THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Prospects and Politics of Professional Power in England: an exploration of the state of teaching as a profession following the birth of the General Teaching Council for England

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by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the status of teaching as a profession following the establishment of the General Teaching Council for England in 2000. After developing a theoretical framework for analysing the concept of profession, and addressing some of the confusion which often arises from the different discourses of professionalism, the work focuses on the key issues of knowledge and power. An extended literature review includes analyses of the *Training and Development Agency for Schools*, the *National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services* and the *General Teaching Council for England*. The empirical component of the study presents data from a series of interviews with a number of people in senior positions in key education organisations which were conducted over a period stretching from June 2004 to January 2006.

The thesis' main argument is that, because of political imperatives expressed through the policy interventions of successive governments, the logic of professionalism is being marginalised for teachers in England. Instead of serving the ideals of their profession, teachers in England find themselves working in an increasingly commercialized public sector and squeezed between the bureaucratic aspects of managerialist and market policies.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ATL   Association of Teachers and Lecturers

CPD   Continuing Professional Development

DCSF   Department for Children, Schools and Families

DfEE   Department for Education and Employment

DfES   Department for Education and Skills

GTC   General Teaching Council for England

GTCS   General Teaching Council for Scotland

GTTP   Graduate Teacher Training Programme

HLTA   Higher Level Teaching Assistant

ITT   Initial Teacher Training

LEA   Local Education Authority

NAHT   National Association of Head Teachers

NAS/UWT   National Association of Schoolmasters/ Union of Women Teachers

NCSL	National College for School Leadership
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PAT	Professional Association of Teachers
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
SHA	Secondary Heads Association
TES	Times Educational Supplement
TDA	Training and Development Agency for Schools
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCET	Universities Council for the Education of Teachers
UDE	University Department of Education

Introduction

One late October morning in 2009 Professor David Nutt, a psychiatrist and internationally renowned neuropsychopharmacologist, received a letter from the Home Secretary, Alan Johnson. He was, he learned, to be dismissed from his post as the Chair of the government's Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs, a body whose role is to advise the government on drugs policy, including the classification of illegal drugs based on the harm they cause. As an academic and scientist, Nutt had criticized the government's policy on drugs, in particular their position on the classification of cannabis, ecstasy and LSD. During his brief tenure as Chair, he had claimed, amongst other things, that the government were guilty of devaluing science, described the drug ecstasy as less dangerous than horse riding and said that the health risks posed by cigarettes and alcohol were greater than the risks involved in taking LSD and cannabis. In the furore which followed, five other eminent scientists resigned from the Council in support of their sacked colleague and in defence of academic freedom. One, Dr. Simon Campbell, a former president of the Royal Society of Chemistry, described the manner of Nutt's dismissal as 'abrupt' and 'a humiliation' adding that the decision had 'eroded a lot of trust'. It had, he said, 'made it clear that politicians make decisions based not on science but on political expediency' (Naughton & Henderson, 2009). As the story unfolded in the media, Professor John Beddington, the government's Chief Scientific Adviser, said on BBC television that he agreed with Nutt's view that cannabis was less dangerous than cigarettes and alcohol and that 'the scientific evidence [was] absolutely clear cut' (Ghosh, 2009). Lord Drayson, the Science and Innovation minister, was quoted as having written in a private correspondence that he was 'pretty appalled' by the Home Secretary's move and worried that it would have 'the scientific community up in arms' (Henderson, 2009).

The Home Secretary argued that Nutt's public expression of his views on the government's drugs policy in his lectures, academic writing and media briefings were incompatible with providing independent advice to the government. He accused him of campaigning and lobbying against government policy which, Johnson claimed, amounted to an abuse of his position:

> When such esteemed professionals take on such a job, they have the government's ear. They have a very important role in influencing the government, and they must exercise it with care and caution. It would be quite wrong for advisers to undermine the government as well as advise them. (Hansard, 2009)

The Conservative Opposition seemed to support the minister, their leader's main criticism being that he should have dismissed his adviser sooner. From the Tory backbenches, Sir Patrick Cormack advised the Home Secretary to 'remind himself that it was Churchill who said that scientists should be on tap and not on top' (ibid.).

Whatever the merits of the arguments about the use of scientific evidence in the formulation of drugs policy, this public spat seemed to polarise scientists and politicians in a clash of values and priorities. Thus, this story is about much more than the details behind the arcane matter of the categorisation of illegal drugs: the dispute presents a more profound issue about the conflicts that can arise between the political objectives of the state and the professional loyalties of the individuals serving it.

The main political parties are broadly united in their war against what is portrayed as the social menace of illegal drugs. Scientific evidence about the risk involved in the consumption of specific drugs takes second place to this wider

shared policy agenda and cannot be allowed to muddy the prevailing public discourse surrounding the central message about the undesirability of recreational drug-taking. Advisers, so it appears, are regarded as having a duty not to criticise or undermine this stance. There were some dissenting voices and it is interesting to note that three of the MPs who asked questions which were critical of the Home Secretary after his Parliamentary statement about the affair - Brian Iddon, Nick Palmer and Evan Harris - are all highly qualified scientists themselves holding university doctorates in their fields. Most mainstream politicians, however, seem to think that advisers' chief loyalty ought to be to the policy agenda of the state. The scientists, by contrast, were adamant that scientific truth ought not to be subjugated to the political complications of public policy agendas. Professor Nutt was portrayed by some as politically naive but there can be little doubt that this brief episode illustrates where his loyalties lie - not to the government but to the principles of the academy and the disciplinary rigours of science.

Nutt's attachment to this disciplinary idealism, if we might call it that, has been deeply entrenched in the work cultures of a number of mainly middle class occupations in recent centuries. This thesis will argue that loyalty and service to disciplinary idealism, which arises from the study of disciplinary knowledge, is the defining characteristic of those occupations which have come to be called professions. It will contend that the logic of professionalism is being marginalised in the UK so that the very notion of service to the ideals of one's profession, often seen as integral to professionalism, is being challenged and subverted. This is happening not in a simple, coordinated or linear fashion but gradually as a consequence of the tensions which arise between alternative, and evolving, nexuses of power in the modern state.

If the sacking of David Nutt provides a general reminder that state power references and recognises only its own ideals and objectives, the case of school-teaching in England paints a more particular picture in which the erosion of professional power can be traced. For at least two decades, the education policies of the state have increasingly been characterised by interventionist reforms which have impinged upon teachers' work and, at the same time, reduced both their collective influence in education and individual autonomy at work. This has meant that teachers' ethic of service has been redirected so that, in effect, they now serve a politically-driven education agenda rather than any form of idealism which one might expect to find embedded within a profession.

Politicians seem to have a view about even the most esoteric features of public sector work and when they are not actually intervening in classroom practice, they can often be heard making promises to do so:

> I don't think they've [the Labour Party] ever got to grips with the educational establishment... we need to be courageous and strong on standards, to insist that children are taught using synthetic phonics and they learn to read properly. (Cameron, 2007)

In the same party conference speech from which this extract is taken, David Cameron, Conservative Leader of the Opposition, also talked of getting rid of 'top down targets and trust[ing] our professionals' in the public services. He promised too that his party would 'give headteachers complete command of their school', a hyperbolic claim as overblown as it is at odds with his desire 'to [get] to grips with' public sector workers. The contradictions inherent in this speech are not peculiar to the Conservative Party.

New Labour came to power with a promise to establish a General Teaching Council in England (GTC) to speak for teachers. Tony Blair told headteachers gathered for the National Association of Head Teachers' annual conference that it was his ambition 'to restore teaching to its rightful place as one of Britain's foremost professions' and 'rais[e] it to the status of other professions such as medicine and law, which are natural choices for our most able graduates' (Tony Blair, 1999). Yet, many of those who interpreted encouraging words like this as signalling an opportunity to reassert professional power in teaching were disappointed when the government introduced legislation for a GTC so bereft of the powers usually entrusted to a professional body that Lord Tope described what was envisaged as a 'toothless poodle of the Secretary of State' (Hansard, 1998a). Meanwhile, the Labour government continued the managerialist policies of the Thatcher years and intensified the drive to commercialise education by extending the marketization and the privatisation of state schools. If these policies quietly undermined their claims about their wish for a profession of teaching, as distinct from a teaching workforce, their strategy for remodelling the roles of those working in schools was more strident in its intent. It spoke of the government's desire for 'less demarcation...pushing back the boundaries of what assistants can do in the classroom' (DfES, 2003a, p. 12). In New Labour's flagship academy schools, private sponsors were encouraged to take control of state schools. These individuals and organisations, many with little or no experience or expertise in education, were invited to experiment and there was no obligation upon them to employ qualified teachers registered with the GTC. As an attempt to break teachers' power and monopoly in schools, such policies are directly opposed to professional models of labour. When it suits its audience, both the New Labour and the Conservative leadership deploy a rhetoric of professionalism in relation to teaching but a workforce micromanaged by the agencies of the state and without a monopoly over the supply of its services is no profession at all.

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There is an extensive body of academic work on teacher professionalism but most of this is either abstract theorising or based upon studies of the perceptions of teachers in schools and other contexts and academics in university departments of education. The empirical component of this research is distinctive in that it presents the perspectives of a number of senior policy players on key issues surrounding teacher professionalism in the aftermath of the birth of the GTC. Interviews were conducted with a number of people in senior positions in key education organisations over a period stretching from June 2004 to January 2006. The data from these interviews, alongside the literature reviewed here, examines issues surrounding the state of teachers' professional knowledge and the nature and extent of teachers' professional power. An in-depth overview of the rationale and methodology for the study can be found in Chapter 5.

The first four chapters comprise an extended literature review and document analysis. Chapter 1 offers an analysis of professionalism in general terms. After noting that professionalism is a series of language games or discourses of power, it presents an analytical model of professionalism which acts as a framework to inform the discussion in subsequent chapters. It also sketches some challenges, threats and restrictions to the notion of professionalism. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 narrow the discussion to focus on a number of aspects of professionalism as it relates to school-teaching in England. Chapter 2 examines the crucial issue of teachers' professional and disciplinary knowledge base from a range of different perspectives and includes analyses of the *Training and Development Agency for Schools*, known as the *Teacher Training Agency* at the time when the empirical part of this research was being conducted, and the *National College for School Leadership*, renamed the *National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services* as recently as September 2009. The Chapter's broad contention is that, because the profession itself failed to develop a convincing

professional knowledge, its vulnerability meant that it was a relatively easy matter for the state to take central political control over teacher training and the qualification process. Some of the tensions between politics and professionalism in the education system are explored from a historical perspective in Chapter 3 which deals with collective professional power. Since a profession's collective power usually resides in a professional body, an analysis of the General Teaching Council for England (GTC) is also presented. Arguments about professional power are extended in Chapter 4 which explores the idea of the commercialization of education. The implications this has for the degree of autonomy enjoyed by individual professionals at the workplace and the redrawing of the boundaries of professional jurisdictions are explored. The theme of monopolistic control is threaded throughout both of these chapters.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present an analysis of the empirical data collected from the interviews and, content-wise, these mirror the structure of the early chapters. Chapter 6 uses the interview data to establish whether there is any shared view about what constitutes teachers' knowledge base. Whilst a high degree of commonality was found, it is argued that the problems which arise from the analysis mean that this consensus is inadequate to sustain a claim to any form of strong professional power. Chapter 7 returns to the issue of professional power and concentrates on the policy players' perceptions of the GTC. It is clear that those interviewed here believe that the Council, as a professional body, has not yet found a niche for itself in a policy climate crowded by agencies of the state. The policies of markets and managerialism are reintroduced in Chapter 8, which examines perceptions of bureaucracy in teaching which represent central state control over teachers' work and act as mechanisms to facilitate the operation of educational markets. It is argued that these policy instruments, alongside workforce remodelling, have a significant bearing on teachers' professional power at the workplace insofar as they raise questions about the boundaries and

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strength of their professional monopoly. The Chapter concludes by examining how the competing narratives of professionalism are understood and used by those interviewed for this research.

In conclusion, in Chapter 9, it is argued that the predominance of market ideologies, facilitated by the bureaucratic aspects of managerialist policies, is anathema to the logic of professionalism and, further, that the evidence adduced in this thesis suggests that professions and professional power are ideas which are not only unfashionable but are quickly becoming anachronistic. What remains is a weak, woolly and confusing discourse of professionalism which, stripped of any connection with knowledge and power, merely flatters and deceives.

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Professionalism

> Philosophy is a battle against the bewitchment of our intelligence by
> means of language. (Ludwig Wittgenstein, 1967, p. 47e)

Wittgenstein contended that the meaning of language is to be found in how it is
used within any given context. Philosophical inquiry is, in essence, a means of
unravelling language games which can be decoded only within their own
semantic setting by examination of their particular conventions and rules. Thus,
the languages of chemistry and calculus, for example, were just one of the
'suburbs of our language' (Wittgenstein 1967, p. 8). Later, Foucault sought truth
within the internal and contingent rules of discourse which frames knowledge
and determines what it is possible to say, think and experience. His philosophy
was conducted through the history of power relations and the conditions in which
people become subjects of 'power/knowledge' (Foucault, 1980). Since power is
situated and traceable within discourse, and since social struggle involves the
contestation of meaning and knowledge, for Foucault social analysis should focus
on 'not a theory of the knowing subject, but rather to a theory of discursive
practice' (Foucault, 1966, p. xiv).

This thesis is an excursion into the linguistic neighbourhood of professionalism
and is concerned, amongst other things, to identify the rules of that particular
language game. Since the very concept is inextricably linked with both power
and knowledge, Foucault is invoked to provide a perspective on the discourse of
professionalism from both these dimensions. As will be seen, professionalism is a
contested concept since its meaning, reading and intent changes with different
speakers and institutional and political situations carrying with it different

semantic inflections depending on who is invoking the term in what context. The struggle for professional status, then, is the struggle for power and control of professional knowledge and discourse and this work will be concerned to uncover the technologies of power associated with these.

This chapter has three broad objectives: first, to establish that professionalism is a series of language games or discourses of power; second, to map a blueprint for an analytical model of professionalism; and, third, to identify some challenges, threats and restrictions to the notion of professionalism. This will enable a calibration later on of the current state of public sector professionalism, specifically as it relates to school teachers in England, whilst, at the same time, recognise how the dynamics of the discourse operate to seduce, persuade, cajole and repress.

The chapter begins with an exploration of the language of professionalism. The sociological literature on the nature of the professions will then be reviewed and some broad approaches and perspectives noted. Since profession is built upon expertise, an examination of the connection between profession and knowledge warrants its own section. Before concluding, some contemporary threats to professionalism are outlined.

Semantics of Professionalism

> Liechtenstein's [football] coach Ralf Loose – surname pronounced
> 'loser' – is frustrated. Because of their club and job commitments his
> players will not be together properly in preparation for England's visit
> until Thursday. There is a banker, a plumber, a university student, a
> teacher, a wine maker, and a salesman in Loose's squad but eight of
> the first XI will probably be professionals.

(Daniel Taylor in *The Guardian,* 29th March, 2003.)

Readers will readily understand that Loose's 'professional' footballers are distinguished from their teacher and plumber colleagues by their capacity to earn their livelihood from the sport without the need for other paid employment. It may be inferred that these players have superior levels of skill and ability but 'professional' is used here as a descriptive noun, seemingly untainted by moral or social nuance, to denote full-time salaried players. Occasionally 'profession' is also used in everyday life merely as a synonym for 'job'.

These relatively value-free uses of the term 'professional', or *neutral* modes as I call them, are unusual since the words 'profession' and 'professional' are usually semantically loaded words carrying, at different times, positive and negative social and moral evocations even within very similar contexts. Thus when English association football first began hiring professional players at the end of the nineteenth century, it upset many who 'refused to play against any team which included professionals as it degraded respectable gentlemen' (Davies, 2003, p. 36). Teams, such as Corinthians and Old Etonians, worried that financial payback for players would corrupt the spirit of the sport. Before this, in the mid-nineteenth century, 'profession' was being used in an ambiguously nuanced way to refer to the 'refurbished and reorganised middle-class occupations' (Freidson, 1986, p. 23) whose educated practitioners, openly ploughing their occupational furrow for financial gain, offended the sensitivity of the gentleman scholars of the upper classes. The negativity of 'profession' here derives from contrasting professional-as-mercenary against amateur-as-volunteer where the former engages in the activity for the vulgar motive of monetary remuneration whilst the latter busies himself for honour or social justice.

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The language of professionalism, negative or otherwise, reaches far beyond workplace remuneration though and, more often than not, embraces notions of desirable behavioural and attitudinal norms. Thus, doing a 'professional job' or having a 'professional approach' suggests commitment and concern on the part of workers to produce a certain standard of product, or service, project a certain image or behave in a certain way. Here 'professional', or 'professionally' as in 'acting professionally', adds kudos, respectability and status to work and workers. Chambers (1992, p. 1166) describes this usage of professional as 'showing the skill artistry, demeanour, or standard of conduct appropriate in a member of a profession or of a particular profession'. Oxford (2001 p. 1022) offers 'worthy of or appropriate to a professional person; competent'.

Kimball's (1992) study of professions uses the American Bar Association's pronouncements on the 'true professional ideal' to introduce a sketch of the semantics of professionalism. This is important since professions are historically grounded within the culture from which they spring and therefore 'in order to understand professions we must examine how the word was used and how that usage was transformed episodically and reflexively by the nature of its referents and the contemporaneous intellectual, political, economic, and social context' (Kimball, 1992, p. 17). In other words, the vocational or expert workers using 'profession' are informed by its meaning whilst they inform the vernacular understanding of the term and, in so doing, influence its linguistic evolution over time. Kimball argues that the rhetoric of professionalism mediates between ideation and behaviour, or knowledge and practice, and is, in effect, a vehicle of ideology. His six key 'moments' in the rhetoric of professionalism are worth recording:

1. 'Profession' extends in meaning from being a religious vow to signalling the group making the vows, namely the secular clergy;

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2. 'Profession' extends from the clergy to include a number of 'dignified, non-religious occupations' in the sixteenth century;

3. The terms 'learned profession' and 'liberal profession' are introduced to indicate certain occupations whose practitioners have been university-educated in one of three disciplines, theology, law and medicine. Teachers of these disciplines are also included;

4. The term 'professed' as an adjective to denote occupational or vocational is displaced by 'professional';

5. 'Professional' displaces professor as a noun indicating those engaged in vocational occupations. 'Professor' is retained only in universities for those engaged in teaching the learned or liberal professions;

6. The terms learned and liberal professions disappear in the early twentieth century as 'profession' broadens to refer to many occupations as it had in the sixteenth century.

(ibid., p. 16)

Profession on this account has encompassed, at one time or another, both occupations requiring university learning and occupations in general. Certainly by the beginning of the last century, Flexner (1915, p. 577) was observing that:

Almost any occupation not obviously a business is apt to classify itself as a profession. Doctors, lawyers, preachers, musicians, engineers,

journalists, trained nurses, trapeze and dancing masters, equestrians,

and chiropodists – all speak of their profession.

Bledstein (1985, p. 1) notes that contemporary usage is 'irrepressible and ubiquitous' and puzzles over the use of a term that, in America, applies equally to both university lecturers and piano players in brothels.

Given the history of 'profession' which has, in essence, described the learned activities of the educated well-born, it is not surprising that many have sought to glorify their occupational calling by appropriating the term in the hope of associating themselves with its semantic baggage connoting status, wealth, wisdom and the gentlemanly ethic of service and duty. Indeed, as Kimball's title suggests, these ideas collectively constitute what we can describe as the *professional ideal*. So embedded are worthy attributions within the professional ideal and in the language of professionalism that Hughes (1958), in his research on the work of real estate agents, found that the tag of 'profession' so distracted him from a rigorous sociological analysis of his subjects that he forsook the term after concluding that it represented little more than a verbalised aspiration for a desired status.

We find the same story in Cogan's work on professions. In the literature review in his first search for a definition of profession, he found 'a documentation of the variety of sentiments which surround the usage of profession' (Cogan, 1953, p. 33). He notes that the perceived values, status, privileges and power of professions attached also to individual members of it. Hence many common trades and crafts used this 'symbolic referent' (ibid., p. 47) in an attempt to dignify themselves by using the 'sonorous', 'eulogistic' and 'euphemistic' term 'profession' to describe their trade and sought to 'secure to themselves the values clustering round it by simply pre-empting the title' (ibid.). Two years

later, Cogan wrote of a 'persuasive' linguistic mode of 'profession' used to argue and advance the case for those in an aspiring occupation (Cogan, 1955, p. 110) and 'operational' definitions which distinguish professional from other occupations in virtue of their structure, organisation and practice.

The sociologist, Freidson (1986), may be seen to be deploying Cogan's operational mode in his attempt to analyse professions as occupational groups. His 'profession' is a 'folk concept' (ibid., p. 35) historically and nationally specific with no genuine social scientific basis. He asks how folk use and understand the term. Later he regrets that he has little choice but to use 'profession' when writing about it as an object of sociology and promises to use 'occupation' instead wherever possible. He wishes to 'avoid the pretentious, sometimes sanctimonious overtones' associated with 'profession' (Freidson, 2001, p. 13) since this often prevents many from seeing professionals as workers, obscuring what they have in common with others of less exalted trades. This acknowledges the difficulties of avoiding invoking Cogan's persuasive mode in any discourse of professionalism.

Persuasive modes of professionalism have an ideological element to them insofar as they are being used to push the case for workers in their quest for recognition, support, status, money, power and control both at work and in society at large. Of course, it is not only workers who may seek public endorsement of their workplace activities and their competence and conscientiousness in carrying them out. There are also those external to an occupational group who use professionalism as a means of praising, commending, championing or paying tribute to workers and their work. Their efforts may indeed be attempts to persuade these groups of some standpoint or other but are distinguished by their common general feature of using professionalism to ascribe the desirable attributes associated with 'profession'. I

will describe this usage, drawing on Cogan's persuasive mode as a form of advocacy for an occupational group, as an *attributive* linguistic mode of professionalism.

Fenstermacher (1994, p. 33) notes that philosophers are fond of describing knowledge as a 'purr word' so often used because it sounds reassuring even though its precise meaning remains elusive. Though cognates of professionalism may be like this, the purpose of a purr word's use in power relations may be clear even where it is unclear if any other specific meaning is attached to it. Thus, it has been seen as 'a weapon to stop debate' when workers assert that they are using their professional judgment with the intention of silencing questioning of their decisions (Coulter & Orme, 2000, p. 2). In that case, its use as a defensive tool lies in advancing the primacy of the professional's power and represents a piece of advocacy for worker's competence. Often, as when politicians talk about professionals in the public services, the intention is to massage the collective psyche of workers such as teachers and nurses by conferring on them the worthy characteristics implied by 'profession'. Thus, the everyday discourse of professionalism works both to conceal and assert power-knowledge relations. In education, as will be seen later, there is a frequent political need to refer to the 'teaching profession' in attributive mode. It will be shown later how relations of power are being structured, reinforced, negotiated and amended through these language games.

Despite the perceived worthiness of professionalism, it cannot be ignored that there are deep ambiguities inherent even in the notion of the professional ideal. The ethic of service, for example, suggests the subjugation of the self to the interests of the higher ideals of the profession. But, whilst this implies dispassionate selflessness, it may also suggest detachment from the feelings of

others. A curious and disturbing use of the term arises which renders even the notion of professional service contestable. Consider this:

I heard their screams and all the noise in the background but it didn't bother me. I was a professional. (BBC, 2005)

These are the words of a former South American torturer speaking on a documentary about torture broadcast on BBC 2 television channel on Tuesday 5th April, 2005. Foucault (1991a) discusses punishment and torture in terms of technologies and disciplines and, indeed, detached professionalism is disturbing in such a context. In a less dramatic sphere, Giroux (2000) attacks the misguided idea of disinterested scholarship and clinical professionalism in education. A focus on the intricate and dry technicalities of pedagogy as science removes or makes invisible the links between education and politics, democracy and social justice. This reading of professional brings into play a difficultly with professional discipline which is rarely analysed in most discussions of professionalism and which will be explored later on in this work.

Cogan's operational mode of professionalism separates professions, from other occupations according to their occupational structure, organisation and practice. The term can plausibly be used to describe sociological enquiries into professionalism where the objective is the determination of the specificality of profession as a category of occupation distinguished from other occupational forms. Such a quest involves examining the work of professions, the nature and basis of professional status, the path to societal recognition as a profession, and the locating of professions within the social structure. Because this approach seeks to identify a methodology for drawing a dividing line between the professions and non-professions, I propose here to identify references to professionalism which attempt to invoke a certain occupational structure or form

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as employing a *divisive* linguistic mode of professionalism. This label also has the advantage of connoting Durkheim's (1933) social 'division of labour' within which both professions and non-professions occupy their particular niches.

This brief sketch and identification of three linguistic modes of professionalism - neutral, attributive and divisive - clarifies some of the strange contradictions apparent in the vernacular. I have not chosen to include a negative mode since it is notable that all the negative associations appear to be ironic inversions of positive aspects of professionalism which refer to agents' intentions or motives. This is an important point since it can be argued that, in practice, these negative modes reinforce the positivity of professionalism since they are only understood as a subversion of the everyday meaning of profession with its idealistic associations. Such an interpretation would explain the curious linguistic trick at play when we talk of the oldest profession or professional partygoers, drug-dealers and burglars. Here the word works on several levels. Whilst it no doubt refers to money-making potential and possibly finely honed skills, its black humour and ironic edge derives from the tension between the uneasy marriage of the immoral and the ideal.

As Ritzer (1971, p. 39) has noted, the notion of 'unprofessional professionals' and 'professional non-professionals' is not, in fact, contradictory at all. Using the typology outlined here, 'unprofessional' is a negative attributive describing a member of a 'profession' used in its divisive rather than its neutral mode. Conversely, somebody who is not a member of a (divisive) profession can behave in an (attributively) professional way. Antonyms are informative and it is noteworthy that the terms 'unprofessional' and 'unprofessionally' are attributive references which have achieved such a generality of meaning that the original connection with the professions is almost lost. There are few more scathing words of criticism at the workplace than these no matter what the occupation.

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We need now to explore in more detail what gave rise to a distinctive occupational type of profession in England and briefly sketch why professions have become linked with notions of status, possession of exceptional levels of skill or knowledge and with idealistic, public-spirited motivation. A good place to begin is to look at the gentlemanly professions of old.

From Status to Occupational Professions

> Politics is supposed to be the second oldest profession. I have come
>
> to realise that it bears a very close relationship to the first.
>
> (Ronald Reagan, Los Angeles, 1977)

No doubt prostitution is one of the oldest forms of paid work but it is only categorised as a profession when the term is used neutrally as a synonym for remunerated labour. Originally, in England, there were the 'four great traditional professions' the clergy, law, medicine and, since university lecturers taught these disciplines, education (Goode, 1969). The power and influence of clerics has declined significantly during the late twentieth century and the prestige, political clout and salaries of academics too have plummeted as we have witnessed 'the retreat of the wise men' (Sampson, 2004, p.193). Yet, even as recently as the turn of the twentieth century, the financial assets of the divinity schools in America were more than double that of the law and medical schools combined (Kimball, op. cit., p. 323).

Part of this shift in perceived status reflects shifts in what Kimball calls the *architectonic* depicted as the dominant ideology which serves as a reference point for cultural ideals and meaning. He identifies three architectonic phases beginning with religion which gives way to polity in the mid-nineteenth century which is itself superseded by science from 1910 onwards. The architectonic is

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reminiscent of Foucault's notion of the *episteme* interpreted by McKay (1994, pp. 52-60) as 'the condition of possibility of any given discourse in a particular period' or a set of rules that allow discourse to function at any given time in history. It will be argued later that we may be witnessing a shift away from the primacy of the model of university-based disciplinary science to a new architectonic which champions a kind of practical and instrumental knowledge which meets the needs of political economy.

Notwithstanding this, the values associated with professionalism derive less from any conception of knowledge and more from social class. Elliott (1972, p. 14) discusses the historical transition from what he terms 'status professionalism', highlighting social class status relative to other socio-economic groups, to 'occupational professionalism', a mechanism for managing the social division of labour within society and the specialised knowledge associated with it. He argues that the shifting profile of the function and membership of the professions in the English-speaking world was a response to socio-economic changes precipitated by the rise of industrialism and urbanisation during the Industrial Revolution. The gist of his argument is that, for centuries, the forebears of the modern legal and medical professions were unconcerned with specialist expertise. What typified these pre-industrial status professionals was their desire to keep their spheres of activity socially exclusive and protect their ranks from an unwelcome incursion of the lower social classes.

Portraits of the pre-industrialised legal and medical professions support the argument for status professionalism. In 1425, for example, the gubernator of Lincoln's Inn justified the expense occasioned by admission to the bar on the grounds that it ensures that 'the students are sons of persons of quality, those of inferior rank not being able to bear the expense' (quoted in Elliott, 1972, p. 30). Elliott's perspective on the embryonic professions finds support amongst other

writers. Holloway's (1964, p. 301) historical research found that pre-industrial age lawyers at the Inns of Court were 'trained to be first and foremost gentlemen'. Freidson (1986, p.22) notes that:

> High status was therefore attached to [professional] occupations, more perhaps because of the status of those who filled them than because of any deep respect for the skills and activities involved in their practice.

There seems little doubt, then, that a strong correlation existed between the pre-industrial professions and the social elite. Moreover, because the professions were composed more or less exclusively of gentlemen, the landed classes' professed values became inextricably associated with the professions in which its members practiced (Rothblatt, 1968). Over time, the professions came almost to represent an occupational symbol of the ideal of the English gentry. This 'gentlemanly' ethic involved, amongst other things, a disdain for paid labour which suggested a lack of independent means, an ethic of personal service and duty to one's country and a dislike of market competition, advertising and profit.

With the advent of industrialisation the social and economic structure changed and the professions had to adapt to meet the new political and economic climate. Not only was there a need for more practitioners but increasing public concern about the importance of the social functions of professional work meant that professions needed to justify their monopoly of these services. Being born into the gentry came to be seen as insufficient criteria for entry into the professions:

> Utilitarian pressure for reform in the structure of the professions in the first half of the nineteenth century focussed attention on their ability to perform the social functions which they claimed as theirs.

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Procedures for selection, training and recruitment were not rationally

organised to maximise professional expertise. (Elliott, op. cit., p. 44)

What was becoming more important was fitness to perform the social roles

measured in terms of expertise and publicly adjudged and signalled by education

and examination in specialist knowledge.

The professions were far from inactive in responding to the new order. Carr-

Saunders and Wilson (1933, pp.39-50) describe in detail how lawyers reacted to

this pressure. Attorneys and solicitors effectively unified as they sought status

for their work by promoting an emphasis on knowledge and regulation. 1836 and

1837 saw examinations introduced for attorneys and solicitors respectively and

these were eventually consolidated into one examination for both branches of

practitioner in 1877. The Bar did not appear concerned with formal training in

legal knowledge and this was not taught at the Inns or old universities.

Compulsory legal examinations were only introduced for barristers in 1872.

An interesting point is that the lure of the professions as an indicator of social

standing for some of the upper classes began gradually to erode. It is hugely

ironic that, as the 'professional entrepreneurs' (Larson, 1977, p. 14), early

leaders in the emerging modern professions, sought to hijack a market niche by

relying on the competence of its practitioners based on their mastery of

knowledge and technique, those of the highest social standing became alienated

from the professions. The universities, whose role it was to educate the upper

classes, sought to reassure their clientele by distancing themselves from

professional instruction. The John Hopkins University pronounced that it provided

'advanced instruction, *not professional*, to properly qualified students in various

departments of literature and science' (quoted in Veysey, 1965, p. 149, my

italics). J.S. Mill's Inaugural Address at the University of St Andrews in 1867 declaimed that:

> Universities are not intended to teach the knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of gaining their livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers, or physicians, or engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings. (quoted in Elliott, op. cit., p. 52).

Despite this, the service ideal, conferred upon the professions by association with the 'gentleman' ethic and the clergy, combined with claims to expertise and knowledge to lend respectability to the professions' activities. Ethical codes and training superintended by the professional bodies guaranteed competence and integrity. Elliott (ibid., p. 55) argues that these responses were calculated to 'hold at arms' length' the changes in the wealth, status and class structures in society. He interprets the education and recruitment practices as attempts to protect and maintain the dominant position of occupational groups already enjoying high status, power and income. Specialised knowledge became a mechanism of social selection once knowledge became important whereas, before this period, cruder criteria for achieving social closure were used.

Those who would hope that this kind of class protectionism and social inertia is a quirk of a bygone historical period will be disappointed to examine the social background of twenty-first century senior lawyers in England. Sampson (2004, pp. 183-186) reports on the social composition of the senior judiciary in 2003. Of the top judges, all were white, 98% were male, 84% went to Oxbridge and 78% had a 'full house – white, male, public school and Oxbridge'. Of the 12 law lords, who bask in the title of *lords of appeal in ordinary*, the summer of 2003 saw this all male group achieve a combined age of 819 years and an average age of 68. All but one of the English educated lords had been to a public school, all of them

had attended Oxbridge and half of their lordships had attended one of three colleges – Oxford's Balliol or Cambridge's Trinity or Trinity Hall. If the social profile of the membership of some professions appears to have hardly altered over the centuries, sociological thinking about them has, at least, helped to shed some light upon the structure of the modern profession.

Profession as an Occupational Archetype

> We trust our health to the physician; our fortune and sometimes our
> life and reputation to the lawyer and attorney. Such confidence could
> not safely be reposed in people of a very mean or low condition. Their
> reward must be such, therefore, as may give them that rank in the
> society which so important a trust requires. (Adam Smith, Wealth of
> Nations, 1998, p. 101)

Sociological approaches to the study of the professions in the first half of the twentieth century were broadly constructed within a functionalist framework and the traits approach was the most common. Its method consisted of identifying and examining what were considered to be the defining characteristics, features or elements of the traditional professions and compiling a list which was then held to define professional traits. Whether an occupation was a profession or not could then be determined according to how closely it corresponded to these conditions.

Flexner (1915) listed six attributes which he claimed were characteristic of the traditional professions: practitioners needed to be *intellectual* and *learned, altruistic* and collectively *organised* and their activities were a *practical* application of knowledge, their *techniques* taught through professional education. Millerson (1964) reviewed the literature from twenty-one different

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authors on the subject and found twenty-three different elements classified as criteria for professional status. The Monopolies Commission (1970) defined professionalism by listing attributes in its *Report on Restrictive Practices in the Supply of Professional Services* highlighting ideas of skill, service, organisation and collective responsibility. Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) sought to 'evaluate all that is characteristic of professionalism' (p.3) and found that 'the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as a result of prolonged and specialised training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions' (ibid., p. 491). For them, communities needed protection against themselves and the professions provided this bulwark against the rising power of popular sentiment.

Although even Carr-Saunders and Wilson (op. cit., p.4) concede that the drawing of boundary-lines between professional and non-professional work would be an 'arbitrary procedure', trait models implicitly accept that there are 'true' professions. In the work of virtually all writers using this approach, these true professions are usually considered to be law and medicine. Etzioni (1969), for example, defines the 'semi-professions' - nurses, teachers and social workers - by unfavourably comparing their knowledge, training, status, autonomy and rights to privileged communication with those of doctors and lawyers. Such an approach implies that to achieve professional status, an occupational group must closely resemble the model of these ancient professions. This, of course, also begs the question as to whether the definition of a profession changes in parallel with the evolution of the benchmark occupations cited, or, alternatively, it must assume that they have always organised in their current form which is blatantly not the case. Thus it neglects the historical, social and culturally specific context in which proposed traits are considered and the atheoretical nature of the approach means that they are apt to take the professions' collective proclamations about themselves on trust.

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These early descriptions, which provide a string of positive professional characteristics, might be seen to present a conceptual marriage between the divisive and attributive modes of professionalism drawing together the perceived qualities of professions which then both invokes and reflexively enhances the status which the professions have enjoyed. So, for Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 'the service which [professions] render ... is not sufficiently appreciated. It is largely due to them and to other similar centres of resistance that the older civilizations stand firm ... the great professions stand like rocks against which the waves raised by these forces [public opinion] beat in vain' (ibid., p. 497). For Marshall (quoted in Johnson, 1972, p. 14) professions 'find for the sick and suffering democracies a peaceful solution to their problems' whilst Lewis and Maude (1952, p. 47) attest that governmental bureaucracies pose a major threat to the 'proper' functioning of the professions which allow men a measure of 'freedom, dignity and responsibility'.

More theoretical functionalist analyses, which examine professions with reference to their roles and functional relevance within the social, economic and political structure, also portray a rather deferential picture of the professions. For Tawney (1921), professionalism promised to tame subversive individualism subjugating it to the needs of the community. The professions operate as an antidote to the self-interest he perceives to be the primary motivation of capitalists and their profit-seeking operations. Durkheim (1933, p. 40) discusses the 'apportionment of functions'. He considers the occupational groups forming the professions as analogous to a family or the medieval craft guilds. Like Tawney, the occupational structure of the professions ensures that valuable social functions involving the application of knowledge are exercised in the interest of the whole community for the benefit of society. Parsons (1966, p. 54-55) argued that professions are distinguished by collective rather than individualistic action claiming that they

were 'universalistic in behaviour criteria' and 'functionally specific in their authority'. Whilst they exercise power, the social guarantee provided by collective professional control reassures clients that they can enter into a mutually beneficial relationship of trust with practitioners.

Larson acknowledges the concord which this strain of academic sociology seemed to have reached on the question of professions by the 1970s:

> In most cases, social scientists provide an unequivocal answer: professions are occupations with special power and prestige. Society grants these rewards because professions have special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system, and because professions are devoted to the service of the public, above and beyond material incentives. (Larson, 1977, p. x)

Larson notes that there is agreement on three dimensions which distinguish professionalism: a cognitive arena centres on knowledge and training; the normative aspect covers the service ethic and self-regulation; an evaluative dimension implicitly compares professions to other occupations in terms of the former's greater autonomy, status and privilege. She attacks this for lack of empirical evidence. So, for example, although professions are usually described as having highly specialised theoretical knowledge necessitating extensive and prolonged training, it is never made clear how to measure its complexity or determine an adequate duration of training. Likewise, the service ethic associated with professions and the altruism claimed for individual professionals has never been put to the test. Finally, whilst professions generally seem to enjoy high status, it is far from clear that this results from the public perception

of the cognitive and normative aspects of professionalism rather than from the high income and upper-middle class status many professionals enjoy.

In concentrating on the social role of the professions, functionalist perspectives offer insight into the nature of professional groupings and the control of specialised functions within social systems in addition to signalling some key characteristics of professional organisational form and structure. However, they often appear to take at face value the ideologies and rationales articulated by the professional bodies and fail to question whether those social needs are real or whether they are actually met by professional practice. Given that the professional 'families' monopolise a body of expert knowledge and its application to specialist tasks, there are problems of power and control associated with them which are not fully addressed within a functionalist framework.

Professions as Power Projects

> The doctor gets you when you're born,
>
> The preacher, when you marry,
>
> And the lawyer lurks with costly clerks
>
> If too much on you carry.
>
> Professional men, they have no cares;
>
> Whatever happens, they get theirs.
>
> (Ogden Nash, 1935)

> All professions are conspiracies against the laity.
>
> (George Bernard Shaw, 1906)

The poet and the playwright foreshadowed social theory by several decades until the 1970s heralded a renaissance in thinking about professionalism. If

functionalist approaches had concentrated on the benefits of professionalism to society at large, the structuralist approaches of the last four decades have examined its benefits for professionals themselves and summarised professionalism as a method of monopolising an important sphere of work within the social division of labour (MacDonald, 1995).

Illich (1977, p. 16) paints professions and professional bodies as a species of super trade union claiming 'special, incommunicable authority to determine not just the way things are to be made, but also the reason why their services are mandatory'. Larkin (1983, p. 15) argues that professions are engaged in a form of 'occupational imperialism' which describes 'attempts by a number of occupations to mould the division of labour to their own advantage'.

Collins (1975, p. 340) sees professions as having an 'ideological cover...in the form of an ideal of skill, impartiality, and altruism surrounding the exercise of their practice'. A key point concerns the nature of professional services designed to address the problems that clients face. These are, argues Collins, 'not independent of the existence of the group of practitioners who in effect create the problems, or at any rate, perpetuate or exacerbate them in order to maintain the demand for their services' (ibid., p.345). Collins cites lawyers as a good example of how success depends on the extent to which laymen need their services which, in turn, depends on the politics of governmental structure. In a system in which lawyers mediate relationships between government and citizens through the legal system, the profession enjoys huge power, political clout, influence and status.

In similar vein, Zola bemoans the medicalization of society as medics seek to expand their markets. He doubts that this expansion is justified claiming that the 'medical profession has first claim to jurisdiction over the label of illness and

anything to which it may be attached, irrespective of its capacity to deal with it effectively' (Zola, 1977, p. 52). For similar reasons, Kennedy (1981, p.2) claims that 'medical practice is above all a political enterprise'. Witz's (1992) feminist perspective details how professions use legalistic and credentialising tactics to obtain social closure based on class and gender and grounded in patriarchy and capitalism whilst Hearn (1982, p. 62) observes that 'full professionalization indicates full patriarchal domination.'

Whilst it might well be the case that professional power serves its members' financial and occupational interests, a more illuminating line of investigation is to consider how professional organisation and structure is legitimated. Johnson (1972) claims that common organisational forms have arisen which are geared towards the establishment, protection and expansion of a monopoly on provision of particular services in the market. These promote homogeneity of outlook and background and equal status amongst practitioners which is achieved through a uni-portal entry system, the subordination of specialisms to the authority of general common practice, and a community language which increases internal identification whilst excluding lay persons. It is crucial that the professional body exercises real and significant control over the occupation and it 'is important to point out that the mere existence of an association or union is not in itself an indication of professionalism' (ibid., p. 54). Johnson makes the interesting point that multi-portal entry to the professions and a multiplicity of training routes and recognised courses leads to deprofessionalization since these militate against shared experience, identity and socialisation.

How have these common organisational forms arisen? Some, such as Vollmer and Mills (1966), have examined how occupations come to achieve professional status by studying the process of professionalization. The reference work in this field remains Larson's (1977) seminal work *The Rise of Professionalism.* For her,

professionalization is 'the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute and control a market for their expertise' and is a 'collective assertion of special social status ' (ibid., p. xvi).

Professions are, for Larson, situated in the upper middle levels of the stratification system and they work in a privileged labour market which is structurally different from that of the less qualified working class. The first stage of professionalization is to organise a stable professional market which requires building a monopolistic base in the social division of labour for which state endorsement is essential. The second process that professions are engaged in is a 'collective mobility project' (ibid., p.66). Larson offers these as parallel readings of the same empirical facts in that the mechanisms employed for the construction of a professional market also serve to increase social status.

Professional power, for Larson, comes when the production of knowledge and producers is unified into the same structure. The link between research, knowledge creation and training gives professionals the means to control their cognitive base. To achieve a monopoly of practice, professions also need what Larson calls 'social credit' (ibid., p. 15) since professionalization projects are easier when the members of the profession already carry considerable political muscle and social cache as in the case of the gentlemen and aristocrats of Elliott's status professionals. 'The attitude of the state toward education and toward monopolies of competence is thus a crucial variable in the development of the professional project' (ibid., p. 15) and persuading the state and gaining public acceptance of the need and competence of the profession is a highly ideological, sustained and substantial task.

This focus on the relationship between public perception, power and knowledge is crucial for professions and is mirrored in the work of other major writers on

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the professions. Key to Abbott's (1988) approach is understanding that individual professions together constitute a system of professions struggling for jurisdictional control of a labour market hole identifiable by its potential for dependence on and its exploitation of expert knowledge. He describes how jurisdictional claims are made when a profession 'asks society to recognize its cognitive structure through exclusive rights' (ibid., p.59). Such claims need to be advocated before audiences in three distinctive legitimating arenas - public opinion, the law and the workplace. The critical arena of public opinion is used to rally support for jurisdictional claims. Public opinion is vital since it brings pressure to bear on the political-legal audience who have the power to confer professional control. The legal arena (the political legislative, the administrative executive and the judiciary) confers formal control, usually devolved to a professional body, which includes monopoly of activity, control over training and practice and even language such as the right to use titles. Claims to professional status are essentially claims to control an area of work and the persuasiveness of a group's knowledge system is crucial to such claims.

The politics of professional jurisdictions are played out in the labour market and workplace where they are established, confirmed and challenged. It is at work where jurisdictional disputes often originate, ferment and are ultimately resolved. Indeed, for Leicht and Fennell (2001, p. 29) professional knowledge is best studied by examining 'boundary disputes over organisational task domains'. Where most practitioners are directly employed in institutions which employ significant numbers of other staff, the organisational and economic imperatives of the institution often take precedence over strict demarcations of professionals' jurisdictional areas. In large organisations such as state bureaucracies, professional jurisdictions can therefore become fuzzy ultimately resulting in a subordinate taking so much work from a superordinate profession that established jurisdictions become vulnerable. Legitimation in the workplace arena

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is becoming increasingly important. Here, straddling professional and non-professional work are specialist workers variously called 'para-professions', 'semi-professions' (Etzioni, 1969), 'subordinate professions' (Abbott, 1988) and 'minor professions' (Glaser, 1964). These workers are engaged in an area of work captured within a discourse or knowledge system but a dominant profession often controls the broad domain of the occupation as with, say, doctors and nurses. As will be suggested later, recent education policy on workforce remodelling in England has a particular relevance with regard to workplace legitimation.

Freidson's *Profession of Medicine* (1970a) was the first piece of research which offered a perspective on medical doctors as wielders of power rather than servants of the social good. But whilst professions are an exercise in occupational domination (Freidson, 1970b), Freidson acknowledges that a danger inherent in the power, or monopoly, approach is that it seeks to substitute functionalisms' exploration of the defining traits of professionalism with just one feature, power. Freidson's own version of the power theory of the professions originally opposed professionalism to the administrative principle of Weberian legal-rational bureaucracy as an alternative means of organising and controlling a social division of labour. He argued that the increasing professionalization in the twentieth century posed a 'serious challenge to the pre-eminence of managerial and bureaucratic authority' (Freidson, 1971, p. 2).

Thirty years later, in *Professionalism: The Third Logic,* Freidson (2001) argues for a reassertion of professionalism as an ideal type of occupational control offering a third logic distinctive from the organisational techniques of Adam Smith's free market and Weber's legal-rational bureaucracy. His ideal-typical professionalism is summarised as follows:

Professionalism may be said to exist when an organised occupation gains the power to determine who is qualified to perform a defined set of tasks, to prevent all others from performing that work, and to control the criteria by which to evaluate performance. In the case of professionalism, neither individual buyers of labour in the market nor the managers of bureaucratic firms have the right to themselves choose workers to perform particular tasks or evaluate their work except within the limits specified by the occupation. The organised occupation creates the circumstances under which its members are free of control by those who employ them. (Freidson, 2001, p.12)

Professionalism is thus cast in direct opposition to the logic of competition in a free market. In common with other writers discussed above, Freidson accepts that monopoly, in the form of occupying a labour market shelter, is essential for professionalism and that, in market capitalist society, special reasons must be adduced in support of such claims. This ideology of professionalism, then, invokes the notion of service to the professional ideal which stands opposed to both the service of the consumer in the market and the line manager implementing the rule book of the bureaucratic institution. For Freidson, professionalism is

attachment to a transcendental value that gives it meaning and justifies its independence. By virtue of that independence members of the profession claim the right to judge the demands of employers or patrons and the laws of the state, and to criticize or refuse to obey them. That refusal is based not on personal grounds of individual conscience or desire but on the *professional* grounds that the basic value or purpose of a discipline is being perverted. (ibid., p. 221)

Tied inextricably to the concept of the professional ideal is the notion of knowledge and expertise and professions must rely therefore on claims to special esoteric knowledge, 'formal knowledge' (Freidson, 1986) which guarantee the competence of their members to sell a particular service. It is in virtue of their unique possession of this knowledge that they need to be autonomous to the extent that they need to control their training, work and members. Similarly, the freedom of judgment and discretion at work which is intrinsic to ideal-typical professionalism contradicts the bureaucratic notion that efficiency is gained by minimising discretion through procedural rulebooks.

An advantage of Freidson's ideal-typical model is that it sidelines what we might regard as ultimately contingent questions. So, whilst it seems that some degree of monopolistic control over work is a necessary feature of professionalism, discussions about whether this is motivated by a Nietzschean will to power or a high-minded ideal of selfless service on the collective part of professions and the individuals within it is, in one sense, a red herring. Freidson's account of a professional ideal-type, whose logic is predicated upon service to Kimball's professional ideal, facilitates an analysis of any particular profession which examines the logic of its organisational structure rather than concentrating on the more practical, and sometimes distracting, question as to whether any particular model is more beneficial for practitioners or their clients. It means too that concern about clients' interests and welfare is not grounds, in itself, to claim professionalism (other than in an attributive sense) any more than failed professional diagnoses and treatments necessarily constitute a lack of professionalism.

Professions as Mediators of Formal Knowledge

It is wonderful, when a calculation is made, how little the mind is actually employed in the discharge of any profession. (Dr. Johnson, 1775)

Both functionalist and structuralist accounts of the professions agree that professional power and control is predicated on a profession's claims to expertise and competence. Moreover, such claims are founded upon the strength, or perceived strength, of a profession's knowledge base. We need now to consider two questions relating to this. What kind of knowledge is this and how is it related to practice?

The most routine unskilled work requires at least some degree of knowledge even though this is often merely an extension of everyday knowledge. Then there are what have traditionally been termed skilled manual workers - plumbers, electricians, welders, builders, tailors, chefs – who require specialized knowledge to perform activities on a regular basis that others do not. But these tradesmen are not ordinarily described as professions and nor are they described as being engaged in professional work. So, what, if anything, is different about the knowledge from which professionals derive their power? How is it different from common, everyday knowledge and how is it distinguishable from the specialist knowledge of the skilled worker?

It has already been shown how the old professions were associated with the universities and that their prestige adjusted in synergy with the prevailing architectonic. It is this specialist knowledge, created and codified in universities, which elevates the claims of professionals above those of the craftsman. So Larson's (1977, p. 40) professionals, for example, are trained in 'a body of

relatively abstract knowledge, susceptible of practical application'. Abbott (1988, p. 8) writes that control over professional jurisdictions relies on 'an abstract system of knowledge and control of the occupation lies in control of the abstractions that generate the practical techniques'. Bell (1999, p. 374) observes that a 'profession is a learned (i.e., scholarly) activity, and thus involves formal training, but with a broad intellectual context'. It is the formal nature of the knowledge and training which is crucial in understanding how knowledge is used to achieve professional power and monopoly. Freidson (1986) develops this into what he calls 'formal knowledge' which is distinguished from other specialised knowledge by its emphasis on formalisation, codification and rationalization into theories and abstractions to the extent that such formalisation becomes almost a defining feature of it. This type of knowledge distinguishes the knowledge base of professionals from non-professional skilled workers since there is little or no theoretical background to the latter's knowledge at work beyond its application.

Two further important points must be added to this characterization of professional knowledge. First, the codification of a formal knowledge base in any particular field generally brings with it the creation of a discipline which is paradigmatic in broadly Kuhnian terms. Indeed, Larson's (op. cit., p.42) analysis argues this point explicitly. Kuhn (1970) contended that established disciplines in natural science needed a model, a set of assumptions or a prevailing theory within which to work, which he called a paradigm defined as 'universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners' (ibid., p.viii). The task of the researcher is to explore, test and extend knowledge under the umbrella of the dominant paradigm whilst practitioners are committed to the same rules and do not usually have fundamental disputes over first principles.

Without a paradigm, a field of enquiry is often unable to establish itself on anything more than a precarious basis in universities and is often not taken as a serious area of knowledge and enquiry by researcher-practitioners in other disciplines. A pre-paradigmatic discipline and its researcher-practitioners enjoy less status amongst their academic peers in other areas and amongst the public at large. There might be difficulties achieving funding for activity. Where the discipline is connected to an area of social need, it may not be easy to gain acceptance or serious involvement in policy development. If professional power and status is dependent on paradigmatic knowledge in a way analogous to that of established science, then, it may prove useful to examine to what extent any given profession can be said to rely upon an established paradigmatic discipline.

Second, formal knowledge has traditionally been created, developed, codified and taught in universities or places of higher education. In Bledstein's (1985, p. 4) exploration of professions as 'expressions of cultural realities', for example, modern universities are a critical cultural conduit through which the aspiring meritocrats of the middle classes can challenge the gentility for control over and entry into professional work. A uni-portal entry system, as Johnson noted, also helps facilitate the socialisation process of trainees as they are inculcated into the disciplinary ideals of the profession.

A useful perspective which connects knowledge and the socialisation process to notions of professional service and dedication is Beck and Young's (2005) interpretation of Bernstein's work. Bernstein was concerned with knowledge relations and the strength of the boundaries between different fields of knowledge. The stronger the discipline, he argued, the stronger identification with and inner dedication towards it. Singulars, in particular, are areas of academic knowledge which produce inner dedication and subject loyalty. They are disciplines

'....whose creators have appropriated a space to give themselves a unique name, a specialised discrete discourse with its own intellectual field of text, practices, rules of entry, examinations and licence to practice.'

(Bernstein, 2000, p.52).

Bernstein sees the professions as originating in these singulars which give rise to the notion of professional commitment to the ideals of an established discipline which becomes the 'lynchpin of [professional] identity' (Bernstein, 1975, p. 56). There are two other Bersteinian modes, *regionalised* and *generic* knowledge. The former is action-led driven to meeting the needs of external fields of practice whilst generic education amounts to training in what might be seen as the skills of the day, currently labelled transferable or core skills and such like. Professional training which concentrates on these modes ignores singulars, and, by extension, fails to inculcate the disciplinary ideals of the profession. It produces, it will be argued, an insecure workforce with a diluted and diffuse sense of professional idealism and identity.

A characterisation of professional knowledge bases which includes codified disciplinary formality and abstraction will be relied upon later in the thesis and so there are two objections that must be addressed. The first objection, which has been touched upon already, comes from structuralists keen to unmask professional projects as self-interested protectionism. For them, professionals' claims to highly specialized knowledge, often turning out at a later date to be plain wrong in the case of the science-based professions, are a species of sophisticated excuse to justify monopolistic control of work. One strategy for supporting this alibi for power is mystification where professions create an almost mystical aura around their specialist knowledge (Corfield, 1995) which bolsters an image of a uniquely knowledgeable and clever occupational

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collective. This enhances its prestige and status and helps rally public support in its quest for legitimation and state protection.

For all the power of these arguments, it is difficult to disagree with Bledstein (op. cit., p. 5) who laments that many structuralist theorists of the professions appear uninterested in 'the content itself of professional training rather than the form or the structure, or as if no one should be persuaded of the validity of professional services'. Certainly, little attention is given in the sociological literature to the content of professional knowledge. Moreover, however much their knowledge claims may serve the interests of professional power, few, one would imagine, would wish to seek the services of an untrained doctor or be defended in court by an advocate thoroughly untutored in law.

There is a weaker version of this structuralist critique which is more convincing. This is to argue, as Abbott (op. cit., p.53-54) does, that, since 'the ability of a profession to sustain its jurisdictions lies partly in the power and prestige of its academic knowledge....the true use of academic professional knowledge is less practical than symbolic'. This is a more plausible perspective which concedes that parts of the formal knowledge system may no longer be needed by all practitioners at work but accepts that such knowledge has, at least at some point in time, contributed towards the disciplinary endeavour. This does not of itself invalidate the usefulness of the knowledge or of the profession's claim to it.

A second objection to Freidson' stance on formal knowledge comes from a rather different standpoint though it is not necessarily incompatible with either the weak or strong version of the objection outlined above. Also, it leads to the second question regarding the relationship of knowledge to practice. This argument holds that professional knowledge, understood as the knowledge which professionals use at work, is different from the academic knowledge which

trainee professionals learn at university. Two important writers here are Schön and Eraut.

Schön (1984) challenges the archetypical view of professional work as a technical rational activity which involves applying scientific knowledge and technique to the problems of human affairs as not only bogus but damaging to practice. This quotation usefully summarises his critique:

> 'Many practitioners, locked into a view of themselves as technical experts, find nothing in the world of practice to occasion reflection. They have become too skilful after techniques of selective inattention, junk categories, and situational control...' (Schön, 1984, p. 69)

Training in a formalized theoretical knowledge system ignores the changing nature of knowledge and the complexity, indeterminacy, instability and uncertainty inherent in professional tasks. Schön borrows Polanyi's (1967, p. 4) 'tacit knowing' and Ryle's (1963, p. 26) distinction between 'knowing how' and 'knowing that' in support of his general claim that professional action is not an application of knowledge in which the ends and means are separate. Rather, knowledge is inherent in action and training and preparation for professional life should recognise this and aim to develop 'reflective practitioners' (Schön, op. cit.) rather than mere technicists applying abstract theory. Professional training based only upon abstract theory lacks this reflective element and Schön argues for the need to:

> develop an epistemology of practice which places technical problem solving within a broader context of reflective inquiry, show how reflection-in-action may be rigorous in its own right, and links the art

of practice in uncertainty and uniqueness to the scientist's art of research. (ibid., p. 69)

Eraut (1994) adopts a similar approach claiming that a concentration on academic theory obscures the nature of professional knowledge and that emphasis on this kind of knowledge has lead to an unnecessary and damaging split between education prior to qualification and education as continuing professional development. He notes that academic, or propositional knowledge, is characterised by publication, codification, a specialised language, theory rooted in disciplinary knowledge, citation of others and an established authority structure. But for Eraut, professional knowledge is a practical wisdom concerned with competence and expertise which is action-directed. Thus, there is a tension between the perspectives of the universities and practising professionals. Conceptions of professional knowledge must, he argues, include academic or propositional knowledge but broaden out to include procedural knowledge, practical knowledge, tacit knowledge, skills and know-how.

Whilst seeming to object to the primacy of formal knowledge for professionals, the ideas of Schön and Eraut can, in fact, be reconciled with the perspective Freidson and others offer. Structuralism is, of course, less interested in the content of the knowledge than its function in supporting professional power. From this angle, then, the knowledge that professionals actually use in the field is not the focus of their enquiries. Schön and Eraut, on the other hand, are advancing arguments directed at improving professional training and knowledge and, in the process, need to challenge the myth of the overriding importance of academic knowledge. Yet this does not necessarily alter what is the public perception of professional knowledge or what many professionals and their university-based colleagues believe to be the prerequisite knowledge base for practice. Indeed, the necessity to critique what they take to be the received

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wisdom itself acknowledges its prevailing dominance. Professions are nothing if not social projects and, to that extent, perception is as important as the actuality.

Eraut does recognise that professions' ties to academic knowledge and universities perform this broader social role noting that professions 'increasingly need university validation to confirm the status, worth, and complexity of their knowledge base' even if they 'lose a significant degree of control over the part of the professional preparation process' (Eraut , 1994, p. 8). This is a point which will be developed in the next chapter. Eraut acknowledges too that exclusive, inaccessible knowledge creates greater power and status. The perception of professional knowledge is crucial for its public image and thus it is presented as being unique to the profession, having an 'aura of certainty' (ibid., p. 14) and being sufficiently developed to justify extensive training. It also has a social function, especially insofar as it inculcates trainees into a set of disciplinary-based professional ideals.

This discussion concludes by noting that there are two broad ways of looking at knowledge and the professions. The first concerns the social functions of knowledge in legitimating professional power and status. From this perspective, what matters is whether the legitimating audiences of public opinion and political representatives in the legal arena, accept that a profession's formal knowledge is complex, high order and a necessary precursor for practitioner qualification. The more difficult it is to master this knowledge and the greater its paradigmatic coherence, the higher the status of the profession. Where a profession controls its knowledge-base, it controls the discourse and, through this, exercises power. Disciplines and discourse are exclusionary and are thus inseparable from the exercise of power. So, formal knowledge acquires status through its association with the university which, because it is theoretical in nature, marginalises

practitioner knowledge and asserts itself above general professional know-how, and those associated occupations whose knowledge is not acquired in universities.

The second way to consider knowledge is from the practical perspective which is concerned with exploring the knowledge professionals actually need and use at work. Here, as Schön and Eraut demonstrate, formal knowledge is not dismissed as irrelevant but its pre-eminence in professional preparation and practice is questioned. It is, these writers argue, but part of a whole range of knowledge upon which professional practitioners draw. If the mystification of professional knowledge is a tactic to increase power and status, then there is a concomitant danger here if professional knowledge comes to be disassociated from formal disciplinary knowledge. Eraut is aware of this and makes the interesting point, seeming to echo Bernstein, that 'user-derived standards threaten [professional] hegemony' (p. 15). In other words, professional power and status is diminished if professional training and knowledge comes to be based on something other than the disciplinary knowledge under the professions' control. He seems to be saying that to lose the connection with academic knowledge is ultimately to cede professional power. Better then, for professional status, to share disciplinary control with academics than demystify knowledge by opening it up to public debate and allowing non-professionals to influence professional training.

Throughout this thesis, *disciplinary knowledge* will be used to denote the academic formal, paradigmatic knowledge which underwrites a profession's competence to occupy a professional jurisdiction. The term *professional knowledge* will be used to denote all the knowledge, including disciplinary knowledge, necessary for professional practice.

Two Challenges to Professionalism

Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to highlight two potential threats to professional organisational forms. These are shifting perceptions of university-based academic knowledge and managerialism which together might be seen to represent an emerging rejection of professionalism as a way of delivering public services. Allied with these developments is an increasing commercialization of public services. Since they are elaborated on at length with special reference to education in later chapters, they are sketched here only in general outline.

a) Shifting Perceptions of Professional Knowledge

A final observation on knowledge concerns shifts in institutional ownership and production of knowledge and the kind of knowledge that is being produced in postmodern society. Gibbons at al (1994) distinguish between two modes of knowledge. Mode 1 knowledge, which equates to formal knowledge, describes traditional disciplinary knowledge usually generated within an academic environment and context. Mode 2, which they claim is coming to predominate, is non-academic knowledge generated in broader, interdisciplinary social and economic contexts based on an action-directed approach to specific problems. They claim that there are multiple sites of knowledge production and universities no longer enjoy the powerful function of accrediting valid knowledge. This new mode of knowledge creation is more socially accountable and, in science and technology, forces knowledge producers to consider the implications of their work, and commercial factors such as market competitiveness and cost-effectiveness.

Gibbons et al. may well be correct that universities and academics are losing control of knowledge production and it may be that this makes them more

responsive to external factors. This ought not, however, to be considered an unmitigated good since those external factors operate within a context which is neither value-neutral nor free from agendas of power. This recent interpretation of the social context of knowledge creation can also be read as the commercialization of knowledge and education. This has been documented in US higher education by Slaughter & Rhoades (2004) who describe a transition in universities from a tradition where knowledge production and transfer was considered a public good performed in the name of civic society to 'academic capitalism' characterised by its acceptance of knowledge privatisation and profit. Academic capitalism often ranks the claims of institutions and corporate partners to own and profit from knowledge before those of the public. Bok (2003, p. 54) claims that the commercial mindset predominating in many areas of university life has 'compromised the fundamental purpose of academic institutions'. Commercial considerations relating to the sponsorship of athletics, funding of research and the development of computer-based courses distorts the true purpose and mission of US universities which ought to be concerned with attaining the highest levels of teaching, learning and research. Corporate involvement in biomedical research has, for Krimsky (2003), led to an erosion of ethical standards and the loss of public confidence in science caused by favourable findings supporting companies who have sponsored research and the publication of research in which corporate financial backing has not been openly acknowledged.

In addition to the pressures of commercialization, political imperatives to improve public services have led to the questioning of professional knowledge and monopoly. Reich (1992, p. 209), influential in Bill Clinton's White House administration, thinks that professionals, with formalised knowledge and qualifications, will decline in importance to be replaced by those he identifies as providing 'symbolic-analytic services' which involve the oversight of creative

problem-solving and brokering between different specialists. What is needed for the twenty first century is creativity, flexibility and willingness to break down outdated notions of disciplinary isolation and professional monopoly. As with Gibbons et al., it is not clear, however, from where these specialists derive their knowledge nor where it is created. Indeed, there is surely a danger that a focus on commercially valuable knowledge may well lead to the neglect of pure research without any direct commercial application such that the theoretical boundaries of disciplinary endeavour cease to be extended.

In the UK, Leadbeater & Miller (2004, p. 16) have written about the benefit of professional amateurs, 'pro-ams', now that new technological networks have opened up knowledge which is 'widely distributed, not controlled in a few ivory towers'. They call for organisations with responsibility for learning and training public servants to look for ways to develop pro-am capacity within welfare and state services asserting that 'negotiating with professionals to loosen their grip on knowledge, accreditation and job descriptions will be vital to long-term reform to public services' (ibid., p. 59). Their view of professional knowledge, however, is rather confusing since they accept also that professionals are distinguished by their understanding of 'the theory behind good practice, while Pro-Ams have strong know-how and technique' (ibid., p. 22). They seem, then, to object to the extent of professional dominance rather than to dispute professionals' knowledge. Leadbeater and Miller's prescriptions only make sense when interpreted using Abbott's system of the professions theory where they might be said to be asking that the profession delegates more techniques derived from its disciplinary knowledge to pro-ams, deployed as subordinate professionals.

b) Managerialism and Commercialization

Since the 1980s, Western governments have sought to reform public services by fixing overarching strategic goals. Neave's (1988) early description of this development, which he terms 'the Evaluative State', provides a useful summary of this:

> The Evaluative State is then a rationalisation and wholesale redistribution of functions between centre and periphery such that the centre maintains overall strategic control through fewer, but more precise, policy levers, and contained in overall 'mission statements', the setting of system goals and the operationalisation of criteria relating to 'output quality'.
>
> (Neave, 1988, p. 11)

The idea of the evaluative state describes the same shifts in state intervention in the public sector as what is variously referred to as the 'new public management' (Hood, 1991), 'the managerial state' (Clarke & Newman, 1997) or 'new managerialism' (Exworthy & Halford, 1999). 'Managerialism' (Pollitt, 1993), which I will use as shorthand, is characterised by the application to public services of business management tools and techniques which has, in turn, been categorised as a form of commercialization (Wilkinson, 2007a). It entails a focus on outputs, the fragmentation of monolithic structures, the introduction of internal competition or internal markets, devolved resource management, and the deployment of 'professional' managers - individuals supposedly possessed of 'management' skills who are not necessarily specialists in the area of expertise they control.

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Managerialism makes three suppositions: that public services are failing; that failure is the fault of public service providers and the professionals who control them rather than a lack of investment; and that the methods of the business world must be introduced to put things right. This quotation from *Reinventing Government*, reputably Bill Clinton's bible of local government reform, gives a flavour of this thinking:

> In the 1980s, it suddenly dawned on business and government leaders that our economy would suffer unless we improved our schools, upgraded our training systems, and got control of our health care costs. To do such things, however, we not only have to restructure institutions and markets, we have to force change on some of the most powerful interest groups in the country – teachers, principals, unions, doctors, hospitals.'
>
> (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, p. 33)

It is difficult to read here anything other than an antipathy to professions and professionalism. Managerialism is, then, in many respects, an attempt to simultaneously marketize and control the work of public sector professionals. On the one hand, there is an attempt to give managers the 'right to manage' (Pollitt, 1993, p. 3) within competitive public service markets whilst, on the other hand, a barrage of centrally determined policy instruments constrain the exercising of professional prescription and discretion.

A much-derided characteristic of this approach in UK public services has been the introduction of targets and performance indicators creating what Power (1997) calls the 'audit society'. The audit society describes a management culture in which drives for improved productivity lead to an obsession with quantification through auditing procedures. When this happens the 'efficiency

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and effectiveness of organisations is not so much verified as constructed around the audit process itself' (ibid., p. 135). Workplace objectives become centred on meeting the audit process and many new tasks and duties arise solely concerned with audit compliance. This concern with numbers, quantification and auditing was anticipated by Rose (1989; 1992, p. 143) who speaks of techniques for 'governing the soul' as an extension of Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1991b, p. 87; McKay, 1994, p. 85). Auditing is, in essence, a technique for accountability and surveillance and, since self-governance through ethical codes and professional bodies is a key feature of professionalism, such policies tend against the spirit of professionalism.

Criticism of this policy approach, which seems to pervade the entire public sector, is not confined to academics. Onora O'Neill, talking about the heath service, explained how auditing procedures not only warped public service missions but, in the process, harmed public servants who work within it:

'The new accountability is widely experienced not just as changing, but I think as distorting, the proper aims of professional practice, and indeed as damaging professional pride and integrity.' (O'Neill, 2002)

In similar vein, General Sir Mike Jackson, used his *Richard Dimbleby Lecture* to criticise the introduction of business techniques in the armed forces:

The Department of State appears to assume that commercial so-called 'best practice', with its proliferation of performance indicators and targets, transfers seemingly without question to defence in general, and to the Armed Forces in particular; I find such an assumption to be without foundation. (Jackson, 2006)

In education, the distorting effects of this auditing culture both at institutional and individual level have been labelled 'performativity' (Ball, 2003, 2004) used to describe the contradictions which arise when an excessive or exclusive focus on measurable performance leads to the marginalisation of meaningful engagement with professional beliefs and values. Wenger who developed the notion of 'communities of practice', describes reification as 'the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness' (Wenger,1998, p.7). Implicit in the idea of performativity is the reification of government policy instruments resulting in a simplification of the educational project and a distortion of the national educational mission. We see, as Bottery notes, a 'perversion of the true objectives of the organisation, as attention is focused on external demands and not on internal needs' (Bottery, 2003, p.203).

The focus on managerially defined aims and outcomes is logically opposed to professionalism which serves its own disciplinary ideals whilst individual professionals become subordinated to financial constraints or the imperatives of organisational performance. Managerialism also encourages a switch in allegiance to corporate identity rather than with wider professional attachments. For Clarke and Newman (op. cit., pp. 32-33) the realignment of managerialism and bureau-professionalism in public services is 'structurally unstable, built around forms of relationship that institutionalise new sites of resistance, contestation and contradiction'.

Alongside managerialist policies, public services in England have been increasingly subject to privatisation eroding the distinction between what Crouch calls 'citizenship services' and 'market services'. This privatising aspect of the commercialization agenda in education, mirroring US policy, has involved the tendering out of educational services and the privatization of school governance

(Wilkinson, 2007b). The White Paper, *Higher Standards, Better Schools For All: More choice for parents and* pupils (DfES, 2005a, p.4) and subsequent *Education and Inspections Act, 2006*, provided a blueprint for 'a system of independent non-fee paying state schools' in which school governance is devolved to groups of parents or, and this is more likely, to religious groups, charities and businessmen. For Crouch (2003, p. 17), this kind of policy instrument represents 'a redefinition of the boundary between the government and private interests as a semi-permeable one'.

The rhetoric accompanying the introduction of such policies is a persuasive discourse of choice, user power, markets, diversity and self-reliance contrasted against an old-fashioned uniform producer-dominated monopoly. There is an assumption that 'external partners', with their enterprising spirit of innovation, will be the most effective change agents to spearhead the revitalization of public services. Unsurprisingly, it portrays those opposing reforms as conservative change-resisters protecting vested interests. Indeed, Prime Minister Blair publicly declaimed to a meeting of venture capitalists that he bore 'scars on [his] back' from trying to introduce more 'entrepreneurship' into the public services (Rawnsley, 2001, p. 300). Ball (2007) sees this as part of 'the process of building support for state projects and establishing hegemonic visions' by creating a prevailing discourse which is largely antagonistic to the public services. It certainly seems to support the views of Tomlinson (2001, 2005) who argues that the UK has moved to a post-welfare society in which the state now views education as a tool in the global competition for economic survival and dominance rather than a pillar of the welfare state. Such a reading also seems to be supported by Bobbitt (2002), who describes a transition in modern societies from nation-states to market-states in which the role of the government and its institutions is to maximize market opportunities for citizens, and Jessop (2002, p. 96) who writes of a shift away from a Keynesian-based welfare state to a

Schumpeterian competition, or workfare, state in which the government's focus is on developing growth and securing 'competitive advantages for capitals based within its borders'.

These managerial and commercializing policies, operating in tandem with a change in perceptions of professional and academic knowledge, have and will continue to exert a profound effect on the nature of public service professionalism. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will flesh out in more detail the challenges these policies pose for professionalism in education in England.

Conclusion and Outlook

This chapter has looked so far at three broad themes; semantic problems associated with professionalism, problems of professional power and organisation and problems of professional knowledge. It has been seen too that recent politically-driven policy perspectives have been moving against professional or bureau-professional models in public services towards organisational forms which, in many respects, resemble a commercial model. Before proceeding, then, it is useful to consolidate some broad conclusions and signal some ways in which these will inform subsequent discussion.

Of the language of professionalism, it was argued that profession and its cognates usually operate in one of three modes. An *attributive* mode (used both positively and negatively) ascribes attitudinal or behavioural attributes to workers and their work whilst a *divisive* mode refers to a way of organising and controlling work and workers within the social division of labour. There is a third *neutral* mode, less commonly used, which usually acts as a synonym for 'job' or denotes paid workers in contradistinction to their amateur colleagues. These different linguistic modes of professionalism should not be considered discrete

categories as one will often suggest another but it is usually clear from context which is being invoked. When examining these terms, then, the analyst is concerned with the intention of the speaker and how the language works within any given context since discourse has meaning and acts as a tool of power only in virtue of being a function of human agency and circumstance. The use of profession and its cognates within the text of this thesis should ordinarily be understood in divisive mode unless otherwise stated.

The separation of problems of professional power from problems of professional knowledge is somewhat artificial but, nevertheless, helpful for analysis. On the question of professional power and organisation, the logic of Freidson's ideal-typical professionalism is adopted. This logic of professionalism, as it will be understood throughout the thesis, argues that:

a) professions need to occupy a state-legitimated monopolistic professional jurisdiction in a social division of labour;

b) the legitimation of professional power is contingent on public and state acceptance that complex disciplinary knowledge and extensive training is necessary;

c) professions control, extend, advance and transmit disciplinary knowledge and professional idealism;

d) professionals serve a kind of professionalism idealism rooted in their disciplinary knowledge.

When discussing professions and knowledge, two terms will be employed. *Disciplinary knowledge* will be used to describe the theoretical knowledge

traditionally created, codified and extended in universities. In this thesis, the characteristics of the disciplinary knowledge of a profession are that it:

a) is formal, abstract and codified to the extent that is paradigmatic;

b) can be separated and studied in isolation from practice;

c) is accepted as a necessary precursor to effective practice;

d) forms the basis and rationale for the creation of professional idealism.

The term *professional knowledge* will also be used to encompass all those things which Eraut lists as belonging to the raft of cognitive processes and content which professionals deploy at work. This includes disciplinary knowledge. Whatever the nature of the interaction between knowledge and practice in the field, it is assumed here that at least some degree of disciplinary knowledge is required to sustain a claim to professionalism since without prestigious expertise there can be no realistic claim to occupy a professional jurisdiction. Moreover, prestige accrues from the status of the disciplinary power and if the credibility of the discipline is attacked, then professional status deflates and eventually becomes unsustainable.

It is hoped that this broad conceptual approach model might prove a useful analytical tool in a contemporary climate in which professionalism seems to swim in increasing fury and frustration against the powerful tides of public policy. It also avoids some of the pitfalls which surround attempts to determine professionalism by identifying a series of features common in professional occupations. It allows a calibration of teacher professionalism by considering how

far the organisation of their work resembles a professional model as opposed to bureaucratic or market forms. The key questions, then, for professionalism in schools ask how far teachers can be said to be servants of a meaningful professional ideal based upon disciplinary knowledge and how they are organised to protect and advance this mission. In short, how do they define and defend the purpose of their vocation?

Coda

It remains only to commiserate with the semi-professional footballers from Liechtenstein who, having put up a valiant performance against the professional millionaires of England, lost their football match 0-2. But, for Paul Wilson (2003) of *The Observer*, Liechtenstein's banker, plumber, university student, teacher, wine maker and salesman 'seemed to summon more conviction' whilst England's was 'a professional performance that did not look all that professional'. Liechtenstein must be saluted on their stoic and largely unprofessional display.

2

Teacher Professionalism and Knowledge

...a critical problem facing teachers is that the formal-knowledge base

for their professional practice is weak and this enables outsiders to

intrude upon their work in the classroom. (McNamara, 1993, p. 282)

Chapter 1 argued that claims to knowledge and expertise are the cornerstone of

professionalism. Furthermore, the stronger the base of disciplinary knowledge

which a profession controls, the more effective is the claim to the other features

of professional power involving self-regulation and control of the training

process. The central concern of this chapter is to explore this issue in relation to

teachers in England.

The chapter begins with a brief survey of some sociologists' views of teachers'

knowledge base which discuss teaching as a problematic example of a

profession. Perspectives of those writing about teacher professionalism from

within education, usually academics, will then be considered. It will be necessary

to note that there have been several attempts within this literature to predicate

professionalism on something other than disciplinary knowledge. Because these

arguments can be seen as attempts to circumvent the problem of teacher

knowledge, and can therefore be interpreted as arguments formulated in

response to the problem of knowledge, they are addressed in this chapter.

Recent policy interventions in the areas of teacher training are then explored

through a brief critical examination of the work of the *Training and Development

Agency for Schools* and the *National College for School Leadership*. The chapter's

broad argument is that the lack of a convincing disciplinary knowledge base for

teachers has meant that control over the training and qualification process, a

critical indicator of professionalism, has been usurped by the state. Moreover, a profession in which the knowledge base is either absent, unconvincing or controlled from outside of the profession is in a very weak position with regard to the other aspects of professional power which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Sociologists on Teaching as a Profession

But there was no educational technique which teachers had to acquire and there were thus no forces at work, similar to those among physicians, making for the segregation of teachers as a class. (Carr Saunders & Wilson, 1933, p. 250)

The sociologists of work and the professions provide scant detail about the nature of teachers' professional knowledge preferring instead to focus on the benchmark professions of law and medicine. Even with those professions, as we noted in the last chapter, the literature tends to concentrate on professional knowledge only at a very general level being more interested in its function of sustaining professional power than in its substantive detail. If we accept that professional knowledge is distinguished from other forms of skilled or technical expertise by its foundation in disciplinary knowledge, which is formal, paradigmatic, abstract and theoretical, there are few, if any, of these writers convinced that teachers can claim such a knowledge base.

University lecturers were traditionally considered professionals but this was only in respect of their connection to the evolving disciplines of the early professions. They can certainly make convincing claims to abstract, sometimes arcane, knowledge and are its key producers, codifiers and custodians. But, as Carr Saunders & Wilson, quoted above, note there is no distinctive science of

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pedagogy which might convincingly act as disciplinary knowledge and thereby might mark out teaching as a profession. Their discussion of teachers (ibid., pp. 250 – 265) suggests that their professional status arises from the existence of a number of professional associations which seek to influence matters of concern to teaching and education generally, a form of professional registration and, at the time they were writing, their *de facto* monopoly in state schools. Seymour (1966, p. 127-129) perceives teachers as having a 'body of knowledge and skills related to and essential for teaching' and considers them to be engaged in a 'continuing search for new knowledge'. His account, however, tends to mix attributive and divisive professionalism since he asserts that 'professionalism is a state of mind'. Abbott (1988, p. 127) says little of teachers other than to note the American experience of superintendents attempting to take control of the curriculum from classroom teachers in an attempt to preserve their professional status with the advent of mass education and an influx of subordinate women teaching practitioners. Larson (1977, p. 181 – 184) acknowledges the claim to professionalism of academics in virtue of their connection with disciplinary knowledge but, like Abbott, talks only about how the bureaucratic structure of school teaching in the US created an avenue for the professionalization of the predominantly male superintendents who created a knowledge base partly borrowed from scientific management theory. This led to the 'evolution of a profession of school administration as distinct from the work of teaching'. The knowledge base of classroom teachers she considers 'uncertain' compared to the superordinate superintendents and was insufficient to create the solidarity necessary for a full professional power project. In England too the history of state school teaching is the history of the subordination of predominantly women workers to bureaucratic fiats in a grand scale attempt by government to regulate and control the working classes (Jones, 1990). Later on it will be argued that we may also be seeing the genesis of a new superordinate educational manager here.

Leggatt (1970) suggests that teachers' claims to knowledge are weak. Any potential claims to special knowledge evaporated with the spread of literacy, he argues, and, though their subject knowledge may be respectable, teachers are engaged in nothing more sophisticated than transmitting this. Of pedagogy, he observes that courses in the 'methodology of teaching therefore tend to be judged as somewhat fraudulent attempts to establish an illusory expertise' (ibid., p. 172). Leggatt makes two interesting further points: that the lack of clear success criteria and the multiple objectives of state education create uncertainty about their knowledge base; and, second, that they are unable to take vicarious prestige from any superordinate professional such as in the case of nurses who can claim to be working under the highly developed medical paradigm of doctors. Later, I will suggest that subject teachers in secondary schools may be able to seek disciplinary legitimation from their connection to a field of disciplinary academic study though this does not seem a plausible option for primary school teachers. Further, I will argue that this lack of objectives is a fundamental obstacle to the logic of professionalism because it means that there is no clear professional ideal which teachers can pray in aid to defend their practice from bureaucratic interference. Unfortunately, Leggatt's thesis tends to attributive professionalism since he asserts that professionals are 'the most knowledgeable and morally superior of men' (p. 159). Lortie's (1975) *Schoolteacher* notes that teachers do not possess an extensive technical language. It is worth recording too that Freidson only ever mentions teachers in passing and at no point in his work is there any sustained discussion of their work or their disciplinary knowledge base.

This brief sketch is as notable for its cursory treatment of the teaching profession as for any light it sheds upon their disciplinary knowledge or wider considerations of their professional status. It is included, however, since it

highlights two important points. First, none of these sociologists is convinced that teachers have any cognitive exclusivity in respect of teaching which is separable from that accruing from their connection with the discipline which they transmit. As a consequence, sociology often regards teachers' claim to professional power as very weak. Indeed, this is one of the reasons why Etzioni (1969) considers teaching, alongside social work and nursing, to be a semi-profession.

The second point is that several of these writers predicate teachers' claims to professionalism on the basis of something other than knowledge. This mistake derives from analyses which are, in essence, founded upon trait approaches to the professions and which, consequently, appear to use profession in its attributive sense. This is mirrored in the work of many writers within the education tradition and has led to a confused literature which, when followed through into the profession itself, has given rise to professionalization campaigning strategies which have been ill-conceived and misdirected. The next section, then, provides an overview of some perspectives from writers with a special focus on education usually based within UDEs.

Educationalists on Teacher Professionalism

'Few professionals talk as much about being professionals as those whose professional stature is in doubt.' (Katz, 1969, p. 54)

The regularity with which the UDE-based knowledge creators of the teaching profession re-conceptualise the basis for teacher professionalism may testify to the deep insecurity of education academics and teaching practitioners arising, no doubt, from their often turbulent history and fluctuating relationships with governments. There is also a case for arguing that these difficulties in upholding

and defending dimensions of professional power have, in large measure, stemmed from the absence of a professional ideal founded upon disciplinary loyalties of the kind which might be associated with a Bersteinian singularity. If Katz's comment, quoted above, is true as a generality, it is almost certainly true of teachers as a particular.

For present purposes, writing on teacher professionalism can be divided into two broad categories – that which accepts the need for a disciplinary knowledge system and attempts to define it, or call for its creation, and that which predicates teacher professionalism on something other than theoretical knowledge. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) examine six discourses of teacher professionalism - *classical, flexible, practical, extended, complex* and their own *postmodern professionalism* - within this tradition. Since their taxonomy covers most of the themes prevalent in recent decades, it will serve here to loosely structure the discussion. Their *classical professionalism'*, which involves professional power built upon a strong scientific knowledge base, can be interpreted as divisive professionalism of the kind outlined in the previous chapter which refers to a way of controlling work and workers with special knowledge within the social division of labour. The other five, including their own formulation, are types that try to circumvent the problem of disciplinary knowledge by substituting it with something else and these are addressed in the next subsection.

i)   Professionalisms without Disciplinary Knowledge

Hargreaves and Goodson's interpretation of *flexible professionalism* relies on concepts of localised or situated collaborative learning communities rather than scientific communities of disciplinary knowledge-builders while *practical professionalism* generalises a conceptualisation of teachers' expertise as being

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essentially craft type knowledge or practical know-how usually elaborated by the inclusion of Schön's (1984) 'reflective practitioner' concept. Much of Hargreaves and Goodson's critique of these models rightly identifies problems of parochialism, insularity, professional fragmentation and a potential loss of focus on wider professional vocations, missions and responsibilities. More pertinently though, they deny the necessity or desirability of any connections to disciplinary knowledge for practice and in so doing damage any claim to professionalism. Indeed, it is difficult to see how these will not ultimately tend towards deprofessionalisation if different practitioners are engaged in what is, in essence, the reinvention of a multiplicity of localised professional ideals and objectives if there are no central codification structures to underpin the furtherance of collective professional knowledge.

Many education writers have co-opted Schön's idea of the 'reflective practitioner' but it is inadequate standing alone as an argument for professionalism since there is no necessary connection between practice, disciplinary knowledge and mechanisms for codification. Neither is there any guarantee that the practitioners' reflective musings will improve practice nor, in addition, any recognition that good reflectors may be ineffective practitioners. Also overlooked is the fact that Schön was talking about what happens in practice rather than attempting to explain why some occupational groups enjoy professional status and, as we have seen, this is based, in large measure, upon their collective possession of disciplinary knowledge not practitioners' reflectivity on practice. Attempts therefore to substitute disciplinary knowledge for a kind of practice knowledge which is ultimately grounded in what Aristotle (1962) calls 'phronesis', translated usually as practical wisdom, are essentially about what teachers do at work and often fail to confront directly the consequences of an occupational group's failure to develop a strong theoretical knowledge system.

An extension of the reflective practitioner theme argues for professional status for teachers on the basis of their being action-researchers. Unless research is hard-wired into a body of disciplinary knowledge, however, such claims are ineffective as arguments for meaningful professionalism even if we overlook the fact that the overwhelming majority of teachers are not engaged in research in any meaningful sense of the term and appear to have little desire so to be. The key difficulty with some interpretations of the action research model of professionalism is, as Bottery (1997) notes, its restricted and insular utility alongside its eschewal of a wider theoretical framework in which to embed and critique its findings. This effectively relegates its empirical revelations to common sense and exposes it to the same criticisms which can be made of reflective practitionership in general alongside practical and flexible professionalism. If, on the other hand, action research is to be informed by and contribute to the development of an existing theoretical framework, then teachers' would appear to have their disciplinary knowledge already and professionalism might not then be the issue it so patently remains.

Complex professionalism (after Devaney & Sykes, 1988; Rowan, 1994) suggests that professionalism might be claimed for teachers in virtue of the level of complexity of the work involved. It is even suggested that it might help the professionalization project if their work were to be made even more complex. But, since many self-employed tradesmen such as plumbers or painter decorators are engaged in complex multi-tasking, this is not a sufficient qualification for state legitimation as a profession. Again, its flaw lies in its failure to engage with the issue of disciplinary knowledge. Complexity of practice is an insufficient basis for professionalism.

Hargreaves and Goodson's own *postmodern professionalism*, a derivation and extension of Fullan and Hargreaves (1996) 'interactive professionalism', expresses their desire to:

> 're-invent professionalism in ways that maximise discretionary judgment, embrace moral and social purposes, forge cultures of collaboration along with self-directed commitments to continuous improvement, and embody heteronomy, complexity and commitment to care.' (Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996, p.21)

Unsurprisingly, given that their arguments against divisive professionalism (categorised as classical professionalism) in which they unequivocally dismiss the possibility of a scientific knowledge system for teachers, their proposals fare no better in the disciplinary knowledge stakes than the alternative professionalisms they critique. Carr's teacher professionalism is from a similar stable putting an emphasis on the moral dimensions of teaching since he regards education as essentially a moral project. Engaging and attractive though his ideas are, he writes that 'teaching does not seem to be the sort of technical notion which requires sophisticated scientific enquiry' (Carr, 2000, p.7). Such an explicit rejection of the need for a disciplinary knowledge system for teaching implies a rejection of the possibility of any strong form of divisive professionalism.

The quotation from Hargreaves and Goodson is interesting, nevertheless, in that it seems to point to some of the problems, difficulties and confusion arising in this literature. First, the point they make about discretionary judgment speaks past the logic of professionalism where it is considered that a degree of autonomy is granted to the professional precisely because s/he possesses expertise which bureaucrats, administrators and managers do not. They exercise discretionary judgment in virtue of their disciplinary training through which they

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also serve the higher ideals of the profession rather than the priorities of the bureaucracy or institution.

A second point concerns their call to 'reinvent professionalism' which seems to amount to a call for an ad hoc redefinition of professionalism. It is fair to record that Hargreaves and Goodson distinguish between professionalization and professionalism where the latter is identified as 'the ethics and purposes that guide teachers' actions' and the former is 'a social and political project or mission designed to enhance the interests of an occupational group.' (op. cit., p. 4). They appear, then, to be concentrating on teachers' working practices and their writing is, in essence, a grandiose way of critiquing policy instruments which they believe have led to a technical-rationalist workforce and removed the socio-political dimensions and moral values from educationalists' work. These issues are undoubtedly important but to talk about what does, or should, happen at work is not really an argument about teacher professionalism in anything other than an attributive sense. It also begs the question as to the derivation of the 'moral and social purposes' they claim teachers should embrace. It seems that a professional ideal is required here but, if it cannot emerge from disciplinary knowledge, they need to explain how this is arrived at, promulgated and perpetuated within the profession. They condemn classical professionalism as a self-interested power project and dismiss it as a pipe dream for teachers. Quite why they then refer to professional status as a 'desirable aspirational plateau' (ibid., p.3) is unclear. It only makes sense if we read it as veering into attributive professionalism.

Much of this literature amounts to talking about good practice at work but, insofar as it claims to be about professionalism, it draws heavily on attributive notions in attempting to unravel the connection between knowledge and professional status. If the logic of professionalism is predicated on disciplinary

knowledge and occupational organisation and structure, it is futile to argue that claims to it can primarily rest upon the characteristics of working practice. Work in this cannon is reluctant to give up the term professionalism for teachers and displays the same confusion that, as will be seen in the next chapters, has dogged the teaching profession since the inception of mass education.

ii)   Disciplinary Knowledge Professionalisms

Although some writers overlook the importance of the connection between disciplinary knowledge and professional power, many other writers are acutely aware that this is a problem for teachers. The rallying calls for a system of disciplinary knowledge have been loud, recurrent and sustained within educational studies literature. Moreover, such calls are usually explicitly related to the notion of profession and can, as such, be read as arguments about teachers' status and the legitimacy of UDEs within the academy.

This is not a peculiarly English problem. In the US, for example, Lee Shulman (1986, 1987) recognised that professions are distinguished from crafts in virtue of the former's theoretical educational base which equips them to know what and why rather than merely how. He writes of a 'missing paradigm' and bluntly acknowledges that, without this, meaningful professional status for teachers is unattainable. The framework he proposes is a sophisticated attempt to define a disciplinary knowledge base which allows for the advance of practice based on theory derived from research. Since he is talking about subject specialists, his ideas may require some stretching or adaptation with regard to primary school teachers in the area of subject content knowledge. However, in the context of this discussion, this remains a side issue since Shulman himself acknowledges that there is no agreed disciplinary knowledge and, to date, teachers do not have anything approaching the knowledge system he proposes.

In the UK, educational historian Gary McCulloch (2002) dates 1952 as the first time a public consensus began to emerge about the knowledge base necessary for teacher preparation. This was when the *British Journal of Educational Studies* was founded to strengthen the research culture of education and its constituent disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy and history. By 1966, with Routledge and Kegan Paul's publication of *Tibble's Students' Library of Education* series, we see that what McCulloch (2002, p. 104) calls 'the disciplinary study of education' had become firmly established as an eclectic and pluralist field of enquiry based on these disciplines. The ambition was to create a field of enquiry in which the disciplines could together contribute to an overarching body of knowledge about education. As such, education was a field of enquiry rather than a discipline with its own distinctive way of thinking. McCulloch quotes Tibble whose view is that 'it is clear that education is a field subject, not a basic discipline; there is no distinctively 'educational' way of thinking' (Tibble, 1971, quoted in McCulloch, 2002, p.108). Nevertheless, a codified and evolving body of knowledge might indeed constitute, or at least approach, a paradigm under which the education academic community might labour. Kerr, also quoted by McCulloch, propounded a theory of curriculum studies based on the disciplines and expressed the hope that teachers would be able to consult education specialists 'in the same way as the medical profession calls upon physiologists, biochemists, bacteriologists and so on' (Kerr,1968, p. 36). But this optimistic aspiration has proven with hindsight to be wildly over-ambitious even if we ignore any problems regarding the lack of disciplinary singularity.

Crook (2002) observes that, after the James Report of 1972 (DES, 1972) criticised UDEs' emphasis on theory at the expense of preparation for work, most UDEs had voluntarily adopted a more vocational emphasis by reducing the time spent on educational studies and replacing it with subject studies, professional

study and teaching practice. There was, he writes, general acceptance that academics sometimes became rather too eager to demonstrate their disciplinary prowess which could make their contributions to practice somewhat remote. By 1974, the British Educational Research Association (BERA) was founded with the hope of formulating a single body of knowledge based upon research. If BERA heralded a new approach to educational knowledge, it also created conflict between academics of the disciplinary camp of educational studies and the quasi-scientific approach of educational research where the disciplines could appear to have been marginalised (McCulloch, op. cit.). The relevant point here is that if disciplinary studies had indeed become established as a credible disciplinary knowledge system, which when combined might realistically have offered the potential for the creation of a disciplinary-related paradigm and professional ideal, UDEs could have argued for its necessity as a precursor to practice. That it was, at least partially, supplanted by the education research movement demonstrates that, at best, it operated as a *de facto* paradigm which, when under political challenge, proved unpersuasive as a prop for professional power. Crook himself observes that 'as an academic subject, education has largely failed to make the kind of progress that was widely expected of it in 1952' (op. cit., p. 69).

State intervention in the work and training of teachers has accelerated since the 1970s and this has been paralleled by the growing anxiety of many education academics who have doggedly returned to address the root of the problem - the lack of an agreed knowledge base. In an illuminating symposium which included two ex-Chairmen of the House of Commons Education Select Committee, Edgar Stones remarked that 'there has been no real attempt to develop a systematic rigorous theory of teaching.....and I think that all of us in teacher education need to address this very serious question. Because the notion of a rigorous body of theory is the basis for a profession and I think this is tremendously important'

(Gilroy et al., 1994, p. 4). Stones is not alone in this perception and there is no shortage of writers who recognise the necessity of articulating a teacher expertise based on a firm foundation of disciplinary knowledge. Several are sketched here by way of example.

Hoyle's (1974) *extended professionalism* is largely predicated upon the interplay between experience and theory in teachers' analytical reflection of their practice. The involvement of theory seems to imply the necessity of some kind of disciplinary knowledge system, but it is not clear that it is sufficiently developed or abstracted from practice to be an adequate basis for professionalism. In later work, Hoyle undertakes a panoramic survey of views on teacher expertise and believes that there is now 'sufficient sophistication' to produce a coherent body of 'professional knowledge' ' (Hoyle & John, 1995, p. 73). Hoyle clearly understands the problem of knowledge and its connection to professionalism, acknowledging that 'teachers need to have such a body of [secret] knowledge....because it is part of what the public and they themselves see as being part of being professional' (Hoyle & John, 1995, p. 75). He seems to accept at least in part the need for disciplinary knowledge and acknowledges its social function in creating the mystifications to which Corfield refers (see Chapter 1). The difficulty here is that it is defined as professional rather than abstract, theoretical knowledge.

This difficulty with Hoyle's attempt at defining what might be interpreted as a disciplinary knowledge system is not peculiar to his work. Eraut (1994), for example, who criticises the split between education prior to qualification and education as continuing professional development, is also concerned with professional knowledge and know-how. But the disciplinary knowledge necessary to successfully establish or defend a professional jurisdiction must be part of but distinctive from professional knowledge. Hirst (1990, p. 181), who refers to

'practical theory', recognises this difficulty and notes that the professional knowledge of any professional group contains both abstract and practical knowledge but adds cogently that 'piecemeal and inconsistent theoretical bases are unlikely to count as professional knowledge, nor are empirical bases that are not generally accepted as true'.

The 'big issue' for Edwards et al. (2002, p.30) concerns identifying the 'unique knowledge-base that higher education offers to beginning and experienced teachers on their teacher education courses'. They too are overtly concerned with establishing the epistemological basis of teacher professionalism in the backwash of what they term a 'paradigm shift' as the postmodern world drowns the certainties of the old disciplines of teacher education. They want to see a 'contextualist approach …where teachers and teacher educators inform and contest the core knowledge that underpins their actions as professionals' (p.132). This reads as an extension of Carr & Kemmis (1986) who lament both the conformity of teachers and the lack of any agreed conceptual framework for teachers' knowledge base. They argue for a critical dialectical approach based on a body of knowledge about education which changes with historical and social circumstances. But, as the power and influence of academics declines as UDEs become marginalised, the prognosis for such grand projects must be bleak.

Winch, arguing for the creation of a new scientific paradigm for teachers concedes 'I do not wish to argue that there could be no applied theoretical abstract knowledge, but rather that at present no universally recognised such body of knowledge exists' (Winch, 2004, p.181). He acknowledges that 'unclarity about the extent to which teachers should control their work is related to a considerable extent to uncertainty about their occupational knowledge' (ibid., p.180). He goes on to propose a combined normative and empirical theoretical knowledge base for teacher training in which the normative theory includes

curriculum content, assessment, pedagogy and educational aims and the empirical component includes research-based knowledge which are the 'products of systematic review' and research protocols. This empirical theoretical framework derived from 'context-sensitive generalisations' will enable teachers to justify their right to some degree of control over work rather than being compliant technicians, or, expressed within the framework of this thesis, it will allow them to better defend their professional jurisdiction. Winch is calling for the creation of disciplinary knowledge for teachers. Again, as with the other calls for a codified system of theoretical knowledge, the problem is that it is not yet established.

Writers calling for the creation of a disciplinary knowledge system for education and those decrying the credence of such claims might differ in their aspirations for and conceptualisations of educational knowledge and research. Notwithstanding this, the views of both camps support the contention that, at the present time, there is no body of codified educational knowledge which might amount to a disciplinary system or act as the basis for a professional paradigm.

Paradoxically those arguments calling for a unifying paradigm around which the profession and academy can unite succeed only in drawing attention to its absence. Kuhn's work is again useful here. In the absence of a paradigm, as he noted in the case of pre-Newtonian optical scientists, all facts can seem equally pertinent and fact-gathering appears random. The consequences for these pre-paradigmatic scientists, as we saw in Chapter 1, are manifold and affect their status, funding, acceptance in the academy and involvement in policy development. If professional knowledge is based upon a discipline analogous to a scientific paradigm, then there is a case for perceiving teaching as a pre-paradigmatic profession supported by pre-paradigmatic scholars. If the work of

academics supports this interpretation, the perception of others, including teachers themselves, seems to add further ballast to this reading.

Some Other Perspectives on Teachers' Disciplinary Knowledge

Attacking Shulman's theory of pedagogical content knowledge in their analysis of classical professionalism, Hargreaves and Goodson conclude that teachers' claims to require extended training in scientific technical abstract knowledge is 'not demonstrable' and will 'stretch public credibility to the limits' (op. cit., p. 6). For them, propagation of a disciplinary knowledge base is a misguided attempt to ape the classical professions. But scepticism about teachers' disciplinary knowledge spreads beyond education studies academics and permeates the views of school teaching practitioners, qualified education colleagues in related settings, academics outside of education departments, the political class and even the Chair of the General Teaching Council for England.

Silcock reports different perceptions of teacher professionalism amongst different groups of education professionals. For staff based in Local Education Authorities (LEAs), disciplinary knowledge appears to lie beneath the surface of the professionalism debate though it is expressed as a concern with perceptions of expertise. He quotes one member of a LEA who thinks that 'the public's view of the teaching profession is...connected (for primary teachers) with low levels of training...minimal qualifications' and another who recognises that 'teachers do not have exclusive access to a great deal of knowledge .....do not control their own profession' (Silcock, 2003, p. 29). In summarising the collective LEA view, Silcock writes that they believe the root of the problem lies with 'teachers' lack of that specialised knowledge' (ibid.).

Silcock's research on the views of practising teachers leads him to observe that for them 'the acme of professionalism is practical expertise, informed by hard-won experience' and that they consider themselves 'already professional people' conscientiously performing skilled and demanding work. But it is difficult to read this as professionalism in anything other than an attributive sense since the level of effort or skill involved in work, howsoever conscientiously executed, is no basis on which to argue for professional power. A similar story is found in other reports on teachers' perceptions of what it means to be a professional. Helsby (1996, p. 137), seeking teachers' views of professionalism, reports a 'random assortment of personal subjective understandings' centred on issues to do with status, public recognition and behaving properly. Wright and Bottery's (1997) work with the mentors of student teachers found that their overwhelming focus was on the practical and little regard was paid to discussing the relationship of schooling to society or to theoretical aspects of teaching and pedagogy. Many used 'professional' to refer to matters of dress and behaviour.

Like Kuhn's pre-paradigmatic scientists, the welcome that educationalists have received in universities has often been less than enthusiastic. For decades they were kept at arm's length as preparation for primary school teaching took place in teacher training colleges with a much lower status than universities. They have collectively been subjected to what Ball (1990) suggests is a discourse of derision. Goodson (2003) quotes the sociologist Veblen who opines that University Departments of Education (UDEs) 'court a specious appearance of scholarship...to give these schools and their work some scientific and scholarly prestige' (Veblen, 1962, quoted in Goodson, 2003, p. 11). George Walden recounts Cambridge dons protesting at the opening of an education department at that university. If academics in UDEs are held in low regard by their academic colleagues, his own conviction is that they are engaged in a 'dubious discipline'

and that 'the academic qualifications of teachers remain the lowest for any profession' (Walden, 1996, p.29).

Walden is an erstwhile Conservative British Minister of State for Higher Education and his views echo those of many of the political class, particularly on the right, who hold teachers' expertise, status and the nature of their training in low regard. These views broadly follow the line taken in the *Black Papers* of the late 1960s and 1970s (see, Cox and Dyson, 1969, 1970, 1971; and Cox and Boyson, 1975, 1977) which attacked comprehensive and progressive education and portrayed educationalists, or at least their leaders, as a coterie of left-leaning ideologues. Lynn (quoted in McKenzie, 2001, p. 45) asserted that the 'suppression of these truths [that targeting money at educational Priority Areas would lead to better outcomes for 'slum children'] by progressives leads to a whole series of false deductions'. Ball (op. cit.) quotes the New Right Social Affairs Unit who describes teacher education degrees as 'nonsense' and 'super-nonsense'. Such thinking, as we will see, helped persuade the 1979-1997 Conservative governments to tackle the 'problems' of education by taking central control of the school curriculum and teacher training. Without a convincing body of professional knowledge, or, perhaps worse, a body of knowledge considered spurious and unnecessary to practice, teachers and education academics had little to frustrate such attacks.

A low opinion of school teaching and teacher training is not exclusive to the political right. New Labour were swept to power on a mantra of 'education, education, education' (Blair, 1996a) but an interesting insight into Tony Blair's attitude to those who are charged with its delivery is provided by the late Robin Cook, former Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House before his resignation over the Iraq war. In his memoir, he retells how the Prime Minister regarded Harold Wilson's children as 'comparative failures'. One has been a headmaster

and the other a professor at the Open University but Blair hoped his own children did 'better than that' (Cook, 2004, p. 38 – 39). New Labour's first education minister, David Blunkett, has described Bachelor of Education programmes as 'a sub-degree undergraduate course' (quoted in Crook, op. cit.). New Labour's second Secretary of State for Education and Skills, Estelle Morris, herself an ex-schoolteacher, was fond of invoking the traditional and high-earning professions and tempted teachers with the promise of a future where they might enjoy 'a status and a role which makes them more like consultant doctors than either junior doctors or nurses' (Morris, 2001 p.18). Yet her view of teacher professionalism does not seem to have been incompatible with a hardnosed attempt to get the teaching workforce to implement uncritically government policy. Far from encouraging teachers to become involved in critical appraisal of policy instruments, something that perhaps is a mark of a respected profession of high status, she summarily dismissed teachers who questioned far-reaching centrally-imposed reforms as 'those who offer cynicism in the guise of experience' (ibid., p. 9). Professionalism is being used here as a rhetorical device in which conformity is equated with compliance.

An equivocal respect for teachers' knowledge base is not confined to those outside of education. David Puttnam, the first Chair of the General Teaching Council for England, adopted a somewhat cavalier approach to teachers' preparation and their disciplinary knowledge base:

> 'I think you have got to break down these barriers and get young people to understand that professional skills, professional commitment is not incompatible with moving in and out of the profession or incompatible with bringing people into the profession who can bring new things to the party.'
>
> (Education and Employment Committee, 2000)

This answer to a Select Committee question about the role of non-qualified teachers is revealing. There is certainly no acknowledgment of disciplinary knowledge and the emphasis on skills imply that this is a job which many, or any, people can do. Puttnam expresses a wish that 'more people sample teaching and try it as part of their careers' (ibid.) which tacitly reinforces the notion that lengthy academic training is unnecessary. It is difficult to conceive of the Chair of the Bar Council making the same argument to Parliament about barristers' work, still less suggesting, as Puttnam does, that unemployed actors might contribute to the 'party' which is the judicial system. The comments Puttnam makes not only render teachers' claims to professionalism almost nonsensical but seem to open the door for attacks upon teachers' professional expertise and, by extension, their professional jurisdiction. Puttnam's attributive professionalism suggests at best that teaching is about commitment to the job rather than a high degree of expertise.

A backdrop of public doubt and uncertainty about teachers' expertise meant that the Conservative party were emboldened to put in place a raft of interventionist policies designed to bring the profession under centralised control. These have continued and been extended under New Labour. Such changes have radically altered teaching and teachers' working lives to the extent that, in the view of one eminent historian of teacher professionalism, 'it is no longer possible to use this term [teaching profession] confidently' (Lawn, 1999, p. 100). The policies of state prescription in the training of teachers go to the heart of these concerns and have profound implications for teacher professionalism. These are examined next.

The Politicization of Professional Knowledge

The post-war welfare state consensus afforded great professional power to public sector workers and teachers, in particular, enjoyed a 'Golden Era of teacher control' (Lawton, 1980, p. 22). So, it was very tentatively that education minister David Eccles suggested that Parliament might venture into the 'secret garden of the curriculum' (Hansard, 1960). After the increasingly vehement right wing critiques of education and the public scandal of William Tyndale school in 1975 (Spear, 1999), Prime Minster James Callaghan opened what has since been labelled the 'great debate' (McCulloch et al., 2001, p. 103). His speech at Ruskin College, Oxford, *Towards a National Debate* (Callaghan, 1976) called for a national discussion with 'parents, teachers, learned and professional bodies, representatives of higher education and both sides of industry' which would discuss the purposes of education and encompass the curriculum, teaching methods, standards, the role of the inspectorate and 'the need to improve relations between industry and education'. Since then state intervention in education has been omnipresent, intensive and sustained and teacher training, in particular, has received much attention from successive Conservative and Labour governments.

a) Initial Teacher Training

Intervention in the training of teachers, for much of the second half of the twentieth century the domain of the UDEs, became so invasive that it was deemed the 'political rape of initial teacher education' (Gilroy, 1992) by an ex-Chair of the Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET), a body speaking for UDEs on teacher training policy. There can be little doubt that this was politically driven and founded upon the Conservatives party's deep distrust of the educational establishment. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's memoirs

detail her contempt for UDE-based initial teacher training (ITT) with its stress on psychology, sociology, anti-racist education and such like, matters which she considered irrelevant to classroom practice. She describes how she deliberately set out to change the ethos of teaching and asserts that the 'effective monopoly exercised by the existing teacher-training routes had to be broken' (Thatcher, 1993, p.598). One of the mechanisms for this was to introduce two new routes of entry into the profession, *licensed* and *articled* teachers, whose school-based training would be relatively free from the influence of the leftist theoreticians in the education departments. The ambition was ultimately to recruit half of all new teachers through these routes.

The Conservatives had also introduced the Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education to oversee the accreditation of UDE courses, but Thatcher was not happy that this body was rigorous enough in challenging the orthodoxies of the education academic establishment. By the time her successor, John Major, had moved into Downing Street, the Conservatives' suspicion of UDE-based teacher training remained. His memoirs recall:

> I have, of course, never had anything against individual teachers; only against the ethos within which some of them worked. Over the years teachers had been tossed back and forth on the waves of educational experiment, and their training had left them inadequately prepared for life in the classroom. (Major, 1999, p.396)

To bring about this transformation of ethos, he was in no doubt that 'reform had to begin with teacher training' (ibid.). This time, however, the tactic was more direct and the 1994 *Education Bill* legislated for the creation of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB) accountable to the DfES and Secretary of State.

The highly political nature of the TTA project is illustrated by the powers allocated to the Secretary of State for Education in the 1994 Act. It provided for him to directly appoint a governing board of between eight and twelve members having regard to 'the desirability of including persons who appear to him to have experience of, and to have shown capacity in' teaching in schools or higher education including ITT (*Education Act, 2004*, Part 1, section 2, para. 2). An interesting inclusion, indicative of the Conservatives' belief in the superior management skills of the entrepreneurial sector, notes that the Secretary of State will 'also have regard to the desirability of including persons who appear to him to have experience of, and to have shown capacity in, industrial, commercial or financial matters or the practice of any profession' (ibid., Part 1, section 2, para. 4).

The Board of the Agency now renamed the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA), as at February, 2007, comprised 13 members as follows:

Professor Sir Brian Follett - Chair of TDA board, Chair of the Arts and Humanities Research Board and a professor of zoology, University of Oxford;

Christopher Baker - Business consultant with a number of directorships and Chair of Business Liverpool;

Brenda Bigland - Headteacher, Lent Rise combined school and member of the governing council of the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) and the BITC Leadership Group;

Andy Buck - Headteacher, Jo Richardson community school and member of the DfES Headteacher Community Group;

Professor Deborah Eyre - Director of the National Academy of Gifted and Talented Youth;

Ian Ferguson - Chair of Data Connection Ltd and board member of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority;

Professor David Green - Economist and Vice-chancellor and chief executive of the University of Worcester;

Chris Husbands - Dean of the school of education and lifelong learning at the University of East Anglia;

Dr Nick Johnson - chief executive of the London Borough of Bexley and visiting fellow at the Institute of Education, University of London;

Joan Munro - Director of development, Employers' Organisation;

Dame Gillian Pugh - Member of the Children's Workforce Development Council (CWDC) and former chief executive of children's charity Coram Family;

Richard Thornhill - Headteacher of Loughborough 'fresh start' primary school and children's centre in Brixton and a member of the founding governing council of the National College for School Leadership (NCSL);

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Susan Tranter - Headteacher of Fitzharrys School and research associate for the NCSL and is involved with the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust.

(TDA, 2007a)

It is fair to observe that the composition of this board, as have others before it, involves a significant proportion of those with experience of working in schools and ITT. Nevertheless the Chair, Professor Sir Brian Follett, and three other members, including two businessmen, appear to have no experience of either ITT or teaching in schools. Furthermore, a majority of those with experience in the teaching profession are also involved in other key government initiatives and, as such, might be considered to be supporters of the Secretary of State's wider vision and agenda. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide definitive conclusions about the political flavour of this body but criticism of the politicization of many areas of public life and services through political appointments to the boards of NDPBs has been widespread (Beetham et al., 2002; Sampson, 2004). The TDA, like many other quangos, opens itself up to the charge that it may be governed and led by political placemen keen to do the minister's bidding and unwilling to offer resistance to a reform agenda dedicated to the emasculation of professional control over teacher training.

The Secretary of State was also given the power to order the withholding of funding from ITT departments who might prove resistant to the change in the 'ethos' of teaching:

> If it appears to the Secretary of State that the financial affairs of an
> eligible institution have been or are being mismanaged he may, after
> consulting the agency and the institution, give such directions to the

funding agency about the provision of financial support in respect of the activities carried on by the institution as he considers are necessary or expedient by reason of the mismanagement. (Education Act, 1994, Part 1, section 8, para, 3)

If the powers granted to the Secretary of State were considerable, those given to the Agency itself were equally swingeing, especially over funding matters. Its *raison d'être* was to change the ethos of teaching but the TDA was not directly involved in the delivery of ITT. There needed, then, to be a mechanism to ensure that institutions complied with its directives. It was therefore given jurisdiction over the funding of ITT and tasked with funnelling financial support to institutions. This monetary authority over ITT providers has provided it with the coercive power which has enabled it to determine and direct the content of ITT courses and the work of UDEs.

The original objectives of the TTA were:

(a) to contribute to raising the standards of teaching;

(b) to promote teaching as a career;

(c) to improve the quality and efficiency of all routes into the teaching profession;

(d) to secure the involvement of schools in all courses and programmes for the initial training of school teachers; and generally to secure that teachers are well fitted and trained to promote the spiritual, moral, social, cultural, mental and physical

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development of pupils and to prepare pupils for the opportunities,

responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

(Education Act, 1994, Part 1, Section 2, para. 2)

It is notable that at no point in the Act is mention made of the TTA providing any kind of curricular guidance or prescription of content for ITT courses yet it is difficult to conceive how it might 'secure' the well-fittedness of the training process without this. Indeed, it was not long before the Agency published what its first Chief Executive, Anthea Millett, called the 'first ever initial teacher training national curriculum' (Millett, 1998) in the form of DFEE Circular 4/98 (DfEE, 1998) which was distributed to all institutions providing ITT. Although the statutory objectives were framed in broad and vague terms, the early TTA seems to have aspired to no less than the creation of a body of professional disciplinary knowledge for teachers. In a perceptive speech on professionalism and knowledge, Millett identified a key feature of professions as 'the existence of a codified, scientifically established body of knowledge that guides practice and is continually added to and updated to reflect advances in knowledge' (ibid.). She was categorical that no such body existed for teachers in England and envisaged the Agency spearheading a project to develop pedagogy as an evidence-based theory of 'common instructional theory' (ibid.).

In the same way that the original National Curriculum for children in schools proved to be overly prescriptive and too detailed, the similarly unwieldy ITT curriculum was jettisoned when the professional standards were updated by *Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training* (TTA, 2003). However, a *Handbook of Guidance* (TDA, 2006a, p.3) was produced 'to help everyone involved in initial teacher training (ITT) to understand the aims and scope of both the standards

and requirements on ITT providers'. The difficulty with this is that institutions were likely to use and perhaps follow this guidance too closely. That way, they could ensure compliance and need not be fearful of losing funding.

By 2004 the Agency was still intent on 'commission[ing] research to build a stronger knowledge base' but this had been scaled down to be less grand in scope and confined to knowledge 'about *what works* in initial teacher training' (TTA, 2004, p. 5, my italics). The standards which it sets, and which have become the touchstone of the content of the qualification process, are 'outcome statements that indicate what trainee teachers must know, understand and be able to do in order to achieve QTS' (TDA 2006a, p. 7). This is important since it shifts the emphasis away from the process of socialisation into a professional disciplinary ideal and towards a focus on competence to perform a role at the workplace.

The standards are broken down into three strands, 'professional values and practice', 'knowledge and understanding', and 'teaching' (ibid.). Both the outcome statements for professional values and practice are essentially a set of utilitarian competences concerned primarily with preparation for work. The knowledge and understanding strands are equally banal. Far from relying on or seeking to delineate a codified disciplinary complex theoretical knowledge system to underpin the profession and its practice, they seem solely concerned with ensuring that trainees are aware of the content of the state's educational policy directives and understand the subject they teach.

Because of the difficulties presented throughout this chapter, the standards do not demand of trainees a grasp of complex pedagogic theory or anything which might seem to equate to a disciplinary knowledge system. Secondary trainees will usually be graduates of the discipline they are training to teach and may try

to claim some form of complex disciplinary knowledge in virtue of that. There is a clear problem, however, for primary school trainees. Though they may teach a much wider range of subjects, it would hardly be credible to claim that knowledge of the content of a curriculum designed for 7-11 year-olds constituted a complex knowledge system.

There are many criticisms of the TDA's approach to teacher training. Its approach to the development of its outcome-directed curriculum proceeds by a 'best practice' philosophy which is, by its very nature, conservative and retrospective. There is an almost exclusive focus on means rather than an attempt to provoke critical analysis of ends and reflection about the role of teachers and education in society. Brehony (2005, p.41) notes that the mantra of 'what works' is 'ideological because it ignores the asymmetries of power and its operation and it rests on the firm conviction that 'what works' can be identified with some degree of precision, whereas most social science research tends to produce not a single answer but several'. It can therefore exacerbate a situation described by Bottery and Wright (2000) in which teachers pay little attention to their occupational ecology and fail to ask questions about their roles in relation to education policy, politics and power. It should be noted that increased devolution to the constituent countries of the United Kingdom has seen differences emerge such that this vocational narrowness in ITT is beginning to be perceived by some as an English rather than a UK problem (see Crook, 2002; Menter et al., 2003). But so successful has this state usurpation been in England that Furlong (2005) suggests that the government no longer feel they need to intervene in ITT. He argues that the government have 'move[d] away from seeing teacher education as a key concern in policy development' because they have now 'won in their struggle to reduce teacher education to an unproblematic, technical rationalist, procedure' (Furlong, 2005, p.132). Usher and Edwards (1994) make a similar point and go so far as to argue that the

ultimate effect of the standards discourse is to remove the possibility of any meaningful professional knowledge for teachers.

The Higher Education Act 2004 recast the TTA as the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) on 1st September 2005 to reflect an expanded remit. It is now charged with overseeing the arrangements for training 'with the object of fitting persons to be teachers or non-teaching staff, or better teachers or non-teaching staff' and 'any assessment related to the award of a qualification status to teachers or non-teaching staff, or prospective teachers or non-teaching staff' (Higher Education Act 2004, Schedule 14). Its three 'overarching goals' were:

- To attract able and committed people to teaching

- To provide schools and staff with good information on training, development and workforce remodelling.

- To create a training and development environment that enables the whole school workforce to develop its effectiveness.

(TTA, 2005, p. 3)

The 'workforce remodelling' project, discussed in the succeeding chapters, has introduced new staffing roles into schools such as qualified teaching assistants, bursars and business managers. This has precipitated a redefinition of the role of the schoolteacher shifting the certainties of the traditional boundaries of professional jurisdictions in schools. The TDA's functions have now expanded to encompass oversight of the training for all these new paraprofessionals and continuing professional development (CPD) for fully qualified teachers. The Agency has also taken over the work of the National Remodelling Team which

advises schools on remodelling issues. It is perhaps pertinent to note that its new name fails to mention teachers at all since it is now an agency concerned to induct a wide range of differentially qualified deliverers of education. The unspoken message is that teachers now have no special or exclusive claim to teach or run schools.

The work of the TDA is crucial to any debate about teacher professionalism in at least two ways. First, as we have seen, it is important insofar as it controls the content of teachers' training and, ipso facto, its professional disciplinary base. A second consideration concerns the extent to which it promotes a multi-portal entry to the profession. In an attempt to break the universities' virtual monopoly, the original 1994 Act legislated to allow the governing bodies of schools to provide ITT in addition to mandating a greater role for schools in UDE-based ITT. Whilst schools have overwhelmingly failed to come forward to offer alternative provision, the Agency has created and overseen a range of qualification routes which might be seen to sideline UDEs. Chapter 1 argued that a uni-portal entry system is important for professions since a common training and socialization process helps to unify professionals around a professional ideal (Johnson, 1972). Yet in teaching, the TDA have deliberately sought to 'promote diverse routes to qualified teacher status (QTS) including employment-based programmes' (TDA, 2006b, p. 80) though, given that it was born of a deliberate attempt to change the culture and marginalize the influence of the universities, this is perhaps not surprising. As at February 2007, its website detailed a total of nine routes. These include two types of undergraduate course (Bachelor of Education or Bachelor of Arts/Science with Qualified Teacher Status [QTS]), three postgraduate options (Postgraduate Certificate of Education [PGCE], School-centred initial teacher training and the Teach First programme), three employment-based options (Graduate Teacher Training Programme [GTTP], Registered Teacher Programme and the Overseas Trained Teacher Programme)

and, curiously, a qualification route called the 'QTS assessment-only option' which requires no training at all (TDA, 2007b). Of these nine pathways to qualification, only three can accurately be described as university-based. These are the Bachelor of Education degrees, other Bachelors degrees with QTS and the PGCE though the TDA stipulates that the majority of time spent on a PGCE course should be spent in school.

Before 2000, 94% of all new teachers entered the profession after studying on a UDE-based course. The TDA has now made clear that the expansion of the school-based GTTP will mean that, ultimately, 45% of new teachers qualify through this route. In tandem with this, it is envisaged that a route to full QTS will eventually be put into place for the new Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTA). Given their initial qualification, obtained by part-time vocational study whilst at work, this will almost inevitably be school-based.

For the profession, the loss of the connection with universities in an increasingly credentialized employment marketplace may reduce, in the eyes of the public, teachers' professional status and power. It may also militate against the development of loyalty to any professional idealism, distinct from the state's utilitarian agenda of the day, and produce a fragmented workforce lacking any unifying identity. It is hugely ironic, then, to observe Millett (op. cit.) asserting that 'schools and teachers have increasingly put themselves at the forefront of training the next generation of teachers, a hallmark of any profession'. They may now have become as important players in ITT as the universities but it is facile to claim that involvement in training per se represents professionalism. The difficultly is that those at the forefront of training, whether in schools or UDEs, have been reduced to functionaries carrying out the directives, agenda and curricula of others who, in turn, are serving their political masters.

Gilroy (2004, 2005) argues that the combination of fewer ITT students in UDE-based courses, the relatively high cost of ITT in terms of staff commitment and 'partnership' overheads, and the low research profile of UDEs, which means that 80% have no core funding for research, is a volatile and dangerous cocktail which may prove lethal for many UDEs. If such a profile is unattractive to the modern business ethic of modern university management teams, then a 'tipping point' (Gladwell, 2000) may be reached for many. Universities such as Liverpool have already responded by closing their education departments. Academics in other universities (for example Hull, York and Durham) have tried to find respite, not to mention a degree of professional dignity and autonomy, by offering non-teacher training programmes such as Educational Studies degrees which, funded by the Higher Education Funding Council for England, allow for a more reflective approach to wider educational issues. Such courses are free from the strictures of the TDA and attentions of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED).

UDE-based training centred on the old disciplines has given way to the introduction of what we might call a state-directed professional paradigm. Though service to a disciplinary ideal underpins the logic of professionalism, compliance is now the watchword of teacher training. ITT providers are instructed by the TDA that 'all providers must ensure that their provision complies with the Secretary of State's current requirements for initial teacher training'. They go on to suggest that the key question for providers to consider is 'Do our QA procedures ensure that we review compliance with all the requirements actively and regularly?' (TDA, 2006a, p. 93). The codifiers and custodians of teachers' disciplinary endeavour are not asked to consider the advancement, expansion or deepening of their disciplinary boundaries nor advocate any meaningful sense of professional idealism. The priority must be constant and compliant obeisance as UDE-based ITT providers become dislocated from the profession, its knowledge base and its ideals.

b) National College for School Leadership

If ITT has been taken under the political control of the centre, training which facilitates progression to the higher rungs of teaching is now also controlled by a government agency, the National College for School Leadership (NCSL). Having described how education administrators in the US tried to rely upon a knowledge base borrowed from scientific management theory to create a professional class of superintendents, it is interesting to consider the work of the NCSL in the light of such experience.

Secretary of State David Blunkett's 'letter of remit' to the first Chair of the College Governing Council Richard Greenhalgh, Chair of Unilever UK Ltd, makes clear that the state intends that the Agency be fully involved in 'the development and delivery of Government policy on all relevant aspects of school improvement' (DfEE, 2000, para. 2). Allied to this is the preoccupation, which was also noted in the discussion of the TDA, with the development of a knowledge base:

> I expect the College actively to encourage the involvement of school leaders in research and the development of an evidence-based profession. The College will have a key role in disseminating research findings to school leaders in readily accessible and practical ways, in particular through the virtual college, to ensure that we develop policy and practice which is firmly rooted in evidence of what works.
> (ibid., para. 11)

Its first Chief Executive, Heather deQuesnay, oversaw the College's early years as it focused on the delivery of training programmes for headteachers. But, by 2004, it was becoming apparent that the NCSL was losing focus and the DfES

sought to reassert control by removing the *National Remodelling Team* from the auspices of the College where it had been based. John Dunford, General Secretary of the Secondary Heads Association (SHA), suggested that the government had 'not been clear about its expectations' (quoted in Paton, 2005a, p.2) but a further comment in the same interview pointed out that it was 'the College's' role to reflect ministers' policy in the way it maps out its path'. In other words, the role of the College, like that of the TDA, was to act as a frontline interface between politicians, policy-makers and those working in schools. The NCSL was to disseminate practice and knowledge that 'works' in terms of fulfilling the government's agenda for education.

The NCSL was seen as too detached from Whitehall and Paton records the view of DfES 'insiders' who report that the appointment of new Chief Executive, Steve Munby, was the result of a search for somebody who was more 'on message'. Munby had been 'identified as a champion of recent policies' (Paton, 2005b, p.5). Though he had never been a headteacher, Munby had an impressive track record in pushing through the government's reform agenda and turning round a failing authority in Knowsley.

As with the TDA, the NSLC's Governing Council comprises 13 appointed members with the addition of 4 ex officio positions which include the Permanent Secretary at the DfES, NCSL's Chief Executive, the Lead Director of the DfES' Innovation Unit and the Chair of The General Teaching Council for England. As at February, 2007, it was chaired by Vanni Treves, previously a corporate lawyer and partner at a major City law firm. He also holds a number of senior positions on the boards of major international businesses and has in the past been Chair of three other public companies. Little in the way of biographical details is provided in respect of the remaining members but another five appear to come from the world of business whilst four are serving headteachers.

Secretary of State Ruth Kelly's 'letter of remit' to Vanni Treves, the new Chair of NCSL's governing council, was keen to stress the need for the college to contribute to 'the wider reform agenda' as well as to act as the 'driving force in world-class leadership management' (DfES, 2005b). Subsequent to this, the College's revised *Corporate Plan 2006 – 2009* (NCSL, 2006), which revealed that NCSL was allocated funding of £103 million in 2006-07, identified four goals:

1. develop excellent school leadership to transform children's achievement and well-being;

2. develop leadership within and beyond the school;

3. identify and grow tomorrow's leaders;

4. create a fit-for-purpose, national College.

    (NCSL, 2006, p. 1)

The third and fourth objectives relate to its role in addressing the problems of recruitment for headteachers in England and the ongoing development of the college. The substantive part of the NCSL's work in relation to professional knowledge and training is encapsulated within the first two goals. These are hugely significant for professionalism in the current climate of structural overhaul which is 'merging different professional cultures' (ibid., p. 5). A White Paper *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003b) signalled a change in the way in which the government perceived the role of schools and the NCSL's prime task appears to be to reconceptualise the context and content of school leadership. It must fashion a leadership class able to implement a fusion of a number of different

policy instruments and objectives in the light of a 'series of interrelated challenges aris[ing] for school leaders from the Every Child Matters agenda, the continuing drive on workforce remodelling' (ibid., p.9).

The original version of the centrally-directed *National Standards for Headteachers* (see DfES, 2004, for the most recently revised edition) was drafted before the NCSL had come into being but a major plank of the college's work involves training headteachers to meet these standards. Those who do so are awarded the *National Professional Qualification for Headteachers* (NPQH), now a prerequisite for those aspiring to headship. The standards assert that the 'core purpose of the headteacher is to provide professional leadership and management' for a school and acknowledges headteachers' key role in 'engaging in the development and delivery of government policy' (DfES, 2004, p. 2 – 3). They consist of a set of outcome statements which prescribe competencies in six broad areas - *Shaping the Future, Leading Learning and Teaching, Developing Self and Working with Others, Managing the Organisation, Securing Accountability* and *Strengthening Community* – and identify the 'knowledge requirements, professional qualities (skills, dispositions and personal capabilities headteachers bring to the role) and actions needed to achieve the core purpose' (ibid., p. 4) in respect of each area. Most of the outcome statements involve mundane but useful competences such as strategic planning, targets-setting, the use of technology, team-building and such like. Throughout, the document is peppered with New Labour's public service rhetoric referring, for example, to 'stakeholders', 'ambitious, challenging goals and targets' and 'choice and flexibility'. Insofar as there are references to education-specific management, mention is made of the 'personalised learning culture', 'school self-evaluation' and 'the pursuit of excellence'. The introduction to the standards document informs us that it 'incorporates current government thinking and guidance'. The

headteacher standards are clearly a discourse born of the political process rather than the academy.

There are many ways in which these standards are open to the same criticisms which can be levelled at the standards for ITT. On the questions of knowledge and standards, the NCSL seeks to 'maintain our focus on effective leadership practice' and details its aspiration to 'spread leading-edge practice across the school system...draw[ing] on the very best national and international research in developing cutting-edge practice and advice to government' (NCSL, 2006). Like the TDA, the college is concerned with 'what works' as if this were unproblematic. An added complication when dealing with a profession which has become so critical an area of central government intervention concerns the nature of leadership. The NCSL, echoing government ministers, often prefers to talk about leaders rather than headteachers. But as Wright (2001) points out, leadership is conceptually different from management and the current paradigm for school leadership, as promoted by government policy through the NCSL, represents the latter rather than the former. He argues that the emphasis on managerialist policies which have directed the work of schools has reduced the space in which headteachers might exercise meaningful leadership. Managing and implementing the directives of others leaves no room for the creation and articulation of visions, goals and values. Hence headteachers, and the college, represent a superficial copy of true leadership, an imitation which he calls 'bastard leadership'. A similar point is made by Hatcher (2005, p. 253) who interprets the work of the college as an attempt to create a homogeneous leadership style and an 'appropriate headteacher identity'.

Despite these criticisms, there are two ways in which the NCSL has an important bearing on teacher professionalism and knowledge. The first concerns the wider objectives of education and schools. In addition to the NCSL's more obvious

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performance targets concerning matters such as recruitment to its courses and organisational efficiency, two important indicators refer to the college's contribution to 'schools' progress towards achieving the national targets' and its contribution to 'the achievement of the ECM five outcomes for children nationally' (NCSL, op. cit., p. 24). It is difficult to see how the college's contribution to national academic attainment targets might be measured. Moreover, such policy levers have been criticised for narrowing the educational mission as teachers concentrate on test scores to the neglect of other important matters. Nevertheless, the *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003b) agenda might present an opportunity for educationalists to once again think more broadly about the purposes of school. Its five objectives for children's services centred in and around schools are 'being healthy', 'staying safe', 'enjoying and achieving', 'making a positive contribution' and 'economic well-being' (DfES, 2003b, para. 10). This may, in retrospect come to be seen as a significant policy shift away from the overriding concern with academic standards which currently predominates. It is, however, too early to tell what the effect of this will be in the long term. Given that headteachers are working within a climate in which there is an active redrawing of professional roles, jurisdictions and responsibilities, there may be space for the emergence of a new breed of school leader or children's services professional.

Despite the workaday nature of the headteacher standards, they too may also leave room for discussion of things which go beyond the practical. Headteachers should, according to the standards, know about 'the contribution that education makes to developing, promoting and sustaining a fair and equitable society' (DfES, 2004, p. 10) and 'the wider curriculum beyond school' (ibid., p. 11). They should also have a vision which 'should express core educational values and moral purpose' (DfES, 2004, p. 6). This seems to come very close to invoking a professional ideal. Later it be will be discussed as to whether there might indeed

remain the potential for a category of child worker to emerge as a new reconfigured profession concerned with child welfare as a whole rather than academic education in particular.

It is interesting to record Munby's comments in the NCSL's in-house magazine shortly after taking up appointment. He cites 'reengagement of the profession' as his 'number one priority' and suggests that the work of the college is 'about connecting the academic and the theory with realism and pragmatism' (NCSL, 2005, p. 11). On partnership working, he believes that 'it is not about who is in control so much as what is the best outcome for children and young people'. Asked whether the DfES controls the NCSL's work, he goes on to say that 'one of our key roles has to be in informing policy – helping to set the agenda in the first place' (ibid.). Indeed, the NCSL's Corporate Plan 2006 – 2009 reinforces the point, or promise, that the college 'expect[s] to have a stronger influence on future policy and practice' (NCSL, 2006, p. 27). At the vanguard of professional structuring and working in a climate of newly realigned thinking about child welfare as a whole, it may be that the college is indeed well-positioned to influence policy and politicians. It may also be in a good position to develop a professional knowledge base and rearticulate the ideals of the profession.

For the time being, however, the combined work of the NCSL and TDA represents a centrally coordinated cooption of power over professional training and development and, by extension, an assertion of control over professional knowledge. Furthermore, this training has become intricately, perhaps inextricably, linked into the wider reform agenda which, as will be seen in the next chapter, is, in many respects, antipathetic to professionalism. Kelly puts it like this:

NCSL and TDA between them are responsible for the full range of school workforce professional development from support staff through to the senior leadership team. A coherent approach on the part of the two organisations, particularly when addressing the challenges of the modernisation agenda and the increasingly complex nature of the school system, will be essential to provide the much needed clarity the system requires. (DfES, 2005b)

Control of the parameters of the content of initial teacher training, continuing professional development and preparation for headship by the TDA and the NCSL amount to the politicization of teachers' professional knowledge. When those exercising such power are also tasked with driving forward the government's wider reform agenda of occupational restructuring in schools, the connections between knowledge and professional jurisdictions are, in effect, being renegotiated by the state with neither reference to UDEs, hitherto at the forefront of the transmission of teacher's knowledge and professional idealism, nor those working in schools.

Conclusion and Outlook

Arguments for state-legitimated exclusive rights to occupy a professional jurisdiction are predicated upon a profession's knowledge base. This chapter, however, has shown that for teachers this is a highly problematic issue.

Sociologists' do not appear to be persuaded that teachers' can claim to be acting as agents of formal knowledge whilst academics working within the education tradition are divided. On the one hand, many reject the possibility of a complex disciplinary knowledge base for teachers. On the other, there are those who argue that this is essential if teaching is to retain any credibility as a profession.

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Some writers in this second group advance their own epistemological framework upon which a comprehensive knowledge system for teachers might be built. Either way, it is difficult to argue that anything approaching a codified body of theoretical knowledge for teachers exists at the present time.

There is certainly no evidence to suggest that teachers in schools believe that their theoretical knowledge, such as it is, gained at university is important in their work. Teachers' perceptions of professionalism seem, on the whole, to rely on attributive notions often centred on the conscientious performance of work. The ambition that classroom practitioners might consult experts in UDEs in a way analogous to that which pertains in the legal and medical professions remains blatantly unfulfilled. Indeed, there appears to be a sense of dislocation between those working in the universities and their school-teaching colleagues.

If suspicion about the work of UDEs seems to extend to much of the political class, doubts about teachers' expertise have meant that it has been difficult for UDEs to resist state intrusion into both the process and content of training. So we have seen policy interventions in teacher and headteacher preparation which have been expressly designed to shift control of the content of training away from the universities and towards the government. The TDA and the NCSL may aspire to the creation of a body of knowledge to support an evidence-based profession but much of the knowledge they seek to promote appears to be valued principally for its utility in promoting a political and state-ordained standards agenda.

This politicization of teachers' knowledge has created a situation in which ownership of knowledge, its development and its transmission has been transferred to politicians and civil servants. But if professions control, extend, advance and transmit disciplinary knowledge and, if control of professional

education is a central tenet of professionalism, then this centralised state control of training seriously, perhaps interminably, threatens the credence of any claim to professionalism for teachers. They become the puppets of state bureaucracy working under a state-directed paradigm rather than servants of professional idealism.

The introduction and expansion of school-based training routes into teaching raises further questions about the connection between academic knowledge and practitioners in the field. Given that the TDA and NCSL are charged with the furtherance of a political agenda which deliberately seeks to change and challenge established professional practice, there is a danger that the knowledge and training which those very agencies are keen to codify and facilitate will be subjugated to political expedience and metamorphose in response to the government imperatives of the moment.

The position of a profession seeming to operate without a professional knowledge paradigm seems, in many respects, to mirror that of pre-paradigmatic scholars. It has produced a profession uncertain and ambiguous in its attitude towards its own expertise and university-based training and given rise to a sense of unanchored professional identity. The absence of a strong knowledge base has also left room for politicians, sceptical about the work of UDEs, to impose a narrow state-directed pseudo-paradigm.

It may be that the professional restructuring precipitated by the envisaged organisational marriage of different children's services offers the potential to fashion a multidisciplinary but codified science of child welfare which might underpin the emergence of a new breed of child welfare professional. But that is for the future. At present, teachers seem to model a kind of dry-stone-wall professionalism which provides an illusion of strength and stability but, because

it is unfixed by any paradigmatic mortar, is easily dismantled. Those seeking to attack or reconfigure the wall of teachers' professional power have needed only to draw attention to the absence of epistemological cement. And, as the observation from McNamara at the opening of this chapter recognises, problems with teachers' knowledge base have left them especially vulnerable to the aggressive incursion of statute, initiative, strategy and guideline.

3

Professional Power, Politics and the General

Teaching Council for England

The government's objective is simple but highly ambitious. It is to restore teaching to its rightful place as one of Britain's foremost professions....raising it to the status of other professions such as medicine and law, which are natural choices for our most able graduates. (Tony Blair, 1999)

The Blair years saw a shift in the political discourse surrounding education and the teaching profession. Low morale and problems of recruitment and retention meant that there was a political need to champion state education and those charged with its delivery. This change in tone has not been without its ambiguities and internal contradictions. The language of Tony Blair's speech to the National Association of Head Teachers' (NAHT) Conference in which the then Prime Minister presented himself as a cheerleader for teachers demonstrates this. The short extract quoted above, for example, acknowledged that the status of teaching had been damaged and that the educated elite are highly unlikely to consider teaching as a career. If changing this situation was the 'highly ambitious' project of New Labour, it is ironic that their education policies have tightened and extended state control over teachers' work whilst ostensibly promising to promote notions of autonomy and self-governance, key indicators of professionalism and professional power.

This chapter highlights the tensions between politics and professionalism in the education system and explores one aspect of teaching which acts as a barometer of professional power, collective control. It will offer a brief, and necessarily

selective, history of teachers' collective struggle for professional power through their trade unions in order to signpost some recurring tensions in the relationship between teachers and the state. A critical analysis of the recently established General Teaching Council for England (GTC) is then presented. The theme of monopolistic control is threaded throughout this chapter and Chapter 4 which addresses professional power in terms of individual autonomy at the workplace.

Some Themes in the History of Organised Teachers

The Middle Ages saw the rise of organised occupational groupings but there was no guild, craft, mystery or other vocational collective for teachers. This may have been due to teaching's relatively strong position resulting from its connection with the Church and its upper to middle class client group. Yet, by the second half of the nineteenth century, it was becoming clear that teachers needed to organise collectively as a profession independent from the church. As was noted in Chapter 1, that period also saw a movement from status to occupational professionalism operating in parallel with a shift from an architectonic centred on religion to one concerned with issues of polity. These general shifts are mirrored in the embryonic teaching profession: the extension of schooling to the masses brought education to the forefront of the concerns of the political class who envisaged an important role for education in the development of a modern political economy whilst religious concerns and control over education began to ebb. Concurrent with this, the status of teachers could no longer be justified by vicarious reference to the status of the church and a new occupational professionalism needed to be envisioned, expressed and fought for. Thus, as Tomlinson (1995) argues, this was a crucial period for teacher professionalism since it was then that the tensions between state and teachers were set up which continued throughout the twentieth century in England.

Indeed, it is striking how the arguments of more than a century ago continue to be the key areas of contention today.

There were attempts to establish professional bodies on similar lines to those of the legal and medical professions. 1846 saw the birth of the College of Preceptors, a body of secondary headteachers which attempted to establish and accredit a form of teacher education and examination. In 1862, it called for the establishment of a professional council and register of teachers which, they believed, would 'justify their claim to be considered a body of professional men worthy of as much social regard as any other similar body' (quoted in Carr-Saunders, 1933, p. 261). But the College of Preceptors, like The Headmasters Conference launched by Edward Thring in 1869 and still surviving today, represented mainly those teaching the children of the upper classes. Once the expansion of mass state schooling had begun, using teachers increasingly drawn from the aspiring working classes, such organisations were clearly unrepresentative of most of the teaching population and faded into the background.

Historically, the chief areas of contention between teacher workers and their employers have been policies which have been perceived to thwart an ethic of professionalism, especially regarding autonomy at the workplace and professional monopoly. The Revised Code, introduced in 1862, tightened and centralised control over timetables, clerical duties, standards and textbooks in addition to introducing a widely despised policy of payment by results. Alongside this, there was a change in the demographic of the profession and 'the Department was ever willing to flood the system with untrained, uncertified teachers, who were cheaper' (Barber, 1992, p.5). This led to the formation of the National Union of Elementary Schoolteachers which later became the National Union of Teachers (NUT) in 1889. The NUT membership doubled in size

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between 1895 and 1910. The 1899 Education Act legislated for the provision of a Teachers' Register and the 1901 Board of Education Act provided for a Teachers' Registration Council. But the divisive nature of this Council, with different conditions of registration for elementary and grammar school staff, meant that it was short-lived and it was disbanded six years later. Meanwhile, it was 'through these associations [trade unions] that the teachers [were] attempting to express their ideals and enforce their policies' (Carr Saunders and Wilson, op. cit., p. 265).

Teachers may have pressed both their sectional interests and their broader agenda for education policy through their trade unions but it is important not to simplify their history to a crude struggle between a homogenous group of oppressed employees and the might of an overbearing state. Lawn's (1987) detailed account of the history of the 'contested control of teaching' over the period from 1900-1930 identifies conflict on at least three battlefronts: the different strategic objectives of different unions hindered any attempt that any one organisation might make to claim to speak for a united profession; disputes between unions and agencies of central and local government centred round the struggle to control the new national agenda for education; and, interestingly, disputes between central government, represented by the Board of Education, and the education committees in local authorities often placed political leaders in the schizophrenic position of publicly advocating a strong profession whilst simultaneously frustrating the conditions which might bring this about.

The divisions amongst teachers presented difficulties and ambiguities for organised teacher movements. Sometimes tactical mistakes produced schism. The NUT's approach to the establishment of a teachers' register, for example, was seen as defending the position of the predominantly male certified teachers and led to the splintering of the union and the formation of National Union of

Women Teachers (NUWT) and the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS). Ideologically, teachers never fully resolved the conundrum of whether to ally themselves with the professional groups of the middle classes or the working class, from which many had been recruited, and its growing trade union movement (Ozga & Lawn, 1981). Chapter 1 outlined how the different practitioners in law united to win the confidence of both the public and the state in their successful pursuit of self-governance. By contrast, the kind of fragmented solidarity and disunity of purpose displayed by teachers cannot have helped their quest for professional power. Notwithstanding all of this, the undermining of professionalism by local boards, which employed the non-qualified in order to save money, eventually promoted a solidarity which prompted a shift to a more industrial unionism concerned with fighting for better pay and allied to the rising working class movements. This had the paradoxical effect of strengthening professional closure. Although the unions could not technically control points of entry to the profession, industrial muscle could be expressed through a refusal to work with newly recruited teachers with no qualifications and it could reasonably be claimed that such tactics led to the establishment of a *de facto* professional monopoly.

The standpoints of central and local government also led to some surprising consequences. The local boards opposed professionalism for teachers and administrative edicts from central government both of which, they thought, impeded the management's right to manage. But, with the mass expansion of education, national politicians developed clearer, more coherent and more ambitious national policy objectives which necessitated greater central input into the work of teachers and schools. Lloyd George considered the local education boards to be a great threat to reform because their approach risked upsetting a crucial new group whose industrial might was growing. Though not in favour of full blown professional control, his tactical calculation was that the threat of too

strict direct control might turn the teachers into revolutionary socialists. The academic historian H. A. L. Fisher, his influential education minister, wrote:

You will readily appreciate the influence of the teachers in the country and the effect which a discontented body of over 160,000 teachers may easily have in keeping alive increasing social and industrial unrest. (quoted in Lawn, 1987, p. 64).

The strategy of the major political parties, then, became to appeal to teachers as the 'new guardians of quality in the education service' (ibid., p. 59). A unionised labour force strongly allied to leftist political movements may, as Thompson (1927) argued, have been bound to encounter difficulty achieving self-governance. But here was an appeal to teachers' aspirations based on the service ethic borrowed from the rhetoric of the professions. Thus, in the early years of the teaching profession, we see the notion of professional service being used in different ways by different speakers. Ozga and Lawn (1981) have argued that the state has historically used the language of professionalism as a tool of control. There is, in Lloyd George's approach, for example, much emphasis on the attributive notions of professionalism - service, duty, diligence, selflessness, conscientious care - whilst the parts to do with occupational power and control - self-governance, accreditation, autonomy and monopoly - are ignored. Meanwhile, professionalism for the NUT laid claim to a worker-led definition of their work and skills:

Professionalism was used as a term describing a service to the community and freedom from state control. What it meant was a determination to define and control the skill of teaching in ways that were often oppositional to the definition or control over teaching imposed by employers. (Lawn, 1987, p. 15)

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The retention of the idea of professional service proved particularly useful for teachers as Labour sought to build the welfare state. The provisions of the progressive 1944 Education Act, for example, owned much to the influence and ideals of the teacher unions. The Royal Society for Teachers, which had evolved from the ashes of The Teachers' Registration Council, had failed to convince policy-makers of the need for compulsory registration for teachers to be contained within the Act. It was wound up in 1949 and Tomlinson (1995, p. 60) summarises that the post-war 'government's anxiety to ensure a sufficient and appropriate supply of teachers had overcome any impulse to share power with the profession.' The Teachers Registration movement also failed because divisions amongst teacher unions meant that there was never a unified momentum behind the push for a professional body (Parry and Parry, 1974).

Despite this, it is widely agreed that the 1940s through to the 1970s saw a consensus in which an ethic of professionalism dominated as many aspects of teachers' professional power seemed to have won a degree of public and political acceptance. By the late 1950s, Tropp was able to claim:

> It [the profession] was created by the state, and in the nineteenth century the state was powerful enough to claim almost complete control over the teacher and to manipulate his status while at the same time disclaiming all responsibility towards him. Slowly, and as a result of prolonged effort, the organised profession has won free and has reached a position of self government and independence. (Tropp, 1957, p. 112)

Much was achieved. The creation of formal qualifications, ultimately deriving their cachet from being based within universities, forged an important foundation

upon which to build and advance professional power whilst the exclusion of uncertified teachers represented the beginnings of professional monopoly. On top of these advances, teachers' control of the school curriculum and political and public acceptance of their right to be involved in shaping education policy at national and local levels seemed to confirm and symbolise their professional status. It was 'widely assumed that teachers would be consulted on broad policy issues relating to education' (McCulloch, et al., 2000, p. 19). Moreover, it was taken for granted that this would be conducted collectively through their trade unions. The unions, in turn, were as earnest in their attempts to influence wider educational policy issues as they been in promoting the pay and conditions of their members. So entrenched was teachers' power at the workplace that the period has been labelled the 'Golden Era of teacher control' (Lawton, 1980, p. 22). Indeed, the defining element of McCulloch et al.'s (op. cit., p. 13) 'English tradition of teacher professionalism' was teachers' control over the curriculum. The orthodoxy of this theme can also be read from the reaction once this power was removed. Gilroy (1991) goes so far as to claim that any sense of professional autonomy at work is doomed without it. There are some who dissent from this view. Ozga and Lawn argue, with some justification, that external pressures in the form of inspection, standardised training, and the examination system meant that individual teachers had little real autonomy with regard to the curriculum:

Our argument would suggest that teachers never had curricular autonomy, except in the sense of deciding when to operate the machine and what was a reasonable output. The production line, its pace, content and product have been broadly determined for teachers and altered as the demands of capital altered. (Ozga and Lawn, 1981, p. 141)

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Both views may be reconciled if we consider that there seemed to be a recognition of teachers' collective right to control the curriculum, even if it was restricted in practice for individual teachers. Collective input and influence on policy-making presumably is certainly one form of power which may well prescribe the autonomy of individual practitioners but it is not a credible strategy to argue that the profession should have a say in national education settlements whilst simultaneously saying that individual practitioners should be able to ignore or act outside of such agreements.

This assumed control, however, turned out to be short-lived. By 1960, politicians began to suspect that too much control had been ceded to teachers irrespective of the lack of a professional body. Conservative Education Minister, David Eccles, suggested that the Crowther Report's (Ministry of Education, 1959) findings were 'an irresistible invitation for a sally into the secret garden of the curriculum' and complained that:

> We hardly ever discuss what is taught to the 7 million boys and girls in the maintained schools. We treat the curriculum as though it were a subject, like the other place [i.e. the House of Lords], about which it is 'not done' for us to make remarks. I should like the House to say that this reticence has been overdone. (Hansard, 1960)

For politicians, little immediate progress was made in the realm of curriculum control until the debate was reopened with Prime Minster James Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1976. Chapter 2 showed that the eventual consequences of this for teacher training and teacher educators were profound. The speech also fanned the flames of a right-wing antipathy to teachers' professional power in general.

By the 1970s, and against the backdrop of dramatic social and cultural change in the 1960s, education had once again become a critical political battleground (Carr and Hartnett, 1996). The Conservative right believed schools should uphold respect for authority, discipline, morality, Englishness and traditional academic values. Teacher unions, who had enjoyed significant input into major education policy issues, were seen, with education academics, as part of an education establishment which had created and perpetuated a left-wing orthodoxy opposed to this perspective in general and selection, streaming, setting, testing and corporal punishment in particular. Keith Joseph, eventually to become Prime Minster Thatcher's first Education Secretary, went as far as claiming in 1975 that teachers were responsible for a rise in truancy, delinquency, vandalism and a decline in national pride (Tomlinson, 2001, p. 20). The so-called Black Papers, referred to in the previous chapter, were influential on the right and, increasingly, filtered through into the mainstream. Almost as if to confirm the Conservative's, and public's, worst fears, the infamous scandal of the William Tyndale School broke in 1975.

The Tories election victory in 1979 began what Grace (1987) claims was a new phase of conflict between teachers and the state as both fought for power over education. The introduction of a national curriculum in the 1988 Education Reform Act certainly made arguments about whether teachers controlled the curriculum rather redundant. They clearly did not. But, conflict or not, as administrations from both sides of the political divide have gnawed away at individual autonomy, they have still sought to use the promise of professionalism as a device to court the support, and votes, of teachers. One rather grand-scale way in which this has been evident can be seen in New Labour's legislation for a General Teaching Council for England. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to discussing this important development in the history of teachers' professional power.

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Overview of the General Teaching Council for England

By the mid-1990s, Tony Blair's Opposition, repositioned and restyled as New Labour in imitation of Clinton's New Democrats in the US (Giddens, 2000, 2007), was looking to maximise votes from a disillusioned public sector workforce. Scottish teachers had had a General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) since 1966. Blair declared that his party was ready to put self-governance for teachers in England back on the agenda:

> A Labour government will also establish a General Teaching Council, as already exists in Scotland, with responsibility for setting high professional standards, and promoting and regulating the teaching profession. (Blair, 1996a)

The commitment reached Labour's 1997 election-winning manifesto and, hidden in the nearly 2,000-word-long section on education, was this rather stark declamation:

> There will be a general teaching council to speak for and raise standards in the profession. (Labour Party, 1997, p. 9)

The New Labour government kept its promise. Its consultation paper *Teaching: High Status, High Standards* (DfEE, 1997a) affirmed its desire to see 'a clear professional voice, independent of government, but working with us to raise standards' and 'involve [teachers] in determining the shape and future of their profession'. Subsequently, *The Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998* legislated for GTCs for both England and Wales. The GTC's broad aims were set down by the Act as:

(a) to contribute to improving the standards of teaching and the quality of learning, and

(b) to maintain and improve standards of professional conduct amongst teachers, in the interests of the public.

(Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998, Part 1, Chapter 1, s.1, para. 2)

Its functions fall into two broad categories, advice and regulation. Section 2 of the Act outlines its advisory function which involves advising the Secretary of State or other bodies on standards of teaching and conduct, recruitment, training, career development, performance management, medical fitness to teach and 'the role of the teaching profession'. The breadth of these advisory functions indicates how, in practice, the way in which the Council and its leaders execute their duties is very much a matter for individual interpretation. The Audit Commission (2005, p. 6-7) write that the GTC 'has chosen to interpret its advice remit broadly' and suggest that this has resulted in a loss of focus for its work.

There also appears to be a difficulty with the GTC's relationship with ministers:

The Council's relationship with government is recognised broadly as being less productive than it should be.....The GTCE, in turn, needs to do more to understand how it might engage better when it is offering advice to government. The Council needs to ensure that when it speaks in those areas where it has a unique viewpoint, its advice is recognised and acknowledged as authoritative, clear and relevant. (ibid.)

We will return to examine how the GTC has chosen to interpret its advisory remit and its access to government later. But it is reasonable to hypothesise that part of the reason for its ineffectiveness in respect of this role might rest with the overlap between its aims and functions and the work of other agencies established before the GTC's inception. Furthermore, there is no power conferred in the legislation which might mean that its advice is taken seriously. In contrast, when the GTCS presents advice and recommendation to minsters, politicians need not heed it but are obliged to publish their reasoning when they chose not to do so.

The GTC's regulatory functions involve establishing and maintaining a register of teachers, administering disciplinary proceedings against teachers and drafting a code of conduct. These are key features of professional power with potentially enormous implications for the creation of a monopoly, boundary policing, discipline and competence. Each is examined separately.

i) Registration

Section 3 of the Act prescribes that the GTC should keep a register of all qualified teachers within the meaning of section 218 (2) of the Education Reform Act 1988. Initially, the Council needed to determine the form of the register and, as an exercise in information-gathering, this is perhaps its most successful achievement to date. The Audit Commission's review recognised its progress and praised the accuracy of its register. Yet there remain problems of a practical nature and some serious inconsistencies which undermine the rationale of this work.

A successful registration system represents much more than a bureaucratic list-making exercise and stands as both instrument and symbol of professional power and monopoly. The register simultaneously mandates the qualified whilst excluding the unregistered from practice. Yet many teachers were apathetic or antagonistic towards the fledgling GTC and there was resistance to the requirement to register to the extent that the government was compelled to introduce a system of reimbursing teachers even though the registration fee was only modest. There may be a case for arguing that this may have arisen because of a perception of unfairness since not all teachers were required to register. The GTC was imposing a requirement to register without guaranteeing a monopoly of practice. The case of private schools, where staff needed neither be GTC-registered nor have QTS, may be used to illustrate this.

In 2002, the GTC Chair, David Puttnam, expressed the hope that GTC membership would become a requirement in private schools (Education and Skills Committee, 2002, question 43). Yet two years later, the anomalous position of teachers in the private sector, continued to embarrass the GTC. In mid October, 2004, much of the English media ran a story ridiculing its ruling that a successful private school ex-headteacher who did not have QTS could not register with the GTC thereby precluding him from teaching in state schools. Carol Adams, the GTC's chief executive, under pressure of the media glare, was indirectly quoted in the Times Educational Supplement as commenting that she would like to see 'a dedicated route into teaching for those who have extensive teaching experience in private schools' (Slater et al., 2004, p. 10). It appeared that the GTC was seeking to waive the usual qualificatory routes for teaching in state sector schools in response to a hullabaloo from the media. Another case involved Keith Lamb, a science teacher from Bournemouth, who refused to pay the registration fee and was removed from the register. He was subsequently

sacked from the state school in which he worked and promptly claimed that he had received offers of work from the private sector (Stewart, 2005a).

Private schools comprise the top 100 of the *Financial Times'* list of the best 1000 schools ranked by A-level results (Hutton, 2004). It is, then, a curious state of affairs if those high-achieving schools educating the children of many of the affluent and powerful remain unpersuaded of the credibility of the GTC or, indeed, of the necessity for teaching qualifications. These incidents display the fragility of qualified teachers' professional jurisdiction and the incompleteness of their monopoly. This situation is compounded by the fact that, in the week in which Keith Lamb was sacked, the government announced that teachers in the new academies would not need to be GTC-registered. This problem is exacerbated by the government's rhetoric which encourages restructuring of the workforce, particularly in these new schools. The problems for teachers' professional monopoly in an era of far-reaching reform in public services is neatly summed up by The Audit Commission who recognise that there are difficulties arising from the existence of many different categories of education worker:

> Coverage of professionals working with children is also not as comprehensive as the children's workforce approach demands. Particular current examples include home tuition, musical instrument teaching and outdoor activity, some of the most vulnerable situations for pupils and teachers, which the GTCE's regulation remit currently excludes...Teachers in further education (FE) colleges, Academies and the independent sector are currently unregulated, which will lead to potential gaps in the regulation of mixed-sector settings for 14-19 year-old pupils. (Audit Commission, 2005, para. 21, pp. 7-8)

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A final criticism of the GTC's registration function concerns eligibility for the registration of new teachers and goes to the heart of the debate about professional self-governance. Ironically, the same Act which created the Council also made provision for OFSTED to inspect training provision, usually a key function of professional bodies. The then TTA was also being reviewed at the same time as the GTC legislation was being debated and ministers could have begun to transfer power for training to the GTC. They did not. Thus, as outlined in Chapter 2, it is the TDA who continue to determine the standards which need to be met before candidates can be recommended to the GTC by teacher training providers. Such an arrangement means that the GTC does not control entry standards since it does not set their content or police their delivery. Without this, its registration procedures are open to the charge that they are merely a clerical activity stripped of any real control over how individuals might be adjudged fit for inclusion on a professional register. Exactly this point was made by Lord Glenamara as the GTC bill passed through the House of Lords. Criticising the means-spiritedness of government in restricting the GTC to an advisory role in respect of teacher training, he made the following contribution to the debate:

> This body should govern the teaching profession. Therefore it must control ingress to the profession and egress from it and not simply be able to give advice on those matters. (Hansard, 1998b)

In Scotland, it 'is widely held that the existence of the GTC(S) has prevented the Secretary of State from initiating radically new patterns of training for teachers of a kind that have been introduced south of the border and have been interpreted in Scotland as being 'dilutionary" (Kirk, 2000, p. 238). Kenneth Clarke's introduction of licensed teachers and abolition of the probationary period in England, for example, was successfully resisted by the GTCS. Here, in contrast, it appears that 'the existence of a powerful [TTA] controlled by

ministers, provided a convenient excuse for withholding from [GTC] the right to accredit teacher education programmes' (ibid., p. 240). Thus the English GTC rubber-stamps the recommendations of ITT providers who confirm that trainees have met the standards ordained by a government quango. This is a species of professional self-governance denuded of the powers which would otherwise give it meaning and which has given birth to a raft of irregularities and inconsistencies. Perhaps the most absurd concerns the position of headteachers. Male (2006, 2007a, 2007b) has pointed out that entry onto to the headteachers' qualification, NPQH, is not contingent on candidates being qualified teachers. It is rather like saying that consultant surgeons do not need to be qualified doctors.

ii) Discipline

We must learn to police ourselves, to isolate and identify the obvious neurotic and the incompetent itinerant who riddle our ranks. (Seymour, 1966, p.129)

Self-governing professions exercise disciplinary powers over their errant members as a guarantee to the state and public that they can be entrusted with exclusive rights to practise within their professional jurisdiction. Seymour's comment, above, recognises the importance of this for teachers and the disciplinary functions of the GTC are ordained by Section 6 and elaborated in Schedule 2 of the Act. This mandates for the Council to investigate, hear and determine cases where it is alleged that a registered teacher is '(i) guilty of unacceptable professional conduct or serious professional incompetence, or (ii) has been convicted (at any time) of a relevant offence'. The GTC can impose a variety of sanctions and punishments termed 'disciplinary orders' which cover 'a reprimand, conditional registration order, a suspension order, or prohibition order' (ibid.).

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Disciplinary control over members may be a necessary condition of professional settlements with the state. But some advocates of a GTC-centred system of professional ethics have extrapolated from this that the exercise of such powers will work to improve teachers' status in the public mind (Balchin, 1987; Thompson, 1997). Such an inference is questionable since there is no evidence that effective sanctions imposed on individual practitioners do, in fact, raise confidence in the professions. There are two further difficulties with this view. The first point is that disciplinary proceedings may draw public attention to failures and scandals. The TES carries almost weekly reports cataloguing a wide range of colourful misdemeanours. These headlines are typical: 'Deputy involved pupils in 'war' with headteacher' (Luft, 2005a), 'Internet porn is head's downfall' (Luft, 2005b); 'Drink drive head keeps her job' (Fawcett, T. 2005); 'Reprimand for 'joke' after 7/7 bombings' (Golds, 2006a); 'Teacher escapes sanction over sanitary towel gibe' (Golds, 2006b); 'Heads 10-year 'reign of terror'' (Luft, 2006); 'Distress at sex toy gifts' (Savage, 2006); 'Escape for head who allowed cheating' (Sharpe, 2003): 'A bottle of vodka before drive home' (Fletcher, 2006). If this provides a flavour of the cases reported in the teacher's national journal, the stories reported in the mainstream media are equally lurid and focus on the more extreme or bizarre cases.

Such reporting may provide public reassurance that inappropriate teacher behaviour in classrooms is being dealt with. The danger is that it risks giving the impression that school workforces harbour a disproportionate number of individuals with unorthodox sexual proclivities and a predilection to chemical stimulants. This perception is compounded when offenders' punishment falls short of an outright lifelong ban from teaching as was the case with all the TES stories cited above. John Dunford, General Secretary of the then SHA, claimed he had 'been surprised at how lenient the punishments have been compared to

those given by the General Medical Council' (quoted in Shaw, 2004a, p. 1) whilst Chris Keates, General Secretary of the NASUWT, claimed that punishments were more consistent when the DfES was in charge (quoted in Shaw, 2004b). This brings us to the second objection to the idea that disciplinary powers and proceedings engender public trust in professions, perhaps best exemplified by the case of Dr. Harold Shipman.

Undetected by his colleagues and peers at the General Medical Council (GMC), Shipman's unconventional interpretation of his professional vocation led him to murder his patients over a period of decades by injecting them with lethal overdoses. The Shipman Inquiry (2005) found that he most likely killed at least 250 people. The inquiry precipitated changes to the legislation, rules, guidelines and procedures governing medicine and, pertinent here, recommended changes to the structure of the GMC. Another well-reported case of inadequate self-regulation was that of paediatrician Professor Sir Roy Meadows whose expert testimonies helped convict two women of murder. The convictions were quashed by the Court of Appeal on the basis that Meadows was giving evidence which went way beyond his field of expertise. As the long running story unravelled in the media, it was revealed that complaints about Meadows, including one from a Labour Member of Parliament, had been made to the GMC but had been ignored (Doward, 2005).

The cases of Shipman and Meadows no more demonstrate the inherent bad faith of all doctors, or invalidate the logic of professional self-governance, than frequent reports of misbehaviour in the classroom prove the innate wickedness of the teaching profession. What they do suggest, however, is that the tide of public and political opinion may be moving against self-governance and towards more independent scrutiny. The decline of deference to the authority of the middle classes and traditional power structures in a more open and educated

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society with freer and easier access to knowledge suggests that the current vogue tends towards external mechanisms for accountability even in the powerful and already well-established professions.

Disciplinary powers over cases involving child protection issues, commonly known as List 99 cases, have been retained by the DfES which, as the Audit Commission (op. cit., p.8) point out, 'increases the number of institutional boundaries to be surmounted' for the GTC. We might read this central retention of power as a further consequence of teachers' incomplete professional monopoly. Clearly, the state needs to protect children from individuals wishing to work in schools where there are serious child abuse issues wherever these occur. Given that the GTC's remit does not extend to all schools, or all teachers, its decisions regarding child abuse cases would not extend to institutions where GTC registration was not required. On this interpretation, this restriction on its disciplinary powers is a direct reflection of its inadequate jurisdiction in terms of monopolistic practice. The unsatisfactory consequence is that not only does the GTC not exercise professional regulatory rights over those teaching in the contexts outside of its remit. It does not even exercise full disciplinary powers over those on its own register.

Inconsistencies and illogicalities in the GTC's registration function stemming from the existence of a plethora of government agencies and policy instruments are mirrored in its disciplinary role. Although one of the Council's key aims is to raise the standards of teaching, the GTC is not, in the normal run of things, responsible for judging the standards of teaching of individual teachers or schools. This work is carried out by OFSTED which also, as has been noted, inspects the ITT standards set by the TDA. This overlap with these agencies means that the GTC is caught in a kind of regulatory no-man's-land in which it exercises a lop-sided version of professional power: its negative role in

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expunging inadequate practitioners by judging cases of alleged incompetence, or unfitness to teach, is not balanced by the positive power of control over the profession's disciplinary idealism. In these circumstances, perhaps it is not surprising that many teachers have failed to enthuse about the work of the GTC perceiving it as yet another mechanism of occupational oppression. The imposition of a code of conduct may have seemed similarly oppressive and this is explored next.

iii) Code of Conduct

The legislation authorised the GTC 'to issue, and from time to time revise, a code laying down standards of professional conduct and practice expected of registered teachers'. This falls between its functions of registration and discipline since there is provision for the breach of any code to be used as grounds for disciplinary proceedings and, by extension, as grounds for removing or suspending teachers from the register.

Its *Statement of Professional Values and Practice for Teachers* (GTC, 2006) is not used in disciplinary matters and might be seen to straddle regulation and, perhaps, an attempt to establish a professional ideal. It states that:

> Teachers place the learning and well-being of young people at the centre of their professional practice. (ibid., p. 3)

As discussed later and in the previous chapter, the government's *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003b) strategy may provide teachers, and teacher educators, with a route through which they might develop the theme of child welfare. Its regulatory code, however, is more contentious. *The Code of Conduct and Practice for Registered Teachers* (GTC, 2004a) now delineates minimum

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standards and is now an established regulatory instrument used in conjunction with its disciplinary function. Unacceptable professional conduct is defined as:

...conduct which falls short of the standard expected of a registered teacher ... and is behaviour which involves a breach of the standards of propriety expected of the profession. (GTC 2004a, p. 4)

It proscribes a range of inappropriate behaviours which include intimidation, discrimination towards pupils, their parents, carers or colleagues, failure to take reasonable care of pupils' safety and welfare, failure to observe confidentiality, dishonesty in management and administrative duties, misuse and abuse of school property and finance, and misrepresentation of their professional position, qualifications or experience. Examples given include swearing, offensive name-calling, undermining the authority of a headteacher, cheating in public examinations, falsifying marks for coursework, stealing school property, and, somewhat parochially, 'misrepresenting the true state of school trip funds' (ibid., p. 8).

Synergy with other agencies is demonstrated by the fact that incompetence hearings consider the extent to which a registered teacher has failed to maintain a level of professional competence consistent with the standards for QTS, or, if failure of management and leadership is at issue, the extent to which the accused has fallen short of the NCSL's *National Standards for Headship* (DfES, 2004). Just as the Council registers teachers on the basis of teachers meeting standards set by others, its professional codes rely at least to some extent on the prescriptions of these same agencies.

Dishonesty, cheating or abuse of children or others appear to be uncontroversial grounds for taking disciplinary action against teachers. Stipulations which

demand service, or subservience, to the policy instruments of the state are rather more contestable. It is an important part of Freidson's model of professionalism that allegiance to professional idealism overrides service, or subjugation, to the fiat of the bureaucrat or the vagaries of the market. It is interesting, therefore, to observe that the GTC's Code condemns those failing to:

comply with relevant statutory provisions which support the well being and development of pupils, including where these require co-operation and collaboration with a range of agencies, as well as teacher colleagues and other adults...

and

comply with the requirements of statutory bodies relating to the examination, assessment and evaluation of pupil achievement and attainment. (GTC 2004a, p. 4)

These regulations have the effect of making compliance with the edicts of government agencies a benchmark of professional conduct. This suggests that rather than acting as the gatekeeper of professional ideals, the GTC assumes that 'relevant statutory provisions' are always in the interest of pupils. This surrenders the independence of the Council.

A further, and more specific point, concerns the requirement to collaborate with others. Partnership has become the watchword of government public policy despite the imbalances in power that such rhetoric overlooks. In the current climate, many 'partners', including charities, religious organisations and commercial companies, are increasingly those whose first priority is something other than the provision of a secular state education. The GTC's Code therefore

means that, at least in theory, one can conceive of a situation in which a GTC-registered teacher who failed to cooperate with the religious or corporate agenda of those controlling a school's governing body might find themselves subject to disciplinary proceedings. Unregistered teachers, who academies might employ, are, of course, not governed by the Code.

The introduction of the Code was not universally applauded. Chris Keates criticised it as 'unnecessary, bureaucratic and professionally insulting' whilst TES columnist Ted Wragg observed that 'a professional who needs telling these things should not be in the job' (both quoted in Lepkowska, 2004). Even Judy Moorhouse, later to be anointed as the GTC Chair, expressed concern that the Council was 'setting teachers up to be hostages to fortune' (ibid.).

Composition and Structure of the GTC

The composition of the Council is not subject to the same kind of direct political control as the TDA and NCSL which we met in the last chapter and regulations 'must be framed so as to secure that a majority of the members of the Council are registered teachers' (Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998, para 5 [5]).

Its composition at June 2007, detailed on its website (GTC, 2007a, 2007b), reveals that two-thirds of the 64-member Council are teachers. These are divided into 4 categories:

- 25 teachers elected by teachers in spring 2004;

- 9 nominees from the teacher unions and associations;

- 17 nominees from other interest groups;

- 13 nominees of the Secretary of State.

The electoral college for the 25 teachers is subdivided so that there are representatives for primary, secondary and special schools as well as headteachers. The nominees from the teacher associations and unions divide across union lines. There are two from each of the Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), NASUWT and NUT, and one from each of the PAT, NAHT and SHA. Of the 13 nominees of the Secretary of State, there are 4 teachers, plus a retired teacher and a headteacher.

Of 17 nominees from 'other interest groups', most represent organisations with an obvious interest in education such as local authorities or the National Governors' Council. It is interesting to note that the *Confederation of British Industry*, which represents employers, often strident in their criticisms of state education, have failed to enthuse any of their members to actively engage with the GTC. Their website reveals that their allocated place is 'still to be nominated' (GTC, 2007a). The presence of representatives of the Church of England and Catholic Education Service are also noteworthy given that the place of religion in schools has become a contentious issue: in contrast there is no representative of any other religion or, indeed, of those representing organisations publicly opposed to religious control of schools such as the National Secular Society. Finally, Chris Cook of the UCET stands as the sole representative of teacher educators, a rather odd situation one might think for an organisation whose chief aim is to raise the standards of teaching and teachers.

As with the review of the composition of the boards of the TDA and NCLS, there are interesting questions concerning the profile of typical GTC members, especially regarding their levels of political, trade union and other public activity,

which, alas, there is not space to tackle here. The third Chair of the Council, Judy Moorhouse, was a nominee of the NUT with a history of extensive political and union activity. In addition to chairing the GTC, she remained a practising teacher who still found time to act as a National Officer for the NUT, a Senior Vice President of the NUT, and a member of the boards of NCSL and the Specialist Schools' Trust. Her oratory promotes a marriage of what might be described as trade union, or member-focussed, concerns with public interest issues:

I hope to promote the interests of teachers through an independent, unifying body and to raise the status of teaching so that teachers can be recruited, motivated and retained. (GTC, 2007c)

The previous and second Chair, John Beattie, was also a trade union activist and we will meet him in the next chapter. The first Chair of the GTC was film producer David Puttnam and the highly political nature of this appointment is revealed in Stephen Pollard's biography of David Blunkett. Puttnam was not only a political appointee in the formal procedural sense that he was appointed by the Secretary of State for Education; he was appointed to the post as part of a political strategy deliberately designed to soften teacher opposition to New Labour's education policies. The retention of the services of OFSTED's Chief Inspector, Chris Woodhead, and the continuation of unpopular policies such as testing and league tables meant that many teachers rapidly became disillusioned with New Labour. Puttnam's initial advisory role at DfES was to act as a 'licensed jester' providing 'an alternative to the harsher rhetoric of Blunkett', acting 'as a softener to Blunkett's detergent' (Pollard, 2005 p. 235). The department benefited from the perception that it numbered among its senior ranks somebody who was independent and supportive of the profession. Puttnam was responsible for the introduction of the teacher awards. His eventual appointment

as GTC Chair was a calculated ploy to give teachers the impression that they had a genuinely independent and sympathetic voice. Few were impressed. Even Kay Driver, General Secretary of the moderate PAT, let it be known that her union 'was looking for the first Chair to be a successful teacher or head teacher rather than a political appointee chosen by the Secretary of State' (quoted in BBC News, 1999). Many others remained similarly sombre in the face of Puttnam's many jester-like pronouncements.

Blunkett also appointed the first GTC Chief Executive, Carol Adams. A portrait of her is provided in the next chapter, so it suffices to note here her record of successful management in local government which might suggest that Blunkett was impressed by her ability to deliver the policies of central government at local level. The GTC's current Chief Executive, Keith Bartley, a former teacher and school inspector, was previously Deputy Chief Executive at Oxfordshire County Council and Director for Children and had acted as an adviser to DfES ministers. He, unlike Adams, was appointed by the Council. His call in June 2007 for tests for children under 16 to be scrapped provides an early indication that he may seek to shift the GTC's interpretation of its remit but, at the time of writing, it is too early to make anything more than a speculative judgment.

Perceptions of the GTC

New Labour's legislative proposals for the GTC were considered inadequate by many at the time. NASUWT's General Secretary, Nigel de Grouchy, typical of the many sceptics, said that the proposals were 'a very pale shadow of what such a body should be. It would do little to enhance the status of teaching' (deGrouchy, 1997). In Parliament, Lord Tope condemned the Education Bill's provisions to create a 'toothless poodle of the Secretary of State' (Hansard, 1998a). ATL's Peter Smith, accused the government of trying to create 'a quango of its own

creation [which] will become a glove puppet – a Sooty's consortium - and will command cynicism rather than respect' (quoted in TES, 1999). Such cynicism appears to have some justification when we learn that the then schools' minister, Stephen Byers, regarded the GTC as 'a talking shop' whose composition he deliberately loaded with union representatives in order to pervert the departmental wish that the GTC might act as a counterpoint to the more militant union standpoints (Pollard, 2005 p. 234).

Since then, the GTC has been the target of vitriolic criticism from left, right and centre. By the time the Council had elected Judy Moorhouse as its third Chair, she was having to accept that it numbered amongst its elected members some who were opposed to its very existence (Edwards & Lepkowska, 2004). Chris Woodhead opined that the GTC had 'gone native' and acted as a 'talking shop for people who like to pontificate' (Woodhead, 2006, p.13). By 2004, even the TES had turned hostile. A scathing editorial asked 'When will GTC make itself heard?', claimed that the Council did not have grassroots support, called its Code of Conduct 'vacuous', and concluded:

> This newspaper has a long-standing record of support for a professional body for teachers. Our first issue in 1910 called for just that. So it is with the sadness of a friend rather than as an opponent that we conclude that the GTC in England has failed to establish its credibility. (TES, 2004, p. 22)

The NASUWT, in particular, has been particularly strident in its opposition to the Council boycotting the elections for the Chair in 2005. Its in-house magazine reported that its survey of 7,000 members found that 97.7% thought it did not provide value for money whilst 88.5% 'expressed outright opposition to its work'

(NASUWT, 2005). Chris Keates described the findings as 'damning' and continued:

> It is absolutely clear from the responses that the manner in which the GTC interprets its remit finds little favour. The GTC has accused NASUWT of being hostile towards it. Compared with the responses from teachers our comments would fall into the category of glowing testimony. (ibid.)

There are, of course, those prepared to defend the GTC but, in the light of the shortcomings outlined above, and its failure to expand its remit, their arguments appear increasingly naïve. NAHT's previous General Secretary, David Hart wrote that:

> Those who want to pull down the GTC need to remember the following facts: the formation of the Council in 2000 established the teaching profession on the same basis as all other major professions, a profession subject to a self-governing professional body, with powers of registration and regulation and a remit to act in the public interest. (Hart, 2004, p. 3)

There is a superficiality about these remarks which pretend that the mere existence of something which calls itself a professional body confers professional power. A similarly blinkered discourse emanates from senior Council members, officers and GTC documentation which invariably talks about professionalism in attributive mode. The resultant dialogue is often vague to the point of meaninglessness. Its *Corporate Plan* (GTC, 2003, p. 3) for 2003-2006, for example, signals the organisation's key aim of 'continuing to focus on supporting teachers' professionalism' whilst a revamped version is titled *Supporting Teacher*

Professionalism: GTC Corporate Plan 2004-07 (GTC, 2004b). An early version of a GTC magazine, *teaching,* offered similar sentiments. Tim Brighouse's article 'hatching a new professionalism' wished to 'promote the 'tune' of teaching [and] illustrate the essential qualities shared across the profession' (Brighouse, 2002, p. 14). Chief Executive Carol Adams aspired to create a 'high trust, high morale profession' (Adams, 2002, p. 1) implying that it might be within the GTC's power to deliver this hazy ambition. The Chair, James Beattie, proclaimed that the GTC would 'speak up fearlessly for professionalism' as if the meaning behind such a notion was too obvious to warrant elaboration (Beattie, 2002, p. 24). Many teachers saw the GTC as an organisation charging fees to conduct disciplinary proceedings against their colleagues whilst maintaining a vow of institutional Trappism in the face of government policies which undermined the very professionalism which it purported to uphold. Such communications can only have added to the sense of despondency and disillusion swelling amongst the classroom-bound rank and file.

By the 1980s, a consensus had developed between the major unions to the extent that a group of influential educationalists, lead by John Sayer, felt confident enough to establish the GTC (England and Wales) Trust in March 1988 as a registered company. The intensive lobbying of this shadow GTC eventuated in a Council which Sayer considered to be 'a just acceptable beginning' (Sayer, 2000, p. 4). In his authoritative book on the GTC, he says that a key reason why he and his colleagues accepted a settlement which would otherwise have been regarded as too weak in terms of powers delegated to the profession, was the political reassurances he had been given that the Council would, over time, extend its remit. He suggests that such growth would 'require even more shared professional vision, public credibility and political acumen to achieve what could and should have been anticipated on the 1998 legislation' (ibid., p. 6).

Conclusion and Outlook

It may be too early, or harsh, to declare the GTC a failure. But there has been no meaningful expansion of its powers and little of the collective unity of purpose upon which such advancement relies. On the latter point, the Audit Commission point out that 'stakeholder perceptions and relationships are the main challenge and area for improvement for the Council' (Audit Commission, op. cit., p. 6). On the former point, there is little sign that the government has any intention of transferring powers from OFSTED and the TDA which might make its register seem anything more than a catalogue of the qualified. One issue, professional monopoly, has got worse since the birth of the GTC: the government has facilitated and encouraged new models of education delivery which do away with the requirement for qualified teaching staff in schools and introduced new models of teacher training which sideline universities.

Much of the sociological literature sees professionalism, and professional bodies, as a Trojan horse enabling influential occupational groups to protect privileged positions in the labour market. As a vehicle to promote the interests of teachers, it would be fanciful to theorise about the GTC in this fashion. If the state has reneged on its promises and the GTC is ultimately an exercise in paying political lip-service to the notion of professional power, it is not to belittle the efforts of those who worked in good faith to establish the Council to suggest that it more closely resembles a pantomime horse, a comical presence and imitation which nobody mistakes for the real thing. In 1998, John Sayer asked that teachers celebrate the new GTC. Their celebrations to date have been such that many have been crying at their own party.

4

Commercialization and Professional Power

Globalization, described by Roberts and Hite (2007, p. ix) as the 'spread of economies, cultures, and power across national borders', has impinged on national education systems in the developed world in a number of ways. The global economic shift towards a 'knowledge economy' (Giddens, 1998) is changing the nature of western economies and the nature of work which affects the qualities and skills demanded of the modern workforce. In order to position themselves in this new global economic order, many nation states have responded by subordinating their education policy to national economic objectives. Kendall & Holloway (2001, p. 154) record New Labour's belief that 'education is crucial to overcoming the low-skill equilibrium of the British economy'. A DfES civil servant's clarification of Charles Clarke's remarks in which he described medieval historians as 'ornamental' demonstrates the new zeitgeist:

> The Secretary of State was basically getting at the fact that
> universities exist to enable the British economy and society to deal
> with challenges posed by the increasingly rapid process of global
> change. (Quoted in Woodward & Smithers, 2003, p. 7)

Attempts to introduce 'enterprise education', 'creative thinking' (DfEE & QCA, 1999a, p. 22), 'entrepreneurial' and 'problem-solving' skills (DfEE & QCA, 1999b, pp. 8-9) are obvious examples of how the state has attempted to reconceptualise education as preparation for commercial activity. UK schools have seen unprecedented government intervention in their work in an avalanche of 'centrally-directed, education programmes which are aimed at providing

flexible, adaptable, and high-skilled workers with which poorer countries will not be able to compete' (Bottery, 2001, p. 205).

As New Labour's education policies have sought to serve the priorities of political economy, we have also seen an attempt to co-opt the language, ideas and priorities of business and commerce into the public sector. This has involved 'the modelling of the internal and external relations of schooling and public service provision more generally upon those of commercial market institutions' (Ball, 1999, p.197). This is not a localised peculiarity and these commercialized approaches to education in the UK represent a 'local manifestation of global policy paradigms' (ibid., p.196). It may be seen as one manifestation of what Bobbitt (2002, p. 229) sees as the transition from a nation-state to a market-state in which 'the nation-state justified itself as an instrument to serve the welfare of the people (the nation), [whilst] the market state exists to maximize the opportunities enjoyed by all members of society' and does not see itself as 'more than a minimal provider or redistributor'.

This chapter explores three areas of the commercialization of education as it relates to schools in England: institutional and systemic restructuring, centralised micromanagement of workplace practices and, finally, the redrawing of the boundaries of professional jurisdictions. All have profound implications for the politics of professional power since they impinge upon the power and autonomy enjoyed by individual professionals at work. No profession enjoys completely independent control over its members or total autonomy at the workplace. We are not dealing in absolutes. This enterprise is a more subtle calibration of how the policies of the state act to legitimate and constrain, to license and constrict, to confer and to withhold, professional power. The theme of monopolistic control is again threaded throughout the chapter.

Restructuring and Privatisation

> To succeed in politics the politician needs the religious temperament,
> capable of faith without scrutiny. He must eschew doubt.
>
> (Critchley, 1985, p. 39)

At Ruskin College in 1996, Tony Blair declared that good schools 'exist whether or not we have a market in education' (Blair, 1996b) and, in power, New Labour's White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* (DfEE, 1997b), promised that the government would focus on 'standards not structures'. Since then, however, New Labour's schools policy has seemed to concentrate almost obsessively on structural revolution and the governments' faith in market models, forcefully enunciated in Blair's 2005 Labour Party conference speech (Blair, 2005), has taken on an increasingly vehement religiosity. There is no compelling evidence that markets, or involving the corporate world in educational governance, produces any rise in standards. When it comes to uncritical reverence for the ideology and practices of business, the New Labour leadership have appeared, in Julian Critchley's terms, to be blessed with a surfeit of the religious temperament.

The White Paper, *Higher Standards, Better Schools For All: More choice for parents and pupils* (DfES, 2005a, p.4), offered a blueprint for 'a system of independent non-fee paying state schools' in an attempt to promote school choice, diversity and parent power. A new category of 'Trust Schools' was proposed which would 'harness the external support and a success culture, bringing innovative and stronger leadership to the school, improving standards and extending choice' (ibid., para.2.5). The measures sought to extend what already pertained in specialist schools, city academies and religious schools, which, to varying degrees, marginalised the role of LEAs in the running of

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schools and co-opted private interests into school governance. Concern amongst backbenchers was such that in January, 2006, Ruth Kelly, then New Labour's Secretary of State for Education, was asked whether 'firms such as McDonald's, for instance, would technically be able to run trusts' (Hansard, 2006).

Such policies continue, extend and intensify the New Right's agenda of the 1980s and 1990s in the US and UK. There are two broad themes identifiable, marketization and privatization. The belief in the power of the market to deliver and improve public services led to the creation of 'quasi-markets' (Glennerster, 1991) in England in much public sector provision, especially health and education. The basic idea was, and remains, to transform monolithic producer-led services, dominated by public sector professionals intent on preserving their privileges and power, into a system of customer-focussed delivery units in which consumers can exercise choice. Under market pressures, schools, so the argument runs, are compelled to improve as they compete for market share. Two corollaries follow. First, because the traditional system in which LEAs built schools and allocated school places works against the idea of customer choice, it is necessary to reduce their localised control over school provision. Second, in order to make the notion of choice meaningful, there must be a diversity of provision and, therefore, a range of different schools from which parents might choose.

Marketization has been accompanied by privatization. For right-wing ideologues, the idea of collectively-funded public provision has always been anathema contradicting, as it does, the dogma that things are better when left in, or transferred to, private hands. But for other would-be reformers, the issue is not one of ownership. Indeed, ownership is not necessarily the key feature of public service privatization. Privatisation in education is better understood as the control of public services by private power. LEAs, originally meant to connect

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school provision to local democratic processes, have been portrayed as bureaucratic, restrictive of enterprise and an obstacle to reform. Their role in providing direct democratic accountability to local people has been squeezed as the belief that those steeped in the received wisdom of the education establishment are incapable of implementing radical change has become something of a new political orthodoxy. This has been accompanied by a presupposition that flexibility, inventiveness and dynamism are the preserve of private sector businesses, faith groups and charities. The spirit of innovation deemed necessary to achieve a diverse and high quality state school sector must therefore come from those outside the tradition of public sector service.

One form of privatization involves private firms contracting to supply educational services for profit. The European Round Table of Industrialists (1998, p. 18) have argued that 'the provision of education is a market opportunity and should be treated as such'. New Labour has helped these industrialists into this market by contracting out educational services provided by LEAs. Yet the experience has failed to produce a compelling case in favour of the business ethic. Following an analysis of OFSTED's reports, the TES reported that those LEAs 'forced to surrender services to the private sector have improved less than those who failed an inspection but were allowed to retain control' (Slater, 2003, p. 7). Five of the nine privatised LEAs were poor and one firm was fined after failing to meet targets. In 2003, a collapsed contract with Atkins Education cost Southwark Council £1.5 million after the company withdrew prematurely from its contract to raise standards in the borough. The Council leader declared that the 'termination of a contract with Atkins is in the long-term best interests of Southwark schools, parents and pupils' (Smithers, 2003a).

Another form of privatization embeds private interest groups in the structures of school control such that they might influence or control groups of schools.

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Education Action Zones, for example, worked with Shell, British Aerospace, Tesco, ICI, Cadbury Schweppes, McDonald's and Kelloggs, all of whom were given a say in the running of groups of English schools in return for 'sponsorship' (Cohen, 2000). Since these early initiatives, New Labour's delegation of public interests to private power has concentrated more at the individual school level.

New Labour's specialist schools programme obliged school managers to find £50,000's worth of support from private sponsors who gain places on the schools' governing body. Over 400 companies have taken this opportunity including GlaxoSmithKline, Marconi, Microsoft, Tesco plc, Associated Newspapers, Deutsche Bank, Hitachi, Kodak, Motorola, Nestlé Rowntree, Nissan, Philips, Saatchi & Saatchi, Sanyo and Vodafone Group Plc. Another new category of more radically privatised schools, city academies, operate outside of LEA control altogether. Control of the school is ceded to those willing, and able, to contribute £2 million. These schools' sponsors 'make decisions about the Academy's vision and ethos and structures for governing and managing the new school' (DfES, 2005c). Sponsors of the academies opened so far include Amey plc, Reed Executive plc, SGI Ltd, a venture capital company, Seabourne Group plc, stockbrokers Insinger Townsley and the drug company Pfizer. Those concerned that the educational welfare of children may not always be the first priority of corporate interests are unlikely to be reassured by the way the government appears to encourage them to exploit their links with schools for self-interested ends. Their *Education Business Links* website (DfES, 2006) appears to offer up children as little more than marketing tools:

> Companies today are discovering that partnership with schools can help bring real business benefits. They can acquire better market knowledge, tap into local creativity to develop new products, and gain new and more loyal customers. (DfES, 2006)

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It is not just corporate interests which may have motives exterior to children's educational well-being. Academies now offer a more circuitous route through which those with a religious agenda can buy a platform in non-faith state schools. The Emmanuel Schools Foundation (2006) places 'the Person of Christ and His example at the centre of their inspiration as they mould a curriculum appropriate for students of the 21st century'. The curriculum they have moulded so far at their academy in Gateshead has included teaching creationism alongside the theory of evolution which has been described as 'educational debauchery' (Dawkins quoted in BBC News, 2003). Nigel McQuoid, the principal at the King's Academy in Middlesbrough, was appointed by the foundation which also appoints a majority of the governing body and senior staff. He publicly declared that he would indicate to 'young folk' that 'homosexual activity is against God's design' (Harris, 2005). John Burn, Chief Education Officer of the Vardy Foundation and Chair of the Christian Institute, sees 'opportunities for Biblical Christians to influence all of the compulsory requirements in schools' and asks rhetorically whether Christians have 'the wisdom and courage to contend for this' (Burn, 2001, p. 14). Burn perceives objectivity in religious education as dangerous because it 'too often fails to present the unique truth claims of Christ' (Burn, 1999, p. 1). One unsuccessful candidate for a position at Kings, Dr Simon Valentine, claimed after his interview, in which he was asked whether he believed in Noah's Ark, that the school was looking for 'a missionary not a teacher' (Sutton, 2007). Dr Valentine is no antireligious militant. He is a Methodist lay preacher in his spare time. The United Learning Trust, a subsidiary charity of the United Church Schools Trust, manages a number of academies in England. It is chaired by Lord Carey of Clifton, a former archbishop of Canterbury, whose Church Schools Review Group (CSRG) revealed that the church's involvement with schools was doctrinally motivated. It hoped that 'engagement with children and young people in schools will...enable the Church

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to: Nourish those of the faith; Encourage those of other faiths; Challenge those who have no faith' (CSRG, 2001, para. 1.13).

Concern about the impact of so-called 'faith schools' and the use of schools to promote religious brand-building has been steadily growing and a poll of the general public showed that 64% agreed with the statement that 'the government should not be funding faith schools of any kind' (Taylor, 2005a, p. 1). Wilkinson (2007b) reports a number of examples of prominent and influential people going public with their fears on this issue. New Labour Minister of State, Margaret Hodge, was praised by the British Humanist Association (2005) 'for her bravery in questioning the religious orthodoxy of the government'. Trevor Phillips, the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, expressed his fear that faith schools risked creating 'educational ghettoes' and that society was 'sleepwalking to segregation' (Phillips, 2005). The Chair of the Education Select Committee, Barry Sheerman, was worried because schools 'play a crucial role in integrating different communities and the growth of faith schools poses a real threat to this' (Sheerman quoted in Taylor, 2005a, p. 2). David Bell (2005), OFSTED's former Chief Inspector and now Permanent Secretary at the DCSF, has warned of the threat to national coherence caused by religious segregation and called for the state to monitor the growth of faith schools to ensure that pupils are educated about the wider tenets and values of English society. Even some clerics have become concerned. Leading liberal rabbi Jonathan Romain argued in The Times that faith schools are 'a recipe for social disaster...which can destabilise the social health of the country at large' (Romain, 2005, p. 72). Writing to the same newspaper in support of Romain, the former Church of England Bishop of Repton wrote to express his sadness that 'the churches and the state (in my native Northern Ireland) continue to acquiesce in the sectarian divide' (Richmond, 2005, p. 18). Sectarian divisions in Northern Irish schooling, were perhaps most memorably illustrated in the case of the Holy Cross Catholic School when

terrified primary aged children were televised running a gauntlet of aggressively protesting Protestants to get to school. This had clearly left a strong impression on the Bishop.

Despite this growing public reticence, the government has persisted in promoting faith schools as part of its diversification strategy. Over 50 Jewish schools, around 100 Muslim schools and over 100 Evangelical Christian Schools have opened as independent faith schools (Bell, 2005). If overt faith schools are controversial, the covert use of academies as sites for the promotion of religious ideology has created a 'pedagogy of the possessed' (Wilkinson, 2007b) where the rich promote their own particular world views by buying control of state schools. Those in power have seemed unwilling even to acknowledge that there might be a serious issue of legitimate public interest to debate. Asked during Prime Minister's Questions about the controversy regarding the teaching of creationism in ESF schools, Blair remarked that it 'would be very unfortunate if concerns about that issue [creationism] were seen to remove the very strong incentive to ensure that we get as diverse a school system as we properly can' (Hansard, 2002).

This faith in markets and privatisation remains steadfast in the face of ambiguous, or even damning, evidence. A longitudinal study in New Zealand showed that markets are 'neither efficient nor equitable' (Lauder and Hughes, 1999, p.2) and other work has shown that the outcomes of school market systems may, in fact, favour the professional and middle classes (Tomlinson, 2005). There is certainly some ambiguity about the efficacy of academies in terms of academic attainment. They appear to do well initially but, as has been widely reported, their exclusion rates are far above anything that is seen is mainstream state schools. There is inadequate research available to determine what their long-term performance but one report recorded that the GCSE

examination results for sixteen year olds fell in 25% of the oldest academies in 2008 (Curtis, 2008). That is a bigger proportion than in mainstream schools. Research from University College, London, reported that 'changes in GCSE performance in academies relative to matched schools are statistically indistinguishable from one another' (Machin & Wilson, 2009). A report by London's Institute for Education found that 'there is not a consistent level of performance or pupil composition across Academies' (Curtis et al., 2008).

Neither is there any enthusiastic endorsement of New Labour's belief in the powers of external sponsorship. The cross-party Select Committee of the House of Commons report that:

> No causal link has been demonstrated between external partners and
> the success of a school, or between the independence of a school
> from local authority control and its success.
> (Education and Skills Committee, 2006, para. 50).

One union leader, John Dunford (Dunford, 2005), responded to the White Paper by calling for increased partnership among schools rather than with business or other sponsors whilst the NUT is vehemently opposed to 'putting schools in the hands of sponsors' (NUT, 2006). One irony about the government's move to marketize education, shifting the focus from professionals to parent power in the form of educational consumers, is that parents, and pupils, are becoming increasingly active and vocal in their opposition to the privatised control of their schools (Molnar et al., 2008 & 2009).

Restructuring and privatisation amounts to the delegation of school control to organisations whose *raison d'être* lies in something other than the advancement of children's welfare. This is why this aspect of commercialization has two

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critical, perhaps fatal, consequences for professionalism. First, it is difficult to envisage anything more antipathetic to the logic of service to professional idealism than the private ownership of educational purposes, missions and vision. In such an arena, the whole notion of professionalism becomes redundant. Individual professionals become subservient to private power as their loyalties to the objectives of the individual institution override any shared universal professional ideal. Without the notion of service to an universal professional ethic, what is good for the school is what the private governors say is good for it and the interests of the sponsors becomes confused, or synonymous, with the interests of the children. Second, the power given to these privatised schools to derogate from the usual arrangements for staffing seriously threatens not only professional monopoly but the entire notion of what it means to be a teacher. City academies are not required to recruit GTC-registered teachers. If a significant number of state-funded schools choose, in their innovative wisdom, to deploy unqualified, and cheaper, teachers, even those with a religious temperament will no longer be able to eschew doubt about the status of teaching. As a profession it will be sunk.

Managerialism, McDonaldization and Micromanagement

'Managerialism' (Pollitt, 1990) describes the co-option of business management techniques into public services and has been a key feature of New Labour's approach to public policy. The notion of 'separating steering from rowing' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993, p. 34) is helpful here: centrally determined objectives are balanced by granting greater autonomy to managers at local level so that they might act as public sector entrepreneurs. Government agencies regulate and set general policy aims whilst managers at the frontline are granted greater freedom from bureaucratic constraints so long as key operational objectives are met. The breed of managerialism which has operated in English

schools, however, appears to have placed rather more emphasis on policies which constrain behaviour rather than those which confer autonomy. Managerialism can lead to what Ritzer (2000) calls 'McDonaldization', an organisational paradigm resulting from the simultaneous application of Taylorist scientific management techniques and Fordist assembly line principles. The key signifiers of a McDonaldized system are efficiency, calculability, predictability and control (ibid., pp. 12–14). All four of these key McDonaldizing signifiers are evident in English schools (Wilkinson, 2006).

Efficiency, or the 'power to produce the result intended' (Chambers English dictionary, 1990), has an appearance of scientific neutrality. As an abstract principle, it is, as Neave notes, 'unassailable' (Neave, 1988, p. 7). Schools, however, offer a service with multiple objectives but the quest for efficiency in the state system, has largely focused on academic attainment measured through public examinations. These have included examinations (SATs) at secondary Year 9 and primary Years 2 and 6 covering a core curriculum of mathematics, English and science. This preoccupation with measurement tools links with calculability, a dimension of the 'audit society' (Power, 1997), which permeates the English school system. This is evident in target-setting, league tables, examination results, quantitative OEDC comparative international 'research findings' which support the introduction of new initiatives, the 'Autumn package', number of exclusions and pupil-unit funding mechanisms. Figure 1 (page 155) illustrates some of the key measures and the authorities which have been used to enforce and police them.

Predictability is achieved within the school system by government-ordained prescription regarding the school 'product'. National inspection systems and league tables require predictability without which they would be unable to produce comparative reports. Moreover, the guarantee that all schools deliver

the same curriculum in the same way reassures parents that their children will receive, at the very least, a national minimum. McDonald's restaurants use 'scripts' to ensure predictability. These detailed mechanisms of control remove or reduce employee autonomy by controlling their interactions with customers and their application of technique. One major national policy theme of recent years has been the establishment of scripts, scriptwriters and managers to achieve this predictability and control in our schools (see Figure 2, page 155).

There have been two broad effects of all this on teachers. The first has been to radically change classroom practice. Unlike business, whose sole aim of maximising profit is easily measured, education has no such singular objective. Yet centrally-directed policies have meant that 'schools and teachers have been squeezed into the tunnel vision of test scores, achievement targets and leagues tables of accountability' (Hargreaves, 2003, p. xvii). Even the former head of OFSTED, worried that 'an excessive or myopic focus on targets' damages education (Bell quoted in Smithers, 2003b). The National Curriculum still ordains that schools should include provision for spiritual, moral, social and cultural development alongside education for citizenship, the arts, humanities and sport. The requirements for this wider view of education, then, are still formalised but there has been no sustained policy focus on these which might suggest that their importance was on a par with that of the academic core curriculum. In practice, much of this wider curriculum has also been devalued and marginalised since there is little audit value in concentrating too hard in developing cricket teams, violinists or sculptors. A new educational 'bottom line' has evolved which changes the way in which professionals perform their work as they have become more concerned with compliance than creativity. Managerialism, McDonaldization and micromanagement have produced a performative culture entrapping educators within a business discourse which focuses on narrow outcomes and efficiency (Ball, 2003, 2004).

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Efficiency police	Measuring technologies
Department for Education and Skills	PANDA data
Office for Standards in Education	SATs
Local Education Authorities	League Tables
	Targets
	Inspection

Figure 1. Policing and measuring efficiency

Script managers	Scripts
Department for Education and Skills	National Curriculum
Qualifications & Curriculum Authority	Key Stage 3 Strategy
Teacher Training Agency	Primary Strategy
National College for School Leadership	QCA Schemes of Work
Local Education Authorities	Initial Teacher Training Curriculum and Professional Standards
	National Professional Qualification for Headteachers

Figure 2. Scripting predictability

(Tables in figures 1 and 2 taken from Wilkinson, 2006, pp. 90, 92)

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The policies of commercialization have also affected the language and thinking of educational professionals so as to transform their professional identities (Dent & Whitehead, 2002). Ball (1999, p. 198) writes that managerialism plays 'a key role in the wearing away of professional/ ethical regimes that were dominant in schools and bringing about their replacement by entrepreneurial/ competitive regimes.' For many, this has been an alienating experience producing a crisis of morale. Feelings of compromised integrity have plagued those whose compliance with external direction pulls them away from what they consider to be important about their work. The focus on the audit process squeezes space, reduces available time and drains creative energy such that what might have hitherto been regarded as the primacy focus of public service, the educational welfare of children, is relegated to a second-order task. The Audit Commission record that:

> Many current and ex-staff do not feel that they have the space, the resources or the autonomy they need to make this difference in practice. They feel that they are working in an environment in which levels of bureaucracy, paperwork and externally imposed targets are diverting them from what they see as the core of their work – time spent with children. Audit Commission (2002, para. 80)

There are serious knock-on effects for teachers' welfare and which has implications for staff recruitment and retention. Before New Labour had been in power for a year, Bottery's study of the effect of policy on school and hospital workers found that there was 'increased stress at all levels of the health and education sectors' (Bottery, 1998, p. 139). Smith et al. (quoted in Bunting, 2004) found that education had three of the top ten stress occupations and five of the top twenty occupations rated as the most stressful. Forty-one per cent of those working in education reported a high level of stress, a percentage easily exceeding any other job.

There appeared to be a collective demoralization in an overloaded and over-controlled teaching profession who harboured a sense that their political masters did not trust them (Bottery, 2003). By the turn of the millennium, the effect on those whose professional roles had been radically revised was so widespread that New Labour publicly sought to rid schools of 'jaded heads' (Bunting, 1999) whose unease with change it clearly regarded as an obstacle to reform. There were many stories of 'jaded' staff keen to publicly declare that the requirement to implement imposed government directives had hastened their retirement (Ward, 2005). Junior teachers were increasingly unwilling to put themselves forward for promotion. Howson's (2005) annual survey on the UK labour market in school leadership posts for the school year 2004-2005 reported that the 'decline in the number of applications for Headships in secondary schools, to levels not seen before, must be a concern' (ibid., p. 114). Applications for most deputy headships were similarly depressing. The problem reached such proportions that Geoff Southworth, Deputy Chief Executive at the NSCL, urged local authorities and school governing bodies to develop alternatives to the traditional model and consider job-sharing to avoid meltdown (Hill, 2005, p.6).

There is undoubtedly merit in the idea of ensuring that citizens are entitled to receive a minimum standard of provision from the education service. The paradox of managerialism is that standardization has produced a uniformity of approach which has reduced the scope for professionals to exercise creativity in their interpretation of their vocation whilst, at the same time, the government has claimed to be 'promoting diversity' (DfEE, 2001) and valuing schools' 'distinct identity' (DfES, 2003c, p. 15). They have made much of releasing teachers from unnecessary bureaucratic tasks and encouraging initiative and innovation whilst, without irony, stressing 'important fundamentals like the value of discrete literacy and mathematics teaching through the literacy hour and daily mathematics lesson' (ibid., p. 27). Freedom for teachers appears to lie in

administrative trivia, such as timetable design, or is constricted to curriculum areas which have effectively been rendered peripheral because they are 'unmeasured'. SHA's General Secretary belies that the freedoms the government promotes are 'largely an illusion' (Dunford, 2005).

Two policy obstacles restrict professional autonomy for teachers. First, measures which impinge upon pedagogic practice – scripts and measuring technologies - have created problems regarding curricular variability and innovation. Second, New Labour's concept of earned autonomy does not apply equally across the sector. They have looked to create diversity through new freedoms of governance in academies which are granted only to those from outside traditional teaching backgrounds such as business groups, religious organisations and charities. On the one hand, then, there is a problem of over-regulation and, on the other, a strategy of deregulation which privatises school control. These seemingly contradictory policy strands are combining to create a different form of secret garden which locks out teachers insofar as it removes any professional control they might have enjoyed over the curriculum or the school's mission, vision and ethos. They are sidelined in the policy loop at the levels of policy formulation, now commandeered by the managerialist agencies of central government, and policy implementation, where any freedoms over school identity and curriculum pass to the private jurisdictions of new governing bodies.

Workforce Remodelling and Professional Jurisdictions

Abbott's (1988) theory of the system of professions, discussed in Chapter 1, describes how the approval of the political class, the public and workplace colleagues acts to legitimates or challenge professional monopolies. In institutions, superordinate and subordinate professions often work closely together and established demarcations of occupational territory can become

blurred. The remodelling of the school workforce, New Labour's strategy for breaking down the restrictive practices of teachers, provides a good example of the threats to professionalism portrayed in this theoretical perspective (Wilkinson, 2005). In schools, workforce remodelling promotes the principle of 'greater flexibility' and calls for 'less demarcation . . . pushing back the boundaries of what assistants can do in the classroom' (DfES, 2003a, p. 12). It challenges the entire basis of teachers' traditional jurisdiction and, in so doing, ultimately raises questions about what being qualified actually means.

The workforce 'reform' proposals introduced in the White Paper *Excellence and Enjoyment* (DfES, 2003c), referred to the 'creative use of staff ' and the introduction of 'higher level teaching assistants' (HLTAs). *Raising standards and tackling workload: a national agreement* (DfES, 2003a), commonly referred to as the 'Workload Agreement' attempted to 'free [teachers] from the shackles of excessive and inappropriate workload' and recruit extra support staff of three main types: those involved in assisting with teaching (HLTAs and 'cover supervisors'), those concerned with administrative and clerical matters ('personal administrative assistants' and technical staff) and a management class to deal with specialist areas such as personnel, financial and business matters. It is this first group, directly involved with teaching, which concerns us here.

Schools have often used other adults, paid and unpaid, to assist in classrooms but HLTAs may be seen as an emerging subordinate profession. They are 'able to cover classes, and should be able to ensure that pupils can progress with their learning, based on their knowledge of the learning outcomes planned by the classroom/subject teacher' (DfES, 2003a, p. 7). The Workload Agreement asserts that HLTAs are not 'substitutes for when pupils need a qualified teacher, bringing the extra range, experience and complexity of understanding reflected in their higher qualifications' (DfES, 2003a, p. 12) and that each class must be

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assigned a qualified teacher to teach them, although even this is subject to the existing unqualified teacher provisions. 'Innovative ways' of covering for teacher absences should also be considered.

To consider the impact on teachers' professional jurisdiction, at least two questions must asked about workforce remodelling. First, what are the respective roles and demarcations of the new subordinate profession and the remodelled superordinate profession? Second, on the basis of what expertise are members of the superordinate profession granted exclusive licence to practice their demarcated tasks?

For teachers, the workforce agreement seeks to deliver on the White Paper's promise that 'teachers have the opportunity to stop doing those tasks which distract them from the vital processes of teaching, planning and leading children's learning' (DfES, 2003c, p. 66). There is an aspiration to provide 'guaranteed planning, preparation and assessment time', suggesting that this is where their expertise lies. Their central role appears to revolve around preparing learning programmes and taking ultimate responsibility for the pupils' educational progress. This planning, or diagnostic, role seems to echo what Illich (1977) describes as professionals' 'privilege to prescribe'. This is coupled with a supervisory role over the subordinates which might accord with Abbott's principle of delegated technique. It is asserted 'the overall learning outcomes of a particular pupil must rest with that pupil's qualified classroom/subject teacher' (DfES, 2003a, p. 12). But how this sits with the White Paper's aspiration to 'free teachers to teach' is unclear. One finds oneself wanting to ask what precisely 'teaching' means. Is teaching the delivery of lessons through interaction with pupils in the classroom or does it boil down to authoring 'learning outcomes' for others to deliver? It is clearly intended, however, that teachers' hitherto exclusive role in taking charge of classes of children is to be 'opened up'. For

HLTAs, the subordinate profession, they are being asked to fulfil what has traditionally been the domain of their superordinates whilst receiving considerably less training, remuneration and status.

The NUT originally refused to sign the agreement stating that the 'government no longer believes that classes should be taught by qualified teachers only' (NUT, 2002) and that 'only the NUT insists that classes should be taught by graduates with proper professional teacher education and training' (NUT, 2003). But this raises again the problem of teachers' academic knowledge base which was explored in Chapter 2. Without an explicit articulation of teacher knowledge, which justifies teachers' retention of specific areas of responsibility, stipulations about the proper roles of teachers and HLTAs are unreasoned and arbitrary.

Other unions which signed the agreement also had serious concerns about the potential for 'deprofessionalization' which remodelling might bring and related these explicitly to professional training. ATL, for example, anticipated that HLTAs, would, at some future stage, be given the opportunity to achieve QTS. Such arrangements caused them to worry about the education of primary school teachers as they 'envisage[d] the route into primary school teaching becoming less the PGCE and, especially, the undergraduate BEd route, and more through a sequence of lower paid posts and self-supported training.' (ATL, 2003, p. 3).The profile of the primary teacher of the future is of especial interest here since, because they are not subject specialists, there seems no reason why they need to be graduates at all.

In short, the fear is that teacher training might, in effect, be transferred into schools. Such training can be depicted as commercialized training in the sense that it subordinates the parameters of professional preparation to the service of the private institution rather than the professional ideal. When we couple this

with the privatisation of school governance, the consequences are far-reaching. Managements and governors committed to a certain educational vision or school managers under financial pressures deciding, as a matter of policy, to 'bring through' their own staff may offer training of a strictly utilitarian character delivered solely to meet the specific demands of the immediate environment. It is questionable whether this would amount to professional training at all. A further corollary of this is that it might mean that governors become the sole gatekeepers to the profession insofar as they alone are charged with the task of identifying potential teachers and training them. This would make teaching the only profession where entry is largely determined by non-professionals sitting on governing bodies who, in many cases, have never worked in schools.

Ruth Kelly was jeered at the SHA conference over the issue of workforce reform (Taylor, 2005b). Headteachers were being asked to preside over a radical restructuring of the roles of others whilst having, at the same time, to re-evaluate their conceptualization of their own managerial roles. They also needed to accommodate a new class of administrator to deal with finance, technology, accommodation, personnel and business strategy. Given the introduction of McDonaldizing policies which have left little room for leadership of teaching and learning, one might reasonably ask what is left for the modern headteacher. Some headteachers refused to recognize the proposed jurisdiction of the new subordinate profession and were unafraid of declaring this publicly (Stewart, 2005b). Heads were being asked to be complicit in blurring, or denying, their own professional demarcations.

There have also been signs that workforce remodelling may foreshadow industrial problems as the workplace brief of a subordinate profession growing in number expands into roles hitherto considered the exclusive work of qualified teachers. UNISON, which represents 250,000 people working in schools,

including many of those who will become HLTAs and cover supervisors, voted at its annual conference in Bournemouth in 2004 to 'shun the agreement until national pay and conditions for support staff are negotiated' (Stewart, 2004). UNISON were unhappy about the proliferation of low paid temporary contract working for their members and were prepared to back up their demands for a 'proper career ladder' with continuing threats of industrial action (Paton, 2004, p.10). Teaching assistants were already powerful enough to have taken part in strike action which closed down schools in Brighton in late 2004.

The restructuring of the school workforce demonstrates how a profession which does not have a codified professional knowledge base, and which does not control its own training and qualification process, is ultimately dependent upon the fast-shifting policies of the state and its agencies to maintain its superordinate dominance at work. The managers of commercialized enterprises and institutions are little concerned with respecting the niceties, and inconveniences, of professional jurisdictions. It remains to be seen how serious a threat remodelling will ultimately pose. But if the profession cannot justify or control what its members may do and, ipso facto, what others may not do, at work, then teachers' monopoly is built upon the most fragile of foundations.

Conclusion and Outlook

The previous chapter begun by examining some of the historic tensions between teachers and the state which ultimately employs most of them. Full-blown professionalism has generally been considered politically inexpedient as governments of all hues have relied on more interventionist policies as schooling became an increasingly important public sector service throughout the twentieth century. There have been, and remain, divisions amongst the teacher unions but no government has ever seriously considered legitimating the teaching

profession in England by allowing it to collectively determine standards of entry to a monopolistic labour market shelter. The ceding of such powers to workers would entail politicians relinquishing control over educational content and leave them powerless to react in the face of a labour shortage in teaching.

The GTC's limited remit makes it an organisation which lacks the powers it needs either to properly perform its stated aims or to establish credibility amongst the workforce it purports to represent. It is a poor mimic of a professional body: it regulates an occupational group which has never established a monopoly in England and, because it does not control entry to the profession, is impotent in the face of the further erosion of teachers' traditional jurisdiction heralded by the freedoms over staffing models granted to the newly-introduced academies and other privatised state schools. Its shortcomings mean that it is unable to offer resistance to commercialising policies which are changing the nature of schools and the work of those teaching in them.

Meanwhile, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, an evolving educational landscape sees teachers squeezed between the agendas of central government agencies and the governors of privatised state schools. Nationally, teachers have inadequate influence in the policy process and enjoy little collective control over the direction of their work. Locally, at school or school cluster level, freedoms promised by government turn out to be freedoms available only to schools who have handed over governing powers to special interest groups from the worlds of business, religion and charity. Chief among these freedoms is the liberty to employ non-qualified teachers. This hijacking of control over teachers and schools by central and private power has created a new secret garden from which professionals have been banished. For the state, committed to a market economy and market forces in public services, professionalism has largely come to be perceived only as a barrier to diversity, innovation and reform.

5

Research Design

Classical Greek physics, in which all matter consists of earth, air, fire and water, may appear peculiar to modern readers. Perhaps it seems less so if it remembered that science in Ancient Greece was, like most intellectual endeavours, a branch of philosophy, a matter for reflection. Only since the Enlightenment has empirical enquiry come to define modern science as it would be understood today. Chambers (1990, p1316) defines it as:

> *n. knowledge (arch): knowledge ascertained by observation and experiment, critically tested, systematised and brought under general principles: a department or branch of such knowledge or study.*

Chapter 1 noted that science, associated with both logic and empiricism, has become the new architectonic sweeping away the predominance of religious and socio-political thought. Its modern-day supremacy is such that Richard Dawkins (2007) attacks religious beliefs and practices formed over centuries on the grounds that they are not only irrational but unscientific.

Science's persuasive power has meant that those involved in the development of knowledge relating to social matters and human affairs have been keen to appropriate both the terminology and methods of the natural sciences. It has become, as Bryman (2001a, p. 12) tells us, the 'epistemological yardstick' for all empirical enquiry which seeks to present 'valid knowledge'. Thus, the five main branches of pure or unapplied social study - psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and politics (Punch, 2005, p.9) - are all termed social

sciences since all originally sought to deploy the methodology of natural science with its language of experimentation, dependent and independent variables, causality, statistical analysis and so on.

This chapter will provide a justification for why a rather different approach, rooted in what has come to be called the qualitative tradition, has been taken for this research. It will also provide a critical exposition of the research tools used, outline the framework within which the data analysis was conducted and introduce the characters who kindly agreed to participate. The methodological choices need to be contextualised and first, then, it will be helpful to outline the aims of the research.

Research Aims and Questions

There are different reasons for selecting research topics and Neuman (1994), for example, discusses seven approaches. This project arose organically from the circumstances of the researcher's working life. As a lecturer teaching education policy to trainee teachers in a university department of education, an interest in issues surrounding teacher professionalism was reawakened by the formation of the General Teaching Council. If a professional body exercising some degree of control over practitioners is emblematic of an established and mature profession, which is respected and legitimated by both the public and the state, then the arrival of the GTC prompted many to ask whether it might help strengthen the professional status of teachers. Indeed, the original research question for this work asked whether the GTC might 're-professionalise' teaching. After beginning to review the literature and think through an appropriate methodology which might shed light on such a question, it became apparent that an awkward obstacle preventing the operationalization of any such research stemmed from the lack of clarity involved in the terminology. It would be necessary to ask what

was meant by 're-professionalisation' or, for that matter, 'de-professionalisation' which, this question seemed to assume, was a process that teaching must have undergone.

As the first four chapters of this thesis seek to demonstrate, the very concept of professionalism is clouded in semantic mists. They also show that, whilst much work had been completed on teachers' perspectives on professionalism and academics have theorised about the concept, no significant body of work could be found on the thoughts of those at the very pinnacle of the profession. There was scant work on the perspectives of those whose seniority within the organisations in which they worked made them key players in the formation and implementation of education policy. The focus of the research therefore changed to examining the perceptions of these senior personnel about the impact of the fledgling GTC on teacher professionalism. Moreover, to avoid the difficulties faced by the original question, this needed to be broadened further to encompass the important issues and themes bound up with professionalism. Thus, the aim of the research became to explore what notions of professionalism were held by those controlling key institutions and organisations in an attempt to assess the prospects for the GTC and teachers' professional power in general in the light of the many policy instruments currently impinging upon the work of schools and those who labour in them.

The central research question was recast as:

What are senior policy players' perspectives on key issues surrounding teacher professionalism in the aftermath of the birth of the GTC?

A word is necessary here about the term 'policy players'. Current education policy is a necessary contextualising tool against which to frame the empirical part of the study and it is the views of those involved in formulating and implementing policy at a senior level that are of interest here. Nevertheless, the terms 'policy makers' or 'policy implementers' have been avoided for three reasons. One reason is that, as both Parsons (1995) and Hill (2005) point out, the division between the formulation and implementation of policy can be a crude and artificial one ignoring, as it does, the fact that the way in which policy is implemented can itself be viewed as part of the formulation process. Second, whilst in one sense these individuals might be described as policy makers some are subject to pressures from above, that is from government, and may actually be more concerned with implementing political decisions. Others, especially those occupying elected positions, may be subjected to similar pressures from below, from those who elect them. A third reason is that neither policy makers nor implementers capture the notion that these are people involved in influencing, directly or indirectly, the work of others and in many cases working with other organisations. These people are part of a policy network engaged in complicated policy games and the term 'policy players' is therefore preferred throughout this thesis.

This central question was then broken down further into different aspects, or sub-questions, arising from the literature review and corresponding with the initial chapters of the thesis as indicated below. Punch (2005, p. 36) recommends that no more than four questions are manageable in any study and here just three were identified:

1. What are the policy players' perceptions of teachers' knowledge? (Chapter 2)

2. What are the policy players' perceptions of teachers' professional power? (Chapters 3 & 4)

3. How is professionalism used in the policy players' discourse? (Chapter 1)

These three aspects of the research then provided the basis from which to generate actual questions, or starting points for discussion, at interviews and this is discussed later on in the chapter. Information grouped under these themes would also constitute the beginnings of a platform for analysis of the data and its subsequent presentation in later chapters. The question of how best to research these questions then arose and that is discussed next.

A Qualitative Approach

Quantitative research, which in many ways can be said to extend the methodology of the physical sciences, is characterised by its tendency to gather nomothetic, or numeric, data which is often subjected to statistical analysis with the objective of identifying associative or correlative relationships between controlled variables. Its principal research tools include experiments (see Milgram, 1963 & 2004, on conformity), surveys using questionnaires (see Hirschi, 1969, on delinquency), structured interviews (see Nordenmark and Strandh, 1999, on the psychology of the unemployed), structured observations (see Flanders, 1970, on teacher-pupil interactions), content analysis (see Jagger, 1998, on dating advertisements in the media) and the analysis of pre-existing official data and statistics (see Durkheim, 1952, on suicide). As with the natural sciences, the operationalization of concepts derived from theory plays a large part in quantitative research structure and design and this gives it a generally

linear flavour proceeding on the basis of what Popper (1972) describes as 'conjectures and refutations'.

Its methodological techniques, derived from the positivist tradition, are concerned with issues of external validity and reliability since quantitative researchers are concerned to discover, or test, relationships between social phenomena and ultimately seek to develop social 'rules' which can be generalised to situations beyond the confines of any particular research context. Related to its quest for generalisability, quantitative researchers are keen to ensure that their results are generated from a representative sample of the individuals which form any given population (Cohen et al., 2005).

From an epistemological perspective, qualitative research has its roots in a rejection of positivism as an appropriate means to study social behaviour though researchers in this tradition do not all share a common philosophical starting point. Bryman (2001a) lists phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, Verstehen theory, naturalism and ethogenics as differing philosophical stances behind the practice of qualitative researchers whilst Gubrium and Holstein (1997) cite naturalism, ethnomethodology, emotionalism and postmodernism as four schools of thought underpinning qualitative methods. A brief look at other commentators only lengthens the philosophical role-call: Oakley (1981) adds feminism, Habermas (1992) talks of Nietzsche's perspectivism and Williams and May (1996) discuss post-structuralism. Notwithstanding this, they can be loosely grouped together by virtue of their common objective which is to 'grasp the subjective meaning of social action' (Bryman, 2001b, p. 13).

What unites these adherents of these disparate philosophical outlooks is their preference for what Hughes and Sharrock (1997) call 'the interpretative alternative'. In short, social researchers in the qualitative tradition view

individuals' interpretations of their world and their own behaviour as being the proper focus of social research. For them, knowledge in the social sciences derives from investigating individuals' understanding of social reality and their place within it. Adler (1985, quoted in Bryman, 2001b, p.8), in her study of upper-level drug dealers, asserts that she is interested in the 'subjective understanding of how people live, feel, think and act'. Two methodological corollaries follow from this. First, when researchers wish to understand why people act in a given way, they need to ask the individuals being studied. Second, social context becomes a crucial consideration in research - since human beings' behaviour is purposive and has meaning both for themselves and others within their social environment, it cannot properly be examined in the artificially-constructed environment of experimental situations.

One key difference between the two traditions can often be seen in the use of hypotheses. Qualitative research often begins without any hypotheses at all and, in many cases, does not seek to generate theory. It is often interested in gaining what might be called a subjective truth, the truth as seen by specific actors at a particular point in time. As Punch (op. cit., p. 38) explains, a hypothesis is only necessary when the testing of theory is in mind. He adds that, if the expected results of the work cannot be predicted, then no hypotheses are necessary and one should simply proceed with investigation of the research questions. The literature review here has identified areas of enquiry which might be pursued but, of course, the identification of a locus for the research does not entail the testing of theory and no hypotheses are necessary for this work. There remain, however, issues of internal and ecological validity and reliability and these are dealt with in the next section.

Research Instruments

The subject matter of this research, dealing as it does with subjects' personal perceptions and perspectives, almost prescribes the method. As Weisberg and Bowen (1977, p. 2) write, there is a 'simple maxim to find out what people think: Ask them'. Nevertheless, there is a number of ways of asking people in social research and it is useful to note some of the alternatives to the semi-structured interviews that were used here in order to draw attention to some key methodological concepts.

Two popular ways of asking people are through questionnaires and structured interviews. Both are usually used in survey-style research in order to collect data from a large sample. The principal advantage of this is that a lot of data can be generated and the sample size may allow for a greater degree of generalisability (Burton et al., 2008, p. 74). That is to say, it is more likely that the results may be said to mirror the responses that might be expected beyond the particular population studied. This is particularly important in quantitative research when the researcher is trying to generate, or test, theories that explain or describe universal social phenomena. Such research is necessarily concerned with the concepts of reliability - are the findings reliable to the extent that a replication of the research would produce the same results? - and external validity – do the research instruments measure what they purport to measure? The extent to which the research is both reliable and valid affects the potential to generalise results beyond the context or population studied.

Such an approach would have allowed for a greater sweep of policy players in this research. On the other hand, there are significant drawbacks with these methods of data collection for work of this type. First, questionnaires of necessity need to pose very structured questions (Bell, 2006, p. 136) and,

consequently, can generate closed responses. There is, of course, the opportunity to ask open-ended questions but, given the time and effort required to complete written answers, these questions are unlikely to elicit responses in the depth being sought. Second, questionnaires are not always completed by potential respondents. In this case, it might have been expected that this may have been exacerbated by the fact that very senior people are busy individuals who, it might reasonably be surmised, are regularly in receipt of large amounts of unsolicited mail. Both of these shortcomings were in fact exemplified in this research. On the first point, one interviewee was unexpectedly called to an urgent meeting when the researcher got to London and instead agreed to supply written answers which, when they arrived, were rarely longer than one sentence. On the second point, after it had proved difficult to arrange an interview with one senior trade unionist, his office was supplied with a written schedule of the interview questions. It was never returned despite numerous reminders.

The purpose of this research is not to reach conclusions which can be generalised beyond the specificity of its own context. Rather, it is to provide a qualitative account which offers a rich and descriptive snapshot of policy players' opinions in the aftermath of the birth of the GTC. Interviews therefore seemed to be the most promising research tool and, since a quite specific set of topics to be discussed has already been identified, it would make sense for these to be semi-structured rather than the unstructured kind favoured by ethnographers.

Data is internally valid if it reflects the truth and reality of the situation being studied (Denscombe, 1999) and an accurate picture of what is claimed is portrayed in its presentation (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). This qualitative research, then, claims only internal validity insofar as the researcher's interpretation of the data relate to the subjective accounts given by the subjects. Triangulation, in the traditional sense, where research combines 'multiple

observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data and methodologies' Denzin (1970), is not something which has been possible within the scope and scale of this work. It is worth noting, however, that the way in which interviewees respond can itself provide a form of internal triangulation insofar as the responses given help to increase the internal validity of the methodology. Thus, comparing data from different interviews in the analysis amounts to a form of qualitative triangulation. It also helps in confirming that there is reliability inherent in the research instruments, in this case the questions contained in the interview schedules.

Having said all that, the interview is not as straightforward as it might appear. Its data are always situated and textual rather than the raw material of experience (Silverman, 1993). Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 353) put it like this:

> The interview is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening. It is not a neutral tool, for the interviewer creates the reality of the interview situation. In this situation answers are given. Thus the interview produces situated understandings grounded in specific interactional episodes.

This has implications for what Cicourel (1982) calls the 'ecological validity' of the research, the idea, particularly important within the qualitative tradition, that research should be examining social reality within its natural context in an attempt to minimise changes in behaviour or responses due to the artificial context in which the research is conducted. Clearly an interview is not a natural context. Oakley's (1981) feminist research philosophy goes so far as to call the interviewing of women a 'contradiction in terms' since it creates a hierarchical situation which puts the respondent in a subservient, and defensive, position. It is worth remarking here that the only woman to be interviewed face-to-face

during this work seemed to the researcher to be somewhat defensive and was also the only interviewee to make alterations to the verbatim transcript.

Seidman (1991) points out that there are very good reasons for tape recording interviews, not least of which is that every word can be transcribed. Nevertheless, the fact that interviewees' every word is being electronically stored can also serve to make the experience even more daunting which may, again, reduce the ecological validity of the research. Added to this is the fact that the interviewees were not to remain anonymous. This may have affected their answers for two reasons. First, interviewees may have adjusted their answers so as to ensure that they did not contradict the policies of the organisations in which they worked. Indeed, the researcher sensed that occasionally some responses appeared to be a well-rehearsed standardised answer that might be described as the public voice of the organisation. A second, and related, reason might have been that, in talking about other organisations they did not want to run the risk of prejudicing future working relationships and so might moderate any negative perceptions they might have of these.

Why, then, not conduct interviews which would be reported anonymously? It was felt that that approach would lessen the impact of the research and hinder data analysis. Retrospective data analysis seemed to indicate that there were usually no discernable patterns by which materials might be grouped according to their source of origin. However, had this been otherwise, the researcher would have wished to report such findings and that would have been difficult to do without using named sources. It would have meant resorting to journalistic tactics of circumlocution referring to, say, 'a senior source at OFSTED' or, worse, 'a contact with a good claim to know the mind of NAHT's General Secretary'. It is, in large part, the very seniority of the people interviewed which adds both colour and import to this research and is, indeed, its very rationale. On reflection, the

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researcher is not convinced that anonymity would have necessarily elicited much more or different information anyway given that the interviewees had the chance to talk off the record afterwards. True, the researcher was privy to one policy player's thoughts about the abilities of the then education secretary and listened with interest as another shared private views about sensitive matters concerning the GTC which they did not want on record. Yet most had nothing substantive to add to what had been said in the formal interview or at least nothing which was in conflict with what they had said during the recorded interview. It might also be reasonably supposed that the fact that they held the jobs that they did meant that they did, in any case, believe broadly in the policies of their employers. It was certainly clear that all of the interviewees were deeply committed to their work.

The other major threat to the internal validity of the data was what is usually referred to as interviewer contamination. This can be combated, at least in part, by taking account of Kvale's (1996) ten criteria for a good interview which centre upon the skills of the interviewer. For him, an interviewer needs to be mentally agile and knowledgeable prior to the interview. When interviewing, he must structure and steer the conversation in addition to remembering and interpreting material. Interviewing is, of course, an interpersonal skill and a good interviewer must be clear, gentle, sensitive and open. It is a difficult skill to master but the researcher's initial rudimentary competence was undoubtedly improved with practice over the course of the project.

Constructing the Interview Schedule

When considering the construction of an interview schedule, or guide, Bryman (2001b, p.317) suggests that one needs to ask 'what do I need to know in order to answer each of the research questions I'm interested in?' The schedule for this

work, then, needed to generate data which might answer the three research questions, or aspects, cited above. Questions with a direct bearing on these were therefore grouped into broad categories from which prompts could be generated. The questions about teachers' knowledge and professionalism as a discourse are relatively straightforward. The second research question about professional power is rather more complex. For a start, the language of professional power, as used in this thesis, may not be readily understood. Since it is connected with control (and being controlled) and influence over policy, data which might go some way to helping answer this was usually to be accrued from questions in three groups here – organisational context, policy networks, and the GTC. The first question group was designed to both to elicit information and to help put the interviewee at their ease. The table below (Figure 3 on page 178) provides a master guide from which individualised interview schedules were constructed.

Because each interviewee was working in a different context, not only did no two interviews proceed in an identical manner, no two interview schedules were identical. This is by no means unusual in qualitative research. Fielding's (1996) distinction between standardised, non-standardised and semi-standardised interviews provides a useful typology to explain this. In addition to general questions asked to all participants, specific individualised questions were asked usually arising from the literature published by the organisation in which they worked. Therefore, in addition to being semi-structured, the interviews were semi-standardised.

As can be seen from Appendix 1, a copy of the schedule used in the interview with Geoff Southworth of the NCSL, individual interview guides deviate significantly from this master and do not necessarily use the same groupings though it can be seen how all the material in the master guide is covered. It would not make sense to standardise all the questions prepared for each

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Figure 3: Table to show master questions which formed the basis for construction of the individual interview schedules.

Question group	Questions/ Prompts	Research question
Professional Background	What do you do now and how did you arrive in this position?	n/a
Organisational context	What is the purpose of the organisation? To whom is it accountable? Organisation-specific questions	2
Policy Networks	What contact do you have other organisations? What contact do you have with government/ political class?	2
GTC	What is your view of the GTC? Are its powers adequate?	2
Teachers' knowledge	What knowledge do teachers have/ need? Is there an agreed body of knowledge? Does teachers' knowledge and training require a connection with higher education?	1
Professionalism as discourse	What do you understand by the terms profession/professional/ professionalism? In what sense are teachers professionals? Is teaching a profession?	3

interviewee because of the context in which individual policy players are operating. Take the following question from Appendix 1:

Is the 'knowledge pool' an attempt at creating a scientific knowledge base for leaders/teachers?

This is derived from the more general prompt on the master 'is there an agreed body of knowledge?' but has transmuted into this specialised new form to take account of both the interviewee's position and in the light of literature published by the NSCL. In the event, the question was asked in yet a different way:

To what extent are you involved in what we might broadly term knowledge creation as well as knowledge transmission which clearly you're involved in?

The changed wording responded to something said by the interviewee before we got to that point in the interview.

Other examples of individualisation are more obviously explained. Geoff was asked:

Steve Munby talks in one of your documents here about his task being, the task of the College being to 're-engage the profession'. What's meant by that? Is it unfair to ask you that? (Southworth, NCSL: 074)

Here the interviewee is being asked something specifically relating to the organisational context in which he works. The researcher learned quite quickly that one needs to be very careful in presenting this type of question so that it

does not appear as if the interview is an attempt to catch them off-guard. The style of a good research interview bears little resemblance to the gladiatorial antics of, say, the BBC's Jeremy Paxman. One interviewee seemed visibly taken aback that her organisation's corporate plan was being quoted and interrupted the question:

GW: You mention in the Corporate Plan that you'd like to begin to have control over entry standards to the profession and you've already mentioned that...

CA: In the Corporate Plan...where did you see that?

GW: This is the Corporate Plan I'm quoting from now 2003/4-2005/6. It says 'the GTC will take responsibility for awarding QTS in its own name and thus begin to enable the profession to take ownership of entry standards'. Could you elaborate on that? (Adams, GTC: 265 – 269)

This leads to the sometimes delicate issue of interviewing research protocols and etiquette and the ethics of this research are discussed next.

Ethics and Protocols

The rise of social scientific enquiry has created a growing concern with the ethical matters arising from such work and some notorious examples of social research can be found to demonstrate this. In Milgram's (2005) seminal study, reported in his book *Obedience to Authority,* subjects were told that the research they had volunteered to take part in was designed to examine the connection between learning and punishment. They were asked to administer electric shocks

to another 'subject', in reality an actor. The results demonstrated that a majority of subjects were willing to electrocute another subject to the point of death. During and after the experiment many subjects experienced severe anxiety and distress, having been induced by Milgram's team to commit acts they clearly found to be objectionable. Hanley et al.'s (1973) Stanford Prison experiment saw volunteer participants in a mock prison set up take their role-playing rather further than anticipated. After less than two days, violence and rebellion had broken out and, by the time the experiment was abandoned four days later, 'prisoners' had suffered severe emotional disturbance and disintegration whilst 'guards' had established a brutal and sadistic regime within the 'prison'. In Humphreys' (1970) investigation into 'tearoom trade', the researcher acted as a lookout for men engaged in sexual activity in public toilets. He collected their car registrations from which he tracked down their names and addresses before conducting an interview survey a year later having changed his dress and hairstyle to avoid being recognised by respondents. Goode (1996) placed false dating advertisements in newspapers in order to conduct a content analysis on the hundreds of replies he received. Fielding (1981) engaged in covert ethnography to gain the confidence of the National Front, an extreme right-wing political group. In a study of Springdale, Vidich and Bemsman (1968) made uncomplimentary comments about the town and its inhabitants many of whom were identifiable from the published research. Clearly, there are varying degrees of ethical problems with each of these pieces of research.

Bryman (2001b) separates ethical matters into ethical stances and ethical issues. The former describers researchers' philosophical perspectives on the ethics of social research whilst the latter describes practical matters concerned with the relationship between researchers and participants, the use of findings and funding matters. Of the former, universalism argues that ethical precepts are unbreakable though even here Erikson (1967, p. 372) acknowledges that 'it

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would be absurd...to insist as a point of ethic that sociologists should always introduce themselves as investigators everywhere they go'. At the other extreme, some, such as Douglas (1976) have argued that more or less anything goes since the deceptions of researchers in pursuit of truth are trivial compared to those perpetrated by the institutions of power.

Falling somewhere between these two positions is situation ethics, a form of principles relativism which looks at ethics on a case-by-case basis and concludes that there is often little alternative but to dissimulate in order to investigate certain phenomena. Fielding (op. cit.) argues that his research into the activities of the National Front would not have been possible were it not conducted covertly and that, for his research, the end justifies the means. A related position suggests that ethical transgression is pervasive and that some deception is in fact intrinsic to most social phenomena.

The nature of this work is rather more straightforward in ethical terms but no research operates in an ethical vacuum. Deiner and Crandall (1978) list four ethical principles which have guided this research. These state that:

there should be no harm to participants;

there should be no deception;

there should be no invasion of privacy;

the informed consent of participants should always be obtained.

From the outset, the purpose of the research was made clear to participants and, because of this, all can be deemed to have given informed consent by their

subsequent willingness to participate. Some of the difficulties in accessing these powerful individuals are outlined below but the initial written approach, following on from a telephone call to the personal assistant, secretary or office of the intended recipient, included within it important parts of the protocol for the research. As the sample letter send to Mick Brookes (Appendix 2) shows, this initial letter included details of:

i) An outline of the purpose of the research;

ii) Notice that the interview was 'on the record' and would therefore be tape-recorded and a transcript produced;

iii) Notice that the interviewee would be given the chance to check the accuracy of the transcript;

iv) Notice that it was the researcher's intention to use any quotations from the transcript for inclusion in a PhD thesis which is a public document.

The presence of a tape-recorder, whilst useful for capturing a large amount of accurate data can, as already mentioned, affect how people respond. It should also be noted, that all interviewees were asked if they wished to say anything 'off-the-record' after the formal interview had finished and the tape-recorder had been switched off. This was done for two reasons. First, it was thought that it might give interviewees a chance to elaborate on anything which might not sit easily with the policy of their organisation or which they might not wish to say as a matter of public record. If they were to offer such thoughts, it might have indicated the extent to which they felt constrained by the tape-recorder and this would then have implications for the ecological validity and reliability of the data

they provided. Second, it was hoped that they might provide research 'leads' which may influence the progress of the research in terms of interviewing people not already invited or affecting the nature of questioning at a future interview. Of those who were not rushing immediately to their next meeting, many were happy to spend a few minutes chatting and some very revealing insights were offered. Sometimes, the information shared involved other senior policy players though not necessarily those interviewed for this research. One person chatted for more than an hour after the tape-recorder had been switched off.

All the interviews were transcribed after which a copy was sent to the interviewee with a letter (see Appendix 3 for a sample letter sent to David Bell) thanking them for taking part and asking them to check the accuracy of the transcript. The transcripts were verbatim records and signalled significant pauses or other non-verbal means of expression such as laughter. Interruptions to the interviews were also noted. Sometimes, when the tape-recording was not clear enough to accurately transcribe, interviewees were asked to clarify what they had said. They were also invited to 'correct, clarify or expand upon' anything else they might wish to. These protocols were also outlined in person at the beginning of each meeting during the preamble before the tape-recorder was switched on. Of the eight people interviewed face-to-face, only one made alterations and additions to the script.

Participants were put at no risk of physical harm. Even if one could conceive of a psychological risk, or possibly the loss of employment occasioned by making inappropriate or embarrassing remarks, this was offset by giving participants the chance to amend the transcript. There was no invasion of privacy since no interviewee was under any duress to answer any question and, other than asking about participants' professional background, no personal questions were asked. The usual convention of keeping interview data anonymous was not followed but

there is no ethical issue arising from this since the interviewees were made fully aware of the procedures. During off-the-record conversations the researcher was privy to some very personal material, sometimes about the interviewee, sometimes about other interviewees. This information remains, and will remain, confidential. Thus, every effort was made to comply with the four ethical principles cited above and the research conforms to all of the principles in the University of Hull's (2007) *Ethical Procedures for Research and Teaching in the IfL*.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

The analysis phase of research focuses on understanding and interpreting the raw data, in this case the interview transcripts and this process of analysing qualitative data is described by Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p.123) as the 'interpretive-descriptive' approach. This requires the researcher to produce 'some manageable, systematic guide' (Arksey and Knight, 1999, p. 163) in order to make sense of a wealth of rich, and often confusing, material.

Here, an extensive literature review had been carried out prior to the research. In addition to helping frame and formulate the research questions, this served two other valuable functions for the empirical part of the study. As has been outlined above, this groundwork helped provide a structure from which to construct the basis of the master interview guide. Strauss and Corbin (1997) note that predetermined codes for qualitative data analysis can also arise from the literature and that prior reading can act as a sensitising device enabling the researcher to be aware of different nuances in the data. This was certainly the case here. So, after initially transcribing and rereading the interviews, three broad themes were evident and these could be credibly related to the three research questions identified from the literature. All the data on the scripts was

therefore highlighted in one of 4 colours corresponding either to a code connected to one of the research questions (Codes 1, 2 or 3 in Figure 4) or to a fourth category designed to accommodate personal information or material peripheral to the main research questions (Code 4 in Figure 4).

Burton et al. (2008, p. 147) advise researchers to be on the alert for 'emergent key themes...Potential patterns that might exist and be aware of opportunities for categorisation' and some of the coding arose from more detailed analysis of the raw data during which clear themes began to emerge. Thus, for example, whilst interviewees were all asked about professional knowledge (Code 1.1), they were not expressly asked about subject knowledge, pedagogy and ecological knowledge (sub-codes 1.1.1, 1.1.2 and 1.1.3). Those themes arose only after further reading, consideration and interpretation of the raw data already identified as Code 1 data.

A similar process took place with the information grouped under codes 2 and 3. The table below (Figure 4 on pages 186-187) indicates codes and sub-coding used for data analysis and many of these are derived from both the literature review and the way in which the interviews were structured.

Figure 4: Table to show themes and coding for data-analysis.

Code 1	What are the policy players' perceptions of teachers' knowledge?
1.1	**Professional Knowledge**
1.1.1	Subject Knowledge
1.1.2	Pedagogy
1.1.3	Ecological Knowledge

1.2	**Disciplinary Knowledge**
1.2.1	Codification
1.2.2	Research
1.2.3	Universities
Code 2	**What are the policy players' perceptions of teachers' profession power?**
2.1	**GTC**
2.1.1	Current state of GTC?
2.1.2	Prospects for GTC?
2.2	**Teacher Power**
2.2.1	Collectively
2.2.2	Autonomy at work
2.2.3	Training Process
2.2.4	Remodelling
2.2.5	Commercialization
2.3	**Agency Power**
2.3.1	OFSTED
2.3.2	NCSL
2.3.3	TTA
2.3.4	UCET
2.3.5	Unions
2.4	**Networks**
2.6	**Scottish GTC**
Code 3	**How is professionalism used in the policy players' discourse?**
3.1	**Attributive**
3.2	**Divisive**
3.3	**Neutral**
Code 4	**Personal and Interview Protocol Information**

Qualitative data is often presented in such a way as to preserve the anonymity of the interviewee. In this case, interviewees were happy to talk without this safeguard. For some of the data presented, it is particularly important who said what but at other times this may be irrelevant to the point being made. However, for the sake of standardising the referencing, and so that readers need not keep referring to a schedule elsewhere in the thesis, quotations reported are followed by a reference which signal the speaker, the point in the interview when the quotation came and then the organisation in which the speaker works or worked. Here is an example:

No, it's not Stephen Byers. (Laughter). Anyway, this chap [Steven Timms] came to UCET national annual conference and arrived late and then gave a speech which he'd given before to many of us. (Gilroy, 150: UCET)

This quotation is from Peter Gilroy of UCET taken at point 150 as indicated by the timing recorded on the tape machine. The word 'laughter' in parenthesis is an example of how significant non-verbal communications have been recorded. The square brackets, and the information contained therein, are an insertion by the researcher to clarify what, or in this case who, is being referred to when this is necessary to aid the reader's understanding. If it is necessary, as in the quotation above about the GTC's corporate plan, then the initials of the speakers are also used so that it is clear that the interviewers' comments are also being quoted. The interviewer is identifiable by his initials 'GW'. Finally, because the interviews have been transcribed verbatim, not all passages are grammatically correct. There has been no 'cleaning up' of the material and they represent real speech with all its repetition, colourful meanderings, and conversational holding devices. It is hoped that this style of reporting also helps convey the sense, apparent when the interviews were conducted, of serious people searching for a

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measured response to sometimes difficult questions which they were not expecting:

> Oh, wow, erm (pause). I can't really give you a kind of straight off-the-cuff answer. I need some, I need notice of that question in one sense ...those sorts of things come into play and that's really quite a huge territory to give a quick answer to. (Southworth, 048: NCSL)

It is perhaps unnecessary to report that this interviewee then went on to give a lengthy, highly developed and coherent answer. Where individuals are not identified by name, the terms interviewee, policy player or participant are used interchangeably to describe those who took part in the research.

Choosing and Accessing a Sample of 'Policy Playing' Participants

The history of struggle for teachers' professional power has, as preceding chapters have shown, arisen from the tensions inherent in the mismatch between the aspirations of a powerful and unionised labour force and a state reluctant to cede professional control to it. Thus, it was felt that it would be necessary to interview those leading trade unions on the one hand and those leading important agencies of the state on the other. Both of these groups are clearly important education policy players. A third group constituted those working for the professional body of the teaching profession here and in Scotland. Notwithstanding this, although these individual interviewees were chosen so that a range of policy players were taken from a diversity of backgrounds, it is important to remember that they have not been chosen to represent the organisation in which they work in the sense that they are being asked to give an institutional viewpoint. A brief overview of who was approached is now provided.

1) Policy Players from Government Agencies

The heads of OFSTED, the TTA and NCSL were approached but only the Chief Inspector of Schools, David Bell, agreed to be interviewed. The newly appointed Chief Executive of NCSL, Steve Munby, had promised to spend his first months in office consulting and talking to as many different people as possible. This big-tent approach did not seem to include those engaged in educational research and his secretary indicated he was unwilling to meet. His interim Deputy Chief Executive, Geoff Southworth kindly agreed to be interviewed instead. Ralph Tabberer, then Chief Executive at what was the TTA, was also too busy to help with teacher training-related research but Michael Day, the Director of Quality and Funding, was generous in providing a frank and friendly interview.

2) General Teaching Councils

The GTC's Chief Executive, Carol Adams, was approached and readily agreed to be interviewed as did the Council's second Chair, John Beattie. David Puttnam, the first GTC Chair had only recently finished his tenure as the GTC's first Chair and so formal letters and email requests were sent to him both at the GTC and his House of Lords office on two occasions, totalling four points of contact. A telephone call to the second chamber was also made. No response was ever received from Baron Puttnam. Although this is not a comparative study, it was felt that the view of senior members of the General Teaching Council for Scotland might provide some insights on the data collected on the GTC in England as well as providing useful counterpoint. Its Chair, Norma Anne Watson, and its Chief Executive and Registrar, Matthew MacIver, were both approached with requests for interviews. The Chair declined but Mr. MacIver was happy to be interviewed and gave very generously of his time and hospitality.

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3) Trade Unions and Teacher Training Representatives

Trade unionists were to prove the most elusive characters. When letters requesting interviews were sent, the leadership of the headteachers' biggest union, the NAHT, and the largest union for classroom teachers, the NUT, were in a transitional phase. Their long-serving leaders, David Hart and Doug McAvoy, were serving out the remainder of their terms of office whilst the general secretaries elect, Mick Brookes and Steve Sinnott, were waiting to take up their new roles. The departing and arriving leaders of each union were invited. Both retiring General Secretaries were unavailable but the NAHT's Mick Brookes promptly agreed to be interviewed on commencement of his new role.

The NUT's Steve Sinnott, sadly now deceased, passed the invitation to his Assistant Secretary, John Bangs. Direct contact with Mr. Bangs proved difficult and, after several telephone conversations with his support staff, it became clear that arranging an interview was not going to be an easy matter. It was agreed instead that Mr Bangs would be provided with a schedule of written questions which his office said he would be happy to complete. After a time, no completed schedule was received and contact was made with his office on several occasions by email and telephone in an attempt to chase the information. Nothing was ever received. Chris Keates, the NASUWT's General Secretary, was willing to meet and an appointment was made to interview her at the union's headquarters in London's Covent Garden.

There is no trade union specifically dedicated to representing those involved in teacher training. Whilst the Universities and College Union represents higher education lecturers in universities, it is not dedicated to those engaged in teacher training alone. Nevertheless, it was felt that it was essential to get at least one interview from that perspective for two reasons. First, the

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overwhelming majority of those involved in teacher education and preparation were once schoolteachers themselves who, in many cases, had risen up the career ladder in schools to senior management positions. Second, since the nature of teachers' knowledge goes to the heart of professionalism, the study would lack a significant dimension were it to fail to include an interview from at least one senior figure that represented the creators and guardians of disciplinary idealism. Peter Gilroy, a recent former Chair of the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET), was approached and readily agreed to be interviewed. UCET is not, of course, a trade union but arguably the closest to such an association that teacher educators have.

4) Politicians

In one sense this whole thesis is a political work which explores issues arising from the relationship between the politically-led state and a key public sector workforce. Notwithstanding that, it was ultimately decided not to interview politicians. There is a number of reasons for this. At the time of writing, barely a decade after New Labour came to power, there had been six cabinet-level Secretaries of State for Education – David Blunkett, Estelle Morris, Charles Clarke, Ruth Kelly, Alan Johnson and, currently, Ed Balls at what is now called the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF). Stephen Byers, Estelle Morris, David Miliband, Jacqui Smith and Jim Knight had all been appointed Minister of State for Schools, a second-tier non-cabinet ministerial position. The short tenure of office for most education ministers, focussed on immediate policy concerns, means that most may have had too little time to develop a view about some of the more profound questions about teacher professionalism unless they have a background in education. Some, of course, may have little interest in education and use the brief as a platform to what are considered the higher offices of state. Only Estelle Morris and Jacqui Smith had

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been schoolteachers prior to their election to Parliament though David Blunkett did work as a further education lecturer. In contrast, all the other persons interviewed for this research have been teachers at some stage in their careers and might be regarded as having a more developed personal view alongside a political view of the role of professionals. This was also the chief reason why civil servants working in the ministry itself were not interviewed. A further anticipated difficulty with senior politicians, and departmental civil servants, was that senior ministers might have been expected to take overtly political stances, 'talking up' their party policies and perhaps attacking those of opposing parties. There is ample documentation which sets out and justifies party positions and it was judged that interviews would be unlikely to elicit much beyond this from most politicians.

It was considered that one way around some of the objections listed above might be to interview Barry Sheerman, a politician who might present a cross-party position in addition to having had a protracted involvement with education. A former university lecturer at Swansea, Sheerman was Labour's education spokesman for five years during the 1980s and had been Chair of the Parliamentary Select Committee for Education since 2001. In all, six requests to interview him were sent: two written letters and an email to his House of Commons addresses were dispatched along with two emails and a written letter sent to his constituency Labour Party office. No response was received from Mr. Sheerman or his staff to any of this correspondence.

Dramatis Personae: Policy Player Portraits

A series of short portraits is now presented which provides some information about the professional background of the participants in the research and some details about the location and length of the interviews. Where appropriate, any

additional information which seems relevant in helping to contextualise the interview is included. In cases where the name of the organisation has changed, its name at the time of interview is used. The researcher was, and remains, grateful to all these participants for their time, hospitality and, above all, frankness. Participants are listed in alphabetical order by surname.

Carol Adams: General Teaching Council

Having worked in education since she began working as a teacher in inner London secondary schools at the age of 20, Carol ran a teacher's centre and became a local authority advisor. She rose to become Chief Education Officer of Wolverhampton and then Shropshire Council between 1990 and 2000. She was appointed, through public recruitment, to set up and then run the General Teaching Council of England as its first Chief Executive. Although Carol readily agreed to an interview, this proved more difficult to achieve than it did to arrange. The appointment was cancelled twice. When the researcher finally arrived in London at the offices of the General Teaching Council in London for a tightly scheduled hour-long meeting, Ms Adams was unavailable until 20 minutes after the scheduled appointment so the interview had to be shortened and lasted only forty-one minutes. Virtually no off-the-record conversation was possible and Carol was clearly anxious to get to her next appointment when the tape recorder had been switched off. Sadly, since the interview, Carol has died after struggling against cancer.

John Beattie: General Teaching Council

John Beattie had been a specialist secondary school English teacher for thirty-seven years at the time of interview. A trade unionist, he was appointed to the Council by the ATL and was a former president of the union. At the time of the

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interview, the first for this research, he was the second Chair of the General Teaching Council. The interview was conducted at the offices of The General Teaching Council of England in London and lasted for an hour and five minutes. John appeared hospitable and relaxed throughout and chatted and joked before and after the formal interview.

David Bell: Office for Standards in Education

At the time of the interview, David was Chief Inspector of Schools and head of OFSTED. He began professional life as a primary school teacher in the west of Scotland and then moved to take up deputy head and headship posts in primary schools in Essex. He was Director of Education for five years in Newcastle before becoming Bedfordshire County Council's Chief Executive. David began working as the Chief Inspector in May, 2003. Since the interview, he has been appointed Permanent Secretary at the Department for Children, Schools and Families. After the initial approach for an interview, the Chief Inspector's PA contacted the researcher to suggest that he would be happy to meet when in the north of the country to save the researcher travelling to London. The interview, lasting fifty-five minutes, was arranged and conducted in an executive supporters' box overlooking the football pitch at Newcastle United Football Club, St. James' Park, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Both the researcher and Chief Inspector shared a mutual professional acquaintance who managed the Study Support Centre based at the club on behalf of Newcastle education authority. David and the researcher lunched before the interview at a café in the stadium and chatted briefly afterwards.

Mick Brookes: National Association of Head Teachers

After starting teaching in 1969, Mick left after completing his first year. He worked in Israel and the US and spent some time selling paraffin in London before picking up teaching again in 1973. After returning to teaching, he was soon appointed headteacher at a very small school in Lincolnshire. He then went to North Nottinghamshire where he served as headteacher in a challenging school where he remained for twenty years. In 1988, he became more involved in trade union activity and eventually became president of the NAHT in Nottinghamshire and was then voted on to the union's National Council. He became the national Vice-President and then national President in 2000/2001. He challenged the union's appointment of the preferred candidate to become General Secretary and, at the time of the interview, had been in post for less than three months. The interview lasted exactly an hour and was conducted in the foyer of the Bonnington Hotel in Holborn, London. This was a change to the agreed schedule. Originally, the interview was arranged to be at the offices of the NAHT but, due to Mick having to attend an unforeseen appointment, this was changed on the day. Conversation, which was not recorded, took place before and after the interview.

Michael Day: Teacher Training Agency

Michael, seconded from the DfES, was Director of Quality and Funding at the Teacher Training Agency, having been a civil servant for 15 years. Before that, he had been a primary school teacher for a number of years before moving to teacher training in Winchester. Since the interview, Michael has become the Executive Director for Teachers at the rebranded Training and Development Agency for Schools. The interview, lasting exactly one hour, was conducted in Michael's own office at the Teacher Training Agency in London. The interview

was interrupted and the tape recorder stopped whilst the windows were closed to shut out the noise of nearby building work.

Peter Gilroy: Universities Council for the Education of Teachers

Peter was the Director of the Research Development Unit at Manchester Metropolitan University and had recently been Chair of UCET at the time of the interview. He had been a schoolteacher for over a decade during which time he worked in what was then called a 'withdrawal unit' for children with special needs as well teaching mainstream classes. Peter then taught education to trainee teachers at Clifton College of Education and philosophy at Manchester University. At Sheffield University he was responsible for in-service education and became editor of the Journal of Education for Teaching and became involved with UCET. In 2001, he moved across to Manchester Metropolitan University as a professor of education and, in the same year, became Chair of UCET before moving to his current role. The interview, lasting fifty-five minutes, was conducted in a conference room at the Holiday Inn Marina hotel in Hull after a conference attended by both Peter and the researcher. Peter was already known to the researcher and both professional and social conversation took place before and after the tape-recorded interview.

Chris Keates: National Union of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers

Chris Keates was not at her office at the arranged time of the interview. Her press secretary apologised saying that she had been urgently and unexpectedly called out to the ministry and he did not know whether she would be able to return to the office that day. She did not. Expenses has been secured for the trip to London and there was no guarantee that they might be secured a second time. Instead of rescheduling the interview, which, in fairness, Chris would have

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been willing to do, it was decided that she would complete a written schedule similar to that given to John Bangs. This was supplied to her press secretary and a completed script was promptly returned. Her written responses provided little by way of biographical details other than to say that she had been a secondary school teacher before she became General Secretary of the NASUWT.

Matthew MacIver: General Teaching Council of Scotland

Matthew MacIver enjoys the title of Chief Executive and Registrar of the General Teaching Council for Scotland which is the most senior employed officer post in the GTCS. Prior to that, his background was in secondary education and he had been a specialist history teacher. His management experience began with an appointment as Head of Department before he moved to become assistant head and then deputy head. He has held two headships, one at a small rural school and one at a big urban comprehensive. He went to the GTCS as the Deputy Chief Executive in 1998 and, after three years, became the Chief Executive. Matthew believes himself to be 'quite unique' because he had had 'completely a teaching background'. He had never worked for local authorities or been a trade union activist. The formal interview lasted for an hour and took place in Matthew's expansive office at the GCTS in Edinburgh. Lengthy off-tape conversation took place before and after the interview. The researcher had a considerable walk to the offices in the baking sun in mid-July and it took some time before he was able to refresh himself sufficiently to be able to conduct the interview. Afterwards, Matthew clearly felt stimulated by the interview and informal conversation continued for over an hour.

<u>Geoff Southworth: National College for School Leadership</u>

Geoff had been a teacher, deputy and primary school headteacher before moving into higher education where he taught and researched school management and leadership for fourteen years at Cambridge University. He was appointed to a professorship of education at the University of Reading and, after five years there, began working at the NCSL. He was, at the time of interview, Director of Research and interim Deputy Chief Executive. The interview was conducted at the offices of the NCSL in Nottingham and lasted twenty-five minutes. Geoff was still in a meeting and not available at the agreed time and so the interview was shorter than scheduled because he had to dash to another meeting immediately afterwards. When the researcher entered his office, his PA was briefing him about his next meeting and little pre or post interview chat was possible.

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Standing on the Shoulders of Giants:

The Problem of Teachers' Professional Knowledge

Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated how knowledge is intricately bound up with professionalism so as to make almost meaningless any claim to professionalism whose authority does not ultimately derive from this. A distinction was drawn between attributive and divisive modes of professionalism where the use of the former seeks to confer certain behavioural or attitudinal characteristics upon a group of workers and the latter refers to a way of organising and controlling work and workers within the social division of labour. A third neutral mode identifies when the term is deployed as a near-synonym for a job or occupation. A (divisive) profession relies upon its complex disciplinary knowledge base to gain state legitimation of a monopolistic jurisdiction within the social division of labour. These professions control, extend and advance disciplinary knowledge and, in so doing, transmit their professional idealism to the next generation of practitioners. It was also argued that, because professions need to persuade the political class, the general public and co-workers that a monopoly is justified (Abbott, 1988) their knowledge needed to be special. Two different kinds of knowledge were identified. *Disciplinary knowledge*, broadly equating to what Freidson (1986) would call formal knowledge, has been traditionally university-based where it is created, codified and extended and is:

    a) formal, abstract and codified to the extent that is paradigmatic;

    b) capable of being separated and studied in isolation from practice;

    c) accepted as a necessary precursor to effective practice;

d) the basis and rationale of professional idealism.

To sustain a claim to professionalism, disciplinary knowledge is essential since, without it, occupational groups lack the prestige and credibility to claim monopolistic jurisdiction power. *Professional knowledge* included disciplinary knowledge but added to it all the myriad cognitive processes and content which Eraut (1994) characterised as the knowledge which professionals deploy at work.

This chapter presents an analysis of the empirical data collected from the interviews with the policy players outlined in Chapter 5 with a view to establishing whether they share any common view about teachers' knowledge base and training. These policy players are very influential in the development of both disciplinary and professional knowledge, and, by extension, have a crucial role in determining the future of the strength, or otherwise, of teachers' professionalism. They are also 'of the profession' in the sense that all of them are trained and qualified to teach in maintained state sector schools though, of course, care has been taken not to make too strong claims about the generalisability of this data beyond this sample.

A Brief Overview of Perceptions of Teachers' Knowledge Base

Given that sociologists of the professions, education academics and practitioners at all levels in the field appear to have difficulty identifying teachers' knowledge base, it is, perhaps, unsurprising that the view of the policy players interviewed here appear to mirror this. All were asked during interview in very general terms about teachers' knowledge base and their answers can be divided into two broad categories, roughly equally split: those who were fully aware that there was a problem with teachers' knowledge base and those who, at least initially, did not

appear to see this as problematic. Two observations are worth making here. First, there appeared no distinction between the policy players belonging to each of the three groups identified in Chapter 5. Four of them seemed to believe that there was no codified knowledge base and two of them stated quite unequivocally that:

> ... there are three elements to identify a profession, knowledge base, certain ethical provision and, perhaps, autonomy. Now, the teaching profession, I think, doesn't have any of them. It hasn't got a knowledge base, a unique knowledge base. (Gilroy, UCET: 424)

and

> I do think we have a weakness there in terms of our lack of a solid pedagogical base, an agreed basis of what we need to know. (Adams, GTC: 382)

The other two respondents did not state the case in such bold terms but their answers centred on problems regarding the codification of teachers' knowledge. They believed that there was plenty of knowledge in existence but, because they accepted that it had not been codified, it is reasonable to infer that they do not accept that there currently exists agreement about what it consists of. Of these four interviewees, two had been education academics. Two of these, Geoff Southworth of the NCSL and Michael Day of the TTA held senior positions in key organisations involved with teacher training policy at the time of the interviews. Close acquaintance with curricula for teacher training and knowledge of the preoccupations of the academic community may have given these respondents special privilege with regard to this area of questioning.

The other five respondents typically began their answers to questions about teachers' knowledge as if there were no difficulty with the issue. One made a rather strong claim that 'teachers' knowledge base is absolutely crucial to what they do in the classroom' (Brookes, NAHT: 237). This brings us to the second general observation about most of the interviewees' responses. When asked about teachers' knowledge many seemed to struggle to articulate what it consisted of and notable shifts of view were apparent. This appeared more marked amongst those who initially seemed to think that there was no problem with teachers' knowledge, though, on reflection, if it is in fact the case that this is a very real difficulty for teacher professionalism, perhaps that is not surprising. One interviewee provided a good example of this, claiming that when addressing teacher training students he 'talk[ed] to them about the *common body of knowledge'* (Beattie, GTC: 457, my italics). After a lengthy discussion on the subject, and after he was asked to consider whether teaching may more accurately be portrayed as a skill-set rather than an activity based on a body of knowledge, he was ready to accept that:

> If that was the case, if it is a skill, then the relationship with higher
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> education may be doubtful. I wouldn't lose any sleep about it because
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> if it works it works and what we call it really doesn't matter. (Beattie,
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> GTC: 545)

It is noteworthy here that this respondent talks in the terminology of 'what works' which was discussed in Chapter 2 and this is dealt with here later in the chapter. Despite these two general divisions which were apparent, the responses taken collectively bore many strong similarities concerning the kind of knowledge which might constitute professional knowledge so that the data gathered from all interviewees can be analysed together and dealt with under three broad

headings for the purposes of analysis: types of professional knowledge, the possibility of disciplinary knowledge and the politicization of teacher knowledge.

Three Types of Teachers' Professional Knowledge

Subject knowledge and pedagogy were cited by many interviewees and are dealt with here in the first two sub-sections. Since this thesis has made a theoretical distinction between disciplinary and professional, a third category, though referred to by many as professional knowledge, must be given different terminology to avoid confusion. We can call this, after Bottery and Wright (2000), 'ecological knowledge' since it usually refers to things 'around' teaching and often to the role of the teacher and education in society. Taken together, all three of these categories might constitute a body of professional knowledge. The analysis which follows also attempts to uncover whether the interviewees' conceptualisations of teachers' professional knowledge include what throughout this work has been termed disciplinary knowledge.

a) Subject Knowledge

First, and perhaps rather uncontroversial, most interviewees cited subject knowledge as forming part of a teachers' professional knowledge. One policy player's three-fold division of professional knowledge provides a good illustration of this and he begins his answer:

> One, there is the knowledge of a subject and whether that's subject
> as in secondary subject or whether it is a primary teacher knowing
> the subjects of the curriculum. (Bell, OFSTED: 325)

Although intellectuals may usually be burdened with the duty of doubting all that which is obvious, it would surely seem obtuse here to doubt that teachers need to know about the subject matter they are teaching and, for this reason, this theme was not usually followed up in any great depth. It is, however, worth reporting that one interviewee seemed to rely on subject knowledge as a distinguishing feature of teaching which differentiated qualified teachers from teaching assistants:

> And, between the time we left the staffroom to get to the class, I'd looked at the lesson plan and worked out what I was going to do and how I was going to do it in a way that they [teaching assistants] couldn't have done because they didn't have either the teaching skills or the body of [subject] knowledge. (Beattie, GTC: 630)

The point about the respective knowledge bases of qualified teachers and teaching assistants will be returned to but for now it should be remembered that this interviewee is a specialist secondary school English teacher. The idea that the issue of subject knowledge 'necessitates a different response for primary and special schools than it does for secondary' (Keates, NASUWT: Q12) was picked up by others though it was suggested by one interviewee that considerable subject knowledge was required of even primary teachers:

> And, of course, the primary teacher having to cover 13 different subjects in sufficient depth to satisfy exam requirements at the end of Key Stage 2 which is actually more demanding than some people might think. (Brookes, NAHT: 237)

This is a point already visited in Chapter 2. Whilst it is certainly true that primary school teachers usually teach a wider range of subjects than their

secondary counterparts, it does not seem credible to argue that even the most thoroughgoing mastery of the content of a curriculum designed for 7 to 11 year-olds constitutes something close to disciplinary knowledge. Indeed, many 16-year-olds pass public examinations in all of the primary curriculum subjects at a much higher level than that which is required by primary school pupils or their teachers. The issue was not pressed at interview, however, since, within the passage from which the above quotation has been taken, the interviewee had already made clear that, though he regarded subject knowledge as 'clearly relevant' (ibid.), teachers' claims to a knowledge base did not rest solely upon that.

Most of the interviewees, then, did not place great emphasis on subject knowledge as a base for teachers' knowledge qua teaching even though they believed it was necessary. Talking about attempts to maintain the standards of mathematics and science teachers, the policy player from the TTA referred to providing those without the necessary academic qualifications with 'additional subject knowledge' (Day, TTA: 646) almost as if subject knowledge could, in ordinary circumstances, be taken for granted. The implication is that in exceptional cases, for example shortage subjects, there may be a need for subject teaching but that this was additional to, and therefore not an intrinsic part of, training to be a teacher. That training, we might infer, must involve something other than subject knowledge. This view seemed characteristic of all the interviewees including those quoted above when considering their answers in the round. What were discussed in more depth, and at considerable length by some, were the other aspects of professional knowledge and I was keen to engage interviewees with this in an attempt to ascertain whether there might be any consensus about a body of knowledge which might constitute, or appear capable of constituting, the basis of a disciplinary knowledge system. One area

which seemed popular, and which might seem to offer this, was knowledge of pedagogy and this is presented next.

b) Pedagogy

Despite most of the interviewees citing pedagogy as a key facet of teachers' knowledge base, many were rather hazy about what this actually meant, such that, whilst we can see a consensus that pedagogy is important, it would probably not be possible to derive a blueprint for a curriculum for pedagogy from their collective responses. Notwithstanding that, two notable themes recurred, expressed through a range of terminology and at different points in the interviews. The first concerned the nature of pedagogy and the commonalities discernable in interviewees' responses. A second subject worth recording is the difficulty that many interviewees found in distinguishing pedagogy as a knowledge-set from a skill-set.

Most responses suggest that pedagogy is knowledge about what one needs to know to work in a classroom. These responses are representative of the collective view:

...knowledge about how children learn, etc., as well as knowledge of behaviour management. (Keates, NASUWT Q12)

...knowledge of how kids work, what turns them on, what turns them off, all of those things, the whole sort of social apparatus, crowd control. (Brookes, NAHT: 237)

What it [teachers' knowledge base] ought to be is about pedagogy. About the best about how people learn and learning. So that's part of the knowledge base. (Beattie, GTC: 489)

Taken at face value, there seems little ambiguity about this. It is when the question of whether pedagogy is a skill or a body of knowledge that the issue becomes rather more complex. Many interviewees seemed to talk about pedagogy as being both knowledge and know-how almost intuitively, yet still wanted to maintain that it was a manifestation of a knowledge base as this remark implies:

Secondly, there's knowledge of and skills in the pedagogy - 'How do I bring about the most effective learning through my teaching' - and it seems to me that is a properly respectable body of knowledge that should be taught in a college. (Bell, OFSTED: 325)

There is almost an assumption of the existence of a knowledge base which supports pedagogy. Hence, there arises the question of whether this is theoretical knowledge derived from research or whether it represents a kind of craft knowledge learned principally through practice.

Another interviewee's views, again typical of the responses, seems to demonstrate a similar approach towards pedagogy, this time explicitly acknowledging that the division between knowledge and skill is difficult to separate:

There are clearly pedagogical skills that teachers need to acquire as part of their training. There's almost a sort of craft skill about teaching which some would like to emphasise and I'm never clear

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about the balance between the academic understanding, the knowledge base of teaching, and the craft element in terms of the ability to do particularly things like classroom management. Classroom management is very much a craft skill or a personal skill. (Day, TTA: 540)

This certainly suggests that pedagogy is a body of knowledge and a craft, a set of skills, to be plied at the workplace though it might also seem to invoke Schön's (1984) notion of reflection-in-action.

Another interviewee clearly struggled to articulate what he meant by pedagogy and appeared to be groping for a concept, or set of concepts, to express his thoughts. He seemed to assume not only that 'common strands' would be apparent about pedagogy but also that this would be supported by a body of knowledge. He also shifted from claiming pedagogy to be knowledge of how people learn:

I think you would probably find common strands about personal behaviour, about certain – what's the word I'm looking for - that rationality, for example, is better than irrationality, that approaches to learning which involve making sure that people understand and so on, a whole raft of those sorts of, I mean, there must be a body of knowledge there about what it is that makes it possible for good learning to take place. (Beattie, GTC: 501)

to more general ideas and what might be read as a denial of his previous assertion that he talked to students about the common body of knowledge which they would need to learn:

...maybe the body of knowledge is the awareness that, you know, there are different sorts of approaches for different sorts of situations at different times... So there's not one commonly agreed [body of knowledge] if that's the question, no, but there's a whole range of practices that people need to draw on for their own purposes. (Beattie, GTC: 510)

These conceptual somersaults are not included here to disparage the individual involved. The researcher was, and remains, grateful to him for participating and speaking with such openness and frankness about a very difficult issue. Rather, these extracts might be seen to demonstrate how conceptual confusion about something as fundamental as teachers' knowledge base appears to be prevalent amongst those operating at the most senior levels in the education policy networks in England. He is far from alone in this as the literature offered in Chapter 2 confirms.

Codification of teachers' knowledge is dealt with in more detail below but in the particular case of pedagogy there seems to be at best a lack of clarity on the part of the policy players as to what it actually means. One interviewee neatly captured the idea:

And I think one of the problems we have as a profession is we've never had great agreement on what is that body of pedagogical knowledge that teachers need and we're still disputing it...whether you need to understand child development or not, whether all teachers should understand how to teach to read, and, indeed....I think that is one of the weaknesses: that we haven't agreed as a profession on what that pedagogical knowledge is and it's changed with fashion. (Adams, GTC: 362)

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If equivocation and disagreement characterise the view of ex-teachers now working in senior positions in some of the key institutions informing education policy then, even if pedagogy might offer the possibility of constituting a body of knowledge, it is clear that it is, at present, neither agreed nor codified nor paradigmatic. Given this, it does not seem that pedagogy might constitute a body of knowledge that might equate to a system of disciplinary knowledge to support teacher professionalism.

c) Ecological Knowledge

The current curriculum for ITT contains 42 statements, or standards, the overwhelming majority of which relate to either pedagogy, broadly understood as relating to the work of teaching, or subject knowledge. A third dimension of knowledge, ecological knowledge, includes those things which might fit into neither category. Two standards which make reference to respecting the 'social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds' of all children and taking 'account of the varying interests, experiences and achievements of boys and girls and pupils from different cultural and ethnic groups' (TTA, 2003, S1.1 & S3.3.6), might feasibly be said to deal with this.

Chapter 2 documented the shift in the curriculum for teacher preparation from the four disciplines of philosophy, psychology, history and sociology of education towards a more practical and classroom-based approach. This third dimension of teachers' professional knowledge, ecological knowledge, calls to mind the kind of things which trainee teachers might well have engaged with on a traditional course. Given their age, it is probable that many of the interviewees might have themselves studied on this kind of course and, if that is the case, it is, of course, reasonable to surmise that the nature of their own professional training may at the very least have coloured their attitude and approach to this kind of teacher

preparation. At least one policy player, formerly an ITT lecturer in the philosophy of education, was clearly dismayed about the demise of more intellectually grounded training courses and lamented 'the way in which teachers' skills and knowledge base has been gradually downgraded to a technicist approach to the profession' (Gilroy, UCET: 295) by the agencies of the state. Yet no other interviewees expressed this idea in such a direct way.

However, before the policy players' opinions about ecological knowledge are discussed, it might be useful and informative to outline, by way of counterpoint, the views of our interviewee from the Scottish GTC. He was effusive on this issue and his remarks are worth quoting at length. Like his English colleagues, he sees a role for subject knowledge - he was a historian teaching in a secondary school - but more particularly for pedagogy:

> Quite apart from the fact that I might be a graduate of history and I might have done essays on the French Revolution and so on, if you do not have an understanding of the psychology of teaching, children's development, that whole area, we don't believe that you should be part of that profession...If you do not have that kind of intellectual rigour and intellectual robustness and intellectual learning and intellectual knowledge about your profession and what you're doing then we don't think it's a profession. So, we believe that quite strongly. (MacIver, GTCS: 435)

and

> We want that teacher to understand not just the mechanics but the processes and the intellectual and the educational processes that are

involved for that child and for that teacher and so on. (MacIver, GTCS: 482)

It is notable that throughout his response is concerned with a high level of cerebral and scholarly endeavour. He uses the word 'intellectual', or one of its grammatical cousins, five times in these passages and eleven times in total during the interview. In contrast, only one of the interviewees working in England used the word at all and even then it was used to make a criticism of 'a lack of collaboration amongst academics and intellectuals' (Southworth, NCSL: 128). It almost feels as if the English policy players see no connection between teaching and intellectuality.

The Scottish response on the ecological dimension of teaching is equally interesting both for the spontaneity with which the answer is delivered, suggesting perhaps that such obvious things barely need thinking about, and its scope:

> The philosophy of education, the pedagogy of education, child development, the intellectual arguments about, for example, exclusion versus inclusion, the whole concept of comprehensive, elite schools, private education, the concept of What is education? A control mechanism in a democratic society? Why put all that money into education? What is the political control of education? How does that affect the teacher in the classroom? Should teachers be aware that education in itself is one of the biggest control mechanisms that a free society can have? These are the issues that we look for in every course from the seven universities. (MacIver, GTCS: 469)

There a direct reference here to all of the old disciplines used for teacher training in England and these wider socio-political and philosophical questions appear to weigh heavily with this interviewee. This has particularly important ramifications for Scottish teachers since, as the respondent reminds us, the GTCS which he heads accredits every teacher training course in Scotland. It may be that such thinking is not typical but these views must be very influential in teacher training north of the border.

In England, the old disciplines may have given way to an emphasis on the practical aspects of teachers' knowledge, but there remains the vestige of this type of thinking in the answers of those working in England albeit couched in less obviously political terms. They are usually less expansive too. One thinks that it may be useful to explore 'the social effects upon learning' (Southworth, NCSL: 103) whilst another interviewee, a Scotsman by birth incidentally, also identifies a third, more general knowledge set which teachers need:

I guess, for teachers there is this, a sort of general body of knowledge that you would expect them to have about the world around them. You know, their general awareness that makes them interesting people to teach youngsters. (Bell, OFSTED: 325)

He continues later in the interview:

Well, I think, I think it is important to understand, to become a more effective teacher, the theoretical underpinnings whether that's, for example, about learning, whether that's about curriculum, you know, what is it that makes us as a nation choose this body of knowledge as opposed to that body of knowledge, whether it's underpinning knowledge about family and community dynamics because you need

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to understand how children's learning is impacted on by their wider social circumstances and so on. Now, it became rather unfashionable to do that sort of thing for a while but it seems to me that that is part of the core professional knowledge. Nobody's suggesting that you shouldn't know about the body of knowledge that you require when you're going to teach physics or English, nobody's suggesting that, nobody's suggesting you shouldn't learn the techniques and knowledge that underpins teaching and learning but it seems to me that more general underpinning knowledge is part of that professional knowledge that teachers require. (Bell, OFSTED: 345)

Here we see similarities with the views expressed by the colleague steeped in the Scottish tradition insofar as there is a suggestion that teachers should understand that the nature and content of the curriculum is, in fact, a socio-political matter. According to this interviewee, they also need an understanding of their pupils' social circumstances and therefore, if not an explicit understanding of sociology, at the very least some kind of understanding of the different social backgrounds and challenges which pupils might face.

There seems to be two key differences relating to the context in which these different perspectives – from Scotland and from England - are offered. First, when this interviewee working in England talks about these 'theoretical underpinnings' he does so against an explicit backdrop of becoming a 'more effective teacher'. Moreover, he acknowledges that this more general ecological knowledge has became 'unfashionable' and thus, whilst reasserting its importance, seems at the same time keen to recognise the importance of subject knowledge and pedagogy. It feels as if, when these unfashionable parts of teacher training are mentioned, there is a sense that the interviewee becomes defensive, almost apologetic. This may be because the interviewee, at the time

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of the interview, held a powerful position as the leader of an organisation which might be seen to have played an important role in redefining teacher knowledge as a kind of practical efficacy. It might also be because the wholesale nature of the paradigm-shift of ITT in England makes it seem almost retrogressive, perhaps even alien, to be invoking the kind of training which was regarded, certainly by many on the right, as the cause of school failure and ineffective teaching in the 1960s and 1970s.

A second difference between the ways in which this English-based policy player's perspective on this more political type of knowledge seems to differ from the view of the interviewee based in Edinburgh is that, whilst the former seems to only want to connect this directly to effective teaching, the latter connects this kind of ecological knowledge directly to both professionalism and power. This point is emphasised to the extent that he was prepared to assert that teaching and teachers are not a profession if they lack this understanding. Moreover, because the Scottish GTC directly oversees and accredits teacher training courses in universities, teachers' collective input to the policy process can be said to be more immediate in Scotland.

Coupled with this, *The Educational Institute of Scotland* (EIS) is a very powerful teacher union in Scotland. Visitors to its website (EIS, 2008) are informed that it represents over 80% of all teachers in all school phases in Scotland. Scottish teachers, then, have a very powerful voice in terms of not merely the esoteric mechanics of pedagogy with the objective of reaching government-defined goals, but the national debate about wider issues of the ecology of education in a democratic society. Furthermore, they have received training which might be seen to prepare them as individuals and collectively to participate in such debates. There is little sense that the English-based interviewees, even from the English GTC, want to see ecological knowledge emphasised and developed so

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that teachers might be equipped to have influence on the policy process or exercise control or power over their training.

Like the trade unionists policy players arguing for highly educated teachers, other interviewees working in England seem to think there should be more than merely practical knowledge but struggle to articulate what exactly this should be when pressed. If the Chief Executive of the Scottish GTC was forceful in asserting his beliefs about teacher knowledge, his counterpart in England, as we have already seen, was less so:

> What is that knowledge? And, in a sense, it's ranged from the highly theoretical courses many of us did where one studied psychology, educational history, educational philosophy, and then the highly practical hands-on approach. The way you really learn to teach is in the classroom, and all routes to a teaching qualification have veered much more towards the classroom. (Adams, GTC: 362)

There is a marked difference here. She is prepared to describe the situation but, but is reluctant to offer her own views of what the situation ought to be despite being pressed on the issue. She does, however, refer to the old disciplines and talks about child development elsewhere, so it may be that she sees a place for ecological knowledge. In the end though, she opts for an answer which does not actually answer the question posed:

> You can learn in training, you need to learn enough in preparation to really manage and survive in the classroom but to really operate as a professional should be on the basis of a background of continuous learning. (Adams, GTC: 362)

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It may be the case that continuous learning is necessary for professionals since their work rests upon an evolving base of knowledge. But it is by virtue of their work's connection and reliance upon that base that the work can come to be described as professional not the fact that they need to keep up and regularly update it. Elsewhere there is some ambiguity in her responses. She refers to knowledge creation but this appears to boil down to pedagogy:

> ...the way you can stimulate policy growth, not just by saying what should happen but by demonstrating on the ground and pushing the boundaries of knowledge. We've worked with teachers to enact policy and practice and show what works and we will continue to do that and in partnership with TTA, as we've worked in partnership with the Department. (Adams, GTC: 426)

Two points arise from these rather equivocal responses. It appears that senior teachers' leaders appear to accept the 'what works' agenda which, as we saw in Chapter 2 is far from unproblematic. The same line of reasoning was adopted by the other senior member of the GTC who agreed to be interviewed for this research as quoted earlier in this chapter. This suggests that they regard their roles in relation to teachers as subordinate to 'what works' in terms of meeting the government's agenda. Note too that the quotation refers to enacting policy, a rather different thing than creating or influencing it, and a stance which seems common to both GTC leaders interviewed. A second problem is that survival in the classroom may very well be a predominantly practical skill rather than an exercise in the application of any theoretical knowledge base which requires lengthy training. If so, then it may very well be the case, as David Puttnam, the first GTC Chair, has suggested that unemployed actors may very well possess all the skills necessary to survive in the classroom (Education and Employment Committee, 2000). If that is what the GTC's Chief Executive and second Chair

believe, then there must be serious obstacles standing in the way of teachers' professional status.

The Possibility of Disciplinary Knowledge

Given that professionalism relies to at least some degree on disciplinary knowledge, it is necessary to examine the data in order to consider whether the three broad categories of teachers' professional knowledge discussed above might offer the prospect for the basis of some form of recognisable disciplinary idealism for teachers. This has been touched on already but there are three issues worth separate, if brief, analysis: the extent to which teachers' knowledge is codified; the role of research in teaching and teachers' knowledge base; and, the role of universities in relation to teachers' knowledge.

i) Codification

In many respects the fact that the interviewees struggle to produce clear answers when asked about teachers' knowledge base of itself suggests that they do not perceive that a codified knowledge exists for teachers. Nevertheless, the concept is of paramount importance and it would be remiss to omit reporting what they said specifically about this issue.

Most respondents did not generally talk about codification using the theoretical terminology used here. Policy players from the GTC said of teachers' knowledge-set that there was 'not one commonly agreed one if that's the question, no' (Beattie, GTC: 510) and that 'one of the problems we have as a profession is we've never had great agreement on what is that body of pedagogical knowledge that teachers need' (Adams, GTC: 362). There was little optimism that an agreed

body of knowledge was feasible in the foreseeable future and it was 'probably too late now to ever reach agreement on it' (Adams, GTC: 395).

Where the issue was discussed at any length, however, this view was certainly not uniformly shared. One interviewee went so far as to claim that OFSTED's work on the identification of effective teaching might be viewed as a sort of *de facto* codification of teachers' knowledge:

> I think the other thing that came about with OFSTED as a sort of by-product was that really for the first time you had a codification of, not just OFSTED's view of good practice, although I think some people would argue that's what it is, but in a sense an articulation, a codification of what constituted effective and ineffective practice whether that was about teaching or learning or the quality of the curriculum or leadership and management and so on. (Bell, OFSTED: 111)

This is a strong and fascinating claim and is worthy of comment for three reasons. First of all, these remarks were offered in answer to the briefest of questions - 'Why is OFSTED necessary?' The implication, therefore, is that there was, prior to OFSTED's establishment, no agreement, or, in our terms, codification, about what constituted 'best' or 'effective' 'practice'. We are concerned in this section with disciplinary knowledge and, on the face of it, these remarks appear largely concerned with the practical aspects of teaching. So, even were there a consensus, either now or before OFSTED was founded, then this kind of professional know-how might offer little prospect of offering a system of high-order abstract knowledge. It might equate only to electricians' agreeing about the best way to rewire a house or hairdressers agreeing about the best way to execute perms.

An alternative reading of these remarks is possible when read in context with other responses given in this interview. Later, when specifically asked about knowledge, this particular interviewee identifies three types of teacher knowledge, subject knowledge, pedagogy and a kind of general knowledge, which seems to equate to ecological knowledge. There may be little here about subject or general knowledge, but, though the answer is couched in terms of practice rather than knowledge, the word 'practice' seems inappropriate to describe such things as the 'quality of the curriculum' which does not seem to be a practical skill. Yet, intriguingly, the school curriculum is the responsibility of the QCA not OFSTED. Thus there is a political dimension underpinning these remarks which is dealt with below. The other point of significance is the inclusion of leadership and management here. Few other interviewees mention it and here it seems to have crept in almost as an afterthought. It may be that knowledge about the quality of what constitutes good leadership may contain within it the possibility of the seeds of disciplinary knowledge but, on its own, this knowledge seems too generic to be claimed for educators as their own particular specialism. Furthermore, most school teachers are not leaders in any ordinary understanding of the term.

Two other interviewees believed that there was no lack of a great deal of knowledge which related to teaching and which might form the basis of disciplinary knowledge. For them the difficulty was that it had not been codified. Moreover, they believed themselves, or rather the organisations in which they worked, to be currently engaged in this important cataloguing work. Predictably, one might think, they were the senior personnel working in teacher and headteacher training. This quotation sums up their overall position:

Well I think that there probably is [a body of formal knowledge] but it's not formalised and interestingly...the Teacher Training Agency has been...trying to develop sort of research banks, information banks, knowledge banks to try to codify all that knowledge and make it rather more accessible than it has been before. I think there's a huge amount of stuff out there, research papers, monographs and books and in people's heads which has never been synthesised in a way which makes it accessible to teachers. (Day, TTA: 591)

Asked if there were any attempt to create a formalised or codified knowledge base for either leadership in schools or for teachers, the interviewee from the NCSL responded:

There is. The way we would talk about that is to say we are assembling and pulling together a body of work some of which we've conducted, some, most of it has been conducted by others, and try to summarise it, synthesise and summarise, that knowledge base. So, it's through our synthesis that the codification would be taking place. (Southworth, NCSL: 095)

He then goes on to make an distinction between knowledge creation and knowledge management claiming that teachers have been weaker on the second than the first. The consequences of this, he claims, create an unlikely paradox which means that:

...we've given rise to a view that new knowledge is actually just a faddism, a fashion that will pass. We haven't built on the prior knowledge base, we haven't stood on the shoulders of those who've gone before us and I think you need to do both, not just one or the

other, because equally just doing knowledge collation would only reinforce the traditions and the assumptions of the past. (Southworth, NCSL: 103)

His view is that the teaching establishment, by which he seems to mean its university-based researchers and knowledge-creators, have failed to establish education as a respected academic endeavour which is a necessary precursor to practice. There are, he suggests, three perceived reasons for this. One perception is that educational research is poor quality compared to that of science and other disciplines. Another reason, he suggests, is that education as a field of study is a relatively new one. It is worth adding here that he does not believe education to be a discipline but a field of enquiry. If misgivings about educational research might be grounded in its well-recognised failures (see the discussion on reading below), then it is difficult to see what is meant by education being a new area of study given that teacher training, and education academics, have been attached to universities for decades. Perhaps he is referring to the phase of educational research in education departments heralded by BERA after the demise of the four old disciplines. A third reason, and there is a sense from the other answers offered that he believes this to be principally responsible for the comparatively low esteem in which the academic study of education is held, is a lack of collaboration amongst academics, intellectuals and scholars in education who 'much prefer to plough their individual furrows than to see their work, see themselves as figures in a bigger landscape' (Southworth, NCSL: 128). This leads to the next part of the analysis which deals with research.

<u>ii) Research</u>

Time restrictions meant that there was seldom an opportunity to ask direct questions about the role of research in teachers' professional knowledge though in some cases follow-up questions were asked when it was appropriate within the context of the interview. So, for some, research was only mentioned in passing. A light-hearted moment was shared when one policy player sought jokingly to rely on 'research on the importance of the leadership role' (Brookes, NAHT: 484) when describing ex-Secretary of State, David Blunkett, as a 'Tigger-thinker' whose Jungle Book mind bounced swiftly from one idea to the next.

Nevertheless, in a significant number of cases interviewees' own reflections led them to consider the place and role of research. Perhaps this should not be surprising if it is remembered that two of our interviewees held the title of Director of Research, one at Manchester Metropolitan University, the other at the NCSL. If the place of research is important in the development of any professional knowledge base, it is particularly pertinent in the case of teachers. Chapter 2 described how, after the prominence of the old disciplines receded, BERA tried to develop educational research in an attempt to begin the establishment of a science of pedagogy which might well have led to a research-based formal knowledge system underpinning teaching. In addition to this, research has been deployed in a range of related arguments – reflective practitioners, teachers as action researchers, for example - for teacher professionalism. Some of the policy players interviewed for this research seemed very much aware of the importance of research for both these reasons.

One interview took place immediately following the *Standing Conference for Research into Educational Leadership and Management* which the interviewee had attended. Having previously written about teacher professionalism, he

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recognised that the professionals-as-action-researchers and professionals-as-reflective-practitioners arguments rested on the credibility of established research in the academy and that this was clearly a problem:

> ...obviously reflective practice can't be the knowledge base because you've got to reflect on the knowledge, in any case, reflective practice applies across a whole range of professions so it can't be unique to teaching. But if you don't know how to reflect and research on your practice then you've a major problem in developing your teaching skills. So, just leaving aside whatever this knowledge base might be, I think what the universities uniquely provide are skills for researching and improving practice. But it can't, because we haven't identified it, it can't deal with the knowledge base. (Gilroy, UCET: 343)

He was not alone in relating research and knowledge explicitly to formalised arguments about teacher professionalism. In the same context, a different interviewee indicated that he was aware of 'work going on at Cambridge...to define the nature of professionalism' (Day, TTA: 757) perhaps indirectly referring to the work of David Hargreaves (1994, 1998, 2003) an academic whose work on teacher professionalism was being cited by researchers working for the TTA around the time of the interview. One of the GTC interviewees, though not explicitly seeming to invoke the action researcher argument, clearly believed that teachers were actually engaged in research and that it was important that 'the work that teachers do for themselves in the workplace in terms of research' (Beattie, GTC: 240) be accredited by the new GTC-led Teacher Learning Academy. His colleague was also keen to stress the importance that the GTC put on research:

Because we believe that practice in the classroom should be informed by the very best evidence. We believe that teachers, in particular, should have access as much as possible to research. It shouldn't be something that's kept away from teachers so we encourage, for example, through our web resource, Research of the Month, access by teachers to a range of examples of teachers engaging in research at different levels. From teachers carrying out their own research as part of a higher degree, carrying out classroom-based research projects or simply being aware of research. We believe it's very important for teachers to be reflective, to have access to the very best knowledge of what meets their needs and what actually works in terms of teaching and learning. I think by that whole research-based approach, we are trying to build up a sense of expertise with regard to research in the profession. (Adams, GTC: 400)

In this response, there is repetition and the distinctiveness of the points being made seems to blur into each other almost as if there is a need to include what might be fashionable terminology in the answer. This quotation might seem to be an attempt to cover all bases. There is certainly allusion to the reflective-practitioner and action-researcher arguments but also a sense that teaching needs to be based upon some kind of scientifically researched knowledge base. She believes that teachers should engage with research by doing it but there is an equal emphasis on reading it and it is less clear where this research might come from if not from universities which are not mentioned. Again there is reference to the rather Blairite notion of 'what works'.

As with the issues surrounding codification, the same two policy players from the NCSL and TTA were keen to speculate at length about research. The former returned to his earlier theme about the relationship between academia and

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teachers on the front line which clearly seemed to be something which the interview had brought to the forefront of his mind. In this extract, the problem about the disconnectedness between academia and teaching is reformulated to include research:

I mean I think what we can see in education is a sense of separation between academics and practitioners where practitioners don't see themselves as researchers and researchers don't often enough, in my view, research practice. (Southworth, NCSL: 136)

There is implied criticism of the teacher-as-researcher argument too with which, as a former professor of education, we can assume he must be familiar.

This idea of disconnectedness is contrasted with 'medicine [where] there is a much greater interplay, where doctors see themselves as researchers' (Southworth, NCSL: 136). In similar vein, the interviewee from the TTA believes that lawyers base their practice on 'huge amounts of precedent' and have a 'huge case law background against which they could set any particular problem they came across' (Day, TTA: 540). For him, doctors are influenced all the time by:

...research, new evidence, new testing going on which influences me. There's a whole industry there which sort of synthesises from the research which is being done in labs around the world down to the actual implications for practice, knowledge transfer, which is required by the practitioner at the frontline. We have nothing which even remotely matches that in education. We read TES [Times Educational Supplement] and that's about as far as we get for most people in the profession isn't it? (Day, TTA: 591)

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For both of these policy players, there are essentially two problems. The insulated way in which academic researchers work means that there has been inadequate codification of what might otherwise have constituted a knowledge base. Secondly, there has been inadequate transmission of knowledge from the academy to practitioners in the field:

It isn't often that the research hasn't been done but that it hasn't, we haven't had the knowledge transfer as it were from research to practice which we might have in the professions. (Day, TTA: 591)

As a consequence of these diagnoses of the problem of teachers' knowledge base, at least part of the work of the NSCL, through its research group the University Partner Group, must be remedial insofar as it must, of necessity, involve the bringing together of already existing knowledge and sharing it:

I see one way of describing the work of the research group here is that of being a knowledge management group and that involves knowledge management in terms of collation of existing and previous knowledge, creation of new knowledge, where we perceive gaps and dated information, and, of course, communication. I prefer 'communication' to 'transmission'. And those are three key functions that we perform. (Southworth, NCSL: 088)

If knowledge needs pulling and knitting together, then so, it seems, do researcher academics and practitioners. The disconnectedness between educational research and those working in the field is, for almost all interviewees who engaged with this subject, a key issue which needs addressing.

iii) Universities

A final point to consider is the connection between universities, knowledge and professionalism. Chapter 1 explored the shift from 'status professionalism' to 'occupational professionalism' as described by Elliott (1972) in which the relationships between universities, knowledge, class and occupation changed. As the industrial revolution progressed, being an educated gentleman was no longer seen to be qualification enough for entry into the better paid, high status jobs. If a university education was to be seen as a prerequisite for entry into professional work, then the public and political class had to be convinced that this education was relevant to the job rather than merely a covert means of social selection aimed at excluding members of the lower classes from middle-class careers. Hence, university education needed to adapt and, where it purported to prepare people for professional life, correspond more closely to the work in question. Having established a knowledge base, systematic training within its paradigms became a prerequisite for practice even though, in reality, it may actually have been of little practical use. With school teaching, it is true that in its early days no university training at all was required. Nevertheless, during the twentieth century it eventually established itself such that all teacher training was delivered by academics in universities or, at the very least, in higher education institutions attached to universities. Furthermore, teaching, in state maintained schools at least, had for all intents and purposes become an all graduate profession by the 1970s.

As with the discussion of ecological knowledge, the thoughts of the policy player from the Scottish GTC again provide illuminating contrast with those working in England. There is no doubt in his mind as to the importance of teaching's connection with higher education:

It's quite a big issue for us because we think that, we think that the universities and the higher education area is, let's put it this way, let's put it in a negative way, if you took that away we don't think you could call it a profession. (MacIver, GTCS: 435)

Note again the explicit connection made with professional status. Compared to these sentiments, interviewees in England shared some rather different, and in some cases rather surprising, thoughts about teachers and university-based training.

For some, the connection of teacher training with universities seems to be about status too but this is not necessarily about professional status as such. One trade union leader thinks that it 'is clearly about having well-educated people in education' (Brookes, NAHT: 252) whilst another says that 'we continue to want a graduate profession' (Keates, NASUWT Q13). Neither is clear why this is the case and, since their comments elsewhere about teachers' knowledge are ambiguous, it must be inferred retrospectively why this might be the case. A speculative guess might be that higher education provides status for the workforce collectively which, in turn, provides greater industrial clout which is of obvious benefit from a trade union perspective. That is, however, rather different from thinking that they might need higher education, or training in a university, in order that they might call themselves a profession. In fairness, it should be recorded that a suggestion is made that teachers should consider whether, 'as with the Arabia school in Finland', a master's degree ought to be essential for full qualification as a teacher so as to 'make sure we're not undercutting professionality' (Brookes, NAHT: 200). This remark does, of course, make a clear connection between university education and professionalism.

The other responses of the trade unionists provide a clue as to why the connection with universities may present a problem. One goes on to say that 'the HE issue is vital, though this does not necessarily mean that student teachers must attend a university. Training should be at least level 5 equivalent' (Keates, NASUWT: Q12). This response is not necessarily incompatible with the logic of professionalism since, in one sense, attendance at a university is an incidental matter. The important thing is that trainee professionals have access to and are trained within the parameters of professional and disciplinary knowledge which is established within the academy. One problem of policy for these trade union leaders seems to be the rise and increasing prominence of paraprofessionals in teaching. This is discussed at greater length in the next chapter and so it is enough to note here that teachers' leaders seem to walk a policy tightrope balancing their defence and protection of existing, and fully qualified, members on the one hand with a reluctance to alienate what might eventually constitute a potentially massive membership stream on the other hand if the school-based qualification routes for trained teaching assistants are ultimately extended to allow a school-based top-up training course leading to full-blown QTS. Add to this the introduction of the Graduate Teacher Training Programme (GTTP) and the ambiguities inherent in formulating a coherent trade union policy on ITT become even more apparent.

When the issues of university training and the introduction of qualified teaching assistants were broached there seemed to be ambiguities in the responses at the GTC too. One interviewee hoped that the Council might have a hand in guaranteeing standards for these workers and all those who work with children but this seemed to refer more to the disciplinary function than inducting these staff in any kind of disciplinary idealism. Her colleague, however, initially claimed that he 'would be very unhappy were that connection [between higher education and ITT] not there' (Beattie, 581: GTC) but then seemed to change his mind:

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...no actually that's not true. I'd be quite interested to do a sort of comparative study and see what you would get if you unhooked, unhitched the connection with higher education and let it just become a skills-based thing and see where we ended up. Maybe that's where we're heading to with the higher level teaching assistants, for example, if you look at the workforce remodelling. (Beattie, 581: GTC)

It must be very unusual, to say the least, for the Chair of a professional body to make such a suggestion especially given that elsewhere (see Chapter 3) he had publicly stated his intention to 'speak up fearlessly for professionalism' (Beattie, 2002, p. 24).

Others, aware of the problem with teachers' knowledge, are moved to accept that the connection between ITT and universities must be 'partly a status argument' (Gilroy, UCET: 343) since, if it is accepted, as it is by this interviewee, that there is no credible disciplinary base then universities cannot possibly be acting as the codifiers, guardians and extenders of it. The comment is qualified here by the adjective 'partly', however, to allow for the possibility that the connection to universities might offer the only hope of developing a new knowledge base in the future for a new breed of what he calls 'pedagogistas', those who, in a restructured educational environment will provide diagnoses for children's needs. On this reading, universities are being used in order to prop up the professional status of a group who might not otherwise deserve it since ITT has been reduced to a technical unproblematic process of training overseen by politically controlled quangos. Of course this is a highly politicised way of exploiting the present connection with universities - an approach which the most

established and successful professions have never shrunk from when it has come to defending the privileged status of their members.

How far does all this take us towards disciplinary knowledge? No matter whether abstract and formal high-order knowledge developed and studied in universities is, as Abbott (1988) claims, merely symbolic, or, as Collins (1975) and Illich (1977) argue, an ideological cover to protect privilege and extend power, do the policy players' views offer the possibility or prospect of teachers' disciplinary knowledge?

A good summary of the responses of all interviewees taken together on this issue is provided by the interviewee working at the TTA. As far as teacher training goes, he thinks that:

> higher education gives people the opportunity to reflect more widely across teacher training to learn from a set of professionals who have got a much wider perspective on teaching and education overall. …..
> But our general view is that teacher training is best delivered in partnership between schools and HEIs so that people get both the day-to-day classroom experience, the kind of craft-skill as it were, and also get the more theoretical professional understanding of what it is they're doing. (Day, 619: TTA)

But, alongside this, lies what seems to be a major difficulty for education:

> ...perhaps to some extent the profession has lost confidence in the body of knowledge held by the universities. (Day, 576: TTA)

These two short extracts seem to embody the general sentiments of most of the policy players interviewed whilst retaining the sense of collective equivocation that seems to pervade much of their thinking. Although there are clearly problems with the codification of teachers' knowledge and research, and although this interviewee is unable to say where precisely this 'more theoretical professional understanding' resides and in what it consists, there is what might almost be described as a faith in its existence. There is recognition common to almost all the interviewees, excepting perhaps the one from UCET, that there must be some academic knowledge even though nobody seems to be able to articulate quite what it is. But if those at the pinnacle of the education establishment cannot identify a body of disciplinary knowledge then the place and relevance of education departments and educational theory (whatever that might be) in ITT may prove to have a very weak foothold in a climate characterised by centralised state control of key aspects of 'professional' induction. If the absence of disciplinary knowledge leads to ITT's connection with universities being broken, this will result in a greatly weakened professionalism which may ultimately reawaken arguments for John Patten's "mum's army' of untrained staff in schools' (quoted in Callaghan, 2006, p. 159). Indeed, the Conservative Party are now talking about introducing a 'Troops to Teachers' (Gove, 2009) programme which, whilst playing to popular fears about disruption in schools, again implies that teaching is merely a matter of common sense and discipline. This, alongside some other political implications of the interview data, are briefly examined in the final part of this chapter.

The Politics of Teachers' Professional Knowledge

The literature review in Chapter 2 identified a number of problems with perceptions of teachers' professional knowledge base from both those influencing and forming education policy and those working in education. The New Right

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Social Affairs Unit described teacher training degrees as 'nonsense' and 'super-nonsense' (see Ball, 1990) and a former Conservative higher education minister accused education academics of practising a 'dubious discipline' (Walden, 1996, p.29). The education academic community itself has appeared insecure and preoccupied with professionalism and professional knowledge, yet has been unable to unite around any coherent, codified body of knowledge or even agree upon a general framework which might constitute some kind of overarching disciplinary paradigm under which research might be conducted. The work of Helsby (1996), Bottery and Wright (2000) and Silcock (2003) suggests that most teachers in the classroom have little interest in academic research in education and consider their professionalism to lie in the conscientious execution of what they regard as an essentially practical enterprise. It may be easy to ridicule GTC Chair David Puttnam as a New Labour placeman arrogantly speaking for a profession for which he was thoroughly unqualified. Yet, if his suggestion that 'professional skills, professional commitment is not incompatible with moving in and out of the profession' (Education and Employment Committee, 2000) suggests that one can casually drop in and out of teaching work with little training, practitioners themselves seem to be no more convinced of the need for lengthy academic training in educational theory.

The views of the policy players interviewed for this research, straddling this artificial dichotomy between policy formation and implementation, display a high degree of concordance with the evidence in the literature. To conclude this chapter, it is necessary to highlight three conclusions with far-reaching political implications rising from the interrogation of this interview data. First, and most obvious, there is no consensus that any codified system of disciplinary knowledge is accepted for or by teachers even if there may be rather more agreement on at least some dimensions of what might be described as their professional knowledge. A second conclusion concerns the dislocation or

disconnectedness between both educational research and practice, and educational researchers and practitioners. This leads to the third political implication, the creation of what we might call an epistemological vacuum which has, in turn, given rise to the narrowing of ITT curricula such that it has become an essentially technical-rational process.

Regarding the first and second of these points, little elaboration need be added to the foregoing. Even if it is accepted that the threefold division used here to analyse the data might together constitute the basis of teachers' professional knowledge as collectively perceived by the interviewees, there is not even agreement about what two of these - pedagogy and ecological knowledge – mean. Moreover, on the basis of the answers given by the policy players here, there certainly does not appear to be anything which might begin to approach a codified body of abstract, formal knowledge which might plausibly be called disciplinary knowledge. There are profound implications for teacher professionalism if these key policy players, singularly or collectively, have difficulty in articulating the nature or content of qualified teachers' expertise. In short, it would imply that there would seem to be little meaning to QTS, little to support an argument that the profession should control its own training and little point in the state continuing to sanction the limited professional monopoly teachers currently enjoy.

The interviewees' views on the dislocation of education research and researchers from practice and practitioners has similar, and equally, powerful implications. If the work of academics and researchers is, or appears to be, unrelated to practice, then it becomes hard to convince the state, the public and co-workers that any kind of theoretical, and, by extension, university training is necessary. Where there may be teacher shortages, it becomes increasingly difficult to argue that such training ought to be a pre-requisite for practice. Once that connection

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is lost, then there is a danger of localised apprentice-type on-the-job training becoming either the norm or, indeed, the only route to qualification. Where that happens, any aspiration that induction into a system of disciplinary knowledge might form the basis and rationale for the creation of professional idealism dissipates. At this point it becomes meaningless to use the term 'profession' to refer to such workers other than in its neutral mode, where the word is used as a mere synonym for job. Hence, some believe that this process has already reached the point where 'it is no longer possible to use this term [teaching profession] confidently' (Lawn, 1999, p. 100).

The final political dimension arising from this discussion of teachers' knowledge is the reformulation and reconceptualisation of the teaching training process arising, directly and indirectly, from the actions of an interventionist state bent on attacking and subjugating the teaching establishment. If the traditional four disciplines had provided a *de facto* system of teachers' knowledge, largely controlled by academics in universities, one interviewee was succinct in his assessment that once this had evaporated, largely as a consequence of concerted political attack, nothing had ever been convincingly been put in its place. Asked if that was a fair way of formulating his opinion he replied:

> Absolutely. I think there was a vacuum created there and into it rushed the National Curriculum and the national curriculum for teacher education...[this] in effect, defines the knowledge base and it's really technical, as you well know...

adding later:

...it's only allowable because we didn't have, and we still don't have, a clear knowledge base about what constitutes reading abilities and a knowledge base for reading. (Gilroy, UCET: 322 & 301 and 362)

Furthermore, he believes that these state-defined curricula are in fact narrow technicist policy instruments. This point is given further ballast by the manner in which, as we have noted above, some of the policy players appointed by government, political appointments if you will, readily adopt the 'what works' and 'best practice' mantras. As was argued in Chapter 2, this is a highly politicised way of looking at education since something can only be determined to be working insofar as it meets some particular end (Brehony, 2005). Tied in, then, with the 'standards' discourse such an approach effectively closes off meaningful professional knowledge for teachers (Usher and Edwards, 1994).

In Scotland, with its strong GTC controlling the training process, there was not the same policy space available for the state in which to intervene. Hence, they Scottish GTC retain a faith in the importance of academic endeavour and is 'in conflict so much with England because we do not accept a training that doesn't consist of, doesn't have that, the whole concept of higher education professional training. We simply, we think that that's quite integral to the training of a professional' (MacIver, GTCS: 435). Here, by contrast, the way in which this 'what works' refrain can indeed erode the connection between the professional and the intellectual can be seen in these remarks from one of the GTC interviewees:

...if [teaching] is a skill, then the relationship with higher education may be doubtful. I wouldn't lose any sleep about it because if it works it works and what we call it really doesn't matter. (Beattie, 545: GTC)

Agencies of government now control and define the training process and are opening up a range of new routes to teacher qualification. Insofar as this removes power from teachers, it reduces their professionalism and deepens the politicisation of education. The lack of clarity about teachers' knowledge base cannot but have helped hasten this process. If, as one of the interviewees quoted above lamented, educationalists have not stood on the shoulders of those who have gone before, then it seems that the state will now stand in as the omniscient giant of educational knowledge, theory, training and practice.

7

'A Crowded Educational Universe':

Perspectives on the GTC and Professional Power

This chapter will examine senior policy players' views on teachers' collective professional power. The discussion is mainly conducted through a presentation and analysis of interviewees' thoughts and perspectives on the teachers' professional body since this is usually where the collective power of the professional occupational group resides.

Chapter 3 sketched a picture of a GTC whose narrow remit meant that it lacked the powers it needed either to properly perform its stated aims or to establish credibility amongst the teaching workforce. This chapter builds on the material presented previously insofar as it presents the personal and extended reflections of key personnel in both the GTC and the unions. Under examination are key points arising from the policy players' perceptions of the powers of the GTC, thoughts about how the GTC interprets its remit, the connection between a strong professional body and the public status of teachers, and, finally, interviewees' aspirations for the GTC of the future.

The recurrent themes within the chapter include professional monopoly, registration, control of entry to (training) and egress from (discipline) the profession. The central question concerns the extent to which the Council might be recognised as exemplifying Freidson's (1986, 2001) notion of the ideal-typical professional body. To put it another way, to what extent can it be realistically claimed that the GTC is the collective guardian of professional idealism and how does it exercise its powers and duties within the professional jurisdiction in which

it operates? The contrast with the Scottish GTC is again illuminating and therefore the perspective from north of the boarder is presented first.

Some Thoughts from Scotland

Before discussing perceptions both in and of the GTC in England, it is informative to note some themes arising from the interview conducted at the Scottish GTC. There, the Chief Executive perceives his job as having two roles, one formalised, the other less so. His formal role, which he refers to as his 'role in statutory terms' (MacIver, GTCS: 051), involves setting 'certain professional benchmarks' (ibid.) and includes the control of entry and exit from the profession which together subsume the control of training, newly-qualified teachers' probationary period, CPD and disciplinary matters for Scottish teachers. But he sees a second role which he perceives as equally important:

> But I also see my job in terms of raising the image of teachers, looking at the status of the profession, making sure that teaching as a profession is talked up, making sure that we are not just a soft target for the media, making sure that we have a self-assurance about ourselves as a profession which is really quite important... I think I have my statutory responsibilities but I've also seen it in terms of a professional view as well. (MacIver, GTCS: 051)

The Chief Executive's sense of having this dual function is quite striking and pervades the entire interview. For him, this second function, this concern with the public perception of teachers is all 'part of the strategy to make teaching well-paid... to understand that there is professionalism about teaching that has to be recognised' (MacIver, GTCS: 162). The raising of teachers' status is necessary for this and is connected, in his eyes, directly to the power of the

Council. He uses the word 'fight' six times during the interview and there is an almost trade union-like dimension to his job which requires him to be politically engaged:

So, I've seen myself as someone who's involved in the world of politics and as someone who's involved in the world of politicians, someone who's involved in the world of civil servants and they will always hear the voice of the General Teaching Council. (MacIver, GTCS: 292)

He sees the minister at least every three weeks and talks to civil servants daily, both formally and informally, sometimes calling on them on his way to work and on his journey home.

The GTCS's home is the beautiful and spacious Clerwood House set in leafy grounds in the Edinburgh suburbs. In order to position the GTCS at the centre of the Scottish teaching establishment, the Council allows educationalists, teacher unions, civil servants and politicians free access to their conferencing rooms and facilities. Scotland's First Minister and Education Minister visit the GTCS' premises on 'away days' and even the Scottish cabinet have met there. The motives behind this are not born of pure benevolence, though the Chief Executive is clearly a very public-spirited individual. It is all part and parcel of 'a very deliberate strategy on our part to make the GTC part of that whole national political system' (MacIver, GTCS: 632). This is a shrewd policy player, keen and adept at developing political networks through which he might influence the policy process.

In the view of the Chief Executive, it seems to work. Disagreements between unions and the GTCS or politicians and the GTCS are, he says, usually resolved

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behind closed doors and the GTCS has become entrenched as a pivotal player within the Scottish educational establishment. The Chief Executive is confident that 'if it came to the crunch both the minister and first minister would back me' in public (MacIver, GTCS: 388) even if this might involve a dispute with the central government in Whitehall as it did over the GTCS' decision not to recognise teachers qualifying in England through the Graduate Teacher Training Programme. Asked what his reaction would be if the Scottish Parliament were to introduce a state agency like the English TDA to control teacher training, this was his response:

> That would be devastating. Not only that, we've just had a review in Scotland of the training of teachers conducted by a national group nominated by the minister and it's come to the opposite conclusion, that in fact the GTC leads the whole partnership towards the new era of teacher training in Scotland and I'm very pleased about that because it accepts that at the heart of the training of teachers must be the profession itself and I think that's quite an important concept....the overall perception is that we can be trusted to maintain standards. (MacIver, GTCS: 272)

If the opinion of its Chief Executive is an accurate reflection of the Scottish position, the GTCS has become an accepted and, at the present time at least, a seemingly uncontested part of the educational landscape north of the boarder. It is a powerful council controlling entry and egress to and from the profession insofar as it oversees all teacher training, CPD and disciplinary matters. In addition, its Chief Executive interprets his role, and that of the Council, as extending beyond the narrow statutory terms of its remit to encompass a representational role which, in blunt terms, seeks to improve the lot of the teaching workforce as measured by pay and reputation which, together, seem to

be what is meant by status. Though individual teachers in Scotland do not weekly march in celebration of their regulatory body, the GTCS appears to be valued by the unions who publicly support much of its work and take part in its elections and accepted by the political class who defend its decisions. It seems to be fully integrated into the policy process in Scotland.

The position is rather different in England and the Chief Executive of the Scottish GTC casts an unenviable eye at the task facing his counterpart in England. There is, he believes, a fundamental problem with the GTC in England which is built into the legislation which created it:

> I think that Carol Adams and her team have an enormous job to do down in England. I think if I had been passing the law, I would have made it very different. I would have given them much more substantial powers than they have ... it seems to me that there is a philosophical conundrum there. If you really believe in a self-regulating profession, then there's something wrong in that philosophical model. (MacIver, GTCS: 739)

In concordance with what has been suggested in previous chapters, he believes that the restricted scope of the English GTC's powers and remit, when compared both to the GTCS and to professional bodies overseeing other occupations, mean that the job of establishing a strong council which might appear to have clear benefits for the teaching profession, and therefore be more likely to be supported by teachers, is difficult because its weak powers and limited remit are inimical to the very notion of professional self-governance.

Perceptions of the Powers of the GTC in England

A number of the interviewees working in England had very little to say about the GTC and were reluctant to be drawn on questions about its powers, feeling that they were unqualified to speak with authority on the matter. Nevertheless, references to the difficulty of the task, or tasks, facing it were common, indeed, universal. This is typical of the language used:

> I meet with my colleagues in the GTC. I think they've got a big job to do, a challenging job to do and it's a long, they're in it for the long haul. It's not going to be quick. It would, it is taking time still to establish the GTC. (Southworth, NCSL: 164)

This was mirrored by the Council's own Chair commenting here on the tactics being used to engage the support of individual members of the teaching profession:

> So a series of strategies to contact professional persons...So it's a long haul. It's going to be a long haul. (Beattie, GTC: 365)

Several interviewees shared the Scottish Chief Executive's feeling that the restrictive remit and limited powers of the GTC had been deeply disappointing for those who had hoped for great things from the arrival of a professional body for teachers. One policy player expressed this in terms of the Council's lack of control over professional education and preparation:

> I certainly expected...that the GTC would be closely involved with creating the standards and even perhaps monitoring UDEs. In the same way as you have the British Psychological Society checking

psychology degrees, you'd have the GTC checking education degrees that linked to QTS. It hasn't happened... (Gilroy, UCET: 546)

He continued:

...the TTA, DfES and various other bodies, all get in the way of that process. And I think that again shows you the denigration, the downgrading of the status of the GTC. (Gilroy, UCET: 546)

The notion that government agencies, or indeed the DCSF itself, 'get in the way' by precluding the GTC from taking responsibility for work which ought properly to be the domain of a professional body is a very strong theme arising from the analysis of the interview data. Not all the policy players went so far as to make an explicit connection between this and a downgrading of the Council's plausibility as a professional council as in the quotation above. Most, however, recognise that the existence of other institutions, predating the GTC, has meant that the Council has struggled to find a convincing role in the English educational world:

I mean I think the GTC, to some extent, has suffered from entering into a rather crowded educational universe...So, I think to some extent the GTC has had a difficulty in trying to find a distinctive voice for itself in that rather crowded space and I mean I think even now, a number of years on, it probably still hasn't quite found that voice that would mark it out as playing a distinctive role in the education system. (Bell, OFSTED: 096)

This power deficit might be seen to be further confirmed by the way in which some policy players talk about their own organisations. The policy player quoted

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directly above explicitly acknowledged that his organisation, OFSTED, played an important role in education policy-making. The power of OFSTED clearly exceeds that which the GTC has so far managed to create for itself. Its power over practice may exceed any power the GTC might realistically hope to gain for itself in the future unless, of course, there is to be a transfer of control of the inspection process from OFSTED to the GTC at some point in the future. There is no sign of that at the time of writing.

Since the control of entry to the profession constitutes a critical role in professional regulation, a key institution to mention at this point in the discussion is the TDA. Like the interviewee quoted above who felt that this Agency 'got in the way', others too were overtly critical of a situation in which a government agency had already been given control of the accreditation of training. The Chief Executive of the GTCS interpreted this as the actions of a political class usurping, or in this case, retaining, powers which ought properly to have been ceded to the professional Council:

> ...the government wanted to, or the English government, wanted to develop the powers of the [TDA] rather than develop the powers of the General Teaching Council and that is exactly what has happened and the TTA has been even given more powers recently. And that's a political decision which has to be made on certain reasons but it certainly deflects and detracts from the concept of a profession and a profession which controls its own destiny... (MacIver, GTCS: 200)

The policy player at the TDA confirmed the strength of his organisation in this regard and also talked about the split between the powers of TDA and the GTC:

It's really quite interesting the way government has decided to retain

control on that key aspect, that key threshold into the profession

through having an NDPB [non-departmental public body] rather than

granting those powers to a regulatory body...So it's an interesting

split responsibility where we're defining the standards and

accreditation of the providers. The GTC actually badge the people and

they police the award once it's been given because we hand it on in

that sense to GTC and any issues of professional behaviour or

competence etc...rests with GTC rather than us. (Day, TTA: 084)

Chapter 3 noted that, although the GTC requires all teachers in state schools to

register before they can practice, this was in essence a bureaucratic function

insofar as it was, in effect, merely rubber-stamping a qualification created and

accredited by the TDA and certified by UDAs. The use of the word 'badge' here,

then, is particularly interesting since it seems to imply precisely this: that the

GTC's role in the accreditation process, and, by extension, as guardians of the

entry standards to the profession amounts, in fact, to only a bureaucratic and

procedural one. Precisely this point was put to one policy player from the GTC:

Yeah. I'm not offended by it. There is a bureaucratic aspect to it, no

doubt about it. If you want to have a decent register then

bureaucratically you've got to be very effective and very efficient.

And the situation we're in now is that the register, of course, has

taken some time to get as accurate as it is today... (Beattie, GTC:

072)

This is a fair point and it should also be mentioned here that the interviewee

from the GTCS expressed admiration for the way in which the English register

had been compiled. And, of course, the Council's efficient oversight of its

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registration function necessarily depends upon the effectiveness of the bureaucratic procedures it puts in place. The difficulty here lies not in conceding that there is a bureaucratic aspect to the compilation and maintenance of a register since a register is a necessary precursor to both professional discipline and monopoly. Meaningful regulatory power resides in the control of the criteria for registration which amounts to control over entry standards. In teaching, as we have seen, the TDA oversees ITT in terms of both prescribing a curriculum and accrediting providers whilst OFSTED inspects provision. UDEs recommend individuals who have achieved QTS by meeting the TDA's standards to the Council who then register them. It is difficult to see how this might be said to constitute the exercise of power or control over entry to the profession and it is here that a fundamental weakness in the GTC's position can be seen. The creation or maintenance of a register is, of itself, not, in fact, a power at all.

The position regarding the removal of the right to practice, or deregistration, is rather more ambiguous. In the exercise of its disciplinary function, the GTC seems to enjoy real, if limited, power and, of course, the maintenance of a professional register is, as has been said, a prerequisite for such work. However, even if we ignore the difficulties created by the DCSF's retention of child abuse cases and the exemption of private schools from registration altogether, the Council's work in disciplinary hearings means that it easy to portray it as operating a solely negative regulatory function - that of punishing teachers, one reason perhaps for its less than enthusiastic reception amongst classroom-bound practitioners.

One other very interesting phrase in the TDA interviewee's comments quoted above is that the GTC 'police the award'. This assertion is contestable for two reasons. First, at the time of interview, the TDA's remit covered ITT and CPD whilst the NCSL already controlled the training process necessary for promotion

to the senior rungs of the profession. Moreover, OFSTED's Chief Inspector is quoted in this thesis in Chapter 6 arguing that OFSTED have, in effect, codified, and continue to codify, what constitutes good practice in classrooms. Thus it is difficult to see how the GTC 'police' or even develop initial or ongoing training in any sense. Second, it is OFSTED, not the GTC, which polices standards in classrooms since it conducts the inspection process (see, for example, Wilkinson, 2006, for an extended argument on this point). Of course, individuals may support each other at work and managers may 'inspect' colleagues but this is not a formalised exercise of control over individual practice by a collective arm of the profession. As was seen in Chapter 4, the GTC deals with what we might call misdemeanours and its code of conduct does not have any statutory clout. The Council may, then, be seen to be making judgments and passing sentence on some teachers because of their behaviour when cases are brought to light. But a claim that it can be said to be policing the award seems to put the point too strongly. The GTC, in exercising its disciplinary functions, is not usually policing the standards of teaching qua teaching. Rather, it might be argued, it is dealing with misconduct which would be unacceptable to any management team in lots of public organisations. The cases quoted in Chapter 3 appear to bear this out. Bullying or harassing colleagues, using pornography or drink-driving may be undesirable forms of behaviour at work but it is conceivable that somebody might engage in any or all of these activities yet be a perfectly good mathematics teacher. The principle point is that discipline can only be interpreted as 'polic[ing] the award' if it involves routing out bad teaching or, within the terminology of this thesis, those operating against the professional idealism which a professional body exists to uphold. It is a misinterpretation of the position to suggest that dealing with general misconduct is a quality control issue. The body engaged in that work is OFSTED not the GTC.

What, then, did the policy players have to say explicitly on the subject of discipline? It should be acknowledged that, despite the criticism, and sometimes ridicule, which has been targeted at the GTC, one trade unionist interviewed here recognised the necessity of the Council's disciplinary functions. One union leader interviewed for this research stated that the:

> NASUWT is in favour of a regulatory body which safeguards professional standards as this enhances the status of the profession. If the GTC focussed on its regulatory function, NASUWT would support it fully. (Keates, NASUWT: Q. 11)

This appears to support the notion about the connection between discipline and professionalism, an argument outlined earlier on in this thesis (see Balchin, 1987 and Thompson, 1997, referred to in Chapter 3). The idea is that public disciplinary proceedings have the effect of acting as a guarantee to the state and the public that the profession is capable of policing itself effectively and expunging incompetents from its ranks. This argument is also invoked at the GTC where the Chief Executive talks of the 'benefits that teachers have, which is registration and regulation, and should be able to give parents the same assurances' (Adams, GTC: 446) and the Chair refers to 'the whole business of being transparent, of being accountable' and maintenance of acceptable standards as clearly constituting 'an aspect of professionalism' (Beattie, GTC: 072). Notwithstanding the reservations expressed above about the bulk of the GTC's disciplinary work, this may well be perceived to be an indication that the GTC interviewees perceive that work as helping protect the ideals of the profession, at least insofar as the work involves incompetent practitioners. But others have reservations:

I know that aping the BMA is partly what this is about but the accountability systems for school leaders in particular and for teachers are already excessive and it looks to me as though yet another system of accountability is being introduced. (Brookes, NAHT: 384)

Regulation, then, as represented by disciplinary procedures, can for some make the Council appear to be just another arm of government and a repressive arm at that. It is an aspect of the GTC's work which means that it can be portrayed as 'acting in cahoots with the government rather than being the independent organisation it should be' (Brookes, NAHT: 369). Its initial funding by the government, which put restrictions on what the GTC could do, has also meant that it can seen as 'subservient' rather than 'a professional organisation working for its members' (Gilroy, UCET: 502).

The GTC Chair recognises this:

That of course has led us into one of the great quandaries and paradoxes that the Council faces is that, on the one hand, the media is saying we're soft on teachers and, on the other hand, teachers are saying you shouldn't be doing that to teachers. (Beattie, GTC: 072)

But the situation loses something of its faintly absurd sense of occupational masochism when we remember that regulation in terms of discipline and punishment is only part of the professional model. The disciplining and, where necessary, the expulsion of poor practitioners is part of the deal which professions trade against the legitimating of their power to exercise control over other aspects of their work. If we look at this as an issue about protecting professional idealism, then it clearly follows the logic of professionalism. Again,

the problem becomes one of 'space' since OFSTED was already established to police teaching standards long before the GTC came along. How, then, does the GTC interpret its role beyond these matters of regulation?

Perceptions of the GTC's Interpretation of its Role and Remit

We have seen how the Chief Executive of the Scottish GTC interprets his role in terms of a statutory and a promotional function whilst the Chair of the GTC in England is concerned with regulation and the provision of advice. If there is a difficulty with the English GTC's limited statutory reach, the interviews conducted for this research suggest that there is a difference of opinion between the perceptions of the trade unionists and those of the GTC staff regarding the Council's interpretation of the promotional aspects of its role. All these interviewees connect the Council and its work with arguments about status but the following comments suggest that the difference in their approach lies in the different assumptions which underpin their respective viewpoints:

> ...our first thing as a trade union is looking after the interests of our members which we think is inseparable to putting in conditions to raise standards of education. (Brookes, NAHT: 066)

> ...we couldn't become a mega-union because unions are there to serve my interests. A regulatory body serves the public interest. There's a direct contradiction there. You cannot at one time serve teachers' individual interests in various places and so on and, at the same time, serve the public interest. (Beattie, GTC: 405)

The first quotation acknowledges that trade unions can perform the roles of furthering the interests of members whilst improving education concurrently.

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Contrariwise, the GTC Chair seems to perceive an opposition or incompatibility between these objectives though there is, of course, no logical contradiction between the two. Perhaps this brings us nearer to an insight into one of the key philosophical issues which lies at the heart of some of the disputes which have arisen between the unions and the GTC. Trade union hostility towards the GTC was outlined in Chapter 3, although both the GTC Chair and Chief Executive believed that relationships had improved by the time of the interview. The former believed that behind closed doors:

Relationships are very good. But all the posturing goes on in the press. That's the nature of the game. (Beattie GTC: 405)

What other interviewees said seems to validate this perception, suggesting that it would be a mistake to draw too strong inferences based upon what is in the media about how policy formation is conducted and mediated between the different policy players and their respective institutions. There is a lot of work going on behind the scenes. All the policy players interviewed for this research talked about how they met regularly with any other agencies they dealt with. This quotation seems to summarise it neatly:

...when it comes to doing the business, working behind the chair as you have to work on matters of interest, I think it works quite well. And certainly on a personal level I have very good links with each of the general secretaries of the teacher associations and I do think they know, as I do, feel that you can pick up the phone if there's an issue that you need to speak about privately and just say 'look, you need to know, to know about this' and I think that's quite important. But there's a kind of public, there has to be a public face, public positions taken on particular issues, I accept that, I recognise that. I do the

same, they do likewise but you need to able to conduct business behind the scenes as well to make the wheels just turn. (Bell, OFSTED: 070)

Notwithstanding all of this, there remain differences of interpretation and emphasis. Teachers and their union representatives expected that the GTC would improve their standing in the public mind and, to borrow the language used by the Chief Executive of the Scottish GTC, 'fight' to improve their status and, indirectly, their pay. That would seem to involve not only having more statutory powers but also securing a firmer foothold in the policy process by being seen to speak for teachers. This is a clear problem of perception for the GTC. Echoing the remarks of the Chief Executive of the GTCS, one interviewee reflecting on power and status says:

> To start with, when it was first created, it was funded as I said by the government. It had to be. But then you got this odd situation where the government then, because it was the paymaster, put restrictions about what the GTCE could do. And so how could that be a professional organisation working for its members if it's being told what to do by an external body that it is subservient to. (Gilroy, UCET: 502)

It is also clear that some expected, and still expect, the Council to be more forceful in its promotional role:

> We would like to see a General Teaching Council being far more vociferous on our behalf and making strong statements about workload issues for the leadership team and being rather more fierce,

I think, in taking the government on if it's to gain credibility in the

profession. (Brookes, NAHT: 384)

This is not, then, just a question of finding space in a crowded educational

universe, though that clearly places restrictions on the extent of some of its

activities. One union leader expresses the view that the 'GTC has achieved very

little' (Keates, NASUWT: Q. 11). The other, who, as we have already seem,

believes that its disciplinary proceedings undermine teachers' status was asked

whether there was any sense at all in which the GTC has helped improve

teachers' status. He replied:

That's a tough question but the obvious answer is no. It is difficult to

see and I think we do need a change of emphasis from GTC if it's to

be regarded by the professionals as being their body which is what it

should be. (Brookes, NAHT: 406)

If there are those who are disappointed that the GTC has not sought to combine

representation of teachers' problems, concerns and views with regulation of their

behaviour at work, how do the policy players at the GTC see their actions as

improving the status of teachers? The space for interpretation of the GTC's

regulatory functions is less than the room for interpretation of its advisory

functions so their interpretation of their advisory role, already touched on above,

is crucial here.

As the Council looks to find a niche it has focussed on CPD and matters to do

with improving teaching and learning. This quotation captures the general tenure

of how the Chief Executive saw it:

We've worked with teachers to enact policy and practice and show

what works and we will continue to do that and in partnership with

TTA, as we've worked in partnership with the Department, but there

was no aspiration for the GTC to have the role of the TTA because

that's a government agency role. (Adams, GTC: 426)

There arises here a broad but crucial point underpinning these comments. Not

having control over ITT, and lacking any powers to enforce their advice, the GTC

is in effect forced to accept the prevailing 'what works' narrative agenda and

frame its work, and couch its advice, within the commercialized discourse of the

government of the day. This point will be developed further in Chapter 8, but it

is worth outlining here how the GTC's staff perceive their relationship to teacher

education given that the Council's statutory aim is 'to contribute to improving

the standards of teaching and the quality of learning', in addition to maintaining

and improving 'standards of professional conduct amongst teachers, in the

interests of the public (Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998, Part 1, Chapter

1, s.1, para. 2).

The Chair perceives the GTC's functions in terms of regulatory and advisory work

and the connection with teacher education seems to be part of the latter.

Indeed, asked to provide examples of how the GTC exercises its remit to provide

advice, he cited work with LEAs on entitlement to CPD, the establishment of the

Teacher Learning Academy, work on school self-evaluation and work on

assessment. All these might be said to be directly related to the improvement of

teaching and learning. This concurred with the perspectives of his Chief

Executive:

So, for example the Council doesn't tend to give advice on structural

matters about the organisation of schools. It tends to concentrate on

those areas within its remit and which are related to teaching and learning... (Adams, GTC: 115)

and, later on in the interview:

> What we seek to do is to stimulate and encourage access by all teachers to entitlement to CPD and we do that, not just by advising on the government's policy, but by modelling in practice what works, working with schools and local authorities to demonstrate that. (Adams, GTC: 426)

It may be that this quotation contains within it a clue as to why some of its detractors see the GTC as an agent of government rather than of the profession. Both the Chief Executive and the Chair appear to interpret teaching and learning in a very technical way involving 'what works' in the classroom. Because 'what works' is measured by the state more or less exclusively in terms of achieving good examination results, the GTC's position on classroom practice enables its critics to portray it as an Agency concerned with delivering the government's curriculum and immediate education policy objectives rather than those of the profession. The Chief Executive of the GTCS expresses a view about CPD which is not far from being directly contrary. He wants to spearhead a:

> 'teacher professionalism which may be different from the professionalism that's needed to implement a school action plan or a local authority action plan' beyond 'what the headmistress or the headmaster or the local authority sees as their need within the classroom' (MacIver, GTCS: 095 & 051).

The clear acknowledgement here is that there are wider concerns which are more important than meeting immediate management objectives, be they those of the headteacher, local authorities or, indeed, governments. The GTC's approach to their advisory role on teaching and learning is not, then, the only possible, or credible, interpretation. It may be that other matters, such as structures, teacher workload, poverty, class and so on, have a direct bearing on improving, or impairing teaching and learning. It may be that market mechanisms of accountability such as SATs and league tables affect teaching and learning in a negative way. If that is the case, then it would seem odd for a professional body not to engage with these issues. All this, of course, depends on how effective teaching and learning or, more broadly, effective education is defined. At present this is, in effect, defined by the state through OFSTED and the TDA. The GTC are perceived as accepting the narrow agenda of these bodies and, consequently, do not seem to have a distinctive view of their own about what good state education might look like.

The Council's advisory function perhaps offers the opportunity for the GTC to begin to build a distinctive vision, or professional idealism in the language of this thesis, but the interviews conducted for this research suggest that this chance has not been taken. In fairness to those leading the GTC, it might be argued that a newly-created professional body lacking the support of its members would not last long were it then to turn on the government which had created and funded it. But that does not alter the fact that some of these policy players, like many at the grassroots of the profession, believe the GTC to be in cahoots with the government. It seems reasonable to hypothesise that, in addition to the issues over discipline, one of the reasons for this might lie in the fact that it is perceived as having failed to articulate a professional idealism for education which might unite both the public and the profession.

Prospects and Aspirations

There is evidence here that the English GTC has chosen to interpret its remit in such a way as might make it compare unfavourably to its Scottish cousin in the eyes of some very senior policy players whose job it is to represent teachers or UDEs. One other interesting theme which arose from the data analysis was that of the future ambitions for the GTC harboured by the interviewees. It is interesting to note the comments of the policy player from the TDA:

> ...GTC was finally conceded by the government and I think it's going to be interesting to see how the GTC manages to enhance its role within the profession and within the political world and whether it will reach a position in which it does take on the responsibility for accrediting standards and whether the government will be confident to hand that over to the profession. But in part it's going to be for teachers as well to exert their profession and try to be a grown-up profession themselves as it were. It's almost like earning the right to be a profession, although that's not the right phrase, because I mean if the GTC proves itself as being a very effective professional body then it may well get into the position where the government will see it as being the right person to be upholding some of these functions. But at the moment I think that the government believes that the Teacher Training Agency remains the right organisation for it to keep a tight control of professional standards. (Day, TTA: 442)

Ironically, this interviewee, despite working in the non-departmental public body (NDPB) responsible for ITT, seems to be sympathetic to the notion of teachers' controlling the training process and the whole tenor of these remarks, especially the phrase 'manages to enhance', suggests that he believes that the GTC ought

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to be striving to expand its power. However, his use of the phrase 'grown up profession' may be interpreted as suggesting that he will consider the profession to be mature when it has embraced government agendas, in which case he is not really arguing for professionalism at all.

The GTC's Chief Executive, appointed by ministers and needing to develop good working relationships with both the unions and the NDPBs, was rather more reticent. Asked whether the GTC aspired to control teacher training, she explained that this was 'an aspiration that some Council Members harbour but we are where we are' (Adams, GTC: 098). She continued:

> I explained that Council does have that aspiration but it wasn't in the founding legislation and it's unlikely to be a change that anyone would see in the coming years, so it's not something that the Council particularly puts its energies into because it's not likely to be achieved. (ibid.)

The Chair, however, had a different vision. For him, the future control of ITT was essential, the *raison d'être* of any professional body:

> If it's going to be fully accepted as the professional body for teaching then the - I was going to say the control I think that's the wrong word - but to be the arbiter, say, of teaching standards and teacher training I think is a sine qua non of that role. But will I see it in my lifetime? Yes. Not in my term as Chairman but before I shuffle off this mortal coil. (Beattie, GTC: 231)

His other expressed ambitions for the GTC also seemed more concerned with increasing the professional power of the organisation than those of the Chief

Executive who claimed that 'a key vision for the GTC is not expanding its remit as much as expanding its work...out there in the field with teachers' (Adams, GTC: 446). He believed that eventually the GTC, not OFSTED, should inspect schools and, as with ITT, connected his thoughts on this to the logic of professionalism. This can be interpreted as an aspiration to harden up the Council's role in practice and standards which, if it came to fruition, would indeed see the GTC 'policing the award'. On the question of professional monopoly, he took a much harder line believing that no teacher in any school, including private schools, should be allowed to practice unless they were registered. When asked about teachers in private schools being exempt from registration, his language was blunt:

> I think it's wrong. I think all teachers ought to be registered...[teachers in private schools] are not required to. Now, why? I can only speculate as to why that is the case and presumably it was by lobbying by the employers to exempt themselves from those regulations for one reason or another...I say no. I can personally see no reason for not requiring them to be registered unless, I suppose, the independent sector employs lots of teachers who haven't got QTS yet who may be quite highly qualified in all sorts of other respects but they haven't got QTS. Well maybe that's what's behind it as well. (Beattie, GTC: 162)

The Chief Executive again took a different position on this issue. She was asked directly about David Puttnam's remarks about private sector teachers and the story of the ex-head from Westminster School denied a job in the state sector, both outlined in Chapter 3. She believed that private school teachers should be encouraged to register but that it was 'not something to be imposed' (Adams, GTC: 080). There are, of course, problems with the GTC's registration

procedures and teachers in that sector because many schools employ people with no formal teaching qualifications. It might therefore be inferred that her approach is partly a tactic to avoid provoking yet more controversy and opposition to the Council. Yet, it must be said that this appears to be at odds with one of her two key aspirations for the future which was to expand the regulation of all those who were working with children:

> ...there needs to be some kind of regulation of all those involved in teaching, not necessarily by the GTC, but I'd like to see us certainly at the hub of a network of other organisations...A parent can now be assured that their child is being taught by a registered qualified teacher. Why shouldn't that apply to other professionals working with children? So I would like to see the Council as pioneering the value of professionally-led regulation. Not necessarily to be the body responsible, but to influence the setting up of a number of bodies, of different kinds of organisations that can represent and guarantee standards of all those who work with children, not just qualified teachers. And we as go forward with the changes in the workforce and, in some senses, deregulation, it think it's really important for the Council to defend high standards. (Adams, GTC: 446).

If this were to happen, it might well make the position of the GTC in relation to private schools look even more inconsistent. If the argument is, as it appears, one of children's educational welfare, then the government and the GTC are, in effect, saying that parents' right to chose private schools overrides the professional body's duty to establish and defend a professional jurisdiction or monopoly designed to protect children. It is similar to saying that anybody, regardless of qualifications, can practice privately as a surgeon or dentist if patients choose to employ them. They need only be brought under the auspices

of the British Medical or Dental Councils if they work in the NHS. One could argue that a free market would indeed allow for this but, as we saw in Chapter 1, the logic of professionalism is opposed to the free market. Unfortunately for the GTC, it was established at a time when state policy was, and remains, largely centred on the intensification and expansion of market mechanisms and strategies in public services. In that respect the very philosophy behind its existence runs against the political tide. The only way out of this anomalous position is to fight for regulation of teachers in all schools, including private ones, in order to establish a professional monopoly; but the prevailing trend, however, is towards freeing up schools so that governing bodies might determine their own staff profiles. The comments of the Chief Executive quoted above acknowledge these 'changes in the workforce and, in some senses, deregulation' but she uses them as a rationale for more professional regulation. It is an argument which says that because there is more deregulation of staff in schools there needs to be more regulation. It is an example of how staff speaking for an organisation situated between two opposing ideologies are sometimes compelled to defend positions which can seem unconvincing and inconsistent. This only mirrors the contradictions of New Labour's approach to education policy which has involved setting up a body to regulate teachers and then telling schools that they need not feel obliged to employ those on its register.

The Scottish GTC's grip on its professional jurisdiction and its monopoly is so strong that, as mentioned above, the Scottish political class supported its refusal to accept teachers who qualified in England through the GTTR programme. Ultimately the Chair of the English GTC hopes that his organisation may one day reach the position that its Scottish counterpart seems to enjoy:

It [GTC] will become a recognisable part of the landscape. People will

accept it if it has got a good and a professional function to do in

terms of regulating the profession. The decisions will be more

consistent, I guess, because they'll be greater experience...So, to

become part of the educational landscape and for the government to

turn more frequently first time to the Council for advice rather than

look elsewhere... (Beattie, GTC: 788)

These aspirations remain, at the time of writing, a long way from fulfilment.

In the case of trade unions and their relationship with a potentially more powerful GTC there is perhaps an added complication. On the one hand, the trade unions do not want to be sidelined if a powerful new institution, popular with teachers, usurps their functions. One union policy player does indeed hint at this asserting that the GTC 'spends too much time and too much energy on issues which are effectively covered by other bodies, including teaching unions' (Keates, NASUWT: Q. 11). On the other hand, teachers and their union representatives expected and hoped that the GTC would improve their status partly by speaking up for them against policy instruments which most of the profession oppose. They aspire, as we have already seen, to an independent organisation speaking up for teachers and 'taking the government on if it's to gain credibility in the profession' (Brookes, NAHT: 384). The paradox here is that one criticises the GTC for being less vociferous than it might be in emphasising any promotional functions and hopes that this will change whilst the other berates the Council for replicating, and, by implication, trying to usurp the work of the trade unions. Balancing the focus and energy of the fledgling GTC between competent execution of its statutory duties and the persuasive articulation of a credible promotional role is difficult in any circumstances. The Scottish GTC at least has the advantage that it is established and accepted by both the union and government sides. The senior people at the GTC clearly do not enjoy this

luxury and the different perspectives offered hint at how difficult it must have been trying to achieve that balance.

Conclusion

A range of views have been presented and some of the key commonalities and points of issue apparent in the views of the different policy players are worth briefly reviewing. All interviewees recognise that there have been difficulties with the way in which the early GTC was perceived and accepted by the profession. To varying degrees, albeit using very different language, they recognise that this is partly a function of the initial legislation and the restricted powers conferred upon it and this might be seen to confirm what was suggested in Chapter 3.

But there is another lesson which might be derived from the data offered here which is ultimately concerned with the struggle for status and recognition and distinguishing between the promotional and statutory functions of a professional body helps make sense of the different perceptions of the GTC. On one view, shared by a number of interviewees, there is no incompatibility between campaigning and striving for good educational practice whilst simultaneously fighting to improve the status of teachers through advances in working conditions, including pay and rewards, and increased professional power. For these interviewees, the two go together. For these people, expectations were dashed from the outset because of the weak legislation and this disappointment was compounded by what they saw as a narrow and conformist approach in how the Council interpreted its functions, especially its advisory role. When the GTC's senior staff talk in terms of wanting 'to be a truly representative voice for the profession on professional matters' (Adams, GTC: 446), it is not surprising that some perceive a potential threat to the traditional power of the teacher unions which is compounded by the perceived threat to their members' jobs arising

from the Council's emphasis on discipline. This must only serve to exacerbate scepticism. The main aspiration for the future of those policy players who feel that it has not proved its worth is to see a Council much more aggressively politically engaged, campaigning for the good of both state school education in general and their members in particular. Interpreted within the framework of this chapter, they perceive that the GTC has focused on its statutory and regulatory functions to the exclusion of any promotional role. It has certainly not even begun to construct a distinctive view of education which might sow the seeds of a universally accepted professional idealism later down the line.

An alternative view, which seems to be held by the Chief Executive and, to a lesser extent, the Chair of the GTC is to accept that 'we are where we are' and that there is little that can be done in the short term about the narrow remit conferred by the initial legislation. Better, then, to perform its given tasks well and stay away from open conflict with government policy in order to gradually gain the respect of the state and political class over a longer time period. Eventually, this view seems to imply, this may result in increased powers and respect and support from the profession. (The extent of the GTC leaders' ambitions for more power for the Council differ quite markedly but the Chair, who is not working as closely with powerful figures from other agencies, may well feel freer to express more robust proclamations about the GTC's ultimate goals.) On this account, it makes sense to concentrate on the statutory functions and play down the promotional role until the GTC becomes an accepted part of the policy-making landscape. The register is admired by other councils and its disciplinary hearings, probably its most publically visible work, act to reassure the public that the profession is accountable. For those who claim that the Council's advisory work on effective teaching and learning is too narrow and amounts to little more than another arm of delivery for centralised policy instruments, the GTC might claim that this position is adopted partly for the

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tactical reason of not antagonising the trade unions. It would, they might argue, fragment the profession even further if the Council were to become more vocal about the broader concerns of the teaching workforce in addition to jeopardising its relationship with the government agencies with whom it needs to work. The anomalies of the incomplete monopoly might be an irritant but at least the Council is expanding its regulatory powers over other workers, including student teachers, in most state-funded schools.

It is difficult to judge which of these approaches is more likely to be strategically effective in securing enhanced professional power and public status. Probably the clearest message from these interviews, and a fitting one with which to end the chapter, is that there is a general consensus at the most senior levels of key organisations engaged in the policy process that the GTC is a difficult and long-term project because responsibility for the main policy areas pertinent to a strongly professionalised teaching workforce have already been centralised by the state. All agree that there is little available space for it to expand its power. On the contrary, since these interviews were conducted, OFSTED' has seen 'a huge expansion of its work' and 'now has responsibility for regulating everything from nurseries to children's homes, child-minders to local councils' child protection services' even if the Agency is now being criticised for being too unwieldy to be effective (Griffiths, 2008). Meanwhile, the TDA has taken over responsibility for CPD and the training of other teaching staff without QTS. Having begun with the observations of the Chief Executive of the GTCS, his remarks are a fitting way to conclude this chapter:

> ...it appears to us up here that what has happened is that they've set up an organisation which, in effect, only has the power to register and very little else and they're nibbling at the edges of other things.
> (MacIver, GTCS: 200)

Unless the government is prepared to transfer some powers from state agencies, the GTC will, it seem, continue to nibble at the edges of a crowded educational universe for the some time to come.

8

Professional Autonomy and Power at the Workplace

In the model used to inform this thesis, one feature which distinguishes Friedson's (1986, 2001) ideal-typical professionalism from two other theoretical frameworks within which a division of labour may operate - the market and the bureaucracy - is that of individual autonomy at the workplace, necessary so that the professional worker might exercise discretion in pursuit of the professional ideals he or she follows. The professional is, or ought to be, framed by neither the demands of the market nor the strictures of the bureaucratic rulebook. From this, it follows that professionals require a degree of individual freedom since excessive interference in, or control over, their work may cause them to detract from the wider professional goals they serve.

In practice, of course, no worker in any important area of public service is, or ought to be, totally free from any form of external control in a democratic society. Indeed, part of the bargain which the profession strikes with the state is that its professional body will act as a protective guarantor for society by promoting and enforcing minimum standards of service whilst excluding and expelling the incompetent, the ineffective and, in some cases, the downright dangerous. When considering professional freedom and power at work, then, the question is not whether any external constraints on professional autonomy exist but what constitutes excessive intervention in their work. A sensible way of measuring this might be to ask at what point does education policy, and the managers who implement it, prevent workers serving the ideals of the profession? In other words, at what point does intervention become interference?

The interviews conducted for this research were able to touch on these issues and the perceptions of the policy players' perceptions are now presented. Two strands which might be seen to underpin this debate, bureaucracy and policing, which were referred to in Chapter 4, are used to configure and structure the initial part of the analysis in this chapter: perceptions of externally-imposed procedural, or bureaucratic, interventions are discussed before the chapter moves to consider supervisory, or managerial, structures and mechanisms which facilitate central state control over teachers' work whilst acting to provide the data the state believes necessary for both quality assurance and the operation of educational markets. This distinction between the bureaucratic aspects and the policing aspects of control is employed here as a heuristic for the purpose of analysis. There is in practice a good deal of overlap between policy instruments designed as measuring, auditing and policing technologies (league tables, SATs, inspection reports, benchmarking and targets) and the directive instruments of bureaucracy (the National Curriculum, National Strategies, the 'standards' for ITT) referred to in Chapter 4 as 'scripts' (Wilkinson, 2006).

The introduction of non-qualified teaching staff through workforce remodelling has, as was also outlined in Chapter 4, a significant bearing on teachers' professional power at the workplace. It poses a potential problem to the extent that it redefines and blurs teachers' professional jurisdiction. In so doing, it raises questions about the boundaries and strength of their professional monopoly. An overview of the interviewees' thoughts on this issue is presented. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief examination of the competing narratives of professionalism as used by those interviewed for this research.

Perceptions of Bureaucratic Controls over Teachers' Work

One of the reasons for bureaucratic interventions in teachers' work and practice is largely a function of the current political discourse about the public sector which reveals the tensions inherent in a political strategy predicated on the improvement of public services. A number of the policy players interviewed for this research recognised only too well:

> I mean it is interesting isn't it, during the election campaign the opposition parties talk a lot about you know, dispensing with targets, we'll let the head teachers run their own schools, we'll let the teachers teach. Actually, every opposition says that and I think there is a real tension here in public service because one of the problems that politicians have created for themselves is that they have now upped the ante so substantially on public service delivery that they daren't stand back and allow the professionals to do it. And, you know, whilst the Conservatives or the Liberals might say 'if we in government we'd let the professionals get on with it' - No! What would happen is they'd get to Whitehall into government and start pulling levers because they would be thinking if we don't start pulling levers from the centre, you know, we might be left at the mercy of the professionals and our election prospects five years down the line depend on that. (Bell, OFSTED: 314)

Many interviewees recognised this dilemma facing the political class. Pledges to improve public services mean that, once elected, the notion of leaving important public services to the professionals is not a realistic political strategy. The kind of levers that the Chief Inspector was suggesting that politicians might start to pull comprise the key education policy instruments of recent years. Of the National

Curriculum, perhaps one of the most controlling instruments introduced into schools in recent years, he recognised that there was a deeply political agenda behind it and that there was a credible view that:

...the National Curriculum, you know, was simply when all the rhetoric was stripped away was a means of control. It was a means of moving from a highly fragmented decentralised system of education and curriculum to a system that increasingly was going to have much more control exercised over it. (Bell, OFSTED: 175)

Yet, despite an obvious awareness that bureaucratic measures such as this have increasingly exerted a tighter control over what teachers do in their classrooms, the reaction of the policy players interviewed is far from rigidly and unambiguously opposed to such policy mechanisms. As with much of the other material presented here, there is often little discernable difference apparent between the views of those occupying very different positions in the educational establishment. One trade unionist, though he feels that the National Curriculum can be over-prescriptive, also acknowledges that:

By and large, I think the National Curriculum gets it pretty well right in terms of what it is expected. (Brookes, NAHT: 325)

However, whilst he welcomes the sentiments behind the government's *Excellence and Enjoyment* (DfES, 2003c) strategy because 'it does give schools the permission where schools are successful to break free of the bonds of the National Curriculum' (Brookes, NAHT: 325), he does feel that the curriculum needs broadening. The measuring technologies put in place to monitor the effective delivery of the National Curriculum, discussed at more length in the

next section, have the effect of narrowing how the curriculum is delivered in practice:

> We share the government's ideal that we should have world class education. We might differ slightly on what that might look like. We think it's much broader than kids marching to the tune of league tables, SATs and those sorts of narrow academe and it is about celebrating music, the arts, environmental stuff, sport, all of those things. (Brookes, NAHT: 515)

With regard to bureaucratic control, the literature presented in Chapters 3 and 4 suggested that there are two central practical objections or problems for educators. The first concerns a problem with state intervention in professional practice because, as Baroness O'Neill argued in the Reith Lectures, it might undermine trust in the professions and their work. Interestingly, however, the issue of trust was developed by only two of the interviewees. One, contrasting control and trust, introduced the notion of changing public expectations and had this to say:

> I think, however, one would have to put [greater public control and scrutiny of teachers work] in the context of greater public expectation about what public services are there to do and whom they are there to serve and I think less public toleration of the notion that public sector professionals should work in a private area and have their work, in a sense, really subject to professional self-regulation and not subject to scrutiny. Now you might call that control, lack of trust. On the other hand you might just see it as a natural evolution of public services as they become more transparent. (Bell, OFSTED: 175)

There is clearly an implication here that the traditional model of relative autonomy for professional workers is beginning to look somewhat outdated.

Alternative views were offered by other interviewees:

> We also believe that professionals should embody public trust and accountability and judgment and I think there's been a danger in recent years of teacher professionalism being eroded. There's been more and more interference into the actual practice of the teacher...
> (Adams, GTC: 315)

This policy player accepts that professionals need to be accountable, but, for her, professionalism is inexorably connected with a degree of public trust. On many occasions during her interview, she talks of recognition and respect for teachers. She seems to use both of these terms, along with trust, as a proxy word for autonomy arguing that it is 'the teacher that judges what's the next step of learning for the individual, what's the appropriate method of teaching' (ibid.) and that this is only possible in a situation in which teachers are free to prescribe the appropriate pedagogic remedy. That is why, she says, the GTC's role in promoting CPD is so important since it is through such activity that this capacity for autonomy can be developed. This argument leads to the second objection to an overly controlled profession which concerns a more theoretical issue about what was referred to in Chapter 2 as 'technicism'. This has partly arisen as a result of a centrally controlled script, or curriculum, for teacher training. There is some ambiguity in this particular interviewee's views on this point since, elsewhere in the interview, she almost seems to put the technical and training aspects of teaching to the fore. So, for example, the GTC has difficulty establishing grassroots support amongst teachers since it does not:

...provide you with classroom materials like a government agency might. They don't come into school and provide you with training directly. (Adams, GTC: 211)

This is a good example of the tension apparent in many of the interviews between, on the one hand, the need to highlight the importance of the technical aspects of the training and, on the other, what we might infer is the need to relax overly prescriptive policy instruments in order to provide the space in which members of a more trusted profession may exercise autonomy. As portrayed in Chapter 6, most of the policy players interviewed for this research accept there are technical aspects to teaching and that a number of these can be agreed upon. Variations on this quotation can be found in the transcripts of most of the interviews:

There may not be absolute agreement about some of the technical aspects of it such as, for example, the precise way in which you should teach phonics but probably you would be able to agree that phonics should be taught in part, if not in whole, in some way or another. (Southworth, NCSL: 103)

Yet at the same, argues this interviewee, a potential danger that might arise from a disproportionate emphasis on technical training might sometimes be seen in the case of doctors who may come to see themselves as scientific researchers. They might 'become more interested in the case than in the patient as a person and we wouldn't want that to happen in terms of classrooms' (Southworth, NCSL, 136).

A related criticism of a technical, scientific approach to training was expressed in a number of other interviews:

...in terms of technical competence and ways and methods of teaching, this generation is the best generation ever when it comes to that kind of knowledge and expertise but just occasionally they lack a bit of imagination. Now that's not argument for chucking out, you know, teaching teachers to know about strategies and so on but it is about trying to find - whether it's in initial teacher training or in the job itself - that room for manoeuvre. (Bell, OFSTED: 302)

The implication of these viewpoints is that professional preparation for work which is too narrow, too constricted, too focused on the government's standards agenda, stultifies the creativity of practitioners to the extent that it restricts both the freedom of movement for teachers and may shift their focus away from a broader sense of professional idealism and concerns about education. It may propel practitioners towards performativity expressed through the display of technical competences. It is not being argued by any of the policy players interviewed here, and nor is it a central contention of this thesis, that elected governments ought to have no role at all in prescribing and negotiating broad policy objectives for state education or, indeed, the training of staff who work in the sector. Rather, as mentioned above, the issue is the extent to which policy reaches into and changes practice and training. It is the degree of intervention which is at issue.

Since the National Curriculum was introduced, England has seen New Labour introduce even more tightly constraining policies than their Conservative predecessors such as the National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies which operated alongside standards-related targets. Although, some interviewees saw the necessity for specific intervention, they accepted that there was a danger if professional autonomy was too severely curtailed by policy:

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There was no doubt in my mind that there is great value in having a national intervention programme in relation to literacy and numeracy...The key issue of course is keeping your eye on the point at which those targets start to become less of a carrot and more of a stick and start to warp behaviour...I think you've got to recognise the limits of external intervention and where that stops and professional oversight and autonomy kicks in. And I think this is one of the real tensions of modern public services – where is that boundary between, in a sense, the external direction and the internal professional motivation and space? (Bell, OFSTED: 273)

This idea that state intervention in teachers' work and training has been excessive to the extent that it may tend to prevent or preclude practitioners from expressing or, for some, even conceiving of the notion of educational ideals which reach beyond the government's immediate objectives seems to be a perspective common to all the interviewees. This is a restriction on teachers' autonomy imposed by a bureaucratic style of policy development and implementation and seems to be a view shared by all the interviewees though there is a variation between what might be called hard-liners and soft-liners on this issue. The former appear to regard these interventions as inappropriate almost as a matter of principle because they are antithetical to the notion of professionalism. The latter group seem to think this would not be a significant concern if the government were to relax its grip somewhat. One interviewee certainly appears to be in the hard-line camp:

Can you imagine a profession that would allow a government to tell it how to deal with, say, reading skills on a minute-by-minute basis? It just is, I mean that's micromanagement gone mad. But it's only

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allowable because we didn't have, and we still don't have, a clear knowledge base about what constitutes reading abilities and a knowledge base for reading. (Gilroy, UCET: 362)

There is a supreme irony inherent in this quotation as the speaker is well aware. State intervention in the form of micromanagement in what might be considered the minutiae of the technical details of practice has largely become politically acceptable because the profession has, in some sense, itself failed to codify knowledge relating to technical issues and matters of practice. This brings us back to the arguments advanced in Chapter 6 about the lack of a persuasive body of knowledge about teaching to support a convincing rationale for its codification and extension.

One final point of concern raised by the interviewees about some of the restrictions on teachers' and teacher educators' autonomy at work is that centrally determined directives which result in a technicist training or practice do not acknowledge the difference between education and training. Rather, such measures have the effect of confusing this distinction so that state education becomes concerned with the objectives of political economy above all else:

> ...economic warfare is being fought in our classrooms across the worlds...I've been privileged to speak to people in Australia, for instance, also struggling with an imposed agenda which they're saying is very narrow. I think we're in danger of producing, not factory fodder so much, but certainly in industrialised nations, we're into training and losing education. (Brookes, NAHT: 529)

The view common to all the interviewees who talked about these issues is that bureaucratic policy constraints need to be loosened. They shared the broad sentiment summed up in this quotation:

> ...if you can't run it by national dictat you should then give head teachers, teachers and others greater freedom to shape the curriculum, to identify how it's taught, when it's taught, to use the time accordingly, to spend the money, et cetera, et cetera. That seems to me to be the proper professional province of those working in schools. And in some ways you might be better to do that...[r]ather than try to necessarily micro-manage every detail.
> (Bell, OFSTED: 286)

Those interviewed here would not want to see teaching as an emotionally detached application of technique and wish to allow room for some degree of professional judgment. Yet some government policies, and the agencies charged with their implementation, have come under attack for treating education as if it were a matter of clinically applying universal remedies to correct ineffective teaching. As it does this, policy is perceived as preventing practitioners from the proper exercise of professional judgment and autonomy at the workplace. The sentiments of the interviewee from the NAHT can be read as an echo of Meadmore (2001) who captures the irony in all of this in his article criticising similar policies in Australia, policies which, he claims, are 'uniformly testing diversity'. The government acknowledge that children have different needs and that there ought to be a diversity of practice – in effect, a concession to individual professional autonomy – but this strains against the policies of the centre which appear to promote or at least give rise to uniformity. The mechanisms for measuring school effectiveness, mechanisms which are in

essence auditing or policing technologies, have similar constraining effects and these are discussed next.

Perceptions of Policing Mechanisms for Monitoring Teachers' Work

A range of views were offered on the mechanisms which have been put in place to monitor and police practice to ensure that teachers in the classroom are delivering government policy objectives. One key instrument is testing which includes traditional public examinations and SATs. These have been criticised as provoking a narrowing of the focus of teachers' work as practitioners focus on meeting targets often agreed with the local authority in its role as enforcer and facilitator of government objectives and targets and local guarantor of standards. The view of one trade unionist is illuminating:

> I wouldn't want to see an end to any kind of test-based assessment because I think it should be one of the ways in which we measure children's progress and I don't have a problem with that. But it's the use to which it's put that ruins it...if it's put to the use of then judging schools and putting them in leagues tables that completely ruins the whole purpose of the exercise. (Brookes, NAHT: 360)

The argument adduced here seems to be that autonomously operating professionals might well find that testing is useful as a diagnostic tool but that using the results of such testing as a part of a market agenda which allows parents to judge school performance is inappropriate. What he is saying, it might be argued, is that it amounts to an abuse of teachers' professional toolkit.

Other policy players' views were expressed in rather more robust fashion. In the context of a discussion about league tables, SATs and the work of OFSTED, one offered this:

> I think teachers feel that their lives are very much dictated by government now and probably by government they mean those other agencies and therefore what room is there for manoeuvre? (Adams, GTC: 246)

This accords with what was seen in the literature presented in the earlier chapters of this thesis where it was argued that many teachers believe that the mechanisms that have been put in place to measure and inspect performance have the effect of restricting their individual autonomy and professional space at work. Another interviewee makes a similar point adding that policy has created an atmosphere where headteachers are apprehensive about straying outside of practice specifically prescribed by the government, or its agencies, in case their innovations are not successful:

> ...in order to properly release people, some of the oppressive regime needs to be taken away so that people can be released to be experimental and adventurous in their leadership which I think people have been prevented from doing...at the moment because sometimes when you do that things go wrong. So be it. It shouldn't cost you your job. (Brookes, NAHT: 303)

One trade union interviewee refers to the 'surveillance of teachers by heads and of heads by OFSTED' (Keates, NASUWT: Q12). These remarks call to mind Rose's (1989, 1992) exploration of techniques for 'governing the soul' and Foucault's (1991b) concept of 'governmentality' which were discussed in Chapter

1. This adds an extra dimension to the debate about the policing of practice. What this interviewee seems to be saying is that it is not merely the case that teachers and senior members of the profession are responding to the external pressures represented by government policy instruments. Their behaviour at work suggests that, even if they have not gone so far as to internalise government agendas, they are, in effect, policing themselves.

This monitoring, or surveillance, of teachers by their colleagues was addressed from a rather different standpoint by another of the interviewees. For him, one consequence of the policing mechanisms which are used to determine funding allocations has been to encourage compliance and conformity in teaching and teacher training. This presents a problem because 'it's part of professionalism' (Gilroy, UCET: 384) to obstruct measures which one believes are not in the interest of clients yet many 'people are scared to stand up and be counted' (Gilroy, UCET: 399). Thus, whilst other professions enjoy a huge power base and have seen their structures embedded within the state apparatus, 'the history of teachers in this country has been of a very subservient group indeed' (Gilroy, 424) and 'the compliance germ is deeply embedded' (Gilroy, UCET: 384).

In Chapter 1, Etzioni's (1969) notion of semi-professions was presented. One of the reasons he offered for the failure of teachers to achieve stronger professional power was that the workforce was compliant. He argues that this is partly a function of teaching containing a high proportion of women. This idea is supported by Witz's (1992) argument that is not possible for an occupational group predominated by women to develop a strongly legitimated professional power base in a patriarchal society. This may well be a contributing factor in creating a workforce that conforms to expectations and strictures laid down outside of the profession. However, there are surely other reasons for this, not least the penalties imposed upon those who fail to meet government targets.

This point was touched on by another interviewee in the context of concerns that headteachers and teachers are under stress and in the light of the well-documented difficulties with recruitment and retention. This is, he believes, partly because of their excessive workload and relatively poor remuneration. It is, however, exacerbated by the pressure and job insecurity caused by the aggressive reaction of the state and the political class when schools fail to meet the standards demanded by OFSTED or perform below the nationally decreed benchmark targets in examinations:

> You've only got to read the White Paper [Higher Standards, Better Schools] to see what the Secretary of State thinks about heads of schools that get themselves into trouble. Her answer is to sack them on the spot and it's a pretty macho approach so people are looking at the high risk and saying 'I don't think that's me because I'd quite like to sleep at nights'. (Brookes, NAHT: 125)

There was, however, a diversity of interpretations of the effect of policy designed to monitor the teaching workforce. The comments of the GTC Chair, the only policy player still practicing as a classroom teacher at the time of the interviews, were quite striking and offer a contrasting perspective. He had been 'irritated' by the QCA which he found 'irksome' and the examination bodies who set the syllabus he had to deliver as an English teacher (Beattie, GTC: 681, 708). But, that apart, he felt neither constrained nor oppressed by the weight of the state apparatus operating above him. Furthermore, he thought his views were typical of classroom practitioners:

> Most teachers, in my experience, are most concerned with getting on with their own work in the classroom with the children, with their own colleagues in school, with their own set of parents and governors and

so on. Those other bodies that you've mentioned...they exist out there somewhere, they maybe pick up some information about them on Friday in the TES [Times Educational Supplement], but by and large they're just too busy getting on and enjoying it too much working with the youngsters that they're working with. That was certainly my experience. I never felt oppressed. (Beattie, GTC: 681)

If there is a contrast here between the feelings of these different policy players about the reality of life in English classrooms, then this quotation might go some way to helping us understand why that is the case:

I don't think teachers are alone in a sense in being able to hold what I would describe as a local position and a national position...when you say to individual teachers 'do you have a pretty high degree of control over your work on a day-to-day basis?' it's very unusual for a teacher to say 'no I don't have any room for manoeuvre, I can't do anything, I'm prescribed absolutely everything'. Teachers in the main still feel that they've got a reasonable amount of space in which to operate. But if you say to them 'do you think the education system gives you enough freedom – 'oh no, no,' you know, 'we're just dictated to from above' and 'isn't it terrible, nobody treats us as professionals'. And I think you have this mismatch perhaps between what teachers think about and can do in their day-to-day work and how they think about and how they think they can influence the national system where perhaps they see themselves much more as victims rather than as people who are in control of their own destiny. (Bell, OFSTED: 302)

This reading of the situation seems to echo the thoughts of the Chair of the GTC. This view seems to be suggesting that there is a public position in the media, and perhaps academe, taken about mechanisms which control and police teachers which does not necessarily accord with the daily lived experience of most of those working at the chalk-face. If we can interpret the Chief Inspector's split between 'a local and a national position' as meaning a distinction between the position of individual teachers and the collective position of those representing or speaking for them, then this may indicate that there is less of a difference between the different policy players than might appear on first reading of the interview data. Where there are different views expressed, it may well be because some interviewees are talking about what they believe to be a shared view which might represent that of the profession collectively whilst others are voicing their understanding of how individual teachers see policy instruments. What they are, in effect, acknowledging is that whilst there may be more room for manoeuvre at classroom level than is sometimes recognised, the collective input into policy by the profession is inadequate. There is certainly a strong sense that, whatever they might feel about autonomy in the classroom, these interviewees broadly agree that the views of the profession are inadequately represented at the various stages of policy formulation and implementation. Here the issues of individual autonomy at work - and its relationship to bureaucratic control and external policing mechanisms - and collective professional representation discussed in Chapter 7 become conjoined as interviewees try to articulate the effects of policy on the profession. As the interviewee from Scotland recognises, professionalism requires that there is room for autonomy which is quite distinct and separate to that which is sometimes required by governments and management tools:

...in Scotland we've understood there is an individual teacher professionalism which may be different from the professionalism

that's needed to implement a school action plan or a local authority action plan and so on. (MacIver, GTCS: 095)

Professional Power and Workforce Remodelling

Abbott's (1988) theory of the system of professions, discussed in Chapter 1, describes how professions rely at least in part on the assent of their non-professional workplace colleagues to legitimate and sustain their monopoly over their professional jurisdiction. In institutions such as schools, superordinate and subordinate professions often work closely together and established demarcations of occupational territory can become fuzzy. This is particularly relevant in the light of New Labour's restructuring of the school workforce, commonly referred to as 'workforce remodelling', which was discussed in Chapter 4. The state calls for greater flexibility [and] less demarcation...pushing back the boundaries of what assistants can do in the classroom' (DfES, 2003a, p. 12). This represents a problem for teachers' professional power at work since it creates a situation in which school staff without QTS, in essence a subordinate profession, engage in duties which were previously the domain of qualified professional workers. Issues about the respective roles and demarcations of the new subordinate profession and the remodelled superordinate profession, and about the basis of expertise upon which members of the superordinate profession are granted exclusive licence to practice whatever their redefined role might be, were also discussed in Chapter 4.

The interviews for this thesis were conducted at a time when workforce remodelling as a major platform of the government's school reform policy was only just being introduced. The interviewees were not therefore in a position to provide informed comment on the progress of the reforms. Indeed, at the time some teacher unions, including the NAHT whose General Secretary participated

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in this research, were obstructing the progress of the policy. Nevertheless, it was felt that interviewees should be given the opportunity to give their views about some of the more general principles involved in teachers working with others in schools. They made some interesting observations which demonstrated an awareness of, or concern about, restructuring but, interestingly, the potential threat to teachers' power at the workplace was something that only one interviewee raised explicitly.

The Scottish GTC's position on classroom assistants is quite clear; that they should 'not work independently of the teacher, they work with the teacher and under the direction of the teacher' (GTCS, 2003, p. 3). They should not, in other words, be left to teach classes. The Chief Executive of the GTCS explained that his priority was not to extend the powers of those without QTS who work in Scottish schools. Rather, his objective was to find ways of helping staff without QTS who may show promise to qualify as teachers:

> ...what I'm looking at is how can you, for example, how can, say a local authority, manage, how can they help financially to get a good classroom assistant to get them...through a degree and then how does the GTC recognise that they've actually got more experience of the classroom than your conventional pathway. (MacIver, GTCS: 388)

In England, as outlined in Chapter 4, there is a rather more complex picture and differences of view emerge. It may be, as Garland (2008) argues, that workforce remodelling was introduced partly to address problems of teacher retention and recruitment and partly in an attempt to break what the state regarded as a producer-led system of public service delivery in schools. However, because remodelling was tied into an argument about teachers' workload, splits developed between different unions as they adopted different strategies as they

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sought to represent their members. Some, such as the NUT, originally refused to sign the Workload Agreement stating that the 'government no longer believes that classes should be taught by qualified teachers only' (NUT, 2002). Others, however, such as the NASUWT, cooperated with the government and focused upon the fact that the Agreement would liberate teachers from certain administrative and clerical tasks. They accepted that staff without QTS could take classes whilst covering for teachers during their non-contact time for preparation, planning and assessment (PPA time). In the light of this it is perhaps not surprising that the General Secretary of the NASUWT, preferred to concentrate solely on the potential benefits for teaching staff resulting from workforce remodelling. Asked directly whether remodelling posed any danger of deprofessionalisation, she responded:

Quite the contrary. Workforce remodelling in which tasks that do not require the professional status of a qualified teacher have been removed...has reinstated the professional status of teachers.

(Keates, NASUWT: Q10)

Neither did the General Secretary of the NAHT perceive that non-qualified staff teaching classes may constitute a problem for teachers' power at the workplace. He too was concerned about staff workload and welcomed help for headteachers with the administration of budgets which he thought colleagues in schools would be happy to delegate:

...we've also got to reduce the workload on our people and make sure the provision is in there so that there are highly paid bursars in secondary schools who can take on some of the administration tasks'

(Brookes, NAHT: 149)

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Although the NAHT had, at the time of these interviews, withdrawn from the multilateral talks between the government and trade unions on workforce remodelling, he said that the reasons for this were:

...principally about funding but it was also about the fact that we think that colleagues in secondary schools have got it right all these years and cover time in secondary schools has always been by teachers...We think the entitlement should be a teacher to cover for a teacher and if schools want to bring in other safe, educationally safe, arrangements they should have done but the funding should have been on the understanding that it's a teacher for a teacher. (Brookes, NAHT: 166)

Asked whether this view was similar to the NUT's, he offered this:

We differ from the NUT. The NUT's line is a much harder line and they're saying it must be a teacher for teacher. We're saying the funding should be in place for a teacher but if there are other arrangements that can be made then it's up to individual schools to work those out with their members of staff and put in something which is going to be of benefit to them. (Brookes, NAHT: 188)

This seems a rather ambiguous view which appears to be more about defending the current power of headteachers, whom his union represents, to extend, control and exercise discretion over their budgets than it is about protecting teachers' monopoly, such that it is, over teaching. He argues that sufficient funding should be available to the school to cover PPA time so that a teacher can be employed to take classes should the headteacher feel that this is necessary. However, this same argument acknowledges that a headteacher might feel that

a teacher might not be necessary to cover for teacher absences from the classroom. It thus amounts to an acceptance that there is a place for staff other than teachers taking classes. The fact that this should be at the discretion of the headteacher means that his stance differs from the government's only in terms of practical implementation. It is not a difference of principle and there is little, if any, acknowledgement that such a situation may undermine teachers' monopoly over certain activities at the workplace. It would be unfair not to record that his remarks opened up another complexity about this issue, namely the notion of what constitutes a class of children:

> But there's another argument about what size is a class group for instance. So what size should teaching assistants not be allowed to take? Are we going to make an arbitrary 20? What are we going to do? What about the teaching assistants, the qualified teaching assistants, there's plenty of those? So I think there are arguments in both sides. (Brookes, NAHT: 200)

Others recognised yet another complication arising from the wide diversity of staff without QTS who might be involved in teaching at some level since ''classroom assistants' covers a wide range of ability and activity' (Beattie, GTC: 630). Two issues arose here in the interviews both of which seemed to be about quality assurance. The first concerned the necessity for some kind of formal demarcation between the roles of teachers and other staff working in classrooms:

> I'm not happy just to say teaching assistants operate like teachers. I think there will need to be some sort of ranking system. Quite what that's going to mean in terms of higher level teaching assistants and

the sorts of things they're going to be allowed to do, I'm not sufficiently involved to know. (Beattie, GTC: 630)

and

I would certainly strongly resist a notion that anyone could just walk off the street [and teach]...but I also think there's a strong line of argument across public services that we're making greater use of para-professionals, whether those are para-professionals in the health service or the police service or teaching. And that's not to say they are the same as teachers or they are the same as policemen or whatever but they are people who've got a certain perhaps more narrow range of skills and expertise that can be brought to bear to assist the task of the qualified professionals teaching in classrooms. (Bell, OFSTED: 325)

There is here an acknowledgement that classroom assistants have distinctive roles which differentiated them from teachers. However, neither this nor any of the other responses on this subject explain explicitly what this is. The issue becomes particularly pertinent for teachers' jurisdiction when these paraprofessionals might be perceived to be involved in teaching. Only one of the interviewees seemed to share the view of the NUT about the dangers of workforce remodelling and related a point about demarcation at work directly to the question of professional power:

I think the fact that TTA can happily talk about putting teachers' assistants into the position of power that they're going to put them in the classrooms is another indication [of the insecurity of teachers' power base at work]. Can you imagine doing that with the medics? We've got something like that with nurses taking on certain low-level roles that the GPs used to take on but they don't do operations. They

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don't do the important stuff. The para-professionals in the legal profession, they are clearly separately defined from the legal profession proper. (Gilroy, UCET: 469)

A second issue concerns the regulation of staff without QTS working in classrooms. Whilst both colleagues from the GTC 'welcome[d] the initiative to provide a range of people involved in teaching and learning who can work with and support the work of teachers (Adams, GTC: 412), they saw a role for their own organisation in terms of regulation:

> I think we might find ourselves in the fullness of time, if the workforce remodelling goes ahead in the way it's envisaged and accountability is not weakened in any way, then some sort of registration of all those working with children in whatever role is going to have to become essential. Whether that means that we would have an additional part to play for the General Teaching Council for all those involved with teaching, I would think it is not in the future unlikely. (Beattie, GTC: 661)

This is a reasonable point but it would, of course, mean both that the remit of the GTC would need to be changed and that it would cease to become an exclusive professional body for the teaching profession.

Discourses of Professionalism

In Chapter 1, it was demonstrated that professionalism is not a single discourse but in fact a number of different discourses. It was argued there that there are three modes in which professionalism is used. A neutral mode uses the word term profession simply as a synonym or surrogate for the word job. A divisive

mode, drawing on Friedson's notion of ideal-typical professionalism, was proposed in which the term profession is used to indicate a specific form of organising the delivery of services within a division of labour. It was argued that professionalism in this sense is opposed to the logic of market-driven services. Finally, an attributive mode was postulated in which the term is used to evoke some of the features traditionally associated with the professions but in which the term loses its connection with power and monopoly. The interview data presented so far has portrayed interviewees' perceptions of a range of issues focusing on professional knowledge and professional power both as individuals at work and as an organised occupational group. This final section of the current chapter offers a brief analysis of how the policy players perceive professionalism in a more abstract sense. Two themes emerged: first the tensions between professionalism and markets and managerialism; second, it became clear that many of the interviewees appeared to use the term professionalism in its attributive sense.

i)   The Competing Narratives of Professionalism and Markets

One of the interviewees quoted in Chapter 6 as indentifying knowledge, ethics and autonomy as the three distinguishing elements of a profession went on later in the interview to identify a fourth dimension necessary for any profession:

The fourth one is power which links to [the] point that the whole point of a profession is to protect, and maybe increase, their own power base. Now teachers are so powerless, particularly in the current system, that talking about being a profession gives them the appearance of having power...You look at the standard kind of profession, they have a huge power base and supporting structures and so on within government and what have you which the teaching

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profession doesn't have. So again it suggests that teachers are not a profession in any normal sense of that term. (Gilroy, UCET: 457)

This is the only interviewee who ventured the view that teaching is not a profession and it is clear that this derives from an understanding of professionalism which seems to stress both power and knowledge and the relationship between the two. He recognises that the term is often used to describe behaviour or attitudes but clearly uses professionalism himself in what has been described here as the divisive mode. This interpretation of his thoughts is supported by the examples he quotes to describe the deprofessionalisation of teaching. Its low status is partly a function of its lack of power which means that teachers, and teacher educators, have neither the means nor inclination to resist government policy instruments. There is, he says, a 'kind of cowardice [which] is deeply worrying and the 'compliance germ is deeply embedded' (Gilroy, UCET: 384). In an almost direct echo of Katz's claim that '[f]ew professionals talk as much about being professionals as those whose professional stature is in doubt' (Katz, 1969, p. 54) and, at the same time, evoking Etzioni's idea of a semi-profession, he adds that teaching:

...has certain features of a profession but, because it talks about being a profession a lot, that's another indication, of course, that it's not a profession because if you are you don't need to keep saying that you are. I think the notion of teachers as a para-profession having certain kinds of class-given areas that probably come through there...So it's always been, I suppose, in terms of its trade and its status...not a profession. (Gilroy, UCET: 424)

Perhaps the strongest expression of his concept of professionalism is exemplified in his observation that it is 'part of professionalism' to obstruct measures that

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are not in the interest of the clients 'if you believe strongly in the values that you have' (Gilroy, UCET: 384). For him, professionalism involves service to a set of ideals, or professional idealism, which goes beyond the immediate policy imperatives of the state or the institution. Without either an established knowledge base or a significant amount of control over key aspects of the profession, then it does not make sense to talk about teachers as professionals. When the term is used of teachers, especially by politicians, such rhetoric is little more than a 'bit of ego-massage going on' (Gilroy, UCET: 453).

These views have been quoted at length since they stand in sharp contrast to the perspectives offered by all of the other policy players. Despite recognising that there were issues with the relative strength, or weakness, of aspects of teachers' professional status, all the other interviewees believed that teaching could properly be described as a profession. The question then arises as to whether their views illustrate a different understanding of what professionalism means.

Some of the interviewees were quite explicit that ideal-typical professionalism was no longer a credible model on which to base public service delivery. One said that such a concept was 'of a time and I don't think it's of the present time any more' (Southworth, NCSL: 063).

Another interviewee had a similar view and also mentioned a change in public attitudes:

> I think it [ideal typical professionalism] is largely dead because I think the public is more sceptical. I think the public, and I think one needn't just look at public services, I think if one looks at what one can describe broadly as the consumer movement over the past ten or

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fifteen years, you know the public is now much less tolerant about a lack of information...So I think there's a greater public awareness and demand for information. I also think if you look at some of the more celebrated, if that's the word, scandals in the public sector, particularly if one looks at health, one looks at the Bristol child deaths, one looks at the organ removal issue in Alderhay, these in a sense perhaps have come to typify for the public the out-of-control purely autonomous professional subject to nobody and I think that's created this sense of 'we're not prepared to just accept what the profession does. (Bell, OFSTED: 201)

These comments suggest an awareness of the fact that the public has shifted away from deference towards professions. They acknowledge, and seem to accept as inevitable, a move away from a situation in which individual professionals do their own thing whilst the elite of the profession stake claims to dictate policy. However, it is interesting to note that, as Ball (2007) claims, part of the move away from a discourse centred on an ethic of public service, and its implicit trust in public sector professionals, also involves a shift towards a discourse which co-opts and becomes entangled with the language of the market. It is notable that the Chief Inspector referenced the consumer movement in the above quotation and this was evident in other interviews. Another interviewee echoed the political critique about self-interest in the public services in the past:

What we're very keen is to design [ITT] routes which meet individual needs and I think that's very much in line with the wider public sector ethos these days of not allowing public services to be delivered to meet supplier interest but to design public services which are

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designed to meet consumer needs and consumer requirements and consumer individual circumstances. (Day, TDA: 646)

This interviewee from the TDA also used the market-orientated language of the business world when talking about teacher education preferring to talk about outcomes rather than processes and in terms of standards, skills and competences rather than about the processes traditionally involved in knowledge acquisition and the nurturing of professional idealism. He recognised that this shift towards a combination of direct political control over teachers' work, operating in tandem with strategies to inject competitive markets into the education system, is largely a consequence of the sometimes strained interplay between politics and professionalism:

> I think teaching is such a crucial public service, such a crucial part of the future of the country that governments are always going to be very nervous about ceding control to the profession. And I think also it's probably the case that the legacy of political/ public concern about teaching as a profession in the '60s and '70s, fairly or unfairly, has coloured views which are taking a long time to eradicate. I think there's a whole issue almost like a loss of confidence in professionalism both within the profession and public perception of it that has to be addressed if we're going to re-establish a much stronger professionalism for teachers. (Day, TDA: 491)

Part of this clawing back of control from the profession, in essence itself a form of deprofessionalisation, derives from a belief that markets will work where the monolithic institutions of the state have failed. So, OFSTED, for example, is regarded as a tool, alongside SATs and league tables, to open up the public services. This transparency is not simply a matter of ensuring that information is

made public because of some fundamental democratic principle about access to information. Rather, it is recognised by interviewees that this is part of an agenda to move to a market model of provision and away from what was regarded as a produced-led system governed and administered by an unaccountable professional class of experts:

> I think this was consistent with what the Conservatives were trying to do at the time, if you were going to try to impose a quasi-market approach on the education system, their view probably was that you needed some information to make the market work more effectively. Now, one always has to be cautious about drawing absolute parallels between private provision and public provision when it comes to the operation of markets but you see the logic of the argument which was to create more pressure, put more information in, root out failure, you know, give parents more freedom about where they send their children to school and you'll get this ratcheting up. (Bell, OFSTED: 175)

A different interviewee hinted that he perceived a threat to professionalism from the state's focus on markets, choice and consumer power:

> This whole championing of parents is clearly an election ploy isn't it?...It seems to me if parents do want to represent the school then there are places for them on the governing bodies of schools and that's where it should be...You then have a chance to challenge them. (Brookes, NAHT: 627)

The use of the word 'challenge' is particularly interesting here insofar as it might signal an underlying objection towards the logic of the market in which

consumers' desires are paramount. One does not challenge customers but, perhaps as the interviewee quoted earlier suggests, a professional does challenge, or tries to obstruct, that which is antipathetic to the values of the profession or the practitioner. Values were certainly something which all of the interviews associated with professionalism and that issue is discussed next.

ii) Attributive Professionalism

A good illustration of the notion of attributive professionalism is demonstrated by Ritzer's (1971, p. 39) observation about 'unprofessional professionals' and 'professional non-professionals' which captures the difference between behaving professionally and being a profession. A sense of this difference was noted by a number of interviews and is exemplified by this quotation:

> Well there are many occupational groups where people would act professionally. Anybody who is taking their work seriously and doing the best they can do for their employer at what they're meant to do and for members of the public with whom they come into contact, I think they're probably working professionally. Whether they're a profession is another matter... (Beattie, GTC: 481)

This interviewee maintained that teaching was a profession in virtue of it having a formal qualification and a professional body. Another interviewee was uncomfortable referring to classroom assistants as 'paraprofessionals':

> ...it sounds demeaning to teaching assistants who actually are many of them are well qualified and highly competent people so I don't want to call them paraprofessionals but maybe I can call them para-teachers. That might be a better definition. (Brookes, NAHT: 223)

Later he went on to say that he believed that professionalism could, on some interpretations, be regarded as a discourse of power to assert status, and that some of his colleagues were 'guilty of being professional snobs' (Brookes, NAHT: 270).

It certainly seems that many of the interviewees often wanted to use the word profession as a denotation of teachers' status. It is also worth recording that their reactions to questions about this issue elicited the most frequent and longest pauses before interviewees responded. Sometimes, their responses were not typical of the erudite way in which they dealt with the many other questions they were asked. The interview from the TDA, otherwise lucid and articulate, generous and candid, responded to the question of whether teaching was a profession by offering a rather circular argument:

> I think we have to accept that teaching is a profession otherwise why
>
> do we do all this work on enhancing the professionalism of teachers.
>
> (Day, TDA: 402)

All of those interviewed recognise that professionalism requires a degree of knowledge and skill, signified by a formal qualification system, and some of the difficulties of this for teachers were outlined in previous chapters. It is nevertheless fair to say that apart from that issue, most of the interviewees appeared to use professionalism in the attributive sense:

> ...professionals act in the public interest and have very high ethical
>
> standards which I think absolutely characterises the teaching
>
> profession; that they focus on their clients, and teachers are certainly
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> very focused on pupils. Generally, those broad characteristics that are

seen to characterise professionals apply to teaching. (Adams, GTC: 315)

The passage couches professionalism in terms of ethics, service and client-focus. These attributes are doubtless essential facets of attributive professionalism, but they are not sufficient to sustain a claim to divisive professionalism. A profession is not a profession in virtue of its members being client-focused since one could argue the same for the staff in any well-trained organisation or business. Moreover, one cannot predicate professionalism on the high professional standards of individual workers since every disciplinary case undermines any such argument. The points about public service and client-centeredness seem to be based on what amounts to a faith in individual practitioners. And insofar as that omits important and complex questions of collective professional power, it uses the language of professionalism in its attributive sense.

A number of interviewees talked about the notion of service to others being a key value involved in professionalism and this idea was sometimes connected with accountability:

It seems to me that part of professionalism is providing a service for others which is not exploitative, which is consistent with notions of things like social justice, equity and inclusion and transparency, of quality and of accountability. (Southworth, NCSL: 0480)

Here, the concept of service is closely related to the wider contemporary policy themes of the state rather than service to professional idealism and workers could well share these beliefs yet be subordinate to the ideals of the market or the bureaucracy. Thus, it seems that professionalism is being used in the attributive sense insofar as it seems to refer to individual behaviour or an

attitude of mind rather than to a series of values that are embedded within the power structure of the profession or in the training process.

The same issue arises with regard to most of what was said concerning values and two statements from the interviewees from the GTC are representative of this:

> I think values are really important. I think we're a very values-strong organisation. We believe in the importance of teaching. We believe in teachers exercising judgment, teachers exercising professional leadership and I think we believe that education isn't value-free. You don't go into education because you want to make money or be famous. You go into it because you value learning and you believe, don't you, in the importance of educating the next generation. It's a very values-rich profession and I think we want to celebrate that and say that is what really matters that's why people should respect teachers...(Adams, GTC: 346)

And

> To me teacher professionalism is about holding a set of values about what you're doing. That you have got a set of skills and competences as well, but values as well and values are about your services, as it were, to the students, to the kids, to society at large. (Beattie, GTC: 457)

There is nothing objectionable, of course, in any of these sentiments. The difficulty lies in articulating what these values are and the fact that they do not appear to be embedded within the profession. The statements need to say not

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only why the profession values learning and education but clarify precisely what learning and education mean. Without that, these affirmations seem to amount to little more than a claim that teachers care about what they are doing and think their jobs are important for the public good. In short, they are claiming that teachers do or should care about their jobs and their clients. Since these statements are essentially arguments detached from both disciplinary knowledge and collective professional idealism, it is appropriate to consider them to be using professionalism in its attributive sense.

In the light of the intensifying policy emphasis on parent power in education and the handing over of the governance of schools to private interests in the academies programme, a further problem is presented in that this complicates the already fuzzy issue as to who the client, consumer or customer is. If service in the sense used here includes doing what managers or governors instruct them to do, then, as was argued in Chapter 3, that is closer to both the market and bureaucratic model rather than to professionalism. It is therefore not unreasonable to interpret the sense in which values are used in these quotations as a claim to attributive rather than divisive, or ideal-typical, professionalism.

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Some Concluding Themes

This thesis has explored the views of a number of senior people working in important positions in education about a broad range of issues with a bearing on teaching as a profession. Much of the literature within the field, cited in the earlier chapters of the thesis, theorises about the state of teachers' professionalism in general terms whilst most of the empirical work has explored the views of teachers and those involved in teacher education in universities. What this body of literature misses is the perspectives of those very senior people who are often directly involved in both policy formulation and implementation, 'policy players' as they have been referred to here. This thesis has been an attempt to go some modest way towards filling that gap. It will conclude by using the material presented here to support an argument that professionals working in the public sector, particularly in schools, find themselves trapped between the bureaucratic fiats of managerialism and the vagaries and inconsistencies of an educational marketplace. As has been argued throughout, after Freidson (2001), the logic of professionalism is different from the logic of both the bureaucracy and the market. Thus, these workers are experiencing a transitional phase in the evolution of professionalism which is so radical as a to imply a rejection of it.

Why does the general debate about the state of teacher professionalism matter and why are the views of those interviewed here important? For at least two decades now, usually dated from around the time of the 1988 Education Reform Act, there has been a preoccupation with what is often termed the 'deprofessionalisation' of teaching as the political class and the state have made cumulative interventions into teachers' work to the extent that some, such as

Lawn (1999), argue that it no longer makes sense to talk of teaching as a profession. Previous chapters have argued that, alongside this managerialistic control, there has been a gradual incursion of the ideology of the market. The term commercialization of education can be used to describe the broad parameters within which these market policies operate. Significant policy instruments within these two broad policy themes, managerialism and commercialization, have impacted incrementally to the extent that it can be argued that we now have what, in essence, constitutes a new public policy paradigm for the management and delivery of state-funded public services based around a collection of policy instruments which try to ape the features of the market. However, real markets in education, and other public services, are not politically acceptable in England, a country in which state-funded health and education have overwhelming public support. The speed with which the political leadership of the main parties moves to quash any rumour or suggestion that they are, or may be planning to, privatise schools or the National Health Service is testament to that. So, we see a kind of half-way house in which the introduction of market policies has been accompanied by a number of mechanisms of state control which try to compensate for the shortfalls of what Glennerster (1991) calls the 'quasi-market' model. Managerialism and marketization, then, are all part and parcel of the same move to commercialise public services.

The first phase in the life of the British professions was when Elliott's (1972) 'occupational professions' operated before the establishment of the modern welfare state. This can be broadly portrayed as an era in which established and powerful professions had successfully competed within the division of labour to establish an exclusive niche for themselves. Their power was sanctioned by the state whose interventions in their work were marginal. It was the era in which educated gentlemen were respected and trusted by the political class and the

public largely deferred in these arrangements and professionalism, as both a logic and as an ethic, seemed to enjoy almost unchallenged supremacy. Early sociologists, such as Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) spoke deferentially about the professions seeming to take on trust their own claims about themselves and their work. In this traditional model of professionalism, presented in Chapter 1, a privileged and elite workforce, largely recruited from the educated upper-middle classes, made a deal with the state in which they undertook to regulate their work and their members. The vehicle for this usually took the form of a professional body responsible for disciplining and punishing errant practitioners. This body was also the final arbiter for setting standards and determining the training process which included, inter alia, control over the development of the knowledge base upon which the profession predicated its claims to power. All of this enabled the professions to enjoy monopolistic control over a 'professional jurisdiction' (Abbott, 1988) or 'labour market shelter' (Freidson, 2001). Restricting access to the profession also allowed practitioners to demand higher fees and remuneration than might be the case were they operating within a free market of services and labour. On one level, this kind of professionalism could be interpreted as a self-serving socio-economic enterprise designed to bring about and protect a form of social closure as many have argued (see, for example, Collins, 1975; Illich, 1977; Zola, 1977; Kennedy, 1981; Witz, 1992). Nevertheless, power, knowledge and wealth all served to ensure that professionals were respected and enjoyed high status.

The next identifiable phase in the evolution of the British professions can be seen during the post-war years as the consensus politics of the time converged around the welfare state settlement and made employees of many previously self-employed professionals. It simultaneously created whole new regiments of welfare state professionals. This second period saw the state and the professions, especially the newly emerging ones, working together towards the

post-war national mission of delivering the new public welfare services. As Chapter 3 outlined, it was often necessary for the state to keep these large and respected groups of workers on side and they enjoyed significant input into policy as a compact between the state and the professions prevailed. Although these burgeoning professions were not always legitimated through a professional body, many, including schoolteachers, seemed to enjoy a kind of *de facto* professionalism in which they exercised a considerable degree of power. For teachers, this included control over the training process as their colleagues in UDEs developed a curriculum based on the four disciplines of philosophy, history, sociology and psychology (McCulloch, 2002). The establishment of a credentialised teaching workforce led to the creation of a monopoly of the qualified, though, granted, that only pertained in the state school sector. Their trades unions expected to be consulted on national education policy development and they invariably were. Practitioners also enjoyed a significant degree of autonomy at work.

This pluralistic compromise with large public sector groups of workers began to crumble in the mid to late 1970s for a number of reasons. The general mood was turning against workers' power. Trade unions in particular were thought to be too powerful but public service workplace practices in general were portrayed by right-wing commentators and politicians as restrictive and producer-led, operating in the interests of staff rather than in the interests of the users of services. This attack on public services soon came to encompass many of the new professionals working in the welfare state. A particular problem in the case of education was a sense that teaching was ineffective in preparing citizens for the world of work and many on the right of the political spectrum blamed this on what they saw as left-leaning, out-of-touch academics in UDEs who controlled teacher training. If Conservative education minister, David Eccles', call for 'a sally into the secret garden of the curriculum' (Hansard, 1960) began the

process of bringing these ideas into the mainstream, Callaghan's (1976) Ruskin speech can be seen as recognition of and response to the growing public mood. A national narrative of school failure and education crisis seemed to take hold.

The data produced in this research suggests that professionalism, especially in the public sector, is currently evolving into a third phase. If it can be called a third way, it is one which predates that of Tony Blair and Anthony Giddens. It is a third way which has its political origins in the radical Thatcher governments of the 1980s and arises from right-of-centre aspirations to shrink the state, cut public spending and challenge restrictive practices and other barriers to free market capitalism. It has been possible partly as a consequence of a broad swing to the political right in the country. Indeed, we have not seen an end to the politics of right and left, as Blair hoped, merely, as Cohen (2007) argues, the death of the British political left and its ideas. The decline of the trade union movement and trade union membership is partly a function of the right's success in persuading the voting public that workers' power is an anachronism in a modern market economy where the consumer is, or ought to be, king.

The steady strangulation of teachers' professional power in recent years can be seen as merely another face of the same coin since professionalism is itself a species of workers' power. If workers' power obstructs the pre-eminence of the modern public services consumer, then reforms must come at the expense of professionalism and the power that it entails. In socio-cultural terms, the erosion of professional power has taken place against a background of a decline in public deference to professionals as the population has become better educated, less inclined to defer to those further up the social hierarchy and more consumer-orientated. But the creation and acceptance of new ways of thinking also requires the sustained linguistic denigration of the established order and the traditional public sector has therefore been portrayed by the political class as

'ineffective, unresponsive, sloppy, risk-averse and innovation-resistant' (Ball, 2007, p.3). Hence, Blair's remarks about the 'scars on [his] back' borne of his efforts to introduce more 'entrepreneurship' into the public services (Rawnsley, 2001, p. 300). Meanwhile, the new public discourse celebrates the benefits of the market, choice and consumer power alongside the dynamism, creativity and adaptability of business and the private sector. It reflects Bobbitt's (2002) idea of the market-state and Jessop's (2002) notion of the 'competition state' both of which characterise a set of trends which change the nature of how modern states relate to their citizens and to other states. In short, the role of governments is to position the state favourably in global markets whilst, at home, they look to maximise growth and market opportunities for their peoples. One result of this is the subjugation of education policy to overarching imperatives of economic policy. The rhetoric of commercializaton, centred on choice, and, in education, parent power, refocuses public discourse on the consumers using services rather than the professionals providing them. The views of the policy players interviewed for this research seems to support this argument.

Impressions and Illusions of Professionalism

Wittgenstein (1967) highlighted the importance of identifying and unmasking language games that are prone to befuddle our understanding whilst Foucault (1966; 1980) talks about the rules of discourse framing what it is possible to say, think and experience. One particular difficulty with any discussion of professionalism is that much of the discourse surrounding it is complicated by different interpretations of what the term means. By positing three different linguistic modes of professionalism - *neutral, divisive and attributive* - this work has tried to set out a framework to aid and clarify understanding of what the key arguments are. Profession is used in a neutral sense merely as a synonym for

job. It is also commonly used in an attributive sense to connote a number of positive aspects of behaviour and attitude which relate to the conscientious carrying out of one's work. In addition, the term can be used to describe a particular way in which special powers are conferred upon a group of workers giving them exclusive rights to operate in and control a specific sphere of an important public activity or service within a social division of labour. This has been referred to as divisive professionalism and it is this mode that is being deployed when a profession is distinguished from non-professional occupations. It is this sense of the term with which this thesis has been primarily concerned. The research presented here illustrates some important points which support the argument that there has been, and continues to be, a shift in perceptions of the desirability of professionalism and that this is being replaced by a discourse which is based upon, and, by extension, reinforces the primacy of market-driven public services.

The most obvious indicator of this is that some of the interviewees seem to have a negative perception of professionalism, thinking of it as being an out-dated model for the delivery of public services. There is certainly a sense that professionalism has become tainted with a perception that the public will no longer tolerate an unaccountable occupational elite controlling services and doing their own thing. This may have arisen, as they suggest, as a consequence of a number of factors including, amongst other things, scandals in which unaccountable professionals have been perceived to have acted in a self-interested manner, as in the case of Alderhay, or failures of the regulatory and disciplinary mechanisms which are supposed to prevent the abuse of professional power and autonomy as in the Shipman case. Alongside this, some of them acknowledge that a better educated public are no longer prepared to defer unquestioningly to the wisdom of professionals. These views may be based on a misreading, or skewed interpretation, of the traditional professional model but it

is instructive nonetheless to see that few were prepared to speak up explicitly for professionalism. Rather than talk about the merits of professional power, most of the policy players interviewed here talked about the importance of the client-group who were referred to by a number of them as consumers. This implies support for a reorientation of the ideals of the public service professional. It also suggests that, in the modern world, professionalism itself is flawed because of the way in which it distributes power towards the workforce.

Of course, service to clients has always been a major part of professionalism but a consumer-orientated approach, such as one would expect to see in a market model, short-circuits the logic of professionalism since it implies a shift in emphasis from service to professional idealism towards serving the demands of the consumer. That is not the logic of professionalism which, as has been reiterated throughout, subjugates itself to neither the rulebook of the bureaucracy nor the exigencies of the marketplace. In the case of teaching, such a shift in thinking has its own very particular problems since, as was suggested in Chapters 3 and 4, the situation is further complicated by the lack of clarity as to who the consumer of the teachers' services might be. Is it the child or student, the parents, the government or its agencies, the employers, the university senate, the governing body or its private sponsors? The critique of professionalism offered by the interviewees is heavily predicated upon the notion that service and accountability is key but, whether we look at the interviews or other material presented in this thesis, it is unclear to whom this is directed and owed. This, however, cannot be satisfactory if teachers are to navigate what amounts to a fundamental repositioning of their work and roles.

Chapter 7 noted that there appeared to be a difference between those interviewees who saw the campaigning objectives of trade unions and professional bodies as incompatible whilst others saw a significant degree of

confluence between the two. It was argued that there was a danger of creating a false dichotomy between service to the self and service to others. For example, a situation where working conditions are so deleterious as to lead to serious recruitment and retention problems in teaching has obvious ramifications for trade unionists representing those workers. Yet, the implications of a shortage of aspiring and talented teachers and headteachers reach far beyond the dissatisfaction of the disaffected. They affect the ability of the state to provide an adequate service to the public. There is a danger that a similar artificial and misleading polarisation underpins some of the ideas expressed in some of the interviews here, and in public discourse in general, about public sector professionals. Much of the policy players' language focuses on stressing the importance of service, values, ethics, clients, public goods, social justice and so on. However, professionalism does not entail a blunt choice between service to the self or service to the client. It is not service to the self that is inherent to the logic of professionalism but service to the ideals of the profession. When the concept is reframed like this, professionalism appears rather less self-interested. Professionals do not merely provide customers with what they want but professionalism is not a form of workers' power that is designed to serve the interests of the individual workers. Rather, their service is to professional idealism expressed through the use of their expertise to identify clients' needs (diagnosis) and seek to meet these (prescription). They are public servants not the public's servants. This point is not really articulated or recognised by either the interviewees or in public policy but, if teachers are to avoid being slaves to the whims of educational consumers, whoever they might be, it needs to be developed by those claiming to represent teachers and those involved in policy development and implementation.

References to professionalism in its attributive sense, which is how the term seems to be used by most of the interviewees here, are removed from questions

of power. If the notion of powerful professions is replaced with a reverence for consumer power in an educational market, a neutered teaching workforce becomes subject to the vagaries and eccentricities of its customers unable to push its agenda forward, no matter the worth of its values or expertise. However, as the policy player from UCET observes, part of the problem for teachers lies with the lack of an adequate or convincing codified knowledge system upon which to base professional power. This is clearly a problem for teachers and it is worth briefly revisiting the issue.

The Failure of Disciplinary Knowledge and the Potential for Renewal

In Chapter 1, it was established that professions function as the mediators of what Freidson (1986) calls 'formal knowledge' and, as Larson (1977, p. x) observes, 'special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system' is the basis for their power and status. The term *disciplinary knowledge* has been used throughout this thesis to describe this formal esoteric knowledge which is both abstract and codified. Insofar as it constitutes an agreed body of theoretical knowledge which is accepted as a necessary precursor to practice, it can be said to be paradigmatic in the sense that it acts as a unifying paradigm which, just as Kuhn's (1970) overarching scientific paradigms form the foundations of different branches of scientific enquiry, comprises the epistemological roots underpinning and unifying the work of a profession. The term *professional knowledge* has been used to describe all the knowledge, including disciplinary knowledge, which practitioners possess, need and use at work. Clearly, teachers have a wide ranging skill set and possess knowledge both of the content of the material they are teaching and about teaching itself. The analysis of the interviews in Chapter 7 identified a general consensus around three broad dimensions of what might constitute teachers' professional knowledge - subject knowledge, knowledge of pedagogy

and ecological knowledge. However, there was little agreement as to whether there was anything approaching a system of codified disciplinary knowledge. This confirmed what might have been expected from the literature presented in Chapter 2. There was a feeling of disconnectedness and discontinuity between the work of academics and researchers in UDEs and practitioners in the classroom.

Some important corollaries following from the analysis were presented at the conclusion of Chapter 7 but it is worth extending upon how some of the main issues relating to teachers' knowledge have a bearing on the more general argument about professionalism being advanced in this conclusion. Central to this is the issue of whether teachers' professional knowledge offers the promise or prospect of professional idealism. Here, Bernstein's (1975; 2000) tri-modal division of knowledge is helpful. *Regionalised* knowledge is action-led driven to meeting the needs of practice whilst *generic* knowledge addresses the contemporary skill-set necessary to function in the modern environment. None of this creates much of a problem for teachers. All the policy players here were keen to talk about teacher's knowledge and the notion of 'what works' can be seen as an instrumental view of such knowledge. It is Bernstein's third mode of knowledge, *singulars*, that creates a difficulty for teaching. Singulars are areas of academic knowledge, or disciplinary knowledge, which involve inculcation into the ideals of the academic endeavour, producing subject loyalty and inner dedication. Professions, for him, arise from the notion of service to these disciplinary ideals. Without this, any professional knowledge base lacks focus and direction as does the profession which seeks to rely upon it.

A number of the interviewees believed that they or their organisations – the NCSL, the TDA, the GTC, and the GTCS - were currently engaged in what was an exercise in codifying a knowledge base for the profession. They expressed an

aspiration to develop an evidence-based body of knowledge which may seem to represent an ambition for some kind of scientific knowledge base for teachers. It is worth pointing out, obiter dictum, that government policy documents and statements prefer the term 'evidence-based' to 'research-based'. Superficially, these terms appear to mean the same thing but it may be that this linguistic vogue marginalises the academy with which research is usually associated. Evidence, of course, is a rather more malleable term but, whilst the presentation of anecdotal case histories currently fashionable in policy documentation can be cited as evidence, they are not usually the outcome of research in the traditionally accepted sense of the term. The shortcomings of this approach as a support for disciplinary knowledge are rather obvious but there are problems hidden in the discourse used by the interviewees in this research.

As mentioned previously, these interviewees envisage a kind of evidence-based knowledge which will accrue from investigating 'what works'. The findings from this, it is argued, might then form a body of knowledge which can inform 'best practice'. True, this has the advantage of connecting research with practice and, with systematic and sustained research activity, it might eventually come to constitute a considerable body of knowledge. Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, this approach is highly problematic. As Brehony (2005) and Wilkinson (2006) point out, practice can only be determined to 'work' insofar as it meets some particular end. These ends, in current education policy discourse, and political discourse in general, are defined by the state insofar as it sets both the general direction of policy alongside highly specific policy objectives. They are defined too by the McDonaldizing mechanisms of managerialism, such as SATs, league tables, inspections, designed to simultaneously facilitate and compensate for what would otherwise be lacking in a quasi- market. As such, they are highly specific, short-term and ephemeral and, as has already been noted, the 'standards' discourse currently in vogue approach effectively closes

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off meaningful professional knowledge for teachers (Usher and Edwards, 1994). In addition, the quest for a hard science of pedagogy knowledge driven by 'what works' may well not be a credible project since it seems to presuppose that there is only one way of doing pedagogy. Furthermore, and rather confusingly, it also seems to accept that this may change with policy variations in order to meet the fluctuating agendas of successive governments.

This is not just an incidental problem about the particular policies of the present government. It is a problem inherent in both managerialist policies and the logic of a market, or consumer-based, model since, as Eraut (1994) argues, user-defined standards threaten professional power shifting, as they do, control over the knowledge base from the profession to the consumers. This is aggravated further in the current commercialized public policy climate characterised by its shift to market-driven service delivery since it raises again the crucial question about who these users, consumers or choosers are. The users of education, and ipso facto, of teachers' labour, include, of course children. With the advent of the choice agenda, they must certainly now be understood as including parents who act as choosers-in-chief. The users of teachers' services must also include the private sponsors who control the governing bodies of academy schools, an initiative which both the Labour and Conservative parties promise to expand. As we have seen in Chapter 4, it is clear that the agenda of some of these sponsors is far from universally shared by parents let alone the teaching profession. On yet another reading, as Crouch (2003) argues, the state can be seen as the main consumer of educational services since it provides the overwhelming bulk of the funding for them. The TDA, however, designs and promotes an increasing number of routes to qualification, many almost bypassing UDEs altogether. As Johnson (1972) argues, a uni-portal entry system is often considered vital for socialising trainees into the ideals of the profession yet the government is clearly and deliberately moving away from this.

All of this may mean that the prospect for any disciplinary knowledge based upon delivery of the curriculum for teachers seems bleak. Teacher education has been established in UDEs for around half a century but, since the decline of the four disciplines, has failed to reach any kind of concord about a knowledge base which can be presented as credible to the political class, the general public or even practising teachers. That is why it has been argued that teachers might be characterised as pre-paradigmatic professionals unsure of what purpose unites them. Its recently created professional body has done little to rectify that.

The General Teaching Council for England

There is marked difference between the powers and influence of the GTCs in Scotland and England. The GTCS is older, having been around since 1966, and has had more time to establish itself and its position in the Scottish educational landscape gives it more influence in national policy-making. It was also given greater powers than its English cousin which may be a product of the time when it was created when professionalism was more readily accepted and also due to the different and distinctive education traditions in Scotland. It controls entry and egress to and from the profession in virtue of its regulation of the training process which leads to registration and its ability to discipline and strike off teachers. It has, as we have seen, sometimes refused to recognise the qualifications of those trained outside its jurisdiction. Its Chief Executive sees two main roles for himself and his organisation; a statutory role covers training and registration whilst a promotional role involves speaking up for Scottish teachers in order to raise their status, and, he says, their pay. It is important for the GTCS to keep the voice of teachers at the heart of the Scottish education establishment and it is therefore a keenly political organisation.

In contrast the GTC in England, instead of being perceived as an important part of the educational landscape, an aspiration voiced by its Chair, is seen by some of the interviewees as a rather underpowered organisation which, far from being a independent voice for teachers in a political world, is acting, as one policy player says, 'in cahoots' with the government. It has certainly done little to oppose the policies of commercialization in terms of either managerialism or marketization. All interviewees agreed that it has a hard job ahead.

It has two statutory functions, regulatory and advisory. The former includes registration and discipline but, as has been seen, this amounts to little more than what one interviewee called 'badging' because it does not oversee the training system. The regulations do not apply to all schoolteachers since those in private schools are exempt and the flagship academies are not compelled to employ teachers on the register. Whilst there was a clear recognition that its powers and influence were limited, the policy players here seem to identify two main problems. The first concerns the lack of space in a crowded educational universe. So, for example, the GTC has no real jurisdiction over quality control as that seems to be the function of the TDA, OFSTED and, with regard to progression to the management rungs of the profession, the NCSL. Neither is it prepared to seriously press for an expansion of its remit to include some of these functions unlike the NDPBs who have all expanded theirs during the short period of this research project. The renaming of the NCSL as the National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services in September, 2009, signalling its extended jurisdiction, is the latest example of this.

If its statutory powers are severely restricted, the second problem concerns the way in which the Council interprets its advisory role. The GTC has chosen to focus on improving teaching and learning though CPD. This is problematic insofar as it seems to concentrate on 'what works' and 'modelling best practice' and the

GTC interviewees see no value in challenging wider aspects of the government's education policy agenda. The comments of the TDA interviewee imply that the Council needs to follow the government's agenda so that they might be received as a 'grown up profession' and the GTC interviewees appear to share this way of thinking. Their discourse is rife with references to accountability, transparency and standards. In contrast with the GTCS, the GTC seems to have no sense of a promotional role. A number of interviewees, especially those from the trade unions find this a puzzling situation believing, as they appear to do, that teaching and learning is intricately bound up with all sorts of education policy matters including the calibre and status of teachers, the nature of the curriculum and the structure of the school system. There is a view amongst a number of interviewees that they should challenge the government.

There is a clear difference between the views of the interviewees at the GTC and the other policy players. It is undoubtedly a precarious line that the GTC treads but there is good reason to suppose that all of these dilemmas arise from the evolution of a market state which rejects professionalism. The Labour Party, keen to please a large public sector workforce, acceded to demands for a GTC before it came to power. Whether this was motivated by a genuinely held belief in professionalism we do not know but their subsequent policies for education suggest not. The question of monopoly is critical here and the confusion in the government's thinking is best summed up by the GTCs Chief Executive claiming that there should be more regulation because of the deregulation being promoted by education policy. If this is a paradoxical position, it is no more so than that of the government. They have set up a professional body for teachers whilst at the same time undermining it by introducing academies, new forms of training and deliberately trying to break down professional jurisdictions. The government may pay lip-service to professionalism in education but the introduction of workforce remodelling demonstrates that, where its objectives

can be achieved by non-professional models, it is not only comfortable with that but keen to encourage it, talking in bold terms of breaking down professional boundaries. Hence, it allows schools to deploy whomsoever they see fit to cover for teachers engaged in paperwork and administrative tasks whilst its academies programme 'frees up' schools to employ non-qualified teachers. That the GTC has not spoken out against any of this has not been reassuring. The catapulting of Labour Party placeman David Puttnam to act as first GTC Chair whilst publicly advocating the recruitment of unemployed actors into teaching has also opened up the Council to ridicule and mockery. It is not surprising, then, that the GTC has failed to win the support of teachers.

Some Reflections for the Future

Three broad conclusions have been presented in this chapter. First, it is clear that there is no credible disciplinary knowledge base for teachers which might form the foundations of professional idealism and power. Nor does there seem to be any prospect of developing any science of pedagogy which is separate from the government's changing policy agenda. Attempts based on the notion of 'what works' risk teachers and teacher educators becoming subject to a kind of epistemological servitude to the education consumer. Second, as it stands the GTC is clearly devoid of the influence, credibility and, more importantly, power which might enable it play a more pivotal role in policy development. Third, the commercialization of education, represented by markets and managerialism, appears to marginalise professionalism to the extent that attempts to establish teaching as a profession are probably no longer a realistic enterprise in any event. Both the literature and policy analysis presented in this thesis support this as does the data from the interviews. It seems too that professional power may be on the wane even amongst the oldest and most established professions.

It is not only teachers who feel deprofessionalised by markets and managerialism. These themes are common in the much of the literature on British public sector professionals. If professionalism is out of step with the global policy tides which are changing the nature of modern public services, it may be better to recognise the futility of swimming against them. A project for a teaching profession with sweeping professional powers based upon their control and promotion of their disciplinary knowledge and idealism seems anachronistic and almost certainly destined to disappoint. Workforce remodelling and state control of ITT is already established and it would be a fruitless exercise to concentrate the teachers' collective energy in fighting battles where crucial strategic ground has already been lost.

If these conclusions hold true, are there any grounds for optimism? In Chapter 1 we met Leadbeater & Miller (2004) who write about the rise of the 'pro-ams' and Reich (1992) who thinks that professionals with formalised knowledge and qualifications will decline in importance. However, the former accept that professionals are distinguished by their knowledge and understanding rather than mere know-how whilst the latter identifies a role for professionals providing 'symbolic-analytic services' which oversee creative problem-solving and brokering between different specialists. If teachers and their representatives use this transitional period in which professionalism is declining as an opportunity to re-evaluate the state of teaching and education, a reconfigured role may be found if it repositions teaching within a broader public service ethic centred around democracy and citizenship.

There is little to be gained by resurrecting arguments about policies which impinge or infringe on their traditional roles and practice as things stand. Instead, it might be better to begin with a wholesale reconsideration of the purpose of education in general and teaching in particular. That, of course, has

always presented a difficulty given the multiple objectives of schooling. But some glimpses of what may be a very different future for teachers are suggested in current policy and hinted at in some of the interviews conducted for this research; the policy player from UCET talks of what he calls 'pedagogistas', overarching education professionals who diagnose problems and prescribe remedies; the *Every Child Matters* agenda may offer scope for a new breed of professional focusing on a wider conception of child welfare. It is therefore possible and credible to envisage a role for a highly knowledgeable group of education workers whose core values and moral purpose might be dedicated to the ideal of upholding children's educational welfare.

What, then, might educational welfare mean in such a context? A much broader education agenda which reaches beyond achievement in academic subject areas may, on the face of it, seem anathema to a government determined to use education as a tool to position the country to compete in the global political economy. On the other hand, *Every Child Matters* concerns itself with a much broader agenda listing 'being healthy', 'staying safe', 'enjoying and achieving', 'making a positive contribution' and 'economic well-being' amongst its aspirations (DfES, 2003b, para. 10). There has been a renewed emphasis on PSHE and the teaching of citizenship to combat social problems and encourage political engagement. A Children's Commissioner has been appointed to provide a voice and policy platform for the young in which 'children and young people are truly at the centre of policy and practice' (Aynsley-Green, 2005). The Children's Plan (DCSF, 2007) states that the government aim to make the UK the best place in the world for our children and young people to grow up'. It would be cynical to dismiss all this as electoral window-dressing aimed at a disaffected profession and growing parental lobby. Mainstream governments of all colours recognise the dangers inherent in a fragmented population placated by consumerism in which the rise of individualism is accompanied by a decline in

social and cultural capital and civic engagement. There is a fear that a populace which has grown politically apathetic will, in times of difficulty, turn to extremist parties in their frustration. The election of British National Party representatives and engagement in Al Qaeda- sponsored terrorist activity against the state demonstrate the reality of this threat. Education is probably the most effective way of combating this since it offers the potential to nurture a citizenry engaged with civic life and democratic politics.

Thus, there is room to rearticulate the goals of education in a way which is persuasive to both the state and the users of the system. Paulo Freire (1982; 2005) wrote of a 'pedagogy of the oppressed' and an 'education for critical consciousness' in which education provided oppressed citizens with the tools to read society. Educators, for him, must be critical cultural workers helping students to understand the socio-political functions of the dominant cultural values and norms and bringing them to challenge oppression and to consider how they might improve democracy. In similar vein, Carr and Harnett (1996) have argued that education and education policy has become detached from any meaningful values. The non-empirical aspects of schooling have, they argued, disappeared from teacher training such that the notion that education is a political enterprise which ought to concern itself with the health of our democracy has all but evaporated. A rethinking of the teacher's role based upon these arguments may or may not offer the prospect of disciplinary knowledge though, if professional power is slowly eroding that becomes less of an issue. What remain, however, are values. Market models do not nullify these though they do restructure the apparatus through which they might be affirmed. In such a climate, a workforce needs to articulate an idealism that it can sell to the state and the public in order to enjoy status, respect, power and influence though, of course, without professionalism, these things are no longer structurally embedded. An education based around citizenship offers the state the potential

for democratic renewal. As we have seen in Chapter 4, there are already signs that one breed of education consumer, parents, are unhappy with the privatisation of public power in the hands of academy sponsors. There is an increasingly vehement lobby, especially in the US, opposing the marketing of consumer products and ideologies in schools and there are signs that that movement is growing here. If education is about teaching children to critically read society, then it becomes clear that corporate propaganda in schools amounts to a subversion of its purpose. It is not idle fancy to imagine that parents might be persuaded by such an agenda.

Education work is already a political and cultural activity irrespective of whether that is formally acknowledged by those who are engaged in it and those who employ them. The problem is that they have not received adequate training to fulfil such a role, still less enter into meaningful dialogue with the government about those issues. A number of UDEs have chosen to offer educational studies degrees to provide something distinctive from the narrow curriculum which the quangos of the state seek to impose on trainee teachers. But the realignment of the teaching workforce is not a project that can be developed within the academy alone. Neither is it enough for the NUT to be a lone voice speaking out against the commercialization of education.

All of the policy players interviewed during the course of this research say that teaching is about values. They are right. That is not, however, an argument that supports the accuracy of some of the claims that have been asserted about teaching being a profession. Establishing and promoting values might have been a good reason why it was once important that teachers sought to win professional power. Yet, even if professionalism is a creature of the last century, it remains crucial that the teaching workforce seeks power and influence in the marketplace of ideas otherwise its values cannot be translated into practice. Its

wider representatives, including senior policy players and the GTC, must start to explain what those values are in order to develop policy stances which derive from them. They must begin to speak up not just for teachers or parent-consumers but for education's role in children's welfare and place in democratic society.

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample Interview Schedule

Appendix 2: Sample Interview Request Letter

Appendix 3: Sample Letter Regarding Interview Transcript

Appendix 1

National College for School Leadership, Triumph Road, Nottingham, NG8 1DH.

Introductions (venue, date). Geoff's professional background?

NCSL composition, roles and remit.

Constitution, purpose, accountability (Who inspects NCSL?)

Future remit? Provision for non-head, workforce remodelling.

Professionalism

In what sense are teachers professionals? Is there a difference between profession as an occupational group and professionalism as an approach to work?

What conception of leaders? Is there a difference between leaders and managers?

What is effectiveness? What about the moral dimensions to teaching?

Knowledge Base – creation and transmission

Are you providing training (leading by numbers) or education? is there a difference?

Is the 'knowledge pool' an attempt at creating a unified knowledge base for leaders/teachers?

What knowledge do teachers have? Is it based on scientific knowledge.

Why should it have a connection with higher education?

Communication with Others

What re the mechanisms for communicating with Ofsted, QCA,GTC, , DfES?

What's the nature of access and communication with political class?

How do you consult with teachers? GTC/ TUs. Is there a democratic deficit at the TTA.

Cross-fertility of functions

Do teachers have enough input into the work of these bodies?

Appendix 2

Mick Brookes,

General Secretary Elect,

National Association of Head Teachers.

21st May, 2005

Dear Mr. Brookes,

I am currently researching my PhD, working title 'The Politics and Problems of Teacher Professionalism, which is a contemporary appraisal of teacher professionalism. It focuses on two central issues which underpin this central concept - teachers' knowledge base and the nature of professional control. To assist with this, I have conducted a number of interviews with some of the key players from the main institutions (Ofsted, TTA, GTC, NCSL) which inform the work of the profession. I should very much like to conduct an interview with you as the General Secretary Elect of the National Association of Head Teachers to add a further dimension to my thesis.

It will be necessary to record and produce a transcript of the interview. I will seek your agreement regarding the accuracy of the interview transcript and

permission to use any quotations from it for inclusion in my PhD thesis. The interview need last no longer than an hour.

If you are able to help, I would provisionally suggest some time in October or November but I am happy to arrange a definitive time and venue through your PA. I should be grateful if you would contact me as soon as is convenient to let me know if you are willing to help with this project.

With Best Wishes and Kind Regards,

Gary Wilkinson

Appendix 3

David Bell,

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools,

Ofsted,

Alexandra House,

33 Kingsway,

London.

WC2B 6SE

22nd July, 2005

Dear David,

Many thanks for agreeing to be interviewed for my PhD research. I very much enjoyed meeting you and it is very heartening to know that those at the very top of the profession are willing to make time to help with my work.

As promised, I enclose a transcript of the interview which I have prepared. I should be grateful if you would confirm that you are happy that this represents an accurate transcription of the interview and that you are content for me to append it to my PhD thesis and use quotations from it for research purposes. If there is anything within the transcript that you wish to correct, clarify or expand upon, I shall be delighted to receive your comments.

One specific point of detail. It is not clear from the transcript what the Fellowship was at 006. I'd be grateful if you would clarify this.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to help me with this work. I look forward to your reply via post or e-mail, whichever is most convenient.

Best wishes and regards,

Gary Wilkinson