. Because you don't have those kind of moral conundrum to deal with. It...if the head says 'move those kids from that course to a new course', you just do it. Because the



responsibility, if some of them fail, because they've already started this, it's not my fault. Because I am not the one who made decisions. It's quite a nice position to be in when somebody take all the authority away from you. Because when they take your authority away, it takes your responsibility away as well. I don't think I can manage it but some people, some of my students quite like the idea, they are not really responsible for anything. All they're responsible for is doing what they are told.

CY: This is one part of the change, do you have anything...I mean how do you see new teachers these days? For example, those who just begun their teaching for may be about one or two years? Do you see them differently?

Brian: I may be wrong and it's only my impression but I think they are different types of new teachers and some of... sometimes it seems to be related to subject. My students in ICT, by and large, are very very apolitical. The vast majority of them are not interested in...they like teaching, they like teaching about ICT but they don't really want to engage with politics or morality of education. That's not so in history or English. I think it seems to come from a more social science background tend to be more political aware than people from technical backgrounds. In general, obviously. Obviously, in general. I get to and I think that's.... The differences from 1986 when I started to 2011 now is that, if you say that there is a political value awareness element of professionalism, I think when I started teaching there was ingredient for those who were very politically aware up there slope all the way down to those who just wanted to do the day job and then go home. Now I think the slope has disappeared. I think there are some people up here and people down here and I don't think there's very much in-between. I think there's a small number of very politically aware, interested about the nature of teaching professionalism, and what it implies for the teachers' role in society. I mean there is a significant proportion just think 'oh, I am here to teach that [in] day-to-day basis and if the kids get the questions right and examines ...off and go home. They don't seem that ... any more.

CY: So what might be the main reason for this kind of disappearance of...

Brian: I think it's because...when I started teaching you have to have a view because you weren't offered any view from anybody else. You have to formulate your own perspective whereas what tends to happen now is you're told what to think about everything. So having your own view is almost seen as active resistance in some ways.

CY: Do you also think this might be affected by teacher education courses, I mean the disappearance of...?

Brian: Yes, because there is a tension, there is a tension between the two elements in teacher education. And it plays itself out throughout the year of our training in as much as... many of you don't... haven't thought about the nature of professionalism or what teachers are supposed to do, and education in general and values beyond it when they start. They come here and we tend to wind them up politically, motivate them and...we're not to persuade them of particular political viewpoint but to trying get them to work out that education is not a politically neutral issue that there are things to be questioned. And then they, some of them get quite excited about that but the training doesn't just happen here, it happens in schools. And then many of them going to schools they get overwhelmed by the day-to-day teaching and they see teaching is largely get up, teach the class, do it like this, ...the books, that's the end of it. So there is a tension, I think, between that kind of critical element here and the day-to-day practice. They tend to grain them down, in general.

CY: Do you think teacher education is still relevant today?

Brian: Well, I tell you what, you've asked an interesting question. One of the things you are asking is teacher EDUCATION relevant, you could have asked me 'is teacher training relevant'. We very much here see that we are doing teacher education not teacher training. We do not do training things, it's like holding sweets or making them jump... which is the kind of compliance professionalism. We ask them to think about what underpins what it is that doing as a job. We introduce them things, a bit like schools, what happens is they get the QTS standards and we're trying [to] say that we can offer you more than that. That's what you'll get by coming here..... What you don't get by doing GTP. Do you know of the Graduate...[Oh, yes.] which is entirely school-based, really. Which is why I think quite few of them start to do Master degree. Because they do quite like that kind of critical professional perspective. I hope we [are] developing them.

CY: You've just mentioned different routes into teaching, and the government is now promoting more school-based routes or scheme like Teach First, so how do you see these kind of policies?

Brian: Let's put it like this. Given that the government as instituted, all of these control over teachers, they are the root of performativity, they are the root of this managerialism. If you've got a bunch of well-behaved well-trained teachers doing they are told in schools, where will you want people to be trained? In schools or

coming here being turn into trouble makers? So, I think that's the root of it. The government do not want teachers thinking critically, they want them obey instructions.

CY: And then would you say that different governments, whether they are Labour, the Conservative, they all have the similar way of thinking?

Brian: It's a small people... trend. It's not a party-political trend. That...the top-down... When the top-down thing start probably at the end of 50s, the...if I was identify the break point, I would say the mid-70s. Because the mid-70s was where the belief in teachers as the radical professionals, heated peak started to going downhill. What people saw as a failure of the comprehensive school was, I think, where people begun to lose, lose faith in teachers as the complete arbiter. Of course that's not necessary just case of teachers. We don't deal with doctors in the same way we used to. I think that was that time when the absolute or an authority that we used to have doctors and teachers and old professionals started to change. Not necessary a bad thing. I mean my parents, if the doctor said X then it was X. You know, teachers said X it was X. I think it's good that people should question a profession but the power has not drifted from the profession and teachers to the parents and pupils. It's drifted upward to the government.

CY: In your view, what does it mean to be a teacher?

Brian: I think it's...Well, first of all, I'd say that the answer that I am going to give you would be different from most of my colleagues. That is, that I think the professionalism is situated in your personal values, relationships, your political beliefs and the way you think society should work. I think my view is that teachers are people who make school work and education work and education is all about values rather than training or about getting certificates. Which is a bit unfortunate because we concentrate entirely on latter. We concentrate entirely on...getting certificates, qualifications.

CY: You just briefly mentioned one point and which I'd like to explore a bit, that is, how do you see teachers' role in society?

Brian: I think teachers used to be quite separated and aloof. In my day when I went to school teachers were these people [who] went to bed in the cupboard every night, you know, they didn't get real lives and things like that. And then...they were very much looked up to. But they are quite remote which I think, is a bad thing. Now I think many people look..we're quite suspicious on teachers and... I mean the evidence shows that if you ask people what do they think about teachers in general,

they get too many holidays...But interestingly, if you said 'do you trust your child's teacher?' they all said 'oh, yes'. So... I think what teachers' role is, they are social workers in one respect, they are social workers at the micro-level, if that makes sense. Rather than sorting out the problems, social problems child by child. Their job is to make things fairer and better at micro-level. Whereas my colleagues would all said 'oh, it's about the subject', somebody of them are subject-obsessed.

CY: You think values are much more important than that kind of competences or that kind of skills.

Brian: Absolutely. And I think that comes from backgrounds as well. Most of my colleagues here are academic...follow academic route ways in a particular subject... science, mathematics whereas I was engineering then I did social science degree, then I did a MBA and I taught Humanity, I taught Science, I taught ICT. So I don't have any strong belief and value than particular subject.

CY: Overall, how would you say the relationship between the teaching profession and the government, the successive governments, in general?

Brian: As I said, I don't think that there is a party political issue here. If you look at the political trends in education, they are not changed dramatically from the previous Conservative government, through 11 years of Labour government and now to the old Con-Den government. It's a bit extreme at the moment and much more up in the air. But the trends and philosophy are very similar. But, of course, if you look at those [who] make trends, they are not apolitical, they are also geographically broad based as well. Because the same kind of philosophy that we are talking about now, Australia, the US, New Zealand, Canada, most of those western industrialised nations, they are global mega trends, that relationship between governments and teachers and professions and they are driven by the same economic drivers. Any trend, really you can identify in this country, you can identify in Australia, New Zealand. [so, it's a global trend] Yes. We developed the economic power because it's got economic foundation to it really.

CY: Thank you very much for your time and participation. I think I have no further questions for now. Before I turn off the recorder you are most welcome to raise issues that might relate to the interview today.

Brian: No no...I think not.

CY: Thank you very much indeed.