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## **Context, Setting and Teacher Identities: a comparative study of the values of newly qualified teachers in Norway, Germany and England**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the values that ‘becoming’ teachers in three different national contexts have identified as central to their professional identity. This examination takes place against the background of globalisation theories that argue there is convergence within the teaching profession. The thesis is based on a grounded analysis of interview data with thirty-two teachers from Norway, Germany and England as they moved through the process of becoming teachers from the end of their teacher training courses into the first two years as qualified teachers.

The thesis contests the over determinism found in many theories of globalisation which argue that, because of the existence of global economic markets, a convergence of the professional identities of teachers is taking place. It argues that by focussing more closely both on the ‘global’ and the ‘local’ we uncover different stories, histories and cultures. By examining more closely the national contexts and the institutional settings in which teachers work notions of the possible convergence of professional identities of teachers can be contested.

The study achieves this by showing how the professional values of these newly qualified teachers are mediated in different ways through the situatedness of key values surrounding pedagogy, organisation structures, and becoming a teacher. In so doing it emphasises the role the institutional setting plays within professional identity formation in ways that other writers have ignored when addressing theories of globalisation.

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## **Chapter One - Introduction**

This thesis focuses on the early experiences of newly qualified teachers in Norway, Germany and England. It examines the value ambiguities, tensions, conflicts and dilemmas that make up this most dramatic period of teachers' careers. It explores and problematises overly deterministic themes within the literature on globalisation as applied to the teaching profession in which a convergence and homogenisation of the profession is implied (e.g. Ritzer, 1993; Chappell, 1998; Ball, 1999). Through interviews carried out with thirty-two teachers from the end of their training into the first two years of their employment the study examines the construction of teacher values and their identities. It does this by critically exploring, comparing and understanding the changing values of newly qualified teachers over the initial period of their careers in three national settings. In this chapter I lay out the theoretical framework, the focus and approach of the thesis, my research questions and the organisation of each of the chapters.

### **1.1 Theoretical framework**

Many countries in the 'developed world' are engaging in what has been described as 'systemic' reform of their education systems (Furlong et al, 2000) due in part to the competitive economic pressures of globalisation (Foos & Moller, 2003; Yeates, 2001). Much literature has been generated about globalisation that explores the dynamic interrelationship that is said to exist between economic convergence and integration, education systems, institutions and social actors at local levels (e.g. Gavin, 2001; Hirst and Thompson, 1999; Green, 1999; Hartley, 2003). Explanations that connect the processes of globalisation to what takes place in the classroom abound. Ritzer (1993) refers to the 'McDonaldization of society' which leads to the "dehumanisation of education, the elimination of a human teacher and of human interaction between teacher and student" (Ritzer, 1993: page 142). Ball (1999), referring to 'northern countries' describes a move towards a 'single paradigm' that 'reworks' or 'remakes' teachers within the context of converging educational systems. He points to the existence of the post-modern 'reformed teacher' who is "accountable, [and] primarily oriented to



performance indicators, competition and comparison and responsiveness” (Ball, 1999: page 26).

Much of the impetus for my research has come about as a result of a dissatisfaction in explanations about globalization that offer a ‘this is the way it is’ approach particularly prevalent in the literature on teachers. Such ‘hyperglobalist’ (Held, 2004) ideas are embedded within the variety of theories on offer that talk about contemporary economic and social change of ‘global proportions’ (Furlong et al, 2000). Certainly there *is* significant evidence to support the idea of common sets of policies deployed across many nations around the globe. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in their report: *Issues and Developments in Public Management* surveyed 28 countries and revealed common values and strands in economic policy implementation that included:

*Devolving managerial authority; a focus on results; a service quality orientation; adapting organisational structures; effective leadership; and, crucially a strengthening of steering functions at the centre to drive reforms strategically and promote policy coherence on cross cutting issues, in the face of complex policy problems and a more devolved public sector environment*  
[OECD, 1997, pp86-87]

However Green (1997) argues that while there is certainly evidence of widespread educational policy borrowing at an international level and that some convergence of national policies is taking place (e.g. institutional linkages between work and education, emphases on adult education and training, competence based assessment to name but three), nevertheless, education still fulfils primarily national objectives: “It is still central government that determines the strategic aims of education and which fixes and monitors the roles and work of the key players of the game” (Green, 1997: page 180). And while it would be foolish to ignore the role of international agencies such as the OECD or reports such as that carried out in 2000 and 2003 by the Programme for International Student Achievement<sup>1</sup> (PISA) in the formation of national policies on

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<sup>1</sup> The OECD instigated the PISA survey of the reading, mathematics and science attainments of 15 year olds. The purpose of such studies is to stimulate debate about the relative merits of policy choices that are made in different education systems.

education I suggest that much of the literature on globalization over emphasizes the degree of convergence in the identities and values of teachers in these globalizing times.

Globalisation is typically presented as an external phenomenon which results, at the school level, in such neo-liberal features as managerialism, competition and market arrangements (Angus, 2004). And yet while economic, political and cultural processes of globalisation are said to be impacting on professions within individual nation states (Green, 1997), Furlong et al (2000) ask us to consider ‘contextual specificities’ when making any cross-national comparisons and generalisations. The practice of teaching does not take place in a vacuum but within a variety of often, conflicting personal, social, political and ideological values that shift, vanish and often reappear – frequently under different guises. Research over the last decade has attempted to demonstrate that while globalising tendencies may well be at work at influencing the world of teaching, national cultural traditions can influence the system of schooling in general, on national curricula, and on teachers’ values and classroom practices in schools (e.g. Holmes and McLean, 1989; McLean, 1990; Pepin, 1998). Dale (2004) argues that national filters:

*modify, mitigate, interpret, resist, shape, accommodate etc. all the external pressures on national states and societies that have traditionally received more attention than the nature of globalisation* [Dale, 2004: page 106]

This thesis is therefore very much concerned with *both* the ‘nature of globalisation’ and ‘national filters’. By bringing together both the ‘global’ and the ‘local’ in understanding the lives of newly qualified teachers the substantive focus of this thesis is on teachers’ values and their identities.

## **1.2 Focus – Teachers’ values and identities**

Within the literature on globalisation a variety of explanations exist about the professional socialisation of teachers that seeks to describe the creation of a new type of teacher. One such approach is offered by Chapell (1998) who, adopting a post-structuralist stance, argues that professional identity in teaching is transforming as dominant economic discourses of government are attempting to construct a new reality for teachers (Chappell, 1998: page 1). Policy changes mean that teachers are being

asked to ‘do things differently’ and this, according to Chappell, means that they are, in effect, being asked to become ‘different’ teachers i.e. to change their professional identity. This means that there can be a discrepancy between what teachers consider themselves to be and the identity and values promoted by the dominant policies and discourses of government.

The formation of teachers’ identities and values, in part, takes place in contexts in which there may be multiple dimensions in the nature of the interactions i.e. there may be a host of relationships that have an influence upon these formation processes (Brown, 1997). Differences in the particular constellations and configurations of influence and different patterns of relationships are sufficient to ensure that learning to become a teacher as an experience can differ significantly for different individuals even within broadly similar contexts and settings. In addition, teachers’ identities can be powerful *mediators* in terms of the interpretation of, and response to, imposed changes on the teaching profession (Vulliamy et al, 1997). For Sachs (2001) such issues are mediated by teachers’ own experiences in and outside schools as well as through their own values about what it means to be a teacher and the type of teacher that they aspire to be (Sachs, 2001: page 154).

Thus professional identity formation can be seen as a social process, but with differential effects and outcomes for different individuals. While managers may have very clear ideas of what they consider to be appropriate ways for their workers to engage with their work, individuals may react very differently to such expectations, with behaviours ranging from complete rejection to complete engagement (Brown, 1997). This necessitates research into the organisational setting and the many processes and interactions that take place and how these may vary from institution to institution and by country to country. Between these extremes, newly qualified teachers may exhibit a wide range of values and behaviours in the extent to which they engage with the activities they perform at work (Brown 1996). However, the values held by beginning teachers in different countries have *not* been widely explored particularly within the context of globalisation and it is here that this thesis makes a significant contribution to literature on the effects of globalisation on teachers.

By teachers' 'values' I refer what teachers regard as worthwhile. Some of these values may be more stable and less resistant to change, while others will be more susceptible to influence. Values are carried by people but they can change, be extended and elaborated on through life experience. Values are also not of a piece but can come into tension and conflict with the values that circulate within the institutions in which people work. Within the context of globalisation this study is therefore concerned with the sorts of value positions and perspectives that teachers in three different national settings have identified as central to their emerging teacher identities

### 1.3 Comparative research

This thesis compares and contrasts the values of 'becoming teachers' in Norway, Germany and England. By drawing on data collected with a small sample of newly qualified teachers in three national locations there is therefore a comparative element to this study which I discuss in the following two sections. By 'comparative' research I refer to the cross-cultural comparison of similarities and differences in social phenomena that a study such as this explores. In this section I discuss why a small-scale cross-national qualitative study such as this can be justified in its claim to be 'comparative'.

For a study to be both cross-national and comparative, Hantrais and Mangen (1996) argue that:

*Individuals or teams should be sent out to study particular issues or phenomena in **two or more countries** with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings, using the same research instruments, either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work.* ([Hantrais and Mangen, 1996: page 1[**my emphasis**]).

Marsh (1967) has made a distinction between intra-societal comparison – “the analysis of variations within one society” and inter-societal comparison – “as the systematic and explicit comparison of data from two or more societies or their subsystems” (Marsh, 1967: page 11). The empirical data gathered for this thesis, through interviews with

teachers working in three national settings falls mainly into the latter distinction made by Marsh because of the cross-national nature of this study.

One element of comparative research is not just comparison but explanation: “the general purpose of cross-national research is to understand which characteristics of the particular cultures, societies, economies, or political systems affect patterns of behaviour within them” (Przeworski, 1987: page 35). Thomas (1998) states that:

*In its most inclusive sense, comparative education refers to inspecting two or more educational entities or events in order to discover **how and why they are alike and different**. An educational entity in this context means any person, group or organisation associated with learning and teaching. An event is an activity concerned with promoting learning ([Thomas, 1998: page 1] [**my emphasis**]).*

How and why becoming teachers ‘are alike and different’ is precisely what this thesis explores by focusing on the three social settings in which these teachers are situated. Mabbett and Bolderson (1999) have drawn attention to two broad categories of comparative social research that have influenced how such a focus might take place. The first category represents mid or ‘meso’ level cross-national analysis and is exemplified in the work of Esping-Anderson (1990). Reference to his classification of welfare-state typologies in cross-national analysis is common place within literature concerning the nature of welfare provision (e.g. Abrahamson, 1999; Reutin, 2004). This typology has influenced the choice of national locations in this study and I discuss the reasons for this choice more fully in Chapter Five. It is sufficient here to state that the three countries under examination in this thesis fall into Esping-Anderson’s three welfare-state types: namely, the social democratic approach to welfare policy as in Norway; the more conservative, corporatist welfare approach as adopted in Germany and finally the more free-market liberal approach to social welfare that he characterizes as typical to the English welfare-state (1990). The second category of comparative social research, that Mabbett and Bolderson (1999) draw attention to covers micro-studies that utilise in-depth, qualitative techniques of research. These studies emphasise cultural specificity, agency and reflexivity in the policy and research process (Kennet, 2001). By focusing on the ‘situatedness’ of becoming a teacher and, in particular, the

role that values and teacher identities play in this process this study rests within both of Mabbett and Bolderson's (1999) categories of comparative research.

#### **1.4 Context sensitivity in comparative research**

This section examines some of the issues and challenges related to comparative research when a small-scale study such as this is carried out. In particular it focuses on the issues to do with the 'context sensitivity' of the researcher. By this I mean the sensitivity to actions, symbols and relationships that may carry different meanings in different societies or cultures. Such sensitivity is a vital ingredient in the repertoire of the comparative researcher.

A cross-national comparison and qualitative analysis in comparative education of the sort deployed in this thesis, presents both conceptual and methodological challenges to the researcher related to contextual sensitivity. Alexander (2005) notes that "the language of education contains few universals and educational conversation across cultures is laced with pitfalls for the unwary" (Alexander, 2005: page 5). Uni-directional reforms do not necessarily lead to educational systems becoming more like each other (Green et al, 2004). Reutin (2004) has claimed that different historical starting points of education systems combined with variety in the various institutional structures also make meaningful generalisation at best, problematic. In addition, the provision of education is deeply influenced by the cultural context in which it is located, as well as by the economy and the political system responsible for educational policies (Hayhoe, 2007).

The issue of contextual sensitivity in comparative research has been raised by a number of writers (e.g. Hayhoe, 2007; Brisard et al, 2007). Crossley and Jarvis (2001) highlight the significance of differing world views, forms of knowledge and frames of reference when embarking on comparative research:

*In a world marked by the rapid intensification of globalisation, tensions between global and local agendas and developments clearly demand ever more specialist knowledge, insight and understanding. This is of vital importance; but the very same global factors heighten the significance of the contextual sensitivities that*

*comparative researchers have a particular responsibility to identify* [Crossley and Jarvis, 2001: page 407).

Questions related to any cross-societal equivalence between concepts are prominent in the literature on comparative education and are a crucial factor in the cross-national research that this thesis addresses. Phenomena or relationships may have different meanings in the three societies under examination (see: Crossley and Watson, 2003; Hantrais and Mangen, 1996; Kennet 2001). For example the meaning of a teacher's action in one location can depend on the conventions, norms and values of not only the country concerned but also the particular type and location of the school in which that teacher's action takes place (e.g. the word 'inclusion' within the diversity of school institutions that typify the British education might cause confusion to a Norwegian teacher working within an education system that is by its nature 'inclusive' and 'comprehensive'). Carey-Wood (1991) argues that equivalence in meaning and concepts is not necessarily obtainable by 'correct' linguistic translations because of the semantic, cultural and societal differences inherent in words and concepts. Nevertheless "concepts are necessary as common points of reference for grouping phenomena that are differentiated geographically and often linguistically" (Rose, 1991: page 447). Without utilizing concepts, information collected about different countries provides no basis for relating one country to another. The problem of meaning and significance of actions is particularly important in a thesis that considers the values of teachers in different national locations. This is because much of the work that teachers do is conducted in terms of signals, symbols, coded language and symbolic behaviour.

Brisard *et al* (2007) draw attention to the need for researchers engaging in micro-forms of comparative research to be contextually sensitive and 'contextually qualified' (Brisard et al, 2007: page 224). By this they argue that researchers engaging in research in different national locations need to have the necessary background and experience required when describing and interpreting the contextual objects under study:

*To enhance the validity of their research, researchers need to possess, either collectively or individually the contextual knowledge and understanding needed to design and carry out the study* [Brisard et al, 2007: page 224].

As a teacher-researcher and linguist I have carried out the research for this thesis in ways that, I hope, address many of the concerns related to both contextual qualification and sensitivity discussed in this section.

### **1.5 Approach and Research Questions**

The title of this thesis has been inspired by Derek Layder's (1993) commitment to combining macro and micro forms of analysis to the study of identity. He defines the 'Context' as "social and economic forms of organisation and power relations"; 'Setting' as "the immediate school environment in which the candidates have to 'fit in' to established forms of organisation"; and 'Self' "as an individual's sense of identity, personality and perception of the social world"; (Layder, 1993: p102). This small-scale study will look at three distinctly different education systems within the northern hemisphere and seeks to identify the values of teachers entering the profession for the first time. It will seek to identify what part is played by national pedagogic traditions, national policy contexts and institutional settings in the changing values of these newly qualified teachers.

'Becoming a teacher' does not have the same meaning in the three countries under examination. The contextual specificity of what it means to be a teacher in terms of politics, culture and practice vary from country to country along with the variety of educational values and therefore what it means to 'be a teacher' cannot be pinned down in terms of professional identity. Such values are:

*like currents in the stream, words and acts distinguishable in a certain place and at a certain time perhaps with patterns that can be traced but not separable from a historical discourse embodied in culturally established ways of thinking, speaking and acting on educational issues [Phelan and McLaughlin, 1995: page 166].*

Whilst recognising the difficulties in making generalisations from interview data, insights gained from examining interviews from teachers coming from the social democratic traditions of Norway (although since 2001 Norway is under a conservative



coalition), the ‘corporatist welfare’ regime seen in Germany and the more individualised, market-led approach to education adopted in England will, it is hoped, provide contexts and settings for a fruitful exploration of some of the dynamics of teacher identity formation. The content of these interviews reveal some important similarities and differences between the teaching profession in the three countries under examination. By focussing on teachers’ values these aspects of similarity and difference, convergence and divergence between the three systems will be used to focus on generic as well as culturally specific issues and will be discussed in relation to one another and to other research findings. In so doing I pose the following three research questions:

1. What values do ‘becoming’ teachers hold in relation to their proposed occupation?
2. What similarities and differences in teachers’ values are evident in three national settings under examination?
3. What part is played by national pedagogic traditions, national policy contexts and institutional settings in the changing values of newly qualified teachers?

## **1.6 Organisation of Thesis**

**Chapter Two** will examine the impact of globalisation on national educational contexts and is the starting point of an examination of convergence and divergence of teachers’ values within the three national settings. It will focus on key themes that emerge within the literature surrounding globalisation and discuss their relevance to the socialisation and values of teachers in this study. The chapter will relate these themes to the shifting policy contexts that operate at global and national levels. In so doing it will relay recent policy developments in Norway, Germany and England. It will then provide a brief review of the education systems and training that teachers receive in each country.

**Chapter Three** explores what is already known about teachers’ values as they move from deciding to teach, through training and into their first teaching posts. Values can come into tension and conflict with the values that circulate both within and outside the

institutions in which people work. This can produce dissonance for emerging teachers. This chapter explores these issues by first considering why intending teachers chose teaching as occupation. It then examines what values teachers are exposed to during their training period before finally examining the transition from training to practical experience and possible changes in their values.

**Chapter Four** conveys how teachers' identities, as socially constructed phenomena are reliant on a variety of 'others' in their formation. According to Chappell (1998) there is a notion that all members of a profession share a common 'professional identity'. However the teaching profession is not a distinct organic entity but a differentiated occupational group (Hull, 1995). Both national context and institutional setting combine to influence the kinds of relationships teachers form and the way in which these relationships can affect the construction of teachers' values.

**Chapter Five** In this chapter I discuss: the conception of the thesis; the contested issues of structure and agency and how they relate to the thesis; the choice of national settings; the sample, access and timetable of my qualitative research study; the philosophical issues surrounding my choice in methodology; issues to do with empowerment and rapport; my interview technique; the data analysis; the limitations of my methodology and ethical issues related to my research.

**Chapter Six** examines the values concerning teaching and learning as reported by the teachers in this study. These discussions reveal how the experiences of these emerging teachers mediate what they think and say about teaching and learning. The chapter is divided into four sections looking at Norway, Germany and England followed by a discussion of the data presented.

**Chapter Seven** explores what the respondents in this study value as central to their role of being a teacher and is arranged around the dominant coded themes that emerged from the data. These included: teacher as 'friend' and 'carer' (in Norway); 'subject specialist' and 'benign authoritarian' (in Germany); 'carer' and 'strong authoritarian' (in England). These key values not only form the basis through which similarities and differences in how these participants perceive what being a teacher means but also play a significant role in the construction of their emerging teacher identities.

**Chapter Eight** explores formal and informal types of monitoring of teaching that can influence, distort and/or reorganise the values of emerging teachers. It achieves this by examining teachers' views about the different forms of monitoring and accountability they experience. It shows that these formal and informal measures are deployed differently in each of the countries under examination. In so doing the chapter highlights the different ways in which being a teacher is constructed in different national contexts. I look first at Norway, then at Germany and finally at the English settings.

**Chapter Nine** focuses on some of the ways in which professional development can construct not only the roles of the teachers but also some of their values. A wealth of literature (e.g. Blackman, 1989; Calderhead and Gates [eds], 1993; Holly and McLoughlin [eds], 1989; Helsby and Knight, 1997) addresses the contested concept of 'professional development'. Two component parts of professional development have emerged as significant codes in the interview data - namely opportunities for promotion and opportunities for staff development. These two themes will be examined country by country in the order of Norway, Germany and England.

**Chapter Ten** focuses on the significance of 'others' in the way in which becoming/being a teacher is socially situated i.e. the way in which these 'others' influence the construction of what being a teacher means. The chapter contributes to an understanding of the similarities and differences in teachers' values by revealing how a variety of different combinations of 'others' contribute to different internalised pictures of the world of teaching to these emerging teachers. The process of becoming a teacher in these countries varies according to the different significances placed on these 'others' by the teachers in this study. Coding the data revealed that in Norway these included the significance of the community; parents; friends and colleagues. In Germany these included parents; the media, colleagues and pupils. In England these included other departments, managers and outside agencies. This chapter has been organised around these coded categories.

**Chapter Eleven** is the concluding chapter where common and disparate threads are drawn together in relation to the three countries under examination and are in turn,

related back to the issues of globalisation, values and identity as discussed in chapters Two, Three and Four. The emphasis is on the similarities and differences within national systems and how individuals mediate their settings and contexts differently. The chapter argues that by focussing more closely both on the 'global' and the 'local' we uncover different stories, histories and cultures that necessitate the contestation of some over-determinism that exists in some of the literature concerning the effects of economic globalisation on teachers. The chapter achieves this by showing how the professional values of these newly qualified teachers are constructed and mediated in different ways through the situatedness of becoming a teacher. In so doing it emphasises the role the national context and institutional setting plays within professional identity formation in ways that other writers have ignored when addressing theories of globalisation.

## **Chapter Two – The impact of globalisation on national educational contexts**

This chapter examines the impact of globalisation on national educational contexts. It draws attention to arguments that imply a convergence in education and consequently within the teaching profession in light of neo-liberal reforms said to be setting the international policy agenda for education (Stephens, 2004). Key themes that emerge within the literature surrounding globalisation are discussed regarding their relevance to the emerging teachers in this study. Section 2.1 introduces the reader to key discussions regarding the nature of globalisation that are significant to this thesis. Section 2.2 reviews recent policy developments in education relevant to the teachers in this study. Sections 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 describe the education systems in Norway, Germany and England respectively. Finally Section 2.6 provides an overview of teacher training in the three countries under examination.

### **2.1 Theorising the ‘global’ and the ‘local’**

Broadly speaking it is possible to identify *three* themes within discussions about the nature of globalisation that are significant to this thesis and these will be looked at more closely below. The first sees globalisation in terms of the *convergence* and uniformity it produces in political, economic, cultural and social terms. The second theme is to consider influence of globalisation on the nation state. The third theme examines how a combination of both a ‘global’ and ‘local’ understanding of the processes of globalisation has particular resonance for a thesis that examines the values of emerging teachers.

Turning to the first theme much literature takes the view of an increasingly uniform or ‘homogenised’ notion of the world. Some writers (e.g. Dawson, 2000; Jarvis 2004) contend that the processes of contemporary globalisation started during the 1970s at a time when oil crises, economic competition with Japan and the rapid movement of capital around the globe transformed the business strategies of international corporations. Taking this line, Kerr et al (1973) have argued that the processes of industrialisation have had a worldwide impact producing a convergence in the social structures of different countries around the globe. As George and Wilding (2002) state:

*It may be that different societies will travel at different speeds and along different paths but the direction is the same – convergence – the creation of an industrial society* [George and Wilding, 2002: page 89]

Kerr et al's (1973) 'strong' approach to globalisation takes the view that technology breaks down traditional cultures and in doing so creates new institutional forms functional to industrial society. Any of these developments take place within an international environment in which competition between the economic interests of nation states is at the forefront of policy discussion and implementation. In this sense the institution of education (and by implication the teachers that deliver it) needs to adapt to the ever-changing technological and competitive environment in which it is located.

Some commentators argue that the roots of globalisation can be traced much further back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g. Giddens, 1990; Held, 1999; Robinson, 1996; Scholte, 2000). Seen in neo-liberal terms the 'new world order' that Fukuyama (1992) has argued will inevitably come into being, as a result of these longer term developments, is one where a global consensus will eventually occur based around liberal democratic values made possible by the triumph of capitalist economics around the globe. This globalist view is one that celebrates the advent of a fully global market economy in which public policy reinforces the deregulation of trade, investment and capital movements. This view celebrates economic growth, rising living standards and a world of (liberal) democratic standards on global proportions. This celebration of capitalism has, seen in this light, been endorsed by the collapse of the Soviet style of communism at the beginning of the 1990s. However other writers have challenged the neo-liberal rhetoric that many politicians adopt which portrays globalisation in this way as an ever-increasing force to be reckoned with. Massey (1999), for example, argues that this 'deterministic' image of globalisation is in fact a myth created by multinational companies and some politicians in an attempt to legitimate specific sets of economic and social policies.

Not all agree with the 'homogenised' views on globalisation espoused above or their positive outcomes. Lash and Urry (1987) argue that in a globalising world,

multinational companies have shifted their manufacturing operations to the newly developing countries in South East Asia and South America where labour power is cheaper. They claim a *two-tier* form of globalisation produces a 'bourgeoisie' in the West and a 'proletariat' in developing countries. The 'McDonaldisation' of society is Ritzer's (1993) alternative (and more pessimistic) take on Fukuyama's dream. Here, the way in which the hamburger chain prepares food is used as an analogy for international modern lifestyles and the values of big business. The analogy provides a picture of a product that is cheap, quickly produced and identical where ever one goes. In this view globalisation is seen as 'Americanisation' rather than the equal spreading of ideas from across the globe (Ritzer, 1993). The view also emphasises the cultural as well as an economic forces associated with globalisation.

Turning to the second theme regarding the influence of the forces of globalisation on nation states, many writers have argued that, in the same way as structural forces can shape and determine peoples lives, the forces of globalisation act as deterministic structures that shape nation states and their policy making processes. Held (1992), for example, argues that international bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, set up in earlier times by the richer industrialised countries of the West, determine what takes place within a country's national borders. From a Marxist perspective he argues that many of these organisations represent the interests of the most economically powerful rather than the global interests they claim to represent. Ohmae's (1990) 'borderless world' is one in which the state is no longer the best agency for organising economic activities because it overlooks: "the true linkages and synergies that exist among often disparate populations" (Ohmae, 1993: page 92). Giddens (1985) believes that sovereignty at the level of the nation state is less important today than in earlier times because of the way in which the world system is influenced by several sets of processes:

*associated with the nation state system, co-ordinated through global networks of information exchange, the world capitalist economy and the world military order* [Giddens, 1985: page 20]

However, not all writers accept these deterministic explanations or indeed the extent to which "hyper-mobile capital rampages around the globe collapsing time and space on

its travels and undercutting both nation states and their welfare systems” (Clarke, 2001: page 19). Hirst and Thompson (1999), for example, argue that many of the generalisations associated with the term ‘globalisation’ assume that all states are hit equally by globalising forces. Challenging this generalisation they believe that there is still evidence to show how the international economy is primarily managed, by, and in the interests of, individual states. They claim that rather than an inevitable process, economic globalisation is a consequence of political decisions made at a national level and therefore can be controlled at a national level. For instance Thompson (2000) argues that international economic interdependency and integration between economic agents are still monitored by state-based economies and regional groupings<sup>2</sup> (Thompson, 2000: page 124). Supporting this ‘inter-nationalist’ perspective on globalisation, Kelly and Prokhovnik (2004) show how individual countries can favour their own economic interests by arguing through global and regional organisations such as the World Trade Organisation, The European Union and the Cairns Group. In all three cases these bodies have powers delegated to them by national economies when it is deemed in their interests to do so.

Turning to the third theme, the combination of both a ‘global’ and ‘local’ understanding of the processes of globalisation has particular resonance for a thesis that examines the values of emerging teachers. Sometimes referred to as a ‘transformationalist’ view (Cockrane and Pain, 2000), processes of globalisation *are* seen to be taking place, be they in economic, political, cultural or social forms. However these processes are more complicated, diverse and less predictable than might have been expected when looking at the first two themes above. Robins (1991) has attacked homogenisation theses arguing that successful global conglomerates will, in time, commercially exploit local cultures and identities rather than attempt to wipe them out. Robins (1991) shows how ‘Global localisation’ (ibid p184), increasingly referred to (Kidd, 2004) as ‘glocalisation’, for example, fast food chains are forced to incorporate local variations in cuisine into the products they sell at a national level if they are to maintain their competitive edge within the national economies in which they operate. There is a recognition of the role that local cultural values play in mediating some of the forces associated with globalisation. One form that such mediation can take at a local level is

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. those countries within the European Union and the Oil Producing Economies (OPEC).



the resistance and contestation by local cultures to any changes that may take place at a global level. Hebdige (1999) refers to types of resistance as ‘bricolage’ where ideas are mixed and matched to suit the needs of the local community. Such processes have resonance when we contemplate the policy borrowing and mixing and matching of policy ideas within national educational contexts discussed later in this chapter. Further evidence of the way in which globalised processes can be contested and reworked into localised hybrids is offered by Hall (1992). He draws attention to cultural hybridisation and how agency is expressed through the variety of ways that local youth subcultures react to global media influences by fusing different cultural influences into the variety of cultural products on offer. Hall (1992) argues that cultural resistance occurs when national and local cultures strengthen as they resist the impact of cultural globalisation. For example Kidd (2004) highlights the way that British Asian ‘bhangra’ has incorporated elements of rap and R&B while still distinctly holding onto its more traditionalist roots.

Finally the *unpredictability* of the sorts of processes that globalisation triggers can be seen in work carried out by Ginsburg (2001). Using two countries in close proximity with each other he shows how the forces of globalisation *do not* always force countries into similar policy actions. He compares the Irish and UK government responses to the forces of globalisation. During much of the 1990s and under the banner of ‘social partnership’, Irish policy makers have attempted to expand public spending while the UK government chose to cut public spending and encourage private investment in an attempt to boost competitiveness and make efficiency gains. These are two very different policy reactions from two different nation states working within similar global contexts.

This thesis acknowledges that international pressures as a result of globalising economic forces do bear down on the three nation states under examination. It also acknowledges that these pressures may well effect the values of teachers in these countries. However I am interested in the ways these values may also be mediated by the national policy contexts, institutional settings and other professionals that these teachers engage with.

## **2.2 Recent policy developments in Norway, Germany and England**

Having looked at some of the assumptions contained within contested claims about the processes of globalisation I wish to focus on some of the key policy ideas and values within education that have currency at a global level and consider to what extent we can generalise about their outcomes at the local level, specifically within the countries of Norway, Germany and England. I referred earlier to the competitive international economy context in which policy discussion and implementation takes place, in particular the ‘global networks of information exchange’ referred to by Giddens (1985). The significance of this particular economic ‘take’ on globalisation can be seen by the existence and global influence of organisations such as The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In the case of the latter an international comparison of league tables is provided (PISA) that compares aspects of educational performance. This in turn *can* justify national and local policy decisions taken as a result of such publications.

Telhaug (1992) identifies a common tendency prevailing during the 1980s in Norway, Germany and the UK (despite their differences in history, culture and political systems) in which a policy-shift in education that moves from an emphasis on the child to that of the economy can be identified. By this he means that values about social justice and personal development are being displaced by the values of competition, quality and productivity. Ball (1998) argues that this ‘new orthodoxy’ in education specifically refers to the relationships between education and Western industrial societies. Three developments, said to be part of the ‘inevitable’ process of change associated with this new orthodoxy, are of particular interest (both at a macro and micro level of analysis) in the work undertaken for this study:

1. Forms of professional self-regulation are being challenged and replaced by external monitoring, assessment and audit (Cooper et al., 1988; Evetts, 2002; MacDonald, 1995).
2. The levels of international competition that are said to exist give rise to national testing of children at a variety of stages of their development to promote performance-enhancing competitiveness between educational institutions (George and Wilding, 2002).

3. The introduction of privatisation and market orientation with competition as a driving force (Busch et al, 2001; Karlsen, 2004) is being introduced as a result of public perception of public sector work, including education, as unproductive and unwilling to change.

Taken collectively these changes in educational policy and practice amount to attempts by various agencies of reform operating at national and international levels to achieve efficiency, calculability, predictability and control over the formal and informal systems of education (Bartlett and Burton, 2003). And yet while *convergence*, as identified above in the themes on globalisation, can clearly be seen within educational policy making in Western industrialised countries and, in particular those of Norway, Germany and England, it can be argued that there are still marked *differences* between educational systems within Europe (Green, 1997) and the Scandinavian countries. For example, these vary from selective and comprehensive systems (Norway despite recent changes largely upholds the unitary/comprehensive ideal within its secondary education system while England and Germany applaud a large degree of selection in many of their schools) and post-compulsory systems which are predominantly work-based (Germany) and those that are mainly school based (England and Norway).

I wish now to look more closely at contemporary policy developments in the three countries under examination for this thesis. I start with an overview of educational policy change within Norway before moving onto recent policy developments in Germany and England.

### **2.2.1 Norway – An overview of recent education policy**

Norway has, until recently, possessed an education system of mass schooling that seemed capable of withstanding the neo-liberal/neo-conservative reforms sweeping across many public sector systems around the globe. Norwegian commentators (e.g. Oftedal A. 1999; Volckmar N & T., 1999) argue however that there has, over the last decade, been a value-shift to the right emphasising freedom and competition within Education. This has resulted in greater priority being given to the interests of business and industry when formulating educational policy. From where have such pressures emerged?

Stephens (2004) notes that in 1988 the OECD requested that the Norwegian government consider the role that performance monitoring might play in any improvement to the education system. By 1992 the government had decided that management by objectives was to be the main principle of government for all public activity. Norwegian research (Christensen, 2002) shows that only since the mid 1990s has public sector work been characterised by management-by-objectives, structural autonomy, devolution, deregulation and open competition. Other Norwegian commentators (Laegreid, 2003) have pointed to clashes in public sector values caused by budget reforms, new management tools, salary reforms and changes in organisational forms in Norwegian public sector organisations. Laegreid (2003) states that:

*We face an enduring tension between politics and administration, between autonomy and control, between centralisation and decentralisation, and between efficiency and other values such as national security, openness, democratic participation and professional management, where no simple solution is to be found [Laegreid, 2003: page 3].*

As is the case in England, the combination of recent Norwegian policy changes within education has also been characterized as increasing both decentralisation and centralisation:

*The determination of school policy seems to be increasingly ambiguous. On the one hand, there is a tendency to give more autonomy to the local level in decentralizing tasks and responsibility to the municipalities and the schools. On the other hand, an opposite tendency is the central authorities' intensification of developing tools for controlling schools' activities. (Helgøy and Homme, 2004: page 5).*

Reform of the curriculum took place in 1997 in Norway with the introduction of *Laerplan 97* (L97). Broadhead (2001) notes that L97:

*combines the compulsory delivery of a core of centrally determined knowledge<sup>3</sup> with the flexibility for teachers to plan and teach with the local environment and resources in mind and in relation to topical issues and learners' interests*  
[Broadhead, 2001: page 18]

Furthermore Broadhead (2001) expresses concern over the extent of subject-related prescription within L97, exceeding anything previously apparent in Norwegian curricular design:

*There are concerns about the imposition of detailed subject content, a requirement for coverage which constrains the teacher to deliver that which others, outside the school or classroom, deem to be not only appropriate but essential in constructing education* [Broadhead, 2001: page 33]

In the same year (1997) The Committee on behalf of the Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs also launched a proposal for a new national evaluative system. Moos and Moller (2003) note that in line with new management practices developing across Norwegian schools at the time, the proposal stated that all levels of education should demonstrate their efficiency in terms of results obtained. In 2001 a more conservative coalition came to power. In terms of educational policy-making emphasis was placed on how teachers' performance should be monitored and evaluated according to specific competence based criteria (Moos and Moller (2003). In 2003 a programme for the development of national tests in Norwegian, Maths and English was established and for the first time in Norwegian history, schools have been asked to publish their results on the net. Helgøy and Homme (2004: page 5) summarise key effects of policy decisions being made as a result of the influence of marketisation:

- Systems for reporting and publishing of performance tables for lower secondary school leaving examinations were introduced in 2003.

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<sup>3</sup> There are seven dimensions to the core curriculum: The spiritual human being; The creative human being; The working human being; the liberally educated human being; the social human being; the environmentally aware human being and the integrated human being (Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1999: page 24)

- In the Spring of 2004 the Secretary of Education introduced national testing at four stages in primary and lower secondary school. The results will be published online.
- Per capita funding has been introduced in a small number of municipalities.
- The introduction of the 2003 Independent School Act authorized private schools to receive financial support from the State. The new act has made it easier to establish independent schools<sup>4</sup>.
- The principle of wage differentiation in education is currently being promoted against the policy of the teacher union.

The three developments I referred to earlier as being part of Ball's (1998) 'New Orthodoxy' are present within the Norwegian setting albeit in their relatively early stages of development. External forms of monitoring, assessment and audit are gradually being introduced into Norwegian schools. National testing of Norwegian school children is also taking place with some of these results being published on the internet. Finally, with the introduction of greater provision and access to independent schools the state unitary sector will, for the first time, face competition from schools within a more competitive marketised environment. At the time of writing however it is still too soon to predict the outcome of these very recent reforms.

### **2.2.2 Germany – An overview of recent education policy**

While significant reform of the education system is *starting* to take place in Norway, echoing much that has happened in England, little evidence of the pace for change adopted in Norway can be identified in Germany although change *is* taking place. As regards to why the pace of change is so slow in Germany Ertl and Phillips (2000) comment that:

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<sup>4</sup> Previously independent schools have been seen as a supplement to the overwhelmingly state education system with private schools being run by religious denominations or alternative educational approaches e.g. Montessori

*This faith in the system, bolstered by a long tradition of the humanistic ideals manifest in the Gymnasium curriculum and the technological preparation at which the Realschulen<sup>5</sup> have excelled, has endured over a remarkably long period and in the face of radical change in the education systems of other countries in Western Europe (Ertl and Phillips, 2000: page 406)*

It is important to note that Germany, in contrast to Norway and England is a federal nation state. One reason changes in educational policy making are slower in Germany (compared to England and Norway) is due to the complexity of the decision making process that requires unanimous agreement from *all* Laender (Federal states) by the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (*Kultusministerkonferenz: KFK*) before the adoption of a nationwide policy e.g. the introduction of comprehensive schools (Ertl and Phillips, 2000). Changes in educational policy in Germany also seemed unnecessary to German policy makers in the early 1990s in light of the dominance of the ‘German Economic Machine’. At the time there seemed to be little reason to question an education system that apparently continued to deliver within the context of one of the most powerful world economies. However in the aftermath of the reunification of the two Germanies the German economy has weakened while at the same time significant criticism has been levied about the teaching profession both internally and from international organisations such as the OECD. Debates about introducing standards, accountability measures, quality monitoring, expanding school choice and school-based management, etc., were taking place throughout the 1990s (Radtke and Weiss, 2000). Towards the end of the decade both central Government and *Länder* believed that the development, the implementation and the evaluation of nationally agreed educational standards was a central element in order to assure the quality of the German education system.

However it was the release of the highly critical report from the OECD Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) in December 2001 on the German system of schooling that was to accelerate discussions by German policy makers about how the German education system needed to change in light of international comparison of the system:

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<sup>5</sup> See page 38 for a description of the school system in Germany

*Average performance in reading literacy in the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary and Luxembourg is significantly below the OECD average while at the same time there are above-average disparities between students from advantaged and disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds [PISA, 2001: page 210]*

The German results came as a shock to domestic educational policy makers because of the firm belief in the value of retaining one of the most selective systems in Europe. The PISA study was released at a time when the demands for revamping the German system and introducing a fundamental school-reform were already taking place. After the release of the PISA findings, the references to "lessons learned from elsewhere" (Phillips, 2000) served as a policy strategy to place external pressure for accelerating domestic educational reform (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003).

After the publication of the results of PISA (2001), the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education<sup>6</sup> named key areas in which the *Länder* would need to bring about change. These included the improvement of pre-primary, primary and secondary education as well as a comprehensive review of the teaching profession (<http://www.eurydice.org/>). Germany has also participated in the international reading study for fourth grade pupils in primary schools (Progress in International Reading Literacy Study – PIRLS). The investigation (involving 10,000 pupils of about 250 schools) was conducted in 2001 and the results were published in April 2003. It concluded that various reforms were necessary in order to develop and enhance the quality of the German education system. The required measures included strategic educational objectives and output-oriented control for central areas of the education system. Additionally, the need for empirically based research into the causes of success or failure of pedagogical processes was also required.

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<sup>6</sup> With the cooperation of the federal states the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Laender in the Federal Republic of Germany) was created in 1948. This organisation has played a central role in the standardisation of the school system throughout post-war Germany and incorporated the five newly created federal states from the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) in October 1990.



In December 2003, the *Länder* agreed upon a set of educational benchmarks<sup>7</sup> for a first general education qualification after grade 10 (for fifteen/sixteen year olds). The Government also supported the *Länder* with regard to the development, implementation and evaluation of educational standards, which were seen by policy makers as important for an assessment of the education system as a whole as well as for curricular development (<http://www.eurydice.org/>). They also agreed upon the necessity of the creation of an overall national reporting system on education as a basis for all programs with measures to improve and to assure the quality of the education system.

Neither school administrators and policy makers concerned with education nor German teachers are used to examining the actual results of their actions and measuring them against what others are achieving under the same conditions. Dorbrich et al note:

*The 'closed classroom door' is the symbolic expression of the way that the system worked at all levels. Learning outcomes were just as rarely the subject of debate about comparisons between different classes in a school as between different schools or different Länder (Dorbrich et al, 2003: page 6).*

With the intention to learn from experiences from elsewhere, German comparative educational researchers (e.g. Oehler, 2003; Reutin, 2004) have started to focus their attention on those educational systems in the PISA study that were ranked top with regard to reading literacy (Finland, Canada, New Zealand) and to selectively borrow from these "more effective" educational systems. For example, the German Institute for International Educational Research is conducting case studies on European educational systems that significantly outperformed the German system in the PISA study (Steiner-Khamsi, 2003). Education policy-makers in different *Länder* and across party lines *have* decided to carry out major reforms. What remains controversial, however, is the specific form these reforms should take, and the extent to which Federal Government should be allowed to interfere in the education policy of the *Länder*.

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<sup>7</sup> Benchmarking refers to the way that many companies study and describe how the structures and ideas contained in one company can best be incorporated into another (Fredriksson (2003). 'Indicators', 'benchmarks', and 'benchmarking' are often used within the same context with the latter term originally used to refer to how marks were made by female mill workers on their benches in order to show how much they had spun in one day.

- In 2003, the Federal Government and the *Länder* initiated measures aimed at a reform of the general schools sector. These included drafting educational standards and measures to help students with learning difficulties as well as students with particular talents (OECD, 2003). However Federal Minister of Education Edelgard Bulmahn emphasised that the individual *Länder* and schools would continue to be able to decide for themselves how to reach the education targets that had been set and declared that the aim of the educational reforms that lay ahead was not to introduce centralised examinations for the whole of Germany (Oehler, 2003).
- Discussions are underway for the setting up of a national reporting system on standards in education (although at the time of writing details of these developments are still unclear). An "assessment agency" is to be set up to monitor national educational and achievement standards. In order to promote the transparency of the educational performance of the different Federal *Länder*, there is to be a national education report, to be compiled by an independent Council of Experts to look into the performance of schools across the federal system.
- Bulmahn has also announced the creation of a federal program under which 4 billion euros is to be invested in the development of all-day schools in the period from 2003 to 2007 in an attempt to see what impact a longer school day has on educational achievement.

Predicting policy change at the subnational level in Germany as a result of policies at a global level is far from easy. The fact that some *Länder* insist on maintaining their independence from central government to decide on their policy for themselves reflects, according to Oehler (2003) their distrust of Federal Government rather than any fundamental differences between education policy-makers within the individual *Länder*. It is also worth considering to what extent German teachers are in a position to accept or reject changes in their working patterns in the short term particularly in the light of the powerful role that trade unions still occupy in German society. However as members of the civil service it is worth noting that German teachers do not have a right to strike.

At the start of this section I said that little evidence of the pace for change adopted in Norway can be identified. But in terms of Ball's (1998) 'New Orthodoxy' one can identify elements of these developments creeping into the German tripartite system albeit largely as a response to the PISA report mentioned above. Whether or not this moves in the direction of the 'performance-enhancing competitiveness' (George and Wilding, 2002) and the 'market orientation' (Karlsen, 2004) that exists in England and is emerging in Norway it is, at the time of writing, too soon to say.

### **2.2.3 England – An overview of recent education policy**

The global economic contraction of the early 1970s put an end to the so-called political consensus that had existed in the UK during most of the post war years bringing about enormous socio-economic and political change in England (Kidd, 2004). The then *perceived* inadequacy of Keynesian demand-led economic management culminated in the 1979 election defeat of Labour and the arrival of 'Thatcherism'. Commenting on one effect that this has had on the teaching profession, Ozga writes:

*The current transformation of the bureaucratised Keynesian welfare state into the small, strong state in the service of the market inevitably brings with it a reduction of professional power and status (Ozga, 1995: p23).*

In sharp contrast to the public spending initiatives associated with the post-war social democratic consensus, the New Right views which Margaret Thatcher espoused emphasised 'traditional values', market discipline and a doctrine of tight fiscal controls on public expenditure (Shain, 1998). Ozga (1995) argues that by the time the conservatives under Thatcher came to power, images of the teaching profession as self-serving and monopolistic were firmly embedded in the public domain. This 'reworking' by government of how teachers were perceived could then, she argues, be used to justify greater state control and regulation of education <sup>8</sup> (Ozga, 1995). One

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<sup>8</sup> The impact of New Right ideology and its belief in the ability of the market to determine institutional success can be seen in private sector involvement in the English education system in four ways. Firstly the *Private Finance Initiative* was a scheme initiated by the Conservative Government to keep down public spending. This set-up has been used to build and refurbish some schools. . Secondly *Outsourcing* is where LEAs pay private companies to run services e.g. catering and cleaning contractors. Thirdly and more significantly *Supply Agencies* who charge schools approximately £170 a day for which the teachers

way of achieving this was the introduction of the Education Reform Act (ERA) in England (1988) which was a watershed for the role of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs). The ERA introduced formula funding and the local management of schools. Dale (1989) argues that these and other reforms undertaken ‘marketised’ education, whilst reclaiming central control through the National Curriculum and assessment and ended teachers’ relative autonomy in curricular matters. Moon (1998) sees the introduction of the ERA as a shift in control of education in the government’s favour. The ERA and subsequent legislation:

*rudely shattered the post-war balance of interest groups or stakeholders. The sharing of responsibility, between government, local authorities and teacher unions, was rejected with the DES, DFE and then DFEE, sometimes in bravura fashion, taking the reins of power [Moon, 1998: page 10]*

In the current policy setting tensions at a national and local level can be identified within the English context. While the state holds strategic control over teaching, curriculum and assessment, school heads develop the market strategy of individual schools and increasingly sixth form colleges. Power relationships have been said to be redefined in favour of management due to reduced budgets; increased scrutiny in terms of costs and efficiency; changes in contract, and greater control over work (Bottery, 1996); and the outcomes of ‘good’ teaching are increasingly being defined by a number of statistical indicators (Ball, 1994). These indicators of performance can be compared nationally (e.g. OFSTED league tables) and internationally (e.g. numeracy statistics published and compared internationally by the OECD via the PISA reports). In such cases some commentators argue that the pressure to perform that such comparisons impose on teachers, stifles creativity and autonomy (Gewirtz, 2001). Importantly for the study, Johnson and Steinberg (2004) argue that despite their apparent differences in political values both Thatcherism and Blairism represent historical phases of neo-liberalism. Since 1997 New Labour have come into power the regulatory procedures for teachers put in place under previous conservative regimes, remain, largely unchanged (Clarke et al, 2000, Phillips and Furlong 2001).

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will get a maximum of £100 (Howard, 2002). Finally the *Intervention* of private companies brought in to make LEAs more ‘effective’.

We can see therefore that the three developments related to the 'New Orthodoxy' I discussed above are present within the English setting i.e. the development of an audit culture in schools; the practice of performance enhancing competitiveness and a more market driven orientation of schools within the communities they are located. It is however worth noting that these 'ingredients' have been present in England for a far greater period of time than in either of the other two national settings and one might therefore expect these to be more embedded within the institutions in which these teachers work. Having looked at recent policy developments in these three countries I wish now to offer a very brief examination of the schooling systems in Norway, Germany and England. Such an overview is necessarily schematic and yet will serve to show how teachers in this study are being professionally socialised into very different learning environments where the differences in school systems, curriculum and forms of assessment provide very different mediating contexts for the construction of teachers' values and their identities.

### **2.3 The Norwegian system of schooling**

Compulsory education has existed in some form in Norway for over 250 years. Seven years of education was compulsory from 1889 and this was extended by two years in 1969. Major school reforms in the 1950s, 60s and 70s featured radical breaks with the state tradition that had existed in earlier times. This earlier arrangement was based on streaming students into various types of schools. The 'slow' students could be identified and separated from the 'normal' and 'gifted' ones and those of a practical bent could be grouped separately as could also those more inclined to theoretical studies.

However, social democratic school reforms of the 1960s and 1970s rejected this type of psychology, choosing rather to view each student as unique and therefore launched reforms which aimed to group together students with different backgrounds (Ofstedal, 1999). Until educational reform in Norway in 1977 there were a variety of upper secondary educational possibilities offering different types of education and training but this was then replaced by a single system providing both academic and vocational training. The introduction of comprehensive/unitary education broke with the rationale of previous educational systems in Norway in which academic subjects, knowledge and

a clear acceptance of individual differences in learning capacity were foundations of the system (Tjeldvoll, 2002).

From the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1997 the starting age in school was lowered to six years meaning that compulsory education is now for 10 years. Compulsory education covers the six to sixteen age range via the *Grunskole*. This compulsory stage starts with primary education (*Barneskoler*) and caters for children aged six to thirteen. Lower secondary schools (*Ungdomsskoler*) then take students to the age of sixteen. The majority of ‘upper secondary’ schools (*Videregaende Skole*) cover the sixteen to nineteen age ranges and deliver both general studies and vocational training. This education normally allows the student to enter a trade school, college or university (Arang, 1997). Primary and lower secondary schools are founded on the principle of a unified educational system that serves the community with an “equal and adaptable education for all in a coordinated system based on a single general curriculum” (Arang, 1997: p4). It is quite common to find one type of school that combines both primary and lower secondary and indeed teachers are trained to cater for both age ranges. We can characterise the Norwegian system of schooling as a philosophy containing within it a school-focussed and community-focussed system of education.

## **2.4 The German system of schooling**

In sharp contrast to the notion of equality-as-sameness that can be found in the Norwegian educational system, and arguably within the comprehensive system (at least in relation to the national curriculum entitlement) in England, the social function of the tripartite system of education in Germany is one that allocates or confers different roles/status to the pupils who attend the types of schooling available (and the teachers who work in them). Furthermore the allocation of job-roles to these pupils in social and professional activities, in most cases, is strongly determined by the type of school they attend.

Germany has never, except during the Nazi period, had a centralised and uniform education system at a national level (Pepin, 1998). The entire school system in Germany comes under the supervision and responsibility of the 16 Länder (West et al., 1999) which are more or less autonomous in matters of policy (Sander, 1996). Germany

retains a selection system after primary education. This selection process and the system of schooling built upon it has been subject, both in the past and present, to international criticism<sup>9</sup>. According to the basic law (*Grundgesetz*), the school system, including private schools, is under state supervision. Children finish their primary education at 10 years of age and then have the possibility to move to one of four general school types in Germany. School attendance is compulsory from the ages of six to 18 i.e. for 12 years. To satisfy the compulsory schooling requirement, pupils must attend a full-time school for nine (in some states ten) years with some then attending a part-time vocational school (*Berufsschule*<sup>10</sup>) to satisfy the compulsory vocational schooling requirement unless they continue their schooling at a full-time general education or vocational secondary school. Attendance at all public schools is free of charge.

The secondary school system is characterised by division into various educational tracks which have their own leaving certificates and qualifications<sup>11</sup>. The majority of *Länder* have a tripartite system of schooling containing the following types of school: the *Hauptschule*, the *Realschule* and the *Gymnasium*. However in some *Länder* there are also *Gesamtschule*<sup>12</sup>.

The *Hauptschule*<sup>13</sup> provides a basic education with preparation for employment in manufacturing industry or manual work. This secondary general school imparts a basic general education to its pupils. Every pupil receives instruction in German, mathematics, the natural sciences, the social sciences and one foreign language (usually English) as well as vocational orientation to ease the transition from school to working

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<sup>9</sup> Ertl and Phillips (2000) note that in 1972 OECD inspectors criticised the German provisions for secondary education. More recently the OECD's PISA report (2002) ranked German Education 25<sup>th</sup> out of 32 nations for Maths and reading

<sup>10</sup> These schools offer vocational education for 15-16 year olds usually for three and a half years. Students will take contracts with local companies for three days a week attending school for the other two days. When they leave, many will then go onto *Fachhochschule* (universities of applied science).

<sup>11</sup> As I shall show later in this chapter, this also has implications for the status of teachers working in these schools.

<sup>12</sup> The practices in access and allocation to schools vary between *Länder*. Parental choice is a legal right in some *Länder* and catchment areas exist in some *Länder* for some types of secondary schools, mainly for *Hauptschule*. The recommendation of pupil's primary school is taken as a basis for decision or guidance about the future school. In all cases this is combined with detailed consultation of parents. For certain school types admission is dependent on pupils demonstrating a certain level of ability and/or the capacity of the chosen school (Hirvenoja, 1999: page 4)

<sup>13</sup> Ertl and Phillips (2000) note that this type of schooling in Germany currently faces a bad name with these schools sometimes being referred to as *Restschule* (remainder or 'sink schools') where kids that cannot enter the other higher profile schools 'end up'.

life. Young people who leave this type of secondary general school after five or six years usually enter a vocational training programme (and attend a part-time vocational schools *Berufsschule*) until at least the age of 18. The secondary general school certificate is generally used to gain acceptance to vocational training programmes offered within the framework of the system and can open the door to many occupations in the craft trade and industry for which formal training is required.

The *Realschule* provides preparation for employment in the technical, financial, commercial and middle management sectors. The *Realschule* is considered to sit academically somewhere between the Hauptschule and the Gymnasium. As a rule it encompasses six years of schooling, grades 5 through till 10, and leads to an intermediate school certificate qualifying the recipient to continue his or her education at upper level schools such as a full-time vocational school (*Berufsfachschule*) or a vocationally oriented upper secondary school (*Fachoberschule*).

Broadly similar to the English Grammar school, the *Gymnasium* consists of lower and upper secondary schools and has an academic profile providing a nine-year comprehensive general education to its pupils. In the upper stage of the *Gymnasium*, which encompasses grades 11 through to 13 (in four states grades 10 through till 12) or grades 11-12), a course system has replaced the conventional classes. Although certain subjects or groups of subjects are still compulsory, the wide range of available courses affords pupils in the upper stage of this type of school ample opportunity to individually structure their coursework to emphasise certain fields. Subjects are divided into three general categories:

1. Language, literature and art
2. The social sciences<sup>14</sup>
3. Mathematics, science and technology

Each of these three categories must be represented among the courses taken by each pupil through the end of upper secondary instruction, including the Abitur examination,

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<sup>14</sup> It is perhaps worth noting here that because of the nature of my sample of German teachers – they are all studying to become gymnasium teachers – they will all have had a social science component to their education and this must influence the responses they make in their interviews with me.



which covers four subjects. Upon completing 13 years of schooling and passing the Abitur examination, the pupil is awarded the “certificate of general higher education entrance qualification” (Zeugnis der allgemeinen Hochschulreife). This certificate (which in four states can presently be earned upon completion of 12 years of schooling) entitles the recipient to study the subject of his or her choice at a university or equivalent institution.

While not so common in all Laender, the Gesamtschule (the closest English equivalent would be the comprehensive<sup>15</sup> school) provides a general education in a setting where children of all abilities attend. Currently 5.6 % of students attend private general schools and 6.6 % of students attend private vocational schools. Their percentage of the total number of students across Germany has risen slightly since 1992 (by 0.8 and 1.5 percentage points) (Dorbrich et al., 2003 page 6). The German tripartite system is therefore one that is hierarchical both in the selection system it deploys for its pupils and, as we shall see below, for the status accorded to teachers teaching in its different types of schools.

## **2.5 The English schooling system**

Most schools in England are either categorised by the term ‘primary’ covering the age range from six to eleven, ‘secondary’ from eleven to either sixteen or eighteen<sup>16</sup> or ‘tertiary’ to account for students generally over the age eighteen. In England 95 per cent of secondary schools are comprehensive (cater for a wide variety of ability ranges) although it is worth noting that comprehensive schools vary enormously depending on their geographical location, type of leadership and size of school. Other forms of ‘selective schooling’ exist including Specialist schools, ‘Grammar Schools’ for so-called ‘academic’ children and specialist schools teaching subjects of the national curriculum pre-16 with a specific specialist subject focus. All state schools (including those supported by religious bodies) are required to follow the national curriculum.

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<sup>15</sup> Ertl and Phillips (2000) note that when talking about comprehensive schools in Germany: “it is clear that this type of secondary school has always been regarded as experimental in the main educational discussions...the issue of comprehensive schooling was no longer on the educational agenda in Germany as early as the mid-1980s” (Ertl and Phillips, 2000: page 393)

<sup>16</sup> This can vary depending on whether or not secondary schools possess ‘sixth forms’ that their sixteen year olds progress onto. In the absence of sixth forms in secondary schools many students progress onto ‘Sixth Form Colleges’.

Private schools (these charge fees and cater for around 7 per cent of the school age population) are not obliged to follow the national curriculum (West et al, 1999). 'Post-16'<sup>17</sup> education is provided in schools, sixth form colleges, tertiary colleges and further education colleges. Both general education courses and vocational education<sup>18</sup> courses are provided, but the precise course offer varies between institutions. Further education colleges are the main provider of vocational training but they also provide general education (West et al, 1999).

Broadhead (2001) notes that English education policy locates national standards, rather than pupil autonomy, at the heart of school effectiveness. The national curriculum in England requires all pupils from the age of 5 to 16 years to be taught a prescribed range of subjects. The 1988 Education Reform Act defined 'core' subjects: mathematics, English and science, and 'foundation' subjects, such as history, for example. Schools and teachers were obliged to follow programmes of study and attainment targets were established by the DES. In addition national testing of pupils at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16 was introduced. However in post-compulsory secondary education there are no compulsory subjects (West et al, 1999). At the time of writing the entire post-14 provision in England is under review. This is part of an overall strategy to halt a drop out rate at 16 years for many students providing a 14-19 'seamless' continuum in education. This would also allow many 14 year olds to be excused sections of the national curriculum to enable them to pursue training courses for a range of occupations (Kingston, 2002). However any outcome of reforms to this sector of education is likely to continue the 'New Tripartism' (Pring, 1996) in English education that differentiates between 'academic', 'vocational' and 'applied' learning pathways. We can therefore characterise the English system of schooling as one containing a philosophy that embraces a competitive, individual and standards based system of education

## **2.6 Teacher training**

This section will examine differences in the preparation of teachers in the three countries under scrutiny for this study and will focus on values encountered by teachers

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<sup>17</sup> This term is increasingly becoming problematic in the English context because of the widespread but as yet unclear impact of 14-19 educational reforms currently being undertaken by the Blair government.

<sup>18</sup> The term 'vocational education' is widely contested both historically and geographically in the UK and within and between European countries.

during their training. Such a section is necessary when considering the range of values that student-teachers are exposed to about the nature of teaching. The section looks at teacher training in Norway, Germany and England in that order.

### **2.6.1 The Preparation of Teachers in Norway**

In sharp contrast to both Germany and England, Norway lacks a social elite with a tradition of classical education or of any significant private education system. Norwegian writer Tjeldvoll (2002) notes that the plague in the middle ages along with the Liberal Constitution of 1814 removed the socio-economic, cultural and political foundations for a Norwegian education elite. For most Norwegians this has meant that equality is valued over and above cultural or academic achievements (Stephens, 2004). What class structure that does exist arrived significantly later to Norway than to many other industrialised countries and within a context of a small population united (and separated) by its extraordinary land features. Tjeldvoll (2002) has argued that this has led to an 'anti-intellectualism' that places greater importance on local knowledge and practical skills rather than on more classical based knowledge. Furthermore he argues that the latter is sometimes associated with social arrogance in Norway.

In general two different models exist for teacher training in Norway. College based teacher training caters for primary and lower secondary levels (6-14 years of age) and is generalist in terms of the subject matter covered. University-based teacher training programs focus on upper secondary levels (14-16 years) and focus on more subject specific training. Teacher training colleges were founded in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with no formal extended training existing prior to this time (Hansen and Simonsen, 2001). Training to become a primary/lower secondary school teacher takes place in a college of education. This generalist teacher education lasts four years and includes two years of compulsory basic training in the Norwegian language; mathematics; religion and ethics; natural sciences and environmental and social studies. This also includes one year of educational theory and practice and sixteen-eighteen weeks practice over a three-year period. Subject teachers are mainly educated in either a college of education, one of the universities, a scientific college or conservatory. The training at the college of education normally takes three years. The university courses generally last four years for those taking a lower degree and six years for those taking a

higher degree. Teachers in technical and vocational education are mainly employed within the upper secondary education system in Norway. Here it is possible to enter teaching from outside the profession – the qualification partially coming from the fact that the trainee has worked within that particular sector. This work experience must have been for at least four years.

The equivalent of the PGCE in Norway differs from its English version because in Norway trainee teachers can enter a one-year teacher education course on the basis of vocational qualifications and not just on the basis of having a degree. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in England where trainee teachers are more frequently post-graduate students - the implication being that you study an academic degree prior to the PGCE<sup>19</sup>. In Norway it is possible to hold a plumber's vocational certificate and then train to become a teacher of plumbing. There is a requirement to do some extra theoretical training but the 'currency' of vocational and academic experience is rather similar in Norway whereas in England there is a sense that the academic dominates the vocational, thereby devaluing the currency of the latter. This *dualism* does not exist in Norwegian culture. As I found out on my trips to Norway, a number of the student teachers on PGCE courses who are on post-graduate and post-occupational courses have a vocational background e.g. social workers, nurses, plumbers, and most notably, oil workers.

An anti-authoritarian stance is embedded within the teaching profession and reflected in many of the values communicated to teachers during their training (Stephens, 2004). The teacher can be seen as more of a 'guide/supervisor' (Broadhead, 2001). Teachers in Norway also tend to be far more 'generalist' than their English counterparts and this is, in part, due to the fact that teachers are trained in Norway to teach a wider age range than many of their European counterparts. This means they might be expected to teach Norwegian, mathematics, integrated science, English, history, or social studies. This requirement that they are 'generalist' rather than specialist in subject orientation has an impact on their experience as student teachers. Teachers are qualified to teach the breadth of the national curriculum, and this requires an intense reading workload during

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<sup>19</sup> This is the case for the majority of Secondary trained teachers in England however most primary school teachers take the Bachelor of Education (B.Ed) degree which incorporates both academic studies and subject pedagogy for this particular phase.

their period of study. In their fourth year at the university college where this research took place, many trainee teachers specialize practically in mathematics or special educational needs and when they apply for positions they would emphasise that their particular expertise lies in certain subject domains or special needs. In practice head teachers will recruit teachers with strengths in two or three subjects and most of them will end teaching up to three subjects.

Teacher training in Norway has been state mandated and *knowledge* based and is in contrast to the more skills based approach taken by teacher-trainers in England. Stephens et al (2001) showed that while similarities were apparent relating to state control and funding and certain centrally prescribed classroom skills, differences were more evident. In their words:

*Teacher training in England seeks to inculcate in beginning teachers the practical skills and willingness necessary for instructing pupils in National Curriculum subjects, for managing classroom discipline, for showing due care in accordance with law and for acting as a 'social control agent' of the state. Teacher education in Norway aims to help beginning teachers to understand and reflect upon theories of education, to instruct pupils in National Curriculum subjects, to foster self-discipline among pupils, to nurture a carer role in the classroom, and to act in the spirit of a 'cultural emissary' of the state [Stephens et al, 2001: page 1]*

One unique feature of the Norwegian system is the way in which some colleges of education (including the one in which my sample of trainees came from) give student teachers a special week of practical training during which they are given responsibility for running the whole school (Hansen and Simonsen, 2001). The roles of head teacher, deputy and other roles of responsibility are designated to trainee teachers while others take on full time responsibility for teaching their subjects. This is carried out under the supervision of a specially designated member of staff. Not only does this situation provide a unique opportunity for trainee teachers to see the 'bigger picture' in how institutions function but it also serves as an example of how social democratic values are deployed in much of Norwegian culture.

Within the categories of teacher (pre-school, general; subject and teachers of technical and vocational subjects) there are, correspondingly, three levels of educational qualification called: *Laerer*, *Adjunkt* and *Lektor*. These titles are awarded on the basis of their years of further education. In Norway a distinction must be made between ‘in-service training’ and ‘further education’. The former deals with the updating and renewal of professional and teaching knowledge and does not lead to formal qualifications whereas the latter has clearly defined content and is directly related to professional qualifications with formal examinations. In practice this means that teachers teaching the 14-16 age range will probably have had one or two years extra subject study at university prior to their teacher training or, in very rare circumstances, teachers will return to full time study in order to ‘jump’ from the pre-14 to post-14 age range. These titles are awarded on the basis of four, five and six to seven years of study. We can see therefore how Norwegian teacher training embraces a variety of values that embrace equality of status (both of pupils and staff), anti-authoritarianism, and inclusive learning (the latter by way of ‘default’ i.e. the nature of the comprehensive system of schooling).

### **2.6.2 The preparation of teachers in Germany**

In contrast, in the German context Kron (2000) argues that teachers at secondary level are ‘instructors’ rather than educators. By this he means that they see themselves as subject specialists with priority being given to teaching and assessment whereas other roles such as “educating, advising and innovating are of minor importance” to teachers of this age range (Kron, 2000: page 173). This is in sharp contrast to the more facilitating role that teachers possess in Norway and gives rise to a process whereby teacher status is significantly more enhanced by subject taught rather than any commitment to the welfare of the child. The role of ‘educator’ is one that lends itself more to the role/status of primary school teaching in Germany i.e. there is a greater acceptance of the role the primary teacher has for the overall development of the child rather than just the academic.

Unlike the more unified system of training in Norway, teacher training in Germany varies depending on the type of school the teacher is being prepared for. Pathways to become teachers in Germany are varied despite what may seem, to the outsider, like a

unified university entry route. Since the early 1970s, most teacher-training colleges have been integrated into the universities, and attempts have been made to upgrade academically the courses formerly offered by them, while at the same time introducing some more practically and professionally relevant elements into the studies of future Gymnasium teachers. Sander notes that the:

*integration of TE [teacher education my parenthesis] for all types of schools into universities has turned out to be hardly more than a formal exercise. Structures and content of TE as well as the typology and characteristics of staff and students of the two major categories of teachers (Grund- und Hauptschullehrer - primary and lower secondary school teachers; Gymnasiallehrer - grammar school teachers) have remained distinct and separate even inside a university-based education for all [Sander, 1996: page 4]*

In fact in some federal states teachers entering careers in grammar schools or vocational and commercial schools will have been trained at universities or colleges of advanced technology (*Technische Hochschule*) whereas most other teachers will have been trained in teacher training colleges (*Pädagogische Hochschule*). The inequality inside a formal system of university education for all teachers that does not give equal treatment to all teachers accounts for why some Gymnasium teachers feel that they are inadequately trained for the demands of the classroom (Reutin, 2004).

Six basic types of teacher-education prepare teachers for different careers and are also linked to different job definitions, workplace conditions, social statuses and professional privileges (Reutin, 2004). All of them will offer study in a minimum of two teaching subjects (Fächer or Fachrichtungen), with restrictions on possible combinations in some Länder. The six types are: *Grundschullehrer* (Primary school teachers); *Grund- und Hauptschullehrer* (teachers for primary/lower secondary schools); *Realschullehrer* (teachers for middle secondary schools); teachers for the Gymnasium and upper secondary schools of general Education; teachers for vocational and technical schools; and teachers for children with disabilities (Sander, 1996: page 8). This formal system of university education for teachers is embedded in a highly hierarchical structure of teacher education faculties.

A school-based model of training has been in place since the development of the Prussian state education system in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Keitel, 1992). In broad outline the German system requires students to study two academic subjects at University for a minimum of three years although many German university students take considerably longer in their degree studies and this period depends on what type of teacher the trainee is going to become (see below). Upon completion of their course of study, all prospective teachers must pass an initial state examination. This is followed by a period of practical training (usually 24 months), which includes preparatory seminars and practice teaching in schools and followed by a second state examination. Students who have passed the examination to enter the second phase as a rule become civil servants and are paid, although on a salary somewhat less than that of a qualified teacher. To understand the variation in the status of German teachers it is important to explain briefly the entry requirements to the profession – which vary according to which type of school one may teach in. The *Abitur* (A-Level) which is the requirement for study at higher education and the *Erste Staatliche Prüfung für das Lehramt an Grund-und Hauptschulen, Realschulen, Gymnasien* (University degree in form of the First State Examination For Teaching at *Grund-und Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium*) form the entry requirements for teacher training. According to the tripartite system, the type of degree route chosen determines the training route relevant to a particular category of school. To become a teacher in a *Hauptschule* 3-4 years of study at a *Pädagogische Hochschule* (teacher training college) or university is required. The course is similar to that of the BEd. degree in England. A specialist approach to the study of two to three subjects (4-5 and 5-6 years respectively) is required for teaching at the *Realschule* and *Gymnasium*. On successful completion of the programme students are awarded Qualified Teacher Status appropriate to their chosen school type within the tripartite education system. Jones (2001) notes that the:

*Distinction that exists between the three categories of teaching qualifications manifests itself in the separate training programmes and is legally endorsed in salary differentials, allocation of teaching hours per week and status within the civil service career structure [Jones, 2001: page 68].*

Jones (2001) also notes that while teachers in the *Realschule*, *Hauptschule*, and *Grundschule* possess civil servant status, they are on a lower salary scale than their



gymnasium colleagues and their opportunities for career progression are restricted. We can therefore see how teacher training in Germany mostly takes place within hierarchical, differentiated, fragmented contexts. This differentiation can further lead to different economic and social status positions depending on the kind of training received.

### **2.6.3 The preparation of teachers in England**

Training to teach in England in recent years has taken a variety of forms including full-time, part-time, undergraduate and postgraduate routes and more recently school based training via the Graduate Teacher Training pathway (Petty, 2004). Teachers in state schools in England must have Qualified Teacher Status if they are to work permanently in primary and secondary schools although this is still not necessary for employment within the private sector. Teachers in England must also complete an induction period of three terms after gaining their Qualified Teacher Status.

The most common route into teaching (and the route that the English sample for this thesis has been taken) is via the Post Graduate certificate in Education (PGCE). The PGCE has, until the time of writing been based around the notion of a 'one academic year' model. In sharp contrast to both the Norwegian and German systems there have been no structural links in this training year with the preceding degree taken by the student or the first year as a 'newly qualified teacher' i.e. the PGCE is a discrete course with no institutional connection to the previous degree. English beginning teachers spend twenty-four weeks out of thirty-six weeks of the course in school (Maguire, 2001). The English PGCE school-based requirement (18 weeks primary, and 24 weeks secondary) is significantly higher, in terms of time spent in school, than any other European country. In many countries students move much more flexibly in the week, even day, between the university as study centre and the schools (Moon, 1998). Prior to the PGCE the degree held by the trainee teacher should be related to the subject they wish to teach (although in practice this very often can be left up to the discretion of admission tutors at the various institutions of training). The variety of these routes into teaching takes into account tensions in the recruitment of teachers in England.

Alternative pathways into teaching include the BEd (Bachelor of Education) which comprises of a four year degree course leading to the award of QTS. Teachers train and study for a degree in education combined with other subjects or in some cases choosing a degree in one subject and combining it with teacher training. Employment based training routes have become, in recent years, increasingly popular i.e. the Graduate Teacher Training Programme (GTP). This means that anybody who has a degree can apply to work in a school and during the course of a year receive their teacher training ‘on-the-job’. Graduate trainees also receive some of their training from a university although this is significantly less than the period in University that their counterparts on the PGCE will receive.

In England teacher training is now controlled by the Training and Development Agency and regulated by The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Briefly, under the auspices of the then Conservative Education Minister Ken Clarke, a form of national curriculum for initial teacher training in England and Wales was introduced in 1992, in which the training model was very much a skills based one. New requirements came into force after September 1999 effecting all those entering teacher training for the first time in what, for Tickle (2000) amounted to a re-introduction of a compulsory probationary period<sup>20</sup> for all school teachers in England. While Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) continued to be awarded by the DfES on completion of pre-service training, new entrants were to become ineligible for continued employment if they did not satisfactory complete the induction period of a full school year (or its equivalent for part-time or temporary contract teachers, in portions up to a maximum five year cut-off point after provisional QTS was awarded). Satisfactory completion is judged by meeting all the induction Standards, assessed at defined points during the year, through formalized procedures of classroom observation and documented reporting on performance (Tickle, 2000). Furlong et al (2000) argue that the ‘philosophy’ that underpins teacher training in England comprises four main elements: Firstly the facts, concepts and skills the student requires to help pupils learn; Secondly; how these facts,

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<sup>20</sup> The abolition of the probationary year for teachers in 1991 by the then Department for Education (on grounds that it was ineffective for weeding out weak performers) was over turned in the *Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998* which introduced new requirements for the setting of *induction standards*, monitoring of the performance of new teachers, the administration of assessment procedures and possible de-registration of individuals at the end of their first year (Tickle, 2000).

concepts and skills are best taught; Thirdly, the theory and practice of education, including past and present ideas about its purposes, how schools are organised and run, the physical and mental development of children, the historical and social context of schooling and the roles and responsibilities of teachers; Fourthly, practice and teaching in classrooms (Furlong et al, 2000). This is not to say that all institutions teach these elements to their trainees in this order but to recognise that these underpin most teacher training courses. We can see therefore that the training of teachers in England takes place under a variety of pathways and within a much greater diversity of types of school than in either the Norwegian and German settings. Furthermore, and in contrast to both Norwegian and German settings, there is no relationship between the educational background (i.e. the type of school the trainee has attended) and the type of school the trainee will eventually qualify to teach in.

## **2.7 Conclusions**

The chapter paints a landscape within which the teachers in this study are located. Such a landscape will inflect both their teacher identities and their professional values. The chapter recognises that the complexities and unpredictable nature of the processes of globalisation can only fully be understood when analysis recognises the interaction between the global and the local and the tensions between these in the three settings under examination in this thesis. The chapter also recognises the usefulness of identifying trends in policy making at a global level but argues that while some similarity in developments of policy-making are taking place in the three countries under examination the pace of change varies within the three countries. Cultural specificities exist that account for the variety of ways policies are interpreted and implemented at national, regional and local levels. While it is possible to argue that policy directions in the three countries under examination may now be moving in broadly similar directions, the existence of different education systems partly act as a mediating factor in how these policy directions may impact on teachers in those countries. The ‘playing out’ of what it means to be a teacher varies from country to country as do the variety of teaching cultures and histories that inculcate the emerging newly qualified teacher with a range and diversity of values concerning teachers. It is these values that I wish to examine in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Three – Teachers’ values**

This study is concerned with the sorts of value positions and perspectives that teachers in three different national settings have identified as central to their professional identity. This chapter will explore what is already known about teachers’ values as they move from deciding to teach, through training and into their first teaching posts. By teachers’ ‘values’ I refer what teachers regard as worthwhile. These values are constructed over time, through social interaction in the home, school, community and wider social setting. Values, in this broad sense, can include particular ‘goals’ (e.g. happiness and welfare), types of behaviour (e.g. keeping promises and treating people with respect) or certain qualities of character (e.g. generosity and loyalty) (Cribb and Barber, 2000). Some of these values may be more stable and less resistant to change, while others will be more susceptible to influence. Before any decision is made to teach, some values (e.g. those concerning justice, fairness, respect for different people etc) will have already been established before embarking on teacher training programmes and may well influence this occupational choice. Values are carried by people but they can change, be extended and elaborated on through life experience. Values are also not of a piece but can come into tension and conflict with the values that circulate within the institutions in which people work. This in turn can create dissonance for teachers if these values differ from some of their own. This chapter explores these issues by firstly considering why intending teachers chose teaching as occupation. It then examines what values teachers are exposed to during their training period before finally examining the transition from training to practical experience and the effects this might have on their values.

### **3.1 Why do intending teachers consider teaching as an occupation?**

In this chapter, I make a distinction when examining literature on teachers’ values, between those that are ‘altruistic’ and those that are ‘pragmatic’. This dichotomy, while not unproblematic, serves as a useful starting point in exploring the different sorts of values that influence the initial decision to become a teacher. There is much in the literature on teachers’ decisions to teach that reveals the existence of altruistic values of teachers (e.g. Bogue, 1991; Daniel & Ferrel, 1991; Mimbs et al, 1998; Sachs, 2000).

By 'altruism' I refer to a regard for others as a principle of action. In an American study of community college teachers, a third of those interviewed were described by Mimbs et al (1998) as being 'altruistic' in their desire to "make a difference in the lives of the pupils they teach" (ibid p44). These teachers talked about their need to "nurture" and their desire to "inspire" with many claiming that teaching was a 'calling' in their life influenced by their desire to work with and help young people. Teaching has been variously described as a 'vocation of care' (Collay, 2006) and a 'journey of the heart' (Bogue, 1991). Values associated with this occupation have included a commitment to children's welfare, justice, equality and the intellectual growth of the child (Eisenberg, 2002). Hobson et al (2004), in their six-year longitudinal study of 4,393 teachers' experiences in England of initial teacher training, induction and early professional development found that many of their respondents cited the challenging nature of the job as a reason for going into teaching. The respondents also wanted "to give something back to the community". There is a sense then that many intending teachers are, to some extent, driven by values reflecting goals, types of behavior and qualities of character that can, in a general sense, be described as altruistic.

There are also some pragmatic values that intending teachers report when considering going into teaching e.g. economic security. It has been argued that many graduates in the UK are drawn into teaching as a way of resolving the difficulties faced with mounting debts accrued at university<sup>21</sup> (Woods and Jeffrey, 2004). In England, students of many subject disciplines are given financial incentives to embark on teacher training. This can, in some cases, have the effect of drawing some into teaching that previously might not have considered teaching as a career. For example, in September 2006 teachers in England taking the PGCE in Religious Education were given a £9000 training grant because of the perceived shortages of qualified RE teachers. This resulted in an unprecedented record number of applications for training in this subject area. It was claimed that many of these graduates were applying for such courses because of the extra bursary (Wright, 2006). Fullick (2004) also draws attention to the financial benefits teaching offers in the UK. She is quick to remind the reader that on closer examination, the work load is not always commensurate with the salaries that most teachers receive. Some teachers in Hobson et al's (2004) study also valued the long

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<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that the English PGCE is, in comparison to many other Countries, a relatively quick route into teaching.

holidays, staying involved in a subject specialism, job security, and the professional status of teaching (ibid page 2). For example the civil servant status that most Gymnasium teachers in Germany attain means that many young people are entering a profession with conditions of service that are envied by many colleagues working in other countries as well as by other occupational groups in Germany (Reutin, 2004). We can see therefore how economic security, social status and particular working conditions are values, of a sort that act as significant ‘pull factors’ in drawing some people into teaching.

Many intending teachers’ values are based around a commitment to others as a principle of action. But it would be naïve not to acknowledge the pragmatic factors that people weigh up simultaneously when thinking of becoming a teacher. Attempting to abstractly define the limits of altruistic or pragmatic values is both unwise and unhelpful as these values are neither mutually exclusive nor fixed in stone. Teachers can be driven by both kinds of values. Going back to my previous example of German Gymnasium teachers while they may clearly be influenced by, for example, economic security and social status, many will also be ‘pulled’ into teaching by more altruistic values e.g. nurturing children and a love of their subject. In this way we can see that different values that might seem superficially incompatible can co-exist with each other.

Some values are formed, adopted and adapted by teachers as they move from one period of their personal and professional development to the next i.e. from childhood, to that of being a teenager to student to that of trainee teacher and finally as a qualified teacher. Maguire and Dillon (2001) acknowledge this when they state that:

*Teachers teach in the way they do not just because of the skills they have or have not learned. The ways they teach are also grounded in their backgrounds, their biographies, in the kind of teachers they have become* [Maguire and Dillon, 2001: page 4]

Many intending teachers will have formed some of their values about teaching before the commencement of their teacher education (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Rust, 1994). These values will have been influenced both outside and within the spheres of formal education. For example, some intending teachers’ values will stem from the fact

that one or more parents are teachers. Some will be drawn into teaching because of experiences of helping others when young themselves e.g. when assisting friends, brothers and sisters with homework. Furthermore having experienced classrooms for many years as students themselves, frequently teachers are also said to have internalized many of the values of their own teachers through an ‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie 1975; Dunkin, Precians, & Nettle, 1994 and Anderson & Piazza, 1996). American researchers Zeichner, Tabachnick and Densmore’ (1987) have argued that the many hours that prospective teachers spend as pupils in the classroom during what they call an ‘apprenticeship’, plays a greater role in shaping their values about education than any subsequent training they receive. Rather than accepting the idea that student teachers change and modify their views on teaching through classroom experience, they argue that what takes place is an elaboration of previously existing perspectives and a selective focus on experiences that validate their own perspectives. These values, they believe, remain latent during formal training but play a major part in teacher socialisation once in the classroom, particularly when the teacher is stressed. For example, a teacher training to teach in a comprehensive school for the first time, who themselves experienced a grammar school education might be more prone to blame the ‘inability of pupils’ to understand what is taught rather than reflect on their own teaching styles as a source of that ‘inability’. This aspect of socialisation involves negotiations between the teacher’s values, beliefs and intentions and the structural conditions of the school.

The sheer enjoyment (for some) of being a pupil at school can instill a desire to recreate those experiences for others. This does, however, open up the question of what sort of experience they have had of education that they wish to recreate for others. For some, however, whose encounters at school were less enjoyable, the desire to ‘do things differently’ from their own teachers can also act as a powerful motivation factor driving people into teaching (Czerniawski, 1999). In this case, early negative experiences of formal education may create different set of values about education within the intending teacher than the ones circulating when that teacher was a pupil. If, for example trainee teacher ‘A’ experienced school as a place with an ethos that valued authority, conformity and academic excellence then it is possible that the trainee will carry (or reject) those same values into their professional training. Equally if trainee teacher ‘B’ went to a school in which individuality, creativity and vocational/academic parity of

esteem were valued then it is also possible that these are the values the trainee will adopt (or reject) as their own once in training. As ‘frames of reference’ (Flores and Day, 2006) such experience-related values can influence everything from the resources teachers prepare, to the relationships they form with their students to the particular personal style of teaching chosen to adopt in the classroom.

This section has argued that intending teachers enter their training with sets of altruistic and pragmatic values. These values relate to and come from their experiences of school, be they positive or negative, but may also stem from experiences outside of school. These values vary in their stability and are capable of influencing, not only their decision to teach in the first place but also their perceptions about being a teacher. That said, it is worth noting two points. Firstly, many people will *never* chose teaching as a career regardless of how good or bad their own experiences of being a pupil might have been. Secondly, the notion that teachers form their values about teaching through a kind of ‘osmosis’ has been criticized by Labaree (2000) who argues that in reality pupils in classrooms do not spend their time observing their teachers but experience the classroom as ‘pupils’, not as ‘observers’. While an apprenticeship of observation might give pupils an idea about what teachers do, it does little to convey how or, more importantly, why they do it. This does not mean, however, that some form of osmosis does not occur. As we shall see in the next section, the reality of the classroom, for some, can cement or erode those values that may lead them to teach in the first place. For others, the classroom and school generate new values that they will encounter for the very first time.

### **3.2 What values are teachers exposed to during their training period?**

When in training, student-teachers are exposed to a range of contrasting and shifting values about the nature of teaching that can complement and/or challenge the values they bring with them. And yet these values are not homogenous but are themselves influenced by individual tutors, teachers, departments and subject orientations within the university and the schools in which they train. This section examines the values they may well be exposed to and some of the tensions that might be created as a result of this turbulent exposure.



Many of the values that the trainee teacher encounters at university, through the formal curriculum, are those associated with different pedagogic practices and perspectives on education. These practices also carry with them implicit value assumptions about the relationships between student and teacher. Bottery (1992) argues that different perspectives on the purpose of education throw up different values relating to the nature and purpose of teaching. Thus a *cultural transmission* perspective on teaching is one in which the child is viewed as a passive imbiber of transmitted knowledge with the role of the teacher as the transmitter of such knowledge. The role of the teacher is significant in the transmission of such knowledge with value placed on a more didactic set of teaching skills and the ability of the teacher to 'control' the class and 'feed' the knowledge she/he possesses into the minds of the students being 'taught'. This raises the possibility that some teachers and some institutions might place higher value on this form of interaction between teacher and student. Bottery (1992) attributes a hierarchical power style to this particular perspective in which the teacher is seen, and accepted to have greater power than the pupil. A *progressive* perspective on teaching, on the other hand, is one in which the child is actively involved in the lesson being both creator and constructor of new knowledge. Value is placed on a variety of active learning strategies and a more facilitating role that the teacher occupies. Students 'restructure' what they see and hear, and can then think and rethink ideas until 'personal meanings' are formed. The teacher is no longer assumed to be the deliverer of knowledge but rather a 'facilitator' of the students' active learning. As such Bottery (1992) attributes a more democratic power style to this particular perspective on teaching. We can see therefore how these two educational perspectives pose different types of value positions regarding relationships between the teacher and student. This dichotomy serves as a heuristic device and in reality the situation will be more complex with an overlapping of both perspectives in the practice of most teachers.

During training the emerging teacher is exposed to an array of values relating to the nature and purpose of teaching. Tensions can be generated between this exposure and the values that brought them into teaching in the first place as well as their initial school-based experiences. Arthur et al (2005) have drawn attention to three value orientations to teaching that can be used to identify some of these tensions. These comprise of 'successful' teaching (that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms); 'effective' teaching (determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself

and how ‘best’ to teach it); and ‘good’ teaching, an orientation to teaching that goes beyond that of simply knowledge transmission and subject orientation. The latter orientation not only acknowledges but prioritizes the values of care and respect for pupils. While student teachers may not necessarily be aware of the complexity of these classifications they are very often aware of conflicts between the values of the institution in which they train and those of the schools that they are sent to during their training periods (Flores and Day, 2006). If, for example, a school places high value on exam success rather than on humanitarian concerns for the overall development of the child then the trainee that shows her or his ‘effectiveness’ might arguably, be praised above and beyond one that could, using Arthur’s (2005) classification, be classified as ‘good’. I find it therefore useful to deploy these value orientations to the particular cocktail mix of other values and ideologies circulating within the schools they are being trained. Values will vary from one educational setting to another with cultural, institutional and ideological differences in these values playing an important role in determining what is considered to be ‘successful’, ‘effective’ or ‘good’ pedagogic practice. Furthermore what might be considered to be ‘good’ pedagogic practice in the lecture hall may appear at odds with some of the more ‘experienced’ teachers trainee teachers encounter in the schools they train in. This might mean for example that a clash in values exists between universities valuing progressive perspectives on teaching and some selective schools that might, in some cases, value more traditional pedagogic practices<sup>22</sup> and/or in different national contexts. Trainee teachers entering this type of school might well be on the receiving end of the ‘voice of wisdom’ of experienced teachers whose only experience of teaching is in this type of school.

Clashes in values can take a variety of forms and it is important to remember here that neither schools nor training institutions reflect homogenous values. The trainee, entering the staffroom of a school to which he or she is temporarily attached, is confronted by a veritable horde of subject specialists and professional practitioners who may have different and often conflicting values associated with the work they do. Like all of us, trainee teachers are never free from the value judgements of others or themselves. Different subject areas contain within them a range of value positions about knowledge, pedagogic strategies and status that might produce very different

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<sup>22</sup> It should be remembered that the sample of teachers being interviewed in Germany are working in the selective Gymnasium sector of the tripartite system.

perceptions about what teaching as a job entails. These ‘communities of practice’ (Brown, 1997, Wenger, 2002) or ‘nested cultures’ (Doherty, 2004) associated with subject disciplines, or other peer groups that exist within any institution can “vary dramatically in the beliefs and values that underpin the ways of speaking, acting and interrelating which they deem normal or ‘proper’” (Wells and Claxton, 2002: page 22). These communities, along with the institutions and the ideologies that inform the values that circulate within them, can also be a source of confusion and ambiguity for the emerging teacher. Drawing again on Arthur’s (2005) three classifications and perhaps at the risk of over simplification, teachers of Maths and Sociology, for example, might have very different ideas as to what ‘successful’, ‘effective’, and ‘good’ teaching might be. A mathematics teacher, might hold (and have been trained in) very different sets of value constructions as to the nature of what ‘being a teacher’ is, compared to a sociology teacher. The former might be working within a subject discipline where high value may be placed upon the paradigm of objective reality. This would imply that students learn the ‘correct’ method for discovering the ‘correct’ answer. In contrast sociology teachers might value the evaluation and rejection of, any singular approach (or answer) to the topic being studied. Consider, too, how an English primary school teacher might define what ‘good teaching’ is, compared to, say, a German Gymnasium teacher whose subject speciality might be Latin. The former may well be committed to the values associated with more humanistic approaches to learning that I discussed above and be happy with Arthur’s (2005) conception of ‘good’ being applied to their teaching. The latter might reject the significance and value of such an approach to learning in the first place and place more importance on the concept of ‘successful’ that Arthur (2005) deploys. In a similar vein, a learning assistant might have a very different understanding of the kinds of needs dyslexic students might have compared to that of a mainstream teacher, and thus may operate with different values. We can see therefore that trainee teachers will get exposed to different values during their period of training.

It should be remembered that the teachers in my study are working in three education systems where some, if not all, of the values that underpin these systems differ despite being within countries all located in Northern Europe. The teachers in Norway are working within a broadly unitary/comprehensive system that, historically, has been supported by social democratic political values (Esping-Anderson, 1993) that reject

most forms of social hierarchy. In contrast the teachers in Germany work in Gymnasium schools at the nadir of a tripartite system and have been trained in separate pathways to those teachers working in other sectors of the tripartite system of schooling. In England the competitive and eclectic mixture of both training pathways and different types of schooling make the use of the term ‘educational system’ problematic in the first place. In all three locations teachers negotiate their way through ambiguities, and very often, conflicting values.

### **3.3 Examining the transition from training to practical experience**

This section examines what has been termed as the ‘transition shock’ (Veenman, 1984) that some teachers report experiencing when moving from teacher training into their first period of employment as a teacher. This period is one in which the values they have constructed by the time they leave university, are held up to scrutiny once they are working as a member of the teaching occupation.

This early period of teacher employment involves socialisation into the school and the the profession (Bubb et al, 2004). There have been a variety of accounts of how teachers become socialised into teaching that involves the role of values. Some studies have emphasised structural factors (e.g. conditions of work, types of assessment regimes, school structure and sector etc) that are said to determine the values and experiences of teachers entering the profession (e.g. Kirby, 2000; Phelan, 1996, Whitty, 1997) whilst others give more emphasis to the active contributions of teachers in the socialisation processes (e.g. Schemp, Sparkes and Templin, 1993; Hatch, 1999). Two early approaches to the study of professional socialisation that have reflected this ‘macro’/‘micro’ dichotomy while embracing the importance of values are those of ‘induction’ and ‘reaction’ (Simpson, 1979). The *induction* approach focuses on the acquisition of professional skills and values by students through their professional education. This approach explores the values teachers have at the end of their training as well as the variety of ways that values circulate within the institution in which teachers work. Hoad’s (1976) conception of professional socialisation is typical of this approach and constructs professional socialisation as a process whereby new entrants into occupations acquire the values (i.e. those associated with the goals, types of behaviour and qualities of character) considered appropriate to their work. Specifically the teacher

is, according to this approach, passively acquiring the values and professional expectations associated with the particular institution in which they work. The *reaction* approach, does not construct teachers as acquiring this professional role but rather as *reacting* to educational experiences (Robson, 1998). It emphasises not only the contributions that individuals make over a period of time to the process of becoming teachers but allows the researcher the opportunity to focus on the tensions and/or clashes in values that teachers have to navigate after their training is completed. By focussing more on the agency that teachers have it enables a consideration of how they can *actively* respond to the values, policies, people and institutions they confront. It also recognises that they bring values with them.

Research suggests that the first few years of teaching are significant in relation to influencing teachers' values and, for many, the decision whether or not to remain within the profession. Ginns et al (2001), writing about the Australian context, note that: "the school and classroom experiences of beginning teachers may either catalyze or inhibit a lasting commitment to effective teaching" (ibid. page 111). The first few months have been described as a period of 'sink or swim', a term used by Hatch (1999) to describe the isolated conditions of teachers work. Referring to this initial period as one of 'survival', Shindler et al (2004) argue that this time can involve feelings of inadequacy, stress, confusion and disillusionment. In the UK Tickle (2003) is similarly pessimistic about many aspects of the transitions from teacher training to classroom teaching arguing that many classrooms are sites where "the crucifixion of teachers' learning occurs" (Tickle, 2003: page 2). However, not all accounts of the transition, are painted in this negative light. Researching the views of beginning teachers in New South Wales on their induction into teaching, Carter (2000) has suggested<sup>23</sup> that the processes of becoming a teacher involve varying degrees of personal and professional growth. Many of his respondents' views of their futures in teaching were optimistic as indeed were their perspectives on their induction. Nearly all of the beginning teachers involved in the study indicated that their values concerning teaching had changed over the course of

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<sup>23</sup>Six schools were used as case studies to investigate working conditions and practices, to provide more detailed insight into the range of factors affecting the process of becoming a teacher, and to examine the nature of the learning arising from teachers' induction experiences. Beginning teachers and their mentors and supervisors at each of these schools were interviewed on four occasions during the course of the 1998 school year

their first year as a teacher to accommodate a broader social agenda. For many of the respondents in Carter's study teaching was no longer simply about the delivery of a formal curriculum. Coping with, and learning from, the variety of challenges they had faced when learning to teach, had changed the way they viewed their work as teachers. Serving as carer, role model, guide and teacher of life skills had become key aspects of their work which they valued. Furthermore Carter also found that an ethos of support and collegiality was associated with more optimistic experiences of beginning teachers and the effectiveness of school based induction. The transition from university to full-time work can therefore broaden the stock of values for some teachers as they encounter new roles, new professional contacts and different institutional expectations.

That said, the sociability of (or lack of) teaching means that in some settings, teachers, new to the profession are more likely to display a conservative tendency to "accept things as they are" (Bleach, 1998: page 57). The acceptance of existing dominant values arguably takes place when the institutional setting the new teacher joins is made up of a culture centred around a politically dominant group of experienced colleagues (Hargreaves, 2005). A desire to 'survive' and fit into the new culture they have entered can result in a reluctance to challenge the voiced 'wisdom's' of the dominant group and may also contribute to a reluctance to reflect upon the practice, theories and values inculcated during teacher training. The importance of the availability of other colleagues to talk to during this period has also been highlighted by Jones (2003). In her research with ten newly qualified secondary teachers in England, she explored the ways in which teachers reconciled their personal values with other, more experienced teachers they worked with during a process characterised by Tickle (2000) as full of 'turbulence' and 'discontinuities'. With large class sizes, high contact hours, much paper-work and the quantity of meetings, it comes as a shock for many emerging teachers how little one-to-one time they actually have to 'care' for their students. Jones argues that many teachers experience crises, conflicts and dilemmas and consequently feel a strong need to discuss the 'discrepancies arising from the mismatch of their original expectations [of being a teacher] and the reality encountered in the classroom' (Jones, 2003: page 394).

Flores and Day (2006) have also drawn attention to these shifts and mismatches in values that newly qualified teachers report. Their study looked at the professional identities of fourteen teachers in Portugal in their first two years on the job. They point

to the value-shifts that some emerging teachers experience when juggling between the pedagogic values in their training that celebrated social constructivism and the individual child and the different values they encountered in the complex and demanding reality of the classroom:

*The teachers themselves recognised there was a shift in their teaching from a more inductive and student-centred approach towards a more 'traditional' and teacher-centred one (even if their beliefs pointed in the opposite direction) owing to problems associated with classroom management and student control* [Flores and Day, 2006: page 227].

Their interviews with teachers flagged up accounts that highlighted gaps between 'ideals' (as student and student teachers) and the 'real world' of schools and classrooms (as teachers). Their data revealed a mismatch between emerging teachers' initial beliefs and images about teaching and the roles they were expected to perform as first year teachers. There was also a mismatch between what they think ought to happen and what they could actually do. These mismatches in values tended to affect those teachers, who had failed to establish good working relationships with other colleagues, which in turn led to reported feelings on behalf of the respondents of inadequacy, stress and a desire to leave the profession.

Teachers can sometimes experience dilemmas (Lewis-Shaw, 2001) or tensions between the competing priorities of communication of subject content, interest/concern for students and some of the priorities of the schools in which they work. For example, a teacher might be employed by a school that, in valuing its position within the English league tables, chooses to adopt policies that exclude some pupils from entering certain exams for fear of losing their competitive position. This can cause a dilemma for a teacher who holds more egalitarian values about education. Dilemmas can affect the values of teachers in different ways. Some time ago Lacey (1977) has shown, for example, how many teachers 'strategically comply' with the values of their place of work as they become socialised into the school culture, even though these values might not match their own deep-seated values and beliefs surrounding teaching. There is a difference between these more deep-seated values and the more procedural/organisational values that some teachers find themselves up against. In

practice this means that while they hold onto their own values they give the impression (Goffman, 1959) of adopting the values of the school. For example, a teacher that places little value on dress codes or adherence to particular school ceremonies might nevertheless conform to those values despite private reservations. Similarly, student behaviour (e.g. the chewing of gum, ‘inappropriate’ language etc) that contravenes the institutional values of the school but not those held by the teacher nevertheless might have to be dealt with despite reservations on the part of the teacher concerned. Lacey (1977) has been highly influential in generating a model that captures the range of ways teachers adapt their own values to the new conditions they find themselves in. He proposed three types of coping strategies: *strategic compliance* (referred to above), in which an individual complies with an authority figure’s definition of the situation but retains private reservations; *internalized adjustment* whereby an individual complies with a situation in both action and belief; and *strategic definition* in which the individual brings about change within the formal power while retaining their own value systems. This latter strategy is one more suited to teachers employed into positions of power in which change can be brought about via the position of responsibility they hold. However it can also be applied to teachers that, for a variety of reasons, might be in positions to influence the behaviour and practices of teachers they work with. For example Stephens (2004) has noted that one of the many advantages of engaging trainee teachers at schools is access to new sources of ideas, resources and practices these schools can inherit.

‘Critical incidents’ (Jones, 2003) can also be experienced by the emerging teacher where tensions exist between their own and institutional values. For example, the teacher that is faced with a student taking drugs, or one who has become pregnant is caught between values centred around her/his responsibility to the child, the parents, the school and the values enshrined within a legal institutional framework. Sometimes, with little opportunity to discuss the source of these dilemmas with other members of staff, these tensions can go unresolved. This can lead to crises for newly qualified teachers as they struggle, very often alone to find a solution. These ‘critical incidents’ (Jones, 2003) require the teacher to possess a:

*physical, mental and emotional stamina in order to cope with the often painful process of reappraising their personal and professional beliefs and values and*



*modifying their idealistic assumptions that contradicted the reality experienced in schools* [Jones, 2003: page 398]

The complex experience of being a newly qualified teacher is frequently subject to chance placement in employment; institutional conditions of service; the views of senior teachers about their own roles as professional tutors and mentors; along with assessors, and managers and their conceptions of newly qualified teachers (Tickle, 2000). Tickle (2000) not only recognises the complexities and ambiguities these emergent teachers may experience but also the futility of attempts to standardise such experiences:

*We should not, I believe, simply assume that continuity is achievable in some smooth, transitional sense, regulated by so-called standards of a career-entry profile. Rather we might be prepared for discontinuities; for new radically different experiences; for turbulence both between and within the pre-service, induction and in-service periods of professional education. We might even acknowledge and learn from the fact that in some aspects of social life in some communities initiation processes – rites of passage – are intended to disrupt, disturb and radically change the outlooks, commitments and even the identities of initiates* (Tickle, 2000: page 11).

We can therefore see how turbulence may exist for many newly qualified teachers when the values that drive them are at odds with the values of the schools in which they gain first employment. We can also see how schools, for many new teachers, may well be sites of value conflict. This period of ‘painful beginnings’ (Huberman, 1992) has been described by Day (1999) as a:

*...two-way struggle in which teachers try to create their own social reality by attempting to make their work match their personal vision of how it should be, whilst at the same time being subjected to powerful socialising forces of the school culture* [Day, 1999: page 59]

This ‘personal vision’ can be made up of values that teachers have brought with them, both altruistic and pragmatic, prior to stepping into full-time employment. Values within the schools in which these teachers first work may come into conflict with the

altruistic values these teachers initially possessed and many of the values they encountered within the universities in which they trained. For many trainees this period involves a transition from some of the idealism and the theoretical input they have received on their training to the relative isolation of being a full-time teacher. This transition can provide a variety of value tensions that emerging teachers encounter once into the ‘reality shock’ of the classroom.

### **3.4 Summary**

This chapter has investigated some of the key literature on values involved in the decision to become a teacher and in teaching as an occupation. I have shown how there are a variety of values that inform decisions to teach in the first place. Some writers argue that some of these values are resistant to change (Lortie 1975; Dunkin, Precians, & Nettle, 1994 and Anderson & Piazza, 1996). Some trainee teachers may have well-established value systems that influence, not only their decision to teach in the first place but also their perceptions, plans, and actions in the classroom. These values, reflecting certain goals, types of behaviour and qualities of character I have divided along altruistic and pragmatic lines. Examples of the former include the children’s welfare, justice, equality, intellectual growth, moral purpose, and a desire to nurture. Examples of the latter include long holidays, economic security, social and professional status. In the light of different working conditions and conditions of service that teachers experience (see Chapter Two) and structural differences (social, political and economic) within the educational systems any discernible interplay between these factors might well account for how different teachers experience their ‘transition shock’ (Veenman, 1984).

I have also shown how the values that drive newly qualified teachers may be sometimes at odds with the values of the schools they gain first employment with. These schools’ values may also be in conflict with many of the values of the universities in which teachers train. Teachers’ values can be thrown into disarray once they leave the cocoon of their training institutions and enter their first full-time period of employment. There are a number of reasons for this. It may happen because the pedagogical paradigm the trainee walks away with from the university conflicts with the paradigms of the schools they enter (Angelle, 2002). Values implicit within learner-centered classroom

approaches to teaching, frequently advocated by teacher training colleges, may place the new teacher in a difficult position when those same values are not shared by those in their school (Schindler et al, 2004). This transition may also reveal other tensions between relatively stable institutional values and these teachers' own potentially more fluid value systems.

In light of some of the discussions on the effects of globalisation on the teaching profession (see Chapter Two) I am interested in the ways in which it has been argued (Lacey, 1977) that 'becoming teachers' adapt their own values to the new conditions they find themselves in. In reference to the 'sociability of teaching' (see Chapter Four) I am also interested to what extent certain 'significant others' (Mead, 1934; Flores and Day, 2006) both within, and outside the 'communities of practice' referred to in this chapter (Wenger, 2002) play their role in the exposure to different values they encounter during these first two years of teaching. It is the significance of these others that I now wish to draw the reader's attention to in the following chapter.

## **Chapter Four – The construction of teacher identities**

This chapter focuses on the complex construction of teacher identities and values. The chapter explores the interplay between the construction of identities and the situatedness of values and considers the influence of other people in the process of identity construction. The chapter situates teachers' identity construction in terms of values and the values held by significant others (e.g. other colleagues, parents and university mentors). These 'others' possess their own beliefs and values about the nature of what it means to be a teacher which will influence any interactions between them and the teachers. In addition, the chapter will also consider the influence of the national context and institutional settings where the teachers work, as these locations will also play a part in identity formation. Section 4.1 examines the significance of other people in the formation of teacher identities and their values. Section 4.2 focuses on the importance of the institutional setting in the construction of teacher identities. Section 4.3 examines the degree to which teachers are actively involved in the construction of their own identities regardless of any structural constraints they might experience.

### **4.1 The Significance of Others**

By 'teacher identity' I am referring to how teachers view themselves as teachers; how teachers view others that they professionally engage with; and how teachers believe they are perceived by those 'others'. Teachers' identities are 'social identities' in that they are a fusion of both the individual identity of the teacher i.e. the image of the teacher's own qualifications, characteristics and values, and a collective identity i.e. the experience of being an integrated part of a group (Ulriksen, 1995). Teachers learn to be teachers through interaction and communication with others. There may be a host of working and other relationships that have an influence upon this learning process (Brown, 1997). Differences in the constellations and configurations of influence and different patterns of working relationships, in conjunction with different personal histories and values, ensure that the development of teacher identities differs significantly for different individuals even within broadly similar contexts and/or settings.

One explanation as to how these social processes shape teachers' identities is found in the work of George Herbert Mead (1934). Mead used 'identity' to refer to the relationship between the 'I' and 'me' and how the former perceives and constructs the social world through the eyes of the latter, via interaction with significant and generalised 'others'. Mead emphasised the socially constructed character of identity through communication and language. Using the concepts of the 'I' and 'Me' in explaining identity formation, Mead stated that:

*Social control is the expression of the 'me' over and against the expression of the 'I'. It sets the limits, it gives the determination that enables the 'I' so to speak, to use the 'me' as the means of carrying out what is the undertaking that all are interested in. Where persons are held outside or beyond that sort of organized expression there arises a situation in which social control is absent...the normal situation however, is one which involves a reaction of the individual in a situation which is socially determined, but to which he brings his own responses as an 'I'. The response is, in the experience of the individual, an expression with which the self is identified. It is such a response which raises him [sic] above the institutionalised individual [Mead, 1934: page 211]*

Although writing in the 1930s and *not* about the teaching profession or professional identity formation, Mead's (1934) notion of identity captures elements of socialisation that I consider useful when considering the role that others play in the formation of teacher identities. Mead draws a distinction between the self as subject, the 'I' and the self as object, the 'me'. The acting self, the 'I' responds to the attitudes of others (real or imagined) and acts as a conscious, intentional agent, whereas the objective self, the 'me' is the internalisation of the organized set of attitudes of 'significant' and/or 'generalized' others. The 'I' then, challenges the values embodied in the 'me'. For example, during my training and into my first years in the teaching profession I strove to become 'the perfect' teacher. While the motivations and drive to become that teacher came from my own biography, the model of the teacher I was determined to become, in part, came from Mead's (1934) 'significant' and 'generalised' others i.e. the mentors, subject specialists, departments, and teacher organisations I had come into contact with - all of whose values I attempted to sift, sort, prioritise and internalise in my attempt to capture the particular model of the teacher I wanted to personify. The 'me' interpreted

the responses of others and helped shape and determine the ‘I’ in the teacher that I was becoming. These varieties and types of significant and generalised others vary from institution to institution and country to country and will be explored more fully the data contained in Chapter Ten of this thesis.

## **4.2 The Significance of the Institutional Setting**

In the institutional setting of schools teacher identities can be subject to a variety of determining influences on the values they hold about teaching. Many teachers can be, for example, exposed to daily discourses or ‘regimes of thought’ surrounding assessment decisions, timetabling and pastoral solutions within the institutions in which they work (Moore, 2005). They can also be subject to different forms of accountability and monitoring that can shape, influence and construct both their values and their identities (Gunter, 2001). Teachers can be socialised into specific groups within the institutions they work and exposed to these discourses which consciously or unconsciously permeate the world of the teacher, for example, through conversations with other colleagues.

The New Right policy agenda associated with globalisation (Green, 1997) that many countries are adopting for their education systems have consequences for the construction of teachers’ identities that include diminished motivation, efficacy and job satisfaction (Day, 2002). These factors are said to accompany a sense of loss of agency as teachers increasingly ‘teach to the test’ rather than deploy the care and emotional values that, for many, were the reasons they went into teaching in the first place (Day, 2002). When teachers talk to other teachers they access the:

*accumulated responses of students, media reports and government statements about teachers and public education, the weight of cultural traditions, memberships in multiple social groups, membership in subject area departments, responses from parents, previous acceptance and/or evaluation from colleagues and administrators, observations culled from experiences [and] knowledge of relevant theories [Graham, 1998: page 5].*

While education policy makers and school managers may have very clear ideas of what they consider to be appropriate ways for teachers to engage with their work, teachers may react in very different ways to such expectations, with behaviours ranging from complete rejection to complete engagement. While the policy context surrounding the work that teachers do influences the formation of teacher identities and their values, this does not necessarily mean that any outcome of such influence is, necessarily, easy to predict.

Brown (1997) draws attention to ‘communities of practice’ that contribute to identity formation. These include the immediate work group/department; the institution and the occupation itself and can have the effect of structuring the work that teachers do as well as influencing their attitudes and values about the work they do (Brown, 1997). The existence of these communities of practice also means that any impact of government policies on education is not easy to specify or predict. This is because particular workgroups or departments may have their own distinctive community of practice that might be resistant to any form of outside interference. The salience of the interaction between an individual and others in working, learning and other relationships is, for Brown, self-evident in any process of occupational identity formation:

*The formation, development, maintenance and change of an occupational identity, and/or identities at work, are influenced by the nature of the relationships around which they are constructed* [Brown, 1997: page 4].

While teachers are significant actors in the construction of their identities and values, they are partly constrained by the processes and structures of the communities of practice in which they operate.

The construction of teacher identities as a set of processes varies from country to country and from institution to institution. Teachers’ identities and the institutional settings in which these identities are activated are mutually constitutive. In deploying Bourdieu’s (1977) concepts of ‘habitus’ (a learned way of being or individual disposition of action) and ‘field’ (the network of relationships which constitute the site in which the habitus is both constructed and constructing) Twiselton (2004) has argued that teacher identity construction is a process that is not only individualistic but reliant on social interaction in a range of socio-cultural groupings. Twiselton (2004) states that:

*The culture [of the school] is defined by schools and schooling and does not extend beyond these boundaries. The 'habitus', the learned way of being, is formed from this limited and closed understanding of the 'field' of schooling as a set of practices involving order and tasks. This way of being or identity for student teachers is both constructed and constructing in such experiences* [Twiselton, 2004: page 160]

I have already shown in earlier chapters how institutional structures vary from country to country and setting to setting. The communities of practice that Brown (1977) refers to contribute to an overall sense of the individuality of the cultures that teachers inhabit and play a direct role in both the formation of the teacher identities located there and the construction of their values.

### **4.3 Teacher identities and agency**

Teachers' identities do not remain static throughout a career but are shaped and stretched by interactions with a variety of others (e.g. students, parents, colleagues, texts, policy documents, and media reports), all of which may vary depending on the particular cultural context and institutional setting in which the teacher is located.

It has been argued that social connections can be made via personal bonds of attachment or through impersonal bonds derived from "common identification with some symbolic group or social category" (Brewer and Gardner, 2004: page 67). This means that teachers can express their identities in terms of the relationships they possess with colleagues they work with while at the same time identifying themselves symbolically as 'teachers', subject specialists, 'managers', 'union representatives' etc. Within the three national contexts explored in this study a variety of different combinations of 'others' combine to provide different internalised pictures of the world of teaching that teachers, can, both differentiate themselves from, and identify with. In other words the 'teacher 'me'' that is a teacher in Norway might engage with different combinations of 'others' from those in either Germany or England. Distinctions can therefore be made between the interpersonal relationships with 'specific' or 'significant' others (e.g. mentors, line managers, individual colleagues) and those that derive from membership of larger, more 'generalised' others (e.g. membership in impersonal collectives e.g.



subject associations or social categories such as ‘gymnasium teacher’). The nature of these collectives is very much contingent on the networks that exist in different national settings that, in turn, provide different forms of both habitus and field and the values associated with both.

Riley (1988) shows how individuals can call upon different identities at different times. She suggests that the awareness of being a woman, for example, is likely to emerge when gender becomes a source of adverse attention from others. When applied to teaching, a teacher’s most valued views of, and attitudes to, self, which are constantly defended and can be highly resistant to change (O’Connor, 1997) might come under threat when subjected to the scrutiny or criticism of another individual or collectivity. In other words, when one otherwise passive aspect of identity becomes under threat then it can become ‘activated’ (Bradley, 1996) as a form of bolstering an otherwise fragile identity. Put more simply teachers might ‘activate’ the identity that is a ‘manager’, ‘gymnasium teacher’, ‘subject specialist’ or ‘head of year’ depending upon the nature of the threatening situation they find themselves in (e.g. an attack on competence made by a parent or member of staff). This has particular resonance to the values that teachers hold when considering the various roles that teachers adopt in different national settings and the status that can accompany such a role. In England, for example, this can be seen within the hierarchical structures in schools that give rise to ‘heads of subject’ or ‘heads of year’, something entirely lacking in both the Norwegian and German contexts. That said, in Germany, Gymnasium teachers, have considerably higher status and pay than other school teachers working within the tripartite system that exist there. We can see therefore that in some institutions, in some national contexts teachers can define their own professional identity not only along subject/discipline areas but, in some cases along more hierarchical lines (Sachs, 2001). Drawing on the work of Goffman (1959), who emphasises that ‘multiple selves’ are constructed according to the social context we can therefore see how a variety of different types of identities might be ‘activated’ depending on the specific circumstances of the teacher.

Much of Goffman’s (1971) work has focussed on the micro-political nature of every day life for which he has adopted a ‘dramaturgical approach’ (Goffman, 1971) comparing social life to the theatre. He argues that individuals are social actors following scripts and adopting roles to give performances. While the ‘scripts’ may well

be written for us, we nevertheless have choice (i.e. agency) to revise and interpret them in any way we desire, subject to the discourses that are available to us. Applied to teacher identities, one way that agency is expressed, is through ‘impression management’ i.e. teachers can manipulate the impression of their professional identities they convey to other colleagues, pupils or parents that they come into contact with and can even utilise different ‘appropriate’ scripts. For Woodward (2000) the degree of agency that teachers possess is also, clearly limited:

*We can negotiate and interpret the rules we adopt. Through collective action it is also possible to influence the social structures which constrain us, but there are clearly restrictions and limits set within the context that teachers find themselves working. The scripts of our every day interactions are already written and at the wider level structures are deeply embedded in contemporary culture, economy and society [Woodward, 2000: p39]*

Teachers’ identities involve multiple selves that we learn to present to others depending on the situation. That said, the variety of potential identities (Ibarra, 2003) that teachers can ‘take up’ is dependent upon the cultural and discursive context in which that teacher is located. If, for example, teacher as ‘disciplinarian’ flies in the face of the values associated with the job of teaching then such a stance might not be taken up as part of the identity constructed by that teacher under those circumstances.

#### **4.4 Conclusions**

The values and beliefs of teachers along with their understandings of what being a teacher means are factors that can be incorporated into a conception of teacher identity. The ideas I have explored in this chapter emphasise the possibility that teachers can ‘take up’ a variety of identities within the institutional setting and the national context in which they operate. This thesis is partially concerned with the sorts of identities that are forged out of these contexts and settings and the way that identities can impact with sets of values. In briefly discussing teacher identity this chapter has, implicitly to some extent, addressed the relative importance of structures (the forces which can shape identity), and agency (the degree of control which we can exert over who we are and

our environment). While teachers can be seen to be significant actors in the construction of their professional identities, they are partly constrained by the processes and discursive structures of the communities of practice in which they operate (Brown, 1997: p6). The very existence of these communities of practice makes generalisations about being a teacher problematic. Mead's (1934) writings on identity contribute to these discussions in that what teachers are trying to achieve will, in part, be determined by their understandings of the groups or individuals with which they identify i.e. Mead's 'generalised' and 'significant' others. These groups will, to some extent, forge an understanding of what 'being a teacher' can mean in any one location. These groups will also contribute to the way in which values will be interpolated differently by different identities. The variety and type of 'significant' and 'generalised' others will vary from teacher to teacher, community to community and country to country. This means that an understanding of the role these others play in the construction of teachers values and identities will prove useful in the analysis of the data for this thesis. Equally important however will be the discovery of other factors that might shape, influence and construct the values and identities of the teachers in this study.

## **Chapter Five - Methodology**

In this chapter I discuss: the conception of the thesis; the contested matter of structure and agency; my choice of national settings; the sample and access; the philosophical issues surrounding my choice in methodology; issues to do with empowerment and rapport; my interview technique; the data analysis; the limitations of my methodology and ethical issues related to my research. Common and disparate issues have been identified to develop themes, grounded in interview data, which illuminate the ways in which the values of these teachers are situated and constructed. The respondents in this study are comprised of a limited sample and therefore the findings cannot and should not, in any way, attempt to represent the larger population of teachers in the three countries under examination. However it is the nature of this small-scale study, which makes it so useful when discussing the emerging values of teachers in these globalising times.

### **5.1 Conceiving the thesis**

There are a variety of reasons why I chose to do this particular topic for my PhD of which one is worth explaining at the start of a chapter about methodology. It relates to my own experience (Krieger, 1985; Lofland and Lofland, 1995; Chesney, 2001<sup>24</sup>) of becoming a teacher in London. My own PGCE in social studies, undertaken in 1996, gave me the opportunity to work in the East End of London, initially in a comprehensive school and then in a sixth form college, both of which were located in a multi-ethnic catchment area. Although I trained as a secondary-school teacher the opportunity to work in this particular sixth form college was a thrilling one, not only because of my desire to work with this particular group of teenagers, but also because of the fact that it was a superbly funded college in the heart of one of the most economically deprived areas of the country. The college had only been open since the early 1990s making it ‘a jewel’ in an area of considerable social disadvantage. I was fortunate to be employed in an institution in which I was able to request resources, training and other benefits for my students and be fairly confident that these requests would be greeted with an enthusiastic ‘yes’. At the time, I did not realise how significant this would be, when looking at other national education systems. It was only

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<sup>24</sup> These writers discuss the location of the ‘self’ in research.

in my second year of teaching, when studying for my Masters in the sociology of education, that I was to slowly realise that many of the managerial policies and values adopted by the college were, in part at least, policies and values that were being written about critically by academics, many of whom I have cited in earlier chapters (e.g. Ball, 1999; Clarke et al, 2000; Sachs, 2001). Restructuring was a fairly frequent event<sup>25</sup>; there was a significantly high turn-over in middle-management; per-capita funding mechanisms meant rises in class numbers; performance related pay was gradually introduced into the college appraisal mechanisms; the drive to keep costs down meant that instructors without teaching qualifications and classroom assistants were playing an ever increasing teaching role that was not commensurate with the salaries that teachers were being paid, despite being required to carry out similar work; increasingly demotivated staff complained about their perception of more meetings, more paperwork and increasingly disruptive students. In amongst the joys of teaching it was not uncommon to see staff in tears or vocalising their anger at the way they felt they were being treated by their managers and the college in general. For teachers working in England this is not an uncommon story and many English education commentators have argued that these and other similar factors contributed to a crisis in teaching recruitment in England (e.g. Menter et al, 1997; Troman, 1996; Whitty, 1997).

And yet while I was certainly aware of many of the issues above, my own experiences of teaching during these early years, imbued me with an ever increasing enthusiasm and determination to teach students from backgrounds where, in many cases, formal education was often not part of their family heritage. My enthusiasm for working at this particular institution remains to this day. My hunger for new ideas on how to teach took me into areas that combined teaching with the mentoring of trainee teachers. Ultimately these experiences took me into the writing of subject textbooks and teaching resources. My enthusiasm for teaching is as strong now as it has ever been despite having been exposed to the marketised teaching environment so criticised by the writers I was then studying. Furthermore many writers were attributing this environment to forces associated with 'globalisation'. According to Stephen Ball (1999):

*The global trends of school improvement and effectiveness, performativity and management are working together to eliminate emotion and desire from*

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<sup>25</sup> Three major restructuring processes took place in the nine years I was employed at the college.

*teaching – rendering the teacher’s soul transparent but empty.* [Ball, 1999: page 29]

While I could recognise the influence of school improvement and effectiveness, performativity and management, I could not identify with the second half of his quote. For me teaching was, and is, as exciting a prospect now as it always has been. It was this discrepancy that partly drove me, in my Masters, to focus on the socialisation of teachers and to produce a dissertation (Czerniawski, 1999) that was to be both the genesis and pilot, for the work of this thesis.

## **5.2 Structure and Agency – a contested matter**

In this thesis I set out to explore, compare and contrast the values of newly qualified teachers in three national locations. One complex issue that emerges in such a thesis relates to the structure/agency dimension in value formation. Are values socially constructed? Are they compatible with the values of the home, the school and/or the society in which the teacher is located? In what ways do the life experiences and individual dispositions of teachers influence the construction of their own values? These sorts of questions highlight tensions between structure and agency. In this section I address these tensions by looking at the work of Derek Layder and Anthony Giddens.

I was first made aware of the ‘structure/agency’ debate when I embarked on my research for my Masters degree (Czerniawski, 1997) and discovered the work of Derek Layder (1993). Layder’s work complemented and contributed to my own emerging interests in theory generation, the construction of identities and the philosophical issues behind choices in methodology. Layder (1993) argues that social scientists need to think very clearly about what is meant by ‘structures’ and ‘agency’ and how social science in the past has separated these two social phenomena. Layder (1993) suggests a layered analytical approach that focuses on macro phenomena (e.g. at the national, cultural and institutional levels) as well as micro phenomena (e.g. those related to individual social interaction and the self). In so doing he argues that identities, values and individual social experience are influenced by the setting and context in which people find themselves. He also recognizes the multifarious layered interconnections between structures and human agency, social activity and social organization. He stresses the

importance of actors' meanings and how these should be incorporated into any analysis. Layder recognizes that these layers may operate on different 'time scales' and he works on the basis of a social world that is complex, multi-faceted and densely compacted (Layder, 1998). His ideas rest comfortably with the recognition that the nation-state (a macro level of analysis) is a historically changing social entity that influences those that work within it (a micro level of analysis).

Other researchers have explored the tensions between structure and agency in identity construction (e.g. Goffman 1959; Archer, 1988; Hall, 2000). Perhaps the most influential perspective is that of Anthony Giddens (1991) who argues that structuration theory theorises how structure and agency mediate identity formation. 'Structuration' conveys duality between 'agency' and 'structure' i.e. Giddens argues that it is not possible to separate these concepts from one another (1984). The point of structuration theory is:

*...to capture that active interplay between the individual and the social...you have to see that the social world is made and remade through what we do in our everyday activities [Giddens, 1984: page 122].*

Giddens connects agency and structure by claiming that:

The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise [Giddens, 1984: page 25].

Giddens (1984) argues that 'rules' govern all types of human behaviour from within the context of how we operate in large organisations to the subtle exchange of glances between people who acknowledge their mutual attraction. Human agents reproduce social activity consistently to the point that these rules become objectified as 'structural properties' within their cultural and sub-cultural contexts. In other words, it is only through the 'action' of human agents that structures exist. This is not to say that constraint does not take place but to acknowledge that Giddens emphasises the empowering nature of structures rather than their constraining ones. He argues that

structure is composed of ‘allocative’ and ‘authoritative’ resources (Giddens, 1984). Allocative resources refer to anything that enables people to get things done e.g. economic capital. Authoritative resources refer to non-material factors i.e. positions of authority and class that empower one set of human beings over another.

There are similarities and overlaps between the work of Layder and Giddens. Both theories contribute to an understanding of how agency exists at a sub-national level while acknowledging the influence of the variety of structures that teachers in their different national locations, might encounter. Both theories can also be used to inform an examination of teachers’ values and identities in terms of constraint and enablement i.e. how teachers can adapt to, and evolve from conditions that have been placed before them or conditions of their making.

However any researcher has to make methodological choices and I finally made the selection to go with Layder because it seemed that his framework was going to offer me a degree of insight and a capacity to be contextually sensitive in ways not apparent to me in the work of Giddens. For example Layder suggests, when embarking on the early stages of research, using a resource/research map<sup>26</sup>. This sets out ‘clusterings’ of analytic and empirical characteristics which represent levels or sectors of social life and social organisation. Each of these clusters can be used as starting points for generating research problems and theoretical ideas or concepts that may prove useful in analysis<sup>27</sup> (Layder, 1993). This ‘framework’ can be used provisionally to get the researcher underway and may be subsequently dispensed with (or not) as the research develops its own momentum. The map provides ‘sensitizing devices’ in relation to particular areas of field work. Pragmatically I was also familiar with this map as I had successfully used it during my Masters thesis (Czerniawski, 1997). Below is a summary of his map, which provided the *initial* inspiration for the research strategy I adopted in this thesis:

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<sup>26</sup> Layder moves between these two terms hence my combination of them here.

<sup>27</sup> Layder states that the map should not be thought of as a ‘closed’ conceptual framework.



## THE RESEARCH MAP

	Research Element	Research Focus
H I S T O R Y	CONTEXT	<p><b><i>Macro Social organisation</i></b></p> <p>Values, traditions, forms of social and economic organization and power relations e.g. legally sanctioned forms of ownership, control and distribution; state intervention, as implicated in the sector below</p>
	SETTING	<p><b><i>Intermediate Social Organisation</i></b></p> <p>Work: Industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labour markets; hospitals; social work agencies, domestic labour; penal and mental institutions</p> <p>Non-work: Social organization of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organisations</p>
	SITUATED ACTIVITY	<p><b><i>Social Activity</i></b></p> <p>Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by participants in the above contexts and settings.</p> <p>Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings (above) and subjective dispositions of individuals (below).</p>
	SELF	<p><b><i>Self-identity and individual social experience</i></b></p> <p>These are influenced by the above sectors and as they interact with the unique psychobiography of the individual.</p> <p>Focus on the life career.</p>

Figure 1 Derek Layder's 'Research Map' (Adapted from Layder. D., (1993) "New Strategies in Social Research" (Blackwell) Cambridge)

To what degree does Layder's work help with the issue of structure and agency in terms of identity and value construction? Human beings exist in complex social worlds and draw on aspects of structural realities (e.g. their status, their salaries, their occupation and their national identity) and these aspects work in, on and around them to influence the types of people they become. Layder is interested in the way that context (i.e. the social and economic forms of organisation and power relations) and setting (i.e. the immediate institutional environment in which workers are employed) impact on situated activity and the construction of the self. In talking about 'situated activity' Layder develops and pulls out what is meant by the social context beyond the more normalised structures that social scientists look at. In so doing it helped me tease out the social context in terms of understanding the situatedness and the setting in a way that I felt the work of Giddens was unable to facilitate. Layder's 'framework' was used provisionally to get the research underway by providing 'sensitising devices' of theoretical thinking in relation to particular areas of fieldwork covered in this study. As such his research map (1993) has proved to be a very useful starting point for the initial analysis of the data in this thesis and I wish to look more closely at this. Layder's sensitising concepts also helped when initially coding the data from the first wave of interviews as well as with the later stages of the coding process (see Appendix 3, 4 and 5). I will discuss this latter point below when talking about my coding strategies.

### **5.3 Choice of national settings**

When choosing national settings for context-sensitive comparative research (Hayhoe, 2007) there is a need, not only to understand some of the characteristics of the cultures, economies and political systems of the countries in which research is carried out but also to explain why these characteristics are suitable for comparison. There is also a need to explain some of the characteristics of the researcher to explain why she/he might be contextually qualified (Brisard et al, 2007). In this section I discuss my choice of national settings by looking at Norway, Germany and England in light of both these points.

### **5.3.1 Norway**

I drew attention, in Chapter One to the work of Esping-Anderson (1990) and his welfare state typologies. The Scandinavian social democratic approach to welfare policy that he refers to is reflected in the unitary/comprehensive ideal within Norway's secondary education system (see Chapter Two). Up until the 1960s, Norway was one of the poorest countries within Northern Europe with a fisheries and agricultural economic base (Stephens et al, 2004). Today its economic fortunes rest on the discovery of oil in the 1960s and this largely supports its 4.5 million residents. Its democratic post-war traditions have continually frowned upon social hierarchies, celebrated the role of the public sector and vehemently defended the strength of its trade unions. Its decentralised system of local government provides a wide range of public services for its small population. My interest in Norway came about, in part by design, in part by luck. I had, on a number of occasions, been to Norway to visit friends whom I had lived and studied with in London. Initially the idea for including Norway in my study was suggested to me by a colleague who works as an educationalist and teacher trainer in Norway. We had both worked for an organisation in London earlier although we had never met and, in 2000, I emailed my plans for my PhD to him. He responded with an invitation to Norway where, in his role as teacher trainer, he would introduce me to a cohort of student teachers that might be willing to be involved in the work I was to undertake. These opportunistic factors have contributed to my decision in choosing Norway as a choice of national setting for this research. Norway is also a national setting worthy of comparison in light of the values, traditions and forms of social and economic organization briefly discussed above (explored in more detail in Chapter Two).

### **5.3.2 Germany**

My experience of studying in Germany as an undergraduate at both the Universities of Jena (in what used to be referred to as 'East Germany') and Cologne made the choice of this location an easy one for a thesis that sought to explore the values of beginning teachers in different countries. My time in Germany as a student allowed me the opportunity to experience a very different educational system to the one I had been used to in England. In addition, I worked part-time to support my studies and this enabled me to reflect upon cultural differences within the work place. When planning the thesis

that you are reading it seemed logical for me to use my linguistic skills in German to explore the similarities and differences in a profession I believed, perhaps naively, that I was familiar with. Naïvely because on closer examination Germany contains within it a political, cultural and economic landscape in stark contrast to both Norway and England. Throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Germany has possessed both a thriving economy and a civil society that has been strongly hierarchical (Hanf, 2001). A unified federal Germany has integrated the former East-Germany into its own political and economic system and this has involved the eradication of the East German education system. With its comprehensive social welfare system that includes both social insurance and social assistance (both state and privately funded) Germany's corporatist welfare regime (Esping-Anderson, 1990) supports a fragmented and somewhat devolved (at the federal level) education system (see Chapter Two). The echoes of an earlier hierarchical society resonate today with the continuation of its tripartite education system that I describe more fully in Chapter Two. Once again I have therefore chosen Germany as a national setting for the values, traditions and forms of social and economic organization (Layder, 1993) that contrast with those of Norway. I have also chosen Germany for the opportunistic reasons described above, the most significant of which is my ability to speak German.

### **5.3.3 England**

The neo-liberal, market-led approach to education adopted in England (Esping-Anderson, 1990) provides the third context and setting for the exploration and comparison of some of the dynamics of teacher identity and value formation in this study. Within a competitive environment and a constantly changing policy context a marketised approach to education provides a variety of training routes in which teachers in England emerge as professionals (TDA, 2006). This environment also provides a plethora of school systems and schools in which teachers can be trained both in the state and private sectors (see Chapter Two). I have explained above why emerging as a teacher in this particular context spurred me on to produce a thesis on the professional socialisation of teachers. English education reflects within it the examples of a comprehensive ideal that is the bedrock of the Norwegian system. However it also values other forms education including the independent sector, academies and grammar

schools (the English equivalent of the German Gymnasium). Teachers in England are trained to teach across this spectrum. I have chosen England as my third national setting because it provides contrasting values, traditions and forms of social and economic organization to both Norway and Germany. This third location provides set of diverse settings in which to explore, compare and contrast the values of teachers in different locations and one in which I feel suitably ‘contextually qualified’ (Brisard et al, 2007) to carry out such research.

These three national settings will, I hope, provide thought provoking data in light of the discussions in Chapter Two concerning not only the convergence in educational policy making in Western industrialized countries but its possible effects on the values and identities of teachers. In choosing Norway, Germany and England I recognize the importance that Layder (1993) places on ‘context’ as a research focus. He draws attention to the importance of values, traditions, forms of social and economic organization and state intervention when exploring the situated activity and identities of professionals such as teachers (Layder. 1993: page 72). In these globalising times it is my hope that the content of these interviews reveal some important similarities and differences in the values and identities of emerging teachers in the three countries under examination. In so doing I hope that I live up to Thomas’ (1998) ideal concerning comparative education and his desire to discover why teachers are both ‘alike and different’ (Thomas, 1998: page 1).

#### **5.4 The sample and access**

Three groups of teachers (thirteen Norwegian, ten German and nine English) have been interviewed three times (with the exception of two teachers) during the course of two years making a total of ninety-two interviews<sup>28</sup>. In addition to the interviews each teacher was, initially, asked to send me emails, as and when they could, during the course of the study. It was hoped that this second method would not only add to the richness of the data I was gathering but also help safeguard against sample morbidity by maintaining regular contact with those taking part in the project. However this strategy

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<sup>28</sup> One Norwegian teacher stopped teaching immediately after qualification and one English teacher left with his partner to work in Australia meaning that only two interviews were carried out with both teachers.

did not prove successful. This was because I underestimated the amount of work involved in the analysis of the interview data I had gathered. Only after my first attempt at transcribing the data from the first year of interviews did I fully realise how much data I would eventually be working with or indeed the time-consuming nature of the transcription process. I therefore chose not to request regular email contact. To a certain extent I regret this decision as the minority of emails that I did receive tended to be ones written at particular 'crises' or moments of import for the teachers concerned that perhaps would have made a valuable contribution to this thesis. However the decision was made to allow me more time and effort for analysis of the interview data. If I were to do similar research in future then I would pay much greater attention to email contact.

As an additional precaution against sample morbidity (Kidd et al, 2004) my original intention was to work with teachers that had specialised, within the social sciences as and where possible. I had hoped that their enthusiasm for their chosen discipline might mean that they would be less likely to drop out during the course of the study. By this I mean that, perhaps naively, I had thought that as social science students themselves, they might be more enthusiastic in taking part in a piece of social scientific research. However, attempting to do this across the three countries proved impossible due to national variations in teaching education/training programmes (see below) and the nature of employment possibilities in all three countries. Furthermore, in practice, this idea proved to be based on a false premise as the incidence of highest fall out took place with the English sample which was the one with the largest percentage of social science teacher trainees.

I will now look more closely at the three sample groups. My aim was to produce a contrastive small-scale theoretical sample taken from three national settings that reflected the social democratic traditions of Norway; the 'corporatist welfare' regime in Germany and the more liberal, market-led approach to education adopted in England (Esping-Anderson, 1990).

**The Norwegian sample:** These trainees were approached by me via a professional contact I had in Stavanger in Norway, himself a teacher trainer at one of the university colleges in Norway. Through this contact I approached a group of thirteen trainee teachers from a cohort of student teachers during February 2001. Before flying out to

Norway, I had been told that they were to be students on the Norwegian equivalent to the secondary PGCE. However, having agreed to work with this group in advance, they subsequently turned out to be students on the final year of the Norwegian version of the BEd (i.e. they were in their fourth and final year of their training). While I was initially troubled by this last minute change it does not, however frustrate the aims of this thesis (see Chapter One) and therefore I was happy to continue working with the sample. After the initial visit, two further sets of interviews with these respondents took place over the next two years on subsequent trips to Norway and always during the same time of year (chosen because it fitted into my own February half-term break as a teacher in England). These trainees were in their final stages of their teacher training, which qualified them to teach all ages from Six to Sixteen, this latter point marking out a significant difference between the training and early experiences of teaching of the other groups. Because of the nature of their training this group are ‘generalist’ teachers rather than ‘subject specialists’. They are trained in a variety of subjects and are expected to be able to deliver these subjects to the full age-range depending on the school in which they are employed, all of which are comprehensive/unitary schools. This is in contrast to the more subject-specialist form of training of English secondary school teachers and the expectation of working in a variety of different types of schools that English trainee teachers have. All of these Norwegian teachers were white, with seven out of the thirteen teachers male. The youngest were in their early twenties, with most in their mid-twenties and with the two oldest, aged thirty four. In most cases they had gone straight into teacher training after leaving school. Most schools in which these teachers worked were located in the town in which they had received their training. The table below summarises some of the characteristics of the Norwegian sample:

### The Norwegian Sample

Name of teacher	Age at first interview	Gender	School size (approx)	Age range in school	Age taught (in years)	Subjects taught	Average class size taught by third interview
<b>Jacob</b>	26	Male	320	6-16	10	Maths, religion, gymnastics and swimming	14
<b>Tine</b>	34	Female	450	6-16	8-9	Norwegian	15
<b>Inga</b>	22	Female	300	6-16	13	All subjects except natural sciences and maths	38
<b>Henning</b>	25	Male	300	6-13	10-11	Music, science, special needs	21
<b>Albert</b>	25	Male	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Julie</b>	21	Female	180	6-13	9/10/12	Norwegian, English, religion, maths, nature	13
<b>Georg</b>	26	Male	500	6-13	8-13	Music and Special Needs	6
<b>Jens</b>	23	Male	150	5-16	12	Maths, religion, cooking, science and Music	16
<b>Jan</b>	29	Male	160	12-15	12-15	Special needs/nature	One-to-one
<b>Svend</b>	22	Male	420	6-13	11-12	All subjects	20
<b>Beate</b>	22	Female	320	6-13	12-13	All subjects	24
<b>Vivi</b>	34	Female	310	13-16	13-14	Maths, religion, cooking, sport, physics and chemistry	28
<b>Hanne</b>	31	Female	500	6-13	11-12	All subjects	24

**The German Sample:** Once again through professional contacts, I accessed a sample of ten trainee teachers from Munich attached to one of the Gymnasium training schools there. These teachers were based at a school that specialised in the training of Gymnasium teachers (i.e. the equivalent to English Grammar schools) covering the age range of eleven to eighteen. My contact at the school was a teacher, academic and close friend of mine. With the help of the head she had gathered a sample of volunteers who agreed to meet me during a week's visit to Munich during my Easter holidays in 2001 while they were still teaching. These teachers were in their final stage of their training and were working at the school I visited. They shared a Gymnasium background as pupils themselves and were expecting to get work as teachers in Munich after qualifying. Seven of these teachers were women and three were men aged from twenty-seven to thirty-three. In most cases these student teachers had gone directly into training having completed a significantly longer period of study at university than either



of their Norwegian or English counterparts. As with the English scenario, these student teachers are regarded as subject specialists. The table below summarises some of the characteristics of the German sample:

**The German Sample**

Name of teacher	Age at first interview	Gender	School size (approx)	Age range in school	Age taught (in years)	Subjects taught	Average class size taught by third interview
<b>Magda</b>	28	Female	900	11-18	11-18	Religion, English, History	24
<b>Katarina</b>	27	Female	780	11-18	11-18	German, History, English	22
<b>Harald</b>	31	Male	700	11-19	11-19	English, German , History	27
<b>Claudia</b>	29	Female	800	11-18	11-18	Religion, German, History	28
<b>Elsa</b>	32	Female	400	11-16	11-16	English, German, Geography	13
<b>Nikolas</b>	28	Male	950	11-18	11-18	Maths, German, English	24
<b>Ursula</b>	36	Female	1100	11-19	11-19	Religion, English, German	29
<b>Michel</b>	31	Male	950	11-18	11-18	Maths, English	24
<b>Anna</b>	28	Female	1000	11-18	11-16	English, History	24
<b>Dagmar</b>	30	Female	950	11-19	11-19	Religion , German	24

**The English sample:** This was taken from a cohort of social science PGCE students at a teaching college in London. As secondary PGCE student teachers they would be expected to teach pupils aged between eleven and eighteen. My own social science PGCE background allowed me access to this particular group through my professional contacts with this institution. The catchment area of this particular teaching college meant that many of the beginning teachers interviewed would be going on to work in a variety of different types of secondary school within the inner city area. The cohort was approached during the first week of June 2001, once permission had been sought and granted by the course tutor. After a short talk to the whole PGCE cohort about my research I took the names and addresses of those students who volunteered to take part in the research. Initially eleven students offered to take part. However by the time of the first interviews I was left with nine teachers willing to be involved. As I have

already noted, the teachers who volunteered from this cohort were interviewed three times over a two year period. The first interviews took place before the end of their PGCE and in a couple cases took place at the beginning of the summer holidays. The second and third interviews took place at the end of participants' first and second year as qualified teachers. The English cohort provided a greater range in terms of ethnicity and age compared to the Norwegian and German groups. The nine teachers were made up of three men and six women. Two of the women were 'African-Caribbean' with the remaining participants being white. These teachers ranged in age from their early twenties through to their early forties with some having worked in other fields before entering teaching. These teachers are trained for employment in a variety of different types of secondary school and indeed as pupils themselves, they came from a variety of secondary schools. In comparison to teachers that might be trained for a younger age (e.g. primary) many secondary teachers in England identify themselves by the subjects they teach and are often socialised into the profession via their subject knowledge and subject enthusiasm (Wright, 2006)<sup>29</sup>. Another point that needs to be mentioned is the fact that when I met these teachers, they were aware that I was a colleague of the person who was running the PGCE they were on. This raises a number of ethical issues that I will address below to do with power relationships and the interviewer/interviewee dynamic. The interviews with the English cohort were always carried out at the end of each academic year and after I had completed the interviews in Norway and Germany. I have no way of knowing precisely how the timing of interviews at the end of a teaching year might effect the responses they gave but believe that this timing is significant enough to comment on when comparing the timings of interviews with the other two groups. For example a teacher being interviewed when their teaching load is over might appear to be more relaxed and have more to reflect on in terms of the academic year they have just completed teaching. They may also be more tired and less positive. The table below summarises some of the characteristics of the English sample of teachers:

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<sup>29</sup> For example my interests were sociology and politics and this led to me applying for a social science PGCE in which I was surrounded by other students who shared, academically, similar interests. I remember there being a certain rivalry between different PGCE subject areas in which there were perceived (by some PGCE students) hierarchies of statuses between the different subject areas. This provides a very different socialising experience to that of teachers who might be being trained across a broad spectrum of subjects where no such hierarchy can be encountered. These differences in training are significant when considering the different socialisation processes in these groups.

### The English Sample

Name of teacher	Age at first interview	Gender	School size (approx)	Age range in school	Age taught (in years)	Subjects taught	Average class size taught by third interview
<b>Liz</b>	24	Female	1100	11-18	11-18	Psychology, Religion, Philosophy	A level 16 Lower School 29
<b>Carmen</b>	36	Female	1250	11-18	11-18	Religion, Business Studies, Geography	A level 12 Lower School 31
<b>Eleanor</b>	22	Female	900	11-19	14-19	Business Studies, Economics, Politics	A level 19 Lower school 28
<b>Nora</b>	23	Female	1400	11-18	11-18	Sociology, History, Religion	A level 14 Lower School 30
<b>Rob</b>	23	Male	1350	11-18	11-18	Psychology, Religion, Citizenship	A level 14 Lower school 32
<b>Edward</b>	27	Male	1700	11-18	11-18	Sociology, Citizenship, Religion	A level 19 Lower school 28
<b>Cara</b>	24	Female	950	11-16	11-16	Religion, Geography, PHSE	Lower School 27
<b>Jim</b>	24	Male	1500	11-18	11-18	Sociology, IT, History	A level 10 Lower School 30
<b>Sylvia</b>	36	Female	1200	11-18	11-18	Business Studies, Politics, IT	A level 11 Lower School 29

### 5.5 Philosophical Issues surrounding choice of methodology

In discussing the value of different research methodologies, Kvale (1996) uses the contrasting metaphors of ‘miner’ and ‘traveller’ in relation to the researcher. The miner ‘digs’ for ‘nuggets’ of data, the purity of which is determined by its ability to correlate with an objective, external ‘real’ world. However the ‘traveller’ seeks to understand the stories told by the inhabitants of that world, and in doing so, is prepared to be affected by such processes. I consider myself to be both ‘miner’ and ‘traveller’ in this research although I tend to place more emphasis on the latter. I am also aware of the methodological minefield that I tread when making this claim. Kvale’s metaphors serve

to show that philosophical perspectives influence not only the nature of the research and how it is carried out but also what kind of researcher goes about her or his business in the first place. The question of what we know and how we know what is claimed as knowledge, and what kinds of approaches should be adopted in order to understand a given subject matter are all philosophical questions. Different ontological and epistemological positions can therefore lead to different methodological orientations or preferences (Kidd et al, 2004; Kvale, 1996).

Qualitative research is diverse in form but also in its theoretical framework (Sarantakos, 1998: page 47)<sup>30</sup>. Such research is, according to Silverman, the “close study of everyday life in diverse social contexts.” (Silverman, 1997: page 1). He maintains that the major objective of qualitative research is to “describe and analyse both the processes through which social realities are constructed and the social relationships through which people are connected to each other” (Silverman, 1997: page 1). This thesis is concerned with a social reality that surrounds, contextualises and, to a certain extent, structures the work that teachers do. And yet it is also concerned with the way that different teachers, working in these differently structured locations, interpret and act out their own perceptions, in the light of their values, about what that work entails. As both a researcher and teacher, I am far more interested in close-up and in-depth understandings of the lives and values of these teachers rather than attempting to create generalisations associated with a more positivist methodological approach. I therefore believe that the qualitative approach I have chosen to adopt in this study is the most appropriate for addressing the research questions I have posed:

1. What values do ‘becoming’<sup>31</sup> teachers hold in relation to their proposed occupation?
2. What similarities and differences in teachers’ values are evident in the three national settings under examination?

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<sup>30</sup> Jacob (1988) identifies six domains within qualitative methodology alone (e.g. human ecology; ecological psychology; holistic ethnography; cognitive anthropology; ethnography; and symbolic interactionism).

<sup>31</sup> I refer to these teachers as ‘becoming’ teachers because the first interviews took place at the end of their training with the second and third interviews taking place over the next two years. By deploying this term I emphasise that these are people in the very early stages of their teaching careers who, despite being qualified, are still in a process of understanding what being at teacher means.

3. What part is played by national pedagogic traditions, national policy contexts and institutional settings in the changing values of newly qualified teachers?

Specifically I am interested in the emotional, ethical, personal and professional dilemmas (Hatch, 1999) and experiences that situate and contextualise many of the values that teachers engage with. I chose interviews as my research tool because this seemed the most appropriate method to elicit in-depth and rich data about these values. But I also chose this method because it involves a particular type of relationship between researcher and the researched that is neatly encompassed in Layder's following quote:

*Instead of stressing the role of an objectively 'detached' observer whose task is to describe social behaviour in terms of causal forces external to the individual concerned [it] emphasises the more 'involved' role of the social researcher* [Layder, 1993: p38]

Layder (1994) recognises the existence of a social reality, with social structures and currents which have an existence over and above the existence of individual actors. Yet, as his research map shows (see above), he also recognises the significance of human agency in the formation of those structures. As such he recognises and praises interpretive approaches to sociological research. Layder (1993) argues that the researcher should explore and describe how and why social actors behave as they do, based on their understanding of their perceived world, their values and perspectives. Such an understanding can be conveyed through the interview process. As a teacher/researcher the interview allows me to collect 'in-depth' interpretive data from teachers in a way that would not be so successful using other qualitative techniques such as observation. While I am interested in the reality that surrounds the work that teachers do I am just as much concerned with how those teachers perceive that reality. It is, after all, their different perceptions about these realities that both shape and are shaped by, the values they hold.

## **5.6 Issues of empowerment and rapport**

Before turning to how I carried out the interviews more specifically, at this point I wish to bring in feminist views on the interview process because of the particular idiosyncratic process of interviewing that I have adopted, partly stemming from my own experience as a teacher. Many feminist researchers consider interviewing a useful technique. There are many ‘feminisms’ (May, 1997: p17) that adopt the interview as a research technique. Oakley (1981) has argued that with the interviewer investing her/his personal identity within the interviewer/respondent relationship what arises is a non-hierarchical relationship between the two. The ‘softer’ qualitative approach of interviewing challenges what is perceived to be a deep rooted male bias implicit within more positivist approaches to social research. For Sarantakos (1998) the qualitative interview “allows women to speak in their own words and not in the words of the researcher” (Sarantakos, 1998: p265). However Bowler (1997) challenges this by arguing that elements of hierarchy are implicit in *any* interview situation. Collecting data about someone else can establish a hierarchy even where this was unintended, highlighting differences in class, education, race and culture between respondent and interviewer. This latter point is significant in my own work, not only because of the particular method of interviewing I adopted but also because of my association with the tutors in the three settings. It is possible that some respondents might have been cautious about what they said to me if they felt that in some way their views might be relayed back to their tutors on the courses. To what extent this is the case is, impossible to determine however it is also worth noting that the second and third interviews were carried out when these teachers were already qualified and therefore this issue cannot have ‘tainted’ (Kidd et al, 2004) the data.

I was also aware that these teachers would be giving up their time over the next two years in order for me to interview them. They were investing significant elements of their ‘selves’ in the relationship that we, hopefully were going to build up and build on, during this time.

## **5.7 My Interview technique**

The method of data collection finally adopted by me can best be described as a form of guided/semi-structured interview which followed a format that borrowed much from my

experience as a teacher and from the strategy used successfully for my Masters dissertation (Czerniawski, 1999) which I treated as a ‘pilot’ for the research technique for this thesis. Because of the time constraints placed on me by visiting two countries, initial first wave interviews in both Norway and Germany tended to be carried out on the premises in which the, then, trainees, were working. With the English cohort I had more time to arrange interviews at destinations chosen by the interviewees. In all subsequent interviews, locations in all three countries were chosen by the respondents.

My interview technique involved giving the candidate thirteen separate cards with single concepts or phrases on each card (see Appendix One). The candidate was then asked to choose five of the cards and talk about them while the conversation was taped – having first explained the research and having obtained their written and verbal permission. Kitwood (1977) argues that it is essential to put the respondent at ease before valid information can be obtained in an interview. My technique of using cards as prompts, got over the initial problem of nerves faced by any interviewee when faced with speaking on tape for the first time and was an effective way of establishing much needed rapport. The respondent is arguably ‘empowered’<sup>32</sup> into making the choices about what she/he would like to talk about and does not feel ‘questioned’ by the researcher. The respondent is also distracted by the cards while the tape-recorder is being set up thereby reducing the degree of nervousness that can exist in most interview scenarios. Audio-taping interviews can have the disadvantage of making interviewees nervous. However the advantage of being able to focus my energy onto the interviewee during this process allowed rapport and empathy to develop between the respondent and me. By taping the interview I could concentrate on my own body posture (i.e. making sure that I appeared relaxed, open and did *not* have arms folded etc) and eye contact which can largely allay fears felt by respondents in interview situations (Blaxter; Hughes; Tight: 1996: p154). Seale comments that “the trust that this generates may then be a way of getting respondents to speak about more intimate matters than they would otherwise” (Seale, 1998: p206). I found this focus on body language and eye-contact on my behalf, to be invaluable when researching some of the areas of particular sensitivity that my sample spoke about. Despite my experience from my Master’s I was also, initially surprised at how exhausting this actually was i.e. to continually wear a

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<sup>32</sup> I will pick this contentious issue up when evaluating the technique further on in this chapter

‘mask’ that conveyed intense enthusiasm and passion for what the other was saying and one in which all the skills of the interviewer are called upon to generate data for what I hoped would form significant chunks of my thesis. I was however, continually reminded of an ethical dimension here, in that sometimes, by appearing encouraging and inviting the interviewee to talk in depth about issues that concerned them, many would open up with anecdotes about other colleagues and some of the moral dilemmas they had faced in the classroom.

Using the cards as an interview method also serves as an effective way of generating ideas for the respondent to choose from, while still keeping the interview within the parameters chosen by the researcher i.e. a general exploration of their emerging expectations and values (I am fully aware that different cards might well have generated, different responses). It is for this reason that I describe the interview as ‘semi-structured’. By the end of the first year of employment, at the second interview, all three samples of teachers were offered the cards they chose at the start of the field research. While such a strategy might be considered as restricting the scope of the second interview, it allowed the respondent the opportunity to revisit what they had said one year previously thereby offering some opportunity for reflection on change by both the teacher and researcher. The same five cards were used as focal points for discussion in the second and third interviews. However these interviews also allowed some opportunity to explore additional issues (see: Appendix Two) that had emerged from the analysis of the interview transcripts in general as well as increasingly being informed by the literature researched during the period the thesis was being written.

During the interviews I tried to make as few notes as possible due to the fear voiced by Kvale (1996) that the note taking process during interviews could influence the respondent into believing their response is either noteworthy or irrelevant. However I would occasionally jot down the odd word or phrase that, at an appropriate moment, I would then pick up with the interviewee. In most cases in Norway and Germany interview data was transcribed within twenty-four hours of the interview taking place. This was partly because I wanted to keep fresh my perceptions of responses at the time but also because I had the time to transcribe many of the interviews during my stay in these countries – something I knew I would have little of when I returned to my more hectic life back in London. This however was not the case with the interviews in



England and quite often several days would go by before I could type up the transcripts. Two interviews in Germany were conducted by phone (Kvale, 1996) and they were taped (with permission) by the use of a mini-bug that sticks to the back of the phone (the issue of telephone interviews will be looked at in “Limitations of Methodology”). While audio-taping interviews in general can allow empathy to grow between the two parties and provide an accurate verbatim record nevertheless this can, through transcription, be a time consuming process (Coffey and Delamont, 2000). I am an extremely fast touch-typist and yet my own transcription of each interview on average took between four to five hours. Most of my interviews took approximately an hour to carry out although the English ones in general were slightly longer. Many of the second and third interviews were subsequently transcribed by a typist who I paid. The sheer luxury of having somebody type up the transcripts added to my enjoyment of the process as a whole and therefore outweighed, for me, any potential weakness such a strategy might contain.

## **5.8 Data Analysis**

The approach to data analysis adopted for this thesis owes much to the grounded theory tradition associated with Glaser and Strauss<sup>33</sup> (1968). Grounded theory is a strategy of research design and analysis. The use of this approach in sociological research is increasing (Sarantakos, 1998). However it is important to note that it is not a consistent singular methodology but has a number of interpretations (see: Glaser and Strauss, 1968; Layder, 1993; Kvale, 1996; Sarantakos, 1998; Walsh, 1998; Charmaz, 2000). It was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967; 1971) and was used to describe a strategy that was adopted for “handling data in research, [and] providing modes of conceptualisation for describing and explaining” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: p 3). The

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<sup>33</sup> They ultimately disagreed with each other as to what grounded theory actually was. Melia (1997) draws attention to a dispute between Glaser and Strauss in 1992 in which a letter (reproduced and published in *Emergence vs Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, 1992) from Glaser to Strauss states: “I request that you pull the book....it distorts and misconceives grounded theory, while engaging in gross neglect of 90% of its important ideas” (taken from Melia, 1997: page30). Quoting Glaser further he states: “you wrote a whole different method so why call it ‘grounded theory’? It indicates that you never have grasped what we did nor studied it to try to carefully extend it” (Glaser, 1992: p2 in: Melia, 1997: page 30).

term ‘grounded’ is used to describe the notion that theory should emerge from, and be grounded in, empirical data.

While Glaser (1978) is against the notion of forcing data into preconceived categories when conducting research, data will nevertheless reflect the prior interests of the researcher. Charmaz (2000) acknowledges this when she states that the grounded theory interview develops through a “shaped but not determined process” (Charmaz, 2000: p 15). It took me some time to realise that, in the early stages of my analysis, I was trying to force the data into categories rather than coding and analyzing my findings more reflexively. ‘Grounded-theory’ traditionally requires the researcher to immerse her/himself in the material adopting an open attitude at first, which becomes progressively more focused. However what is also required is a reflexive stance so that the research can step back and reflect upon the relationship between the researcher and the researched (Wood K., 1995: p50). As stated earlier data collection started by interviewing the three sample groups of teachers at the end of their period of training. Initially, using the sensitising categories of ‘self’, ‘setting’ and ‘context’ (Layder, 1993) I coded the transcripts of the interview texts. Here then, is where a departure from traditional grounded theory approaches, took place.

My initial reading of each of the first and second interview transcripts was a thorough line-by-line coding exercise. However it was always done with Layder’s sensitising categories in mind (see Appendix Three). Thus ‘organisational setting’ was kept as a significant code while ‘friend’ and ‘parent’ (codes later adopted as significant themes) were sidelines (Appendices Five and Six highlight the emergence of ‘parent’ as a coding category). This choice was justified at the time because ‘organisational setting’ could be bracketed under the sensitising category of ‘Setting’ and kept. These codes<sup>34</sup> were systematically applied to all data before further analysis. Comparisons took place at a number of levels i.e. individual teacher over period of research; teachers compared with members of same sample group; common themes between three sample groups.

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<sup>34</sup> The coding process traditionally involves: a) studying the data before the literature; b) engaging in line-by-line coding; c) using active terms to define what is happening in the data; and, d) following leads in the initial coding through further data gathering.

However the theoretical saturation<sup>35</sup> and integration of theory that I had always imagined would eventually slot into place did not happen. Layder's map, deployed in this fashion, acted as a straitjacket and restricted my ability to see themes that were, at a later stage, to provide a far more fruitful analysis.

All I seemed to be able to do, at the time, was to generate a variety of headings, with quotes to match, that actually were just there to support the sensitising categories rather than represent any significant findings I could claim at a later stage. The breakthrough in analysis came for me after a succession of critical meetings with my supervisors after all interviews and transcriptions had been carried out. I had submitted relatively crude data chapters concerning the three countries that attempted to show a variety of themes that, at least in my mind, seemed to reflect the sensitising categories I had deployed. However, in short, I was told to get back to my data focusing on the Norwegian interviews and forget about any further reading, and, for the time being at least, forget about any 'framework' I might have in my mind about how to organise the data.

This time I systematically worked through one national sample and coded, and recoded the data. Initial/open coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) forced me to make analytic decisions about the data, while selective/focused coding highlighted more frequently appearing initial codes to sort and conceptualise the data sets (Charmaz, 2000: page 17). Over a three month period I wrote an overly long chapter based on Norwegian data, structured around headings that I selected as a result of this in-depth coding process. This was, for me, a breakthrough moment and is where the thesis really started to gather momentum.

The codes (some descriptive, others analytical) in this fledgling data chapter that emerged as a result of this process were:

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<sup>35</sup> Data is considered 'saturated' when no new information can be found (Strauss, 1987: p 21). However Charmaz states that saturation is an "elastic category" that researchers contract and expand to suit their definitions, not any consensual standard (Charmaz, 2000). The notion of 'saturation' does not appear in Strauss and Corbin (1990).

Teachers' perceptions of what schools are for  
 The openness of Norwegian Schools to community and staff  
 Professional as friend  
 Professional as carer  
 Organisational structure  
 Professional development  
 Formal monitoring of teachers  
 Informal monitoring  
 Level of support for staff  
 Forms of Pedagogy  
 Pedagogy frustration  
 Power  
 Shelved Identities

My coding took into account a study of the initial codes I had used. Having produced this chapter I was, for the first time, clear about what were significant issues that I could then take into examining similarities and differences (Thomas, 1998: page 1) between the English and German data. In this sense, the headings above formed the basis for a re-coding of the data collected in all interviews in all three countries. These headings were, in other words, sensitising me into a critical re-reading of the data. However while Layder's (1993) sensitising categories used for analysis and the development of the selective codes proved a distraction in the coding of the data, they were to prove invaluable not only in the structuring the title of the thesis but in a return to the coding process (see Appendix Four).

Grounded theory has been loosely described as "any form of sociological theory that is built up gradually from the careful, naturalistic observation of a selected social phenomenon" (Jary & Jary, 2000: page 254). Layder (1993) maintains that grounded theory in the past, while focusing on the 'close up' features of social interaction, has neglected the issues of setting and context:

*Grounded theorists' reluctance to take structural analysis seriously (either though a distrust of such concepts, or by assuming that the analysis of behaviour or interaction has priority) risks overlooking the importance of the structural*

*dimension...these 'structural' or 'macro' aspects of society must play a more central role in fieldwork analysis...the field worker must be aware of the existence and operation of structural phenomena in order to be sensitive to their implications for emerging theoretical ideas and concepts* [Layder, 1993: page 55].

In utilizing Layder's research map as a tool of analysis I recognize a structural dimension to some of the data set (see Appendix 3 and 4). I have explored what these teachers are saying that reflect the values and dispositions that exist in the settings and national context they inhabit. Some of these values they have met in their teacher education, some they have encountered when they were at school and some are steeped in the history of this provision in their national context and setting. But while a structural dimension is important to the work in this thesis so too are the values embedded in the identities of the teachers I have interviewed. By coding the data in the way that I have, I have attempted to do what Layder (1993; 1994) argues is good fieldwork analysis.

## **5.9 Limitations of my method of research**

Pollard (1980) Nias et al. (1989) and Huberman (1992), have all argued that research on teachers' values can only be uncovered by examining teacher thinking. However the relationship between teachers' values and what teachers actually say about them, is ambiguous, fluid and difficult to unpack. Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) have warned that asking teachers to explain their reasons for a particular action will not necessarily guarantee that researchers can obtain a reliable picture of the values teachers hold. In attempting to achieve this, I have, up to this point, painted perhaps an overly rosy picture regarding the advantages of, not only qualitative interview strategies in general, but the idiosyncratic method of interview that I have adopted for this thesis. I wish now to redress this balance. There are unavoidable problems (Cicourel, 1964) that the researcher is faced with when adopting interviews as a method and I wish to refer to the ones that were significant to me when attempting to critically evaluate my own interviews.

When questioning the authenticity, accuracy and honesty of the responses, a factor that should be mentioned is that most of the student teachers in England are social science graduates. Their responses may not necessarily be typical of teachers across the entire national curriculum area within England, or indeed typical of all social science teachers in general. These ‘sample effects’ may also be exacerbated in that the respondents may also have been sensitive to questions from a social scientist and responded with what might be considered ‘desirable’ answers.

I have implied that my use of cards as an interview strategy, in part, addresses the issues of empowerment that feminists have referred to (see above) however this claim needs to be treated with some caution. It is true that my cards *do* offer interviewees a chance to choose issues that might be of interest to them and thereby gives them some control of the topics under discussion. It could also be argued that using these cards is limiting because it might have restricted what the respondents said. However the cards were used as initial prompts and were fun to use. They did not preclude the discussion from becoming wide-ranging, as one would expect in a qualitative interview (Kvale, 1996). However I did deploy a semi-structured schedule in the final interview (see Appendix Two) in order to assure that I had covered themes that had arisen in earlier coding of the data. This allowed me to pick up points that I felt that I needed to discuss in this last interview (e.g. what career prospects they felt they had). The fact that teachers *could* choose different issues to talk about was a particular strength in the approach and one that was reflected in the richness and variety of data that I collected. In general, I received a variety of compliments for the card strategy as a method of interview, with many respondents saying that they found it a less intimidating experience than it might have otherwise been had I been posing direct questions to them. Some said that they found the cards thought-provoking and gave them a chance to gather their thoughts before having to answer direct questions. One respondent did say that she found the cards ‘threatening’ in the sense that she felt pressurised into having to choose something to talk about rather than simply addressing the questions of the interviewer. It is perhaps relevant to say here that quite a few respondents thanked me afterwards for allowing them to take part in the whole project. The general sense that was conveyed by a number of the respondents was that they found the experience cathartic (Kidd et al, 2004). This was particularly the case with the German and Norwegian teachers, a minority of whom said that there was, in the daily routine of teaching, little opportunity

to talk to other colleagues about the more abstract, yet nevertheless, significant issues to do with their jobs that these interviews explored.

The three sample groups were small and from limited and contrasting geographical areas making it difficult to compare like with like. The largely inner-city London environment provides a set of expectations and socialising experiences that contrasts with both the relatively less metropolitan and less diverse environments found in either Munich or Stavanger. One example of how such a geographical distinction can impact on the life styles of teachers is the amount of time it took many of my English sample to travel to work with many saying it took anything up to an hour and a half each way. This contrasts with the ‘ten to fifteen’ minute journeys that most Norwegian and German teachers claimed they spent travelling to and from work. While this particular point was not something I chose to focus on as significant to the work in this thesis, it does nevertheless show how different geographical locations can radically affect the lifestyles, and therefore the work-based experiences of different sample groups in comparative research.

As explained in Chapter Two these sample groups work in educational systems where straightforward comparisons of the teaching profession are problematic. For example, in the case of Norway, being a teacher includes the ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ categorisations that so often characterise the English sectors). I do, however acknowledge that the opportunistic processes involved in the earlier stages of this research have affected the nature and scope of this thesis. A more straightforward comparison for example might have been to compare and contrast teachers working in English Grammar schools and German Gymnasiums.

When discussing rapport building I have already made reference to the issue of my choice of cards as an additional way to generate interest and enthusiasm regarding the interviews. This was further evident when watching their faces one year later and their surprise at the cards they had chosen. However other issues are also significant to rapport building that need further discussion. The age range of the teachers in my three samples broadly represents the average age ranges of teachers going into the teaching profession in those particular countries although the London sample are, in general, slightly older than the national average of teachers entering the profession for the first

time in the UK. That said, it is not, nor has it ever been, an aim of this research to offer data that claims to be representative of a larger group of individuals but rather draw the reader's attention to similarities and differences in values between the three groups of teachers under focus in this thesis. More significant however is the fact that the German teachers are considerably older on entering teaching, on average, than either their Norwegian or English counterparts because of the extended period of study it takes German teachers to reach their final qualification. There is a greater investment of self by the German teachers in their training than can be said about either the Norwegian or English cohorts. I cannot say that I found any qualitative difference in responses purely based on this difference in length of training and subsequently their older age on entering the profession for the first time. However, I do think that there was a subtle difference in the effect their ages had on the rapport that was developed between myself and the German interviewees over and above the Norwegian interviewees. I tended to find that the German teachers were more reflective about their own experiences as classroom teachers, and about being in new situations. I think this might possibly be due to the fact that they had, in many cases, experienced a number of part time jobs at university and therefore had a greater reflective 'stock' on which to call upon when considering their experiences as new teachers. I also think that they were, perhaps, less wary of my interviewer status although this is pure speculation on my behalf. That said, another advantage of carrying out three interviews over a two year period, is that I could tell that relationships were being built between myself and those being interviewed contributing to the richness of the third and final interview data.

Far more significant when referring to rapport building in Germany was my ability to talk to the respondents in German. Apart from providing me with access to this particular group of teachers from the outset of the research it also allowed me to clarify issues in German that might otherwise have gone astray as a result of miscomprehension of a question. I could always rephrase a sentence so that the respondent could comprehend me. In reality, only three interviews were carried out in German despite my enthusiasm initially to do these in their native language. This was, in part, one of the problems of being the 'exotic other' (Stephens, 2004). I gave them, as an Englishman, a wonderful opportunity for them to 'try out' their English and I did not feel it was appropriate for me to insist on speaking German bearing in mind the enthusiasm most shared in wanting to speak English. In most cases the standard of



English spoken was extremely good and I could switch if necessary into German to clarify issues. My rudimentary knowledge of Norwegian ruled out any possibility of carrying out interviews in Norwegian. Out of the thirteen interviewees only one student was not fluent in English<sup>36</sup>. Norway is a country with a small population and one that warmly embraces the English language. English is the first foreign language that school children learn and cinema and television broadcast all foreign films with subtitles rather than being dubbed (this contrasts with the automatic dubbing of all foreign films in Germany). While the Norwegian domestic music industry is enthusiastically followed by many Norwegian teenagers it is impossible to escape the dominance of American and British bands in the Norwegian charts. This, in general, meant that the interviews in Norway were effortless, in terms of any potential language difficulties that might have been thrown up. That said, I cannot possibly account for how these interviews, in content, would have varied had I carried them out in Norwegian. In other words I am sure that there were interpretations made of questions I posed that highlighted linguistic differences however it is impossible for me to say what these might have been. All I can do is draw attention to the fact that I was aware of their potential existence.

At this point I do wish to raise a methodological issue that I have termed the ‘translation effect’ when interviewing foreign nationals in English. I felt that when interviewing many of my Norwegian and German teachers that quite often the slight pause they needed to gather their thoughts before responding, was in many cases linguistically driven. In other words they needed a gap, albeit a short one, to fully translate the question, card, phrase into their own language. This pause also created a space in which they could gather a more focussed response to what ever issue they wished to talk about. This observation occurred to me, when transcribing the tapes in English. I often found that the English teachers responses were quicker, although they tended to require a couple of sentences, or phrases before the issue they were trying to address was responded to. This ‘thinking-on-their-feet’ was in contrast to the slower and yet more immediately direct answers of both German and Norwegian respondents.

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<sup>36</sup> This was not problematic as his ability to speak English was good, just significantly weaker than his other colleagues. The interviews with him tended to take longer and there were lots of enthusiastic body gestures on his, and my part to convey understanding. He also spoke German so in some cases I could switch however I am aware in some cases that there is a cultural reluctance to use German with some Norwegians (although this tends to be with an older age group) and therefore I tried to limit the occasions I did this. I also did not want to restrict his confidence in using the language.

In some cases follow up interviews had to be carried out by phone (Coffey and Delamont, 2000; Frey and Oishi, 1995). I did not particularly enjoy the process of interview by phone as it restricted much, of what I felt, was my skill as an interviewer (i.e. the issues of body language and eye contact that I referred to above). I believed that I could not engender as much rapport from this process and in the case of the two German interviews, felt that any deficiencies in my fluency of language were exaggerated on the phone without the support of eye contact and body language that plays such an important part in supporting linguistic communication. That said, from the point of view of the interviewee I do accept that they could have an easier time of it, carrying out the interview in their home and in a far more time-efficient manner<sup>37</sup>.

## **5.10 Ethical Issues**

During the course of this chapter I have dealt with a number of ethical issues that focus on the power relationships that exist between the researcher and researched (Mason, 1996). I also have talked about problems that could be associated with the samples I have used and issues related to how I accessed those samples in the first place. Preservation of confidentiality and anonymity of all people and places involved in this research was guaranteed with all names being changed – the real identity being known only to me. Written consent for all interviews was obtained on the initial visit to the universities and also, more informally, discussed on the phone in advance. Copies of all transcripts (Cohen and Manion, 1994) have also been offered to the individual respondents taking part after all stages of the interviews have been carried out.

Using a sample of teacher trainees from a college in London, while convenient, did pose ethical issues that need to be acknowledged in terms relationships of power between interviewer and interviewee. While I did not discuss these issues with my sample (thereby making these thoughts pure speculation) I do believe that my position as colleague to the tutor of the course, along with my own position of being a teacher in a

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<sup>37</sup> Apart from the inevitable travelling that some of my interviewees would make when going to prearranged destinations both I and many of the interviewees consumed enormous quantities of tea, coffee, cakes etc (that my increasing waistline bore evidence of) that were completely lacking in any telephone interview!

college in London teaching sociology must have had some impact on, not only their enthusiasm to be involved in the research, but also on the content of their answers. I have to consider that any one of these student teachers might have been treating me as a potential future employer, line manager, or colleague that could influence their future employment possibilities. As such there is a possibility that some respondents gave me 'what I wanted to hear'. Similarly I believe that this needs to be born in mind with the Norwegian sample because the Norwegian teacher trainees would have been made aware that I was a colleague of the person that was ultimately responsible for their teaching qualification in Norway, i.e. their course tutor. While it is fair to say that in neither case did I discuss any of the content of the interviews with the tutors concerned, it is possible that some members of both cohorts would have contemplated such a likelihood. The situation in Germany was slightly different because my contact there was with another member of staff who was not involved in the Gymnasium training and therefore there was perhaps less need for any of the sample to feel that they might need to impress me. That said, some would have been aware of the involvement of the head of the school and this might have been a factor in their wishing to take part in my research.

In all three cases other facets of social location such as age, class, and gender etc might have added to the interviewer effect (Oakley, 1979). However I have no way of measuring to what extent this was a significant issue or indeed how this might have impacted on the outcome of my research. I can say that class distinctions tend to dissolve more easily when talking to other foreign nationals because they may not necessarily be able to pick up on the subtle cultural 'clues' that infer a particular class background.

The quotations used in this thesis are but tiny sections of the transcripts of the original interviews and here lies a significant ethical issue concerned with the typing up and representation of interview data for a thesis such as this. Holland et al (1998) describe the transcript of any interview as a 'transgression' where the "original live, face-to-face conversations disappear in endless transcripts and reappear butchered into fragmented quotes" (Holland et al, 1998: page 222). I have tried to remain true to the ideas conveyed by teachers in this thesis. However, the fact that I have only chosen to represent extracts from interviews that 'fit into' the arguments this thesis explores, does

some ‘violence’ (Coffey and Delamont, 2000) to the thoughts, ideas and positions adopted by my respondents albeit unintentional on my behalf and I therefore apologise for what in some cases must be considered a ‘misrepresentation’ of their ideas. One further source of potential misrepresentation that needs to be addressed is related to the issue of linguistics and the politics of representation (Lather, 1991). I have already talked about my ability to speak German and in three cases this meant that the interviews were conducted in German by me. This however has also meant that I transcribed these interviews into English, necessitating translation on my part. I found this process to be tougher than I had first imagined and while I have attempted to do this as accurately as possible I am aware that this will have imposed an additional distance between what the interviewer meant and how I have conveyed their interpretation. On a number of occasions I needed to ask my German friends for help in this matter thereby violating, in part, the confidentiality I had promised. This was a regrettable and yet a necessary step I was faced with and one for which I could find no alternative solution. That said, however, my German friends had no way of knowing who these respondents were thereby preserving much of this pact of confidentiality.

The relationship between the interviewer and interviewee must also be considered in one case where the respondent was the daughter of one of my PhD colleagues although it took nearly a year into the research for me to realise this. I have to accept that some of the responses given by this participant could have been designed to ‘impress’ or help me in light of my acquaintance with another family member i.e. her mother.

### **5.11 Conclusion**

Mason (1996) discusses the complexities involved in writing up qualitative research findings from a large data set. The dilemma in deciding what data to include is more than balanced by the dilemma of deciding what *not* to include. This latter dilemma has been termed the “agony of omission” (Lofland and Lofland, 1995: page 262). The decisions I have made concerning which data to use and which to leave out has been based upon the key themes that have emerged from progressive focussing (Glaser, 1992) on key themes in relation to the thesis as a whole.

In the chapters that follow the qualitative methodology described in this chapter is used to draw out complex themes relating to the situatedness of teachers' values in the three countries under exploration. The thesis makes a significant contribution to discussions concerning the effects of globalisation on the teaching profession by focussing on the emerging values of a small sample of newly qualified teachers from three countries: England, Norway and Germany. However my thesis also makes a significant contribution to the variety of ways that qualitative research, and in particular, the use of interviews, can be deployed in understanding the lives of teachers.

## **Chapter Six – Teachers talking about their classroom practice**

In this chapter I examine some of the values that ‘becoming’ teachers in this study hold in relation to their proposed occupation. Different values about teaching and learning are discussed by teachers operating within the institutional settings and national contexts where pedagogic traditions reflect where they are located. These discussions reveal tensions and ambiguities as the experiences of these teachers mediate what they think and say about teaching. The chapter is divided into four sections looking at teachers’ reflections on teaching and learning in Norway, Germany and England followed by a discussion of the data presented.

### **6.1 Norway**

Hultgren and Stephens (1999) claim that with a relatively small population of only 4.5 million, teacher educators and education ministers can relatively easily be inculcated with similar values about education. These values, they claim, reflect Norway’s social democratic political system and its particular form of Lutheranism. Stephens et al (2004) further argue that intending teachers in Norway are expected to base their professional work on core values such as equality, compassion and solidarity that are common to both Norwegian political and religious institutions. However while official expectations of appropriate teacher values represent state-mandated ideals of the role of the teacher this may not affect what teacher educators and their students actually do on campus or in the schoolhouse. In other words, what teachers do in the classroom may not reflect intended curricular specifications (be they for the training of teachers or the subjects teachers teach). Literature also suggests (e.g. Helgoy and Homme, 2004, 2002; Stephens et al, 2004) that there is a degree of freedom that characterises decisions made by Norwegian teachers in regard to how rather than what they teach albeit within the constraints of the L97 guidelines.

During training the emerging teacher is exposed to an array of values relating to the nature and purpose of teaching. For example it is said that Norwegian teachers, in particular, value a ‘democratic’ relationship between pupil and teacher and that this is encouraged within the institutions in which teachers are trained in (e.g. Helgoy and

Homme, 2004). This point was emphasised when my stimulus card ‘power’ was chosen by Julie (a twenty-one year old white female):

Julie (first interview): *I don’t want to use the word ‘power’ - why did I pick that? I don’t like the word power in the classroom. I don’t want to put myself so high above the children.*

Julie’s unease with the notion of a hierarchical relationship between her and her children highlights this democratic relationship and is a typical characteristic of ‘being a teacher’ with most of this sample of teachers. Jens (a twenty-three year old white male) explains why he believes that ‘power’ as a concept causes uneasiness with Norwegian teachers:

Jens (first interview): *I think our view [Norwegian teachers in general] is that pupils are equal to a teacher in a way but they have not learnt that much as we have so we should give that to them. In Norway the major view is that all should be equal. It’s almost a sort of democratic communism. I think your teachers in England are stricter. We hear this from our teachers in the University.*

Admittedly both quotes come from teachers at the end of their training and before starting to work as a teacher (and therefore potentially highlight values relatively ‘untarnished’ by any kind of ‘transition shock’ (Veenman, 1984) from training to becoming a qualified teacher. They also highlight an egalitarian relationship between teachers and pupils that many Norwegian teachers value and one encouraged during training in the classroom (Hultgren and Stephens, 1999). This is not to say that teachers in other countries are not encouraged to have these values, but rather to point out that this forms a fundamental cornerstone to teaching in Norway in a way not so obvious in the other two countries under investigation. This, however, needs to be qualified by adding that while many Norwegian teachers value this particular kind of relationship it is not unproblematic for them, particularly when discussing how they teach. Beate, a twenty-two year old female, spent a year working at an American international school before her training started in Norway where the didactic styles of teaching she

experienced at this American school clashed with the values she was exposed to on her teacher training:

Beate (first interview): *I have been criticised a lot of times by my praxis teachers a lot of the time. I should let go and not stand in front of the blackboard, a lot of the time but that's the situation that I feel I have most control and I can see all of the students all of the time. The views here are different from my own experience with the Americans. I can see the purpose of the training but I am more confident when talking about what I know and it is important to me that my pupils believe I know my stuff.*

One must not underestimate the dissonances and tensions that becoming teachers face when juggling between the values they are encouraged to take up by their tutors and lecturers at university and the reality of classroom practice. Tensions also exist between societal values centred around democratic open relationships (and may be counter-intuitive to the role of a teacher 'lecturing' her students) and the personal beliefs and values of a teacher about the nature of 'good teaching' (Arthur, 2005). Such 'turbulence' and 'discontinuity' (Tickle, 2000) is further encapsulated in Hanna's quote below:

Hanna (first interview): *It is difficult. I want them to believe in me and I want them to know that I know my stuff...How much should I tell them and how much should I make them find out? ... We study these theories and we are introduced to many wonderful ideas about teaching. I also feel it's more important to make them find out and not just to tell them 'this is the way things work ok?' But I think sometimes it's very difficult to do in practice [she laughs as she says this] they are children and they don't always want to follow what our lecturers are telling us!*



Much of the literature on the early concerns of becoming teachers highlights their initial desire to be seen as subject expert (Holt, 1964; Fuller and Bown, 1975; Karge, 1993; Petty, 2004). The importance of being seen to be on top of the subject material can act as a emotional ‘security’ blanket displacing other initial fears to do with subject pedagogy and behavioural issues. But also evident in both Beate and Hanna’s quotes are tensions between personal and professional values, on the one hand, social and cultural values on the other, and the reality of classroom teaching. These tensions remain with Beate when she was interviewed two years later:

Beate (third interview): *I have worked both in American and Norwegian schools. The Norwegian way is certainly more democratic. And I like it. We resolve conflicts, we give voice to the pupils and there is a supposed equality of status between the two [teachers and pupils]. But I find this does not reflect my reality. I cannot be that person a lot of the time. When you have pupils that want to fight or come in from the playground aggressive and rude then I am not going to sit down and ask them ‘what is the matter’. I do get angry and I do, at times, tell them what to do and punish them and shout. It’s not the Norwegian way as you say, but it’s my way.*

Tensions are apparent between the democratic ideal of teaching she values, the cultural expectation of what ‘being a teacher’ in Norway should be, and what for her, is pragmatically possible as classroom practitioner. Beate is relatively inexperienced and as yet, has little in the way of a professional repertoire of skills about teaching that her more experienced colleagues might have. Her use of the phrase “I cannot be that person a lot of the time” highlights the dynamic yet fragile process of developing her professional identity as a teacher. An aspect of being a teacher i.e. the culturally expected role of facilitator and democratic practitioner is, at times, part of her professional identity i.e. how she perceives her ‘self’ as ‘teacher’ while at other times it is not. This means that there is sometimes a dissonance and gap between the values she feels she should act out and the actual role (Goffman, 1954) she adopts.

Svend, a twenty-two year old male, in his first interview was critical of the pedagogy he was introduced to during training. For Svend, what he saw as a ‘softer’ approach to students advocated by trainers along with the similar views of his older peers was out of step with his own experience of teaching in Norway today. Talking about the active learning strategies he was introduced to at university he argues that:

Svend (first interview): *It's a great idea but I think that it is very difficult to make it happen in practice. It works with small classes, with classes that are, have this discipline but I think that there are far too many pupils that will not do this. You know that those who are very hard working but there are those that simply do not. They don't have the self-discipline and that is a problem with those thoughts in the curriculum. So I think that I prefer a more controlled approach. The pupils are free to work but the teacher has to be more...authority in the classroom than the curriculum says.*

Any difficulty in deploying more active strategies for learning could be explained away by Svend's lack of experience. Svend opts for what Bottery (1992) argues as being part of a ‘cultural transmission’ perspective on teaching where value is placed on a more didactic set of teaching skills and the ability of the teacher to control the class. There does however appear to be a clash, for Svend, between the values behind the L97 curriculum (e.g. equality, compassion and solidarity) and the widespread concern for authority and control of the classroom that many trainee teachers voice in other settings (Petty, 2004).

Much has been written about the initial concerns of becoming teachers regarding classroom behaviour (e.g. Holt, 1970; Lane, 1990; Rogers, 2002; Wright, 1998). Hanna is a thirty-one year old divorcee with two children who started her training as a teacher once her children were old enough to be at school. She chooses the stimulus card ‘control’ and talks about her dilemma of holding relatively anti-authoritarian values in general while at the same time having to deal with issues of behaviour when she tries to teach:

Hanna (first interview): *As a new teacher we all feel that we spend a lot of time trying to have control. As a Norwegian teacher you cannot really put any force behind...I can't...I can...mmm...I can get angry...try to be strict but there is not really any force behind it. I don't know how much support the schools can help you. It is not that I think we should have very strict punishments. I don't believe in that but I think that sometimes, as a teacher you feel, 'what can I do'. Shall I just let the pupil do what ever he is doing and not make a fuss?*

When Hanna uses the phrase “Norwegian teacher” she realises there are cultural values associated with what a teacher can, and cannot do when dealing with behavioural issues. These values are reflected in Norwegian education policy in which the Norwegian Ministry of Education (KUF) framework underlines the desired teaching qualities of “listening to and understanding the other’s view point” (KUF, 1999: page 37). ‘Negotiation’ is a key value that is published in teaching strategies concerning classroom teaching and behaviour management (e.g. Stephens, 2004) and is given priority over more punitive courses of action e.g. expressions of anger, detentions etc (indeed detentions are very seldom used as sanctions in Norwegian schools) (Tonnessen, 2004). When the Norwegian framework for teachers refers to ‘classroom leadership’ the envisaged role for teachers is less directive than its English counterpart with more emphasis placed on democratic decision making than on control of pupil behaviour (Stephens, 2004). While many Norwegian teachers would agree with the sentiments behind a reluctance to use more punitive approaches this can lead to feelings of anxiety and lack of empowerment as expressed by Hanna above.

For Henning (a white male and twenty-eight by the time of his third interview) the stimulus card ‘control’ also causes unease despite the fact that he felt the need for control over pupil behaviour to carry out duties effectively within the classroom:

Henning (third interview): *I feel control is a negative word but I do have control in the classroom and I don't accept small talk. They [pupils]*

*have to be quiet [when he wants them to be] and work and I have small methods to get them to do that. I will get them to hold hands with one of the teachers in the hallway, or get them to clean the black marks off the hallway – things like that.*

Gerry: *What if they say 'no'?*

Henning: *As long as I find something that they enjoy there are no problems.*

Henning sidesteps his concern of the use of the work 'control' by admitting the use of a task that he considers mildly humiliating to the pupil. What he does not deploy however is the 'theatrical anger' claimed by some (Stephens, 2004), to be adopted by many teachers in England. For a teacher to be seen to be angry openly within a Norwegian classroom would be viewed as deviant and unacceptable behaviour by many pupils and parents (Tonnessen, 2004). Not all teachers however are happy with the values that Norwegian teachers are being exposed to in their initial teacher training regarding what are, and are not, acceptable strategies for dealing with behavioural issues. Georg, a twenty-six year old male at the time of his first interview is mildly critical of some of the ideas he is learning about:

Georg: (first interview): *I like much of what we learn about the children and how they are learning. But it is sometimes I think unreal in their [university tutors] expectations of what class teaching is. Many of our teachers at university have been out of the school and do not really know what goes on...they say we have always to be nice and talk to the children if they are fighting or not learning and get them to talk to understand what is wrong but I don't know if this is the best way and it makes my job hard sometimes.*

As Georg gains greater experience there is a shift in his values regarding classroom strategies for behaviour with pragmatism confirming his earlier misgivings about his

training. His initial doubts about the advice he receives at University are held up for scrutiny:

Georg (second interview): *May be the teachers they had during those early years could have been harder. Because some of the teachers are too liberal...pupils are too free...some are too free and some are very hard to teach. May be it's just the classes I have but I feel we should be allowed to be stricter.*

Gerry: *Is that just you or is that a feeling with many of your colleagues?*

Georg: *It is a feeling with many of my colleagues, yes. Some years ago, a few years ago was thought that we should be careful what we were saying, what we were doing towards students. I think now we have to show them who is in charge.*

Interviews carried out with Inga (a white, twenty-two year old female) show how, during the course of one year, her values concerning her teaching shift. Like most of the teaching cohort I interviewed in Norway, Inga has had drama built into her pedagogic practice during training<sup>38</sup>:

Inga (second interview): *I like to use a lot of drama in my teaching methods for example when we have to teach pupils about conflicts like teasing [meant here as 'bullying'] or drugs and so on I use full on theatre. Its like you let five or six pupils be like a gang. They force on student to go into a shop and steal something...and then when the oppression was really bad I turn to the rest of the class and I ask what would you do here to change this? It's a method I really love because*

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<sup>38</sup> Many teacher educational institutions in Norway have drama built into initial teacher education across all courses as a way of enhancing pedagogic performance.

*the pupils are really excited and anxious to get up there and just 'this is wrong' and 'you can't do that to another person' and so on.*

The value-shift is apparent one year later when her class sizes and time table increase (due to staff cutbacks and sickness). She talks about the impact this has had on her teaching techniques and style and I remind her about her use of drama in her teaching repertoire:

Inga (third interview): *I do not have the subjects that are natural to use more exciting methods...Whenever I can I try to use it. But with such numbers I do these lectures like standing in front of the class and just teach. I try to give the pupils as much time to work by themselves as possible, like exercises both individual and in groups and discussion. But with such large numbers it's not easy and I find it more easy if I tell them what they need to know.*

Inga believes that she resorts to a more didactic methodology in the light of the increasing numbers she faces in the classroom. Despite the fact that she teaches her form of thirteen year olds most subjects she starts to resort to a more didactic approach seemingly at odds with the pedagogic philosophy she was exposed to during her training. The use of the phrase 'just teach' indicates that she is aware that the pedagogy can simply involve a transmission of knowledge from teacher to pupil.

Stephens et al (2004) argue that Norwegian teachers are trained to value a child-centred pedagogy that combines both humanistic (Rogers, 1961) and cognitivist (Piaget, 1955) approaches to learning. Clearly many of the Norwegian teachers value these democratic approaches to teaching and learning that they have been introduced to in their schools as children and during their training. But it would seem that once teachers enter the classroom for the first time some of them question the practicality of those particular ideas and as they become more experienced some question how realistic 'democratic' approaches might be in the reality of the Norwegian classroom today. There appears to be an inherent tension between Norwegian cultural values centred around notions of

democracy and equality and the desire for classroom control that some of these inexperienced teachers become aware of. Also what is clear from these extracts is that despite the fact that all my sample of teachers interviewed in Norway will have experienced similar types of schooling (i.e. unitary/comprehensive education) this does not mean that they either share or take up similar values about teaching and classroom control and pedagogy.

## 6.2 Germany

Unlike many other German states, Bavaria does not, in general, provide comprehensive schools as an educational offer for students and parents<sup>39</sup>. All the trainees interviewed in Germany had attended gymnasium schools as pupils. Being a *Bavarian* gymnasium teacher has a culturally embedded high status and resonance that differs not only from those teachers in other German schools found within the tripartite system but also from gymnasium teachers from the different Laender (Federal states). It should also be noted that Gymnasium teachers are ‘subject’ teachers in a way that the Norwegian cohort of teachers are not.

Harald (a thirty-one year old male) recognises that approaches to teaching and learning are embedded differently within the layers of the German tripartite system. He communicates his enthusiasm for teaching but goes on to reveal how he was less impressed with his amount of gymnasium training compared to other pathways within the training system:

Harald (first interview): *I absolutely enjoy working with pupils and it is such a high – what can I say, it’s a very high aim to open their minds to new ideas...to work with them and to feed them with knowledge...to entertain them to offer them new ways of thinking.*

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<sup>39</sup> There are only two experimental *Gesamtschulen* (German comprehensive schools) in Bavaria, one in Munich and one in Nuremberg.

Gerry: *Is there much difference in the training you received compared with teachers whose training is for the other two types of schools in Germany?*

Harald (first interview): *Unfortunately there is and I think that this is really strange way of thinking because teachers of the other schools like Hauptschule and Realschule receive much more training in pedagogics and psychology and they also have much more work experience during their course of study. They tend to have three to four weeks every year.*

His use of the phrase “feed them with knowledge” could be interpreted as his commitment to didactic methodology however I believe that this was due to the interview being carried out in English and I do not wish to over read the data. More significant is his belief that in both *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* there is greater attention paid to the different ways in which pupils learn. This is in contrast to the training that Gymnasium teachers receive where great value is placed, during training, on subject knowledge rather than pedagogic knowledge (i.e. how to plan for, deliver, and evaluate the process of teaching and learning).

Magda (a twenty-eight year old female) indicates how the Bavarian education system<sup>40</sup>, in particular its exam system, might impact on her own practice:

Magda (first interview): *Unlike other Laender [states] where schools set their own exams Bavaria has its exams set by the state so I think in Bavaria you have a higher pressure concerning the subjects because you have to do a lot more but you don't have the time and you don't have the time to care about your pupils. So it's more subject centred here and more child centred in other Bundeslander...in other parts of Germany if as a teacher you have not got through your*

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<sup>40</sup> See Chapter Two for greater detail on the different education systems. Significant here is that Bavaria is unusual in Germany for centrally setting its exams. Most schools in Germany (at the time this research was carried out) internally set their own exams.



*subjects then you can make the exams fit what you have taught. Here this is not possible.*

Stressing the subject-centred approach (as opposed to more child-centred approaches) valued in Bavarian gymnasiums both Harald and Magda believe there was greater pressure on them where they taught (i.e. the region combining with the type of school) compared to many other gymnasium teachers in Germany. In Magda's case the external constraint of having to work to exams set by an outside body is viewed by this teacher as compromising her own 'ethics of care' (Noddings, 1992).

Dagmar (aged thirty at first interview) also believes that gymnasium trained teachers miss out on aspects of training covered by other training routes:

Dagmar (first interview): *In these seven years [the time it took her to qualify] there was too much about my subject area, literature etc, this was too much and in History we were not prepared for what is expected knowledge in school. But we had virtually no psychology and no pedagogic even though they get that in the Realschule and others.*

In different ways Harald, Magda and Dagmar highlight their dissatisfaction with the substantial difference in the way they must teach compared to other school teachers within the tripartite system. There is also a sense that some of the more humanistic values they had prior to their training are in some ways compromised by the training they receive to become Gymnasium teachers. This image of what 'being a Gymnasium teacher' means to Harald is apparent in the way his values shift as he talks about teaching in a Gymnasium school:

Harald (first interview): *So right now it's a lot of trial and error, a kind of 'learning by doing' phase. For me being a teacher at the gymnasium the most important thing I have to do is to teach a certain amount of material. It's not really the way I teach but what I teach so therefore the methods are not that important. That is what I feel right now. Maybe some colleagues would disagree but anyway for me it's*

*very important to speed up every lesson to get out of the lesson the most. So the learning methods are not that important – that's what I feel.*

It is not uncommon for novice teachers to possess fears over the ability to deliver what is required within a set time frame (Cooke & Pang, 1991: p94). But this data reveals more than a concern shared by many novice teachers. With such little emphasis paid to teaching methodology during his training Harald's apparent lack of concern for variety in methods indicates his belief that content at gymnasium level is of greater value than an overall concern about his teaching methodology. His 'trial and error' is focussed on how to deliver the content rather than on the effectiveness of learning in his classes and reflects the privileging of content he will have perhaps experienced as a pupil at school and during his training (both at university and in his school placements).

Jones (2003) has argued how many teachers experience crises, conflicts and dilemmas and consequently feel a strong need to discuss the discrepancies arising from the mismatch of their original values and expectations of being a teacher and the reality encountered in the classroom. Elsa (aged thirty-two) communicated to me the feeling of frustration she felt at facing a class with her own personal values about teaching and what is required from her in practice:

Elsa (first interview): *You have to do the book [the particular text she was teaching her pupils] and if you have time at the end you can read a story or something like that...that's something I really miss because you enjoy things like that...just a lesson where they sit and listen for five minutes at the beginning or end of the lesson.*

Gerry: *There is a tinge of frustration in your voice.*

Elsa: *A bit...yes...something like that...it's a shame because sometimes you would like to do other things, like I said, read or do more project work, in some classes its ok but in one class there is a English for pupils doing it as a*

*second language...they have Latin as a first language and the book is crammed full...there are 42 texts I'll never finish the book ...I'll never finish the grammar...I can't do anything with them...I would love to show them a Monty Python video at the end...just have to always in one lesson a text...grammar and questions on the text and It's so boring and they hate it and I hate it too [laughs with frustration].*

Elsa experiences value turbulence and discontinuity (Tickle, 2000) as her own desire to try out different approaches to teaching and learning is challenged by her firm belief that she is expected (by her peers and by many of the parents of her pupils) to get through content. Elsa's belief that you have to 'do the book' indicates how her own values about teaching are in tension with a system that values content over pedagogic delivery. This, in part, is also due to the assessment her students face via the uniquely centralised exam system that Bavaria deploys.

Ursula (a married mother of thirty-six) in her first interview, talks about her choice of teaching methodology within the context of a more content driven approach to teaching she associates with gymnasium teaching in general:

Ursula (first interview): *Learning is more than just this accumulating of knowledge. I think methods in which pupils are creative and which they are active and when they are actively involved in the learning process I prefer. So I prefer methods in which the teacher provides the materials, supervises the learning, helps, assists the pupil but is not the main speaker.*

Ursula's criticism of the school day in a gymnasium indicates how her own personal values concerning teaching and learning, come up against more dominant values that circulate within the Gymnasium. She is critical of the way in which she believes gymnasium teaching emphasises knowledge acquisition above and beyond other aspects of a child's development (e.g. that of the pastoral). She negotiates this tension between

her own personal values about teaching and learning that embrace a more holistic approach to schooling and the professional values she is immersed in:

Ursula (first interview): *I think that it [learning] is much more than learning data by heart and then reproducing it which is what we are encouraged to do. I think that learning involves the whole person basically our feelings, our brains, our senses and ideally I think all of those should be addressed in a lesson. Because I think that learning is more than just accumulating knowledge I think that the forty-five minute sections that we have for one lesson are not ideal. I think that the whole set up of the school as it is, is not very good.*

According to Berlak and Berlak (1981) a dilemma of schooling is a contradiction that "resides in the situation, in the individual, and in the larger society - as they are played out in one form of institutional life, schooling" (ibid page 125). These dilemmas are set within the social setting of the school and are complex- because they deal with many of the aspects of teaching that one can't see, but can feel or sense. In the extract below Ursula voices her unease with the contradictions she encounters as she tries to negotiate her more humanistic approaches to education with those of the schools for which she is being trained to teach:

Ursula (first interview): *The main purposes of education today is that people learn to form, and live and struggle through relationships...I think my experience so far gathered as regards my training is this is my most difficult task. I find it not so difficult to produce a result or to transmit knowledge...factual knowledge but I find it much harder...much more stressful to engage with my pupils on a more personal...more human level and yet this is the reason I went into teaching.*

It is not unusual for teachers to find themselves caught up in tensions (Ball, 1994) over what teaching and learning means for them and what it is in practice. I suspect that the

dilemmas that Ursula encounters are exacerbated by her additional role as a mother thereby bringing into her analysis a complex web of values that play out during the course of these interviews:

Ursula (second interview): *I feel that I need to be stricter and more in control for the pupils to work, I think that is what they expect, also I don't think they want to do group work, they want me to present everything and watch them consume it. I think I have to find a way between – I think I expect too much of them.*

Ursula struggles to maintain her humanistic values about education as they become entwined with more instrumentalist ones inherent within the system she engages in. Planel (1997) has emphasised how culture influences pupils in the classrooms in their aspirations and expectations. Gymnasium schools in Bavaria are vehicles for pupils on route to one destination only – university. These exam/test driven cultures are made up of the overwhelming expectations of teachers, parents and pupils as of what such an education comprises. This can make it so much harder for newly qualified teachers like Ursula to put into practice personal values they might possess about what teaching and learning are about and contributes to the dilemmas they face as newly qualified teachers. We should remember that it is not just certain teachers' that might hold conservative values about teaching and learning that are resistant to change (Reutin, 2004). Many pupils also resist strategies for teaching and learning that they are not used to. In her struggle to maintain her values about teaching she strategically complies (Lacey, 1977) with the values of the institution she is being trained for by changing her actions rather than her values.

In his third interview despite his Gymnasium school training Nikolas (male and thirty one at the time of his third interview) gained work at a new *Realschule*. He is critical of his former training and the values that dominate within Gymnasium schools. Talking about his new role as a *realschule* teacher he used the term 'we' to describe him and his new colleagues, immediately placing himself within a distinct 'community of practice' (Brown, 1997; Wenger, 2002):

Nikolas (third interview): *In my training little emphasis was put on how to deal with students with problems because we expected pupils to come to us with a certain ability. Here [in the realshule] we do not have high ideas about what we are teaching, alright we respect our subjects but we do not have to show off that we are so good about it, which makes it so relaxing. That is the good part but the bad part I imagine, after some years would be bored I do not know but I would expect.*

In contrast to the Norwegian notion of comprehensive education and the discourses surrounding ‘differentiation’ and ‘child-centred learning’ prevalent in England, Nikolas was trained in a philosophy of pedagogy routed within a particular ‘ideal’ (Becker, 1965) model of teaching that portrays all Gymnasium pupils as, in some way, academically gifted. These values are compromised when he moves into the more varied teaching and learning environment that the *realschule* offer. In Nikolas’s case both training and subject content point to values about teaching that emerge differently depending on what type of school the teacher might work in. Perhaps due to the period of time that Nikolas has spent in his Gymnasium training there still appears to be a privileging of content over practice as indicated by reference to possible future boredom within the *realschule* context.

In the following two extracts we see a value-shift in some of the early idealism that Harald conveys when he describes what he believes to be the essence of the work he does as a teacher and how that changes after one year:

Harald (second interview): *I feel that I can move a lot, not on the sense that I can change pupils, but I feel that I can put little seeds into their heads, seeds that grow after maybe ten years, after fifteen years, that ripen. It is a very idealistic image I know that but I feel that they listen to me and their eyes and ears are open and they have an opinion that they are willing to change in some respects, or may be not change, modify. Maybe not to alter completely what they think but they are willing to accept that there are different points of*

*view...I think I am able to wake them up in a way, which is the most important thing at this age when they are at school. I don't think I can put a lot of information in their heads but I think I can make them be critical.*

We have already seen how Lacey (1977) captures the range of ways teachers adapt their own values to the new conditions they find themselves in. In contrast to Ursula's form of 'strategic compliance' (Lacey, 1977), one year later in his third interview with me, Harald's use of the word 'efficiency' indicates a shift in values that lead him to consider a change in his teaching methodology. While the quote above highlights the value he places in his pupils becoming 'critical', his priorities now reflect an urgency to deliver curriculum content. In so doing he values 'silence' and 'efficiency':

Harald (third interview): *I think I am at the point where I am trying to change my style of teaching. I think the word 'efficiency' is so important now than it was two years ago. I feel a strong pressure concerning time. It means I need to put a lot of information of content into my lessons...Making them work...not only play but really work. Doing written work, learning things by heart, I have never heard of that before but I have quite a good experience with that especially with young pupils...there are two things that have become important to me. Silence and efficiency...I do not want to waste time and spoil children with too many games. I think I can reach the same point in a much shorter time by using, I am sorry to admit, much more traditional methods.*

I have discussed in earlier chapters how some writers have argued that certain values are resistant to change (Lortie 1975; Dunkin, Precians, & Nettle, 1994 and Anderson & Piazza, 1996). By his third interview the 'point' of teaching for Harald is about delivering a specific quantity of curriculum rather than a focus on how best the pupils are learning, perceiving or indeed being 'critical'. By his use of the phrase 'but really work' there is a desire to restore the more traditional methods he might have experienced as a pupil in his own gymnasium rather than deploying methodologies that

he might have been taught during his training. This could partially be explained by his own experience as a gymnasium pupil and the values he developed there about education dominating any new ideas he might have picked during his teacher training. But in reference to Lacey's (1977) work mentioned earlier, by his third interview, Harald also experiences a form of internalized adjustment whereby he appears not only to comply with the values in the institution in which he works but to fully endorse them. There is little concern shown about how his students perceive the material they are interacting with or a notion that they are equal partners in the construction of knowledge. Rather, a focus on providing evidence that they are working ("silence") is prioritized with apparent little concern for any interaction between pupils or teacher and pupil.

Magda offers a slightly different take on how experience can in some ways lead to a shift in values concerning teaching and learning:

Magda (second interview): *And they have to work in groups and it is quite hard to get them used to it but it works. It is worth working on that because I try to talk as few as possible, I don't want to talk all the time because you get exhausted if you are talking and talking and they have to sit still and quiet in their place. If you can manage to let them talk and present everything is better for you.*

Teachers do change as they become more experienced and they learn to 'cut corners' in ways impossible to see when fresh out of university. Two points emerge here. Firstly as experience 'kicks in' Magda deploys more student-centred group activities to conserve energy (rather than due to any progressive commitment on her part) as she starts to appreciate the increasing workload she faces. For Magda group work becomes another 'survival strategy' (Marland, 1995). I am not diminishing the importance of survival strategies but rather highlighting how activist learning strategies can be valued for this role as much as for any pedagogic values they might be associated with. Secondly, we see that she states that it is 'quite hard' to get pupils used to group work. This confirmed much of what was stated in the PISA reports about the lack of active learning strategies deployed by teachers in Germany and the lack of attention to differentiation – in particular within the Gymnasium schools (OECD, 2001). Most



teachers interviewed within the German cohort made little reference to differentiation or any form of student centred learning. It would seem that such a discourse was largely absent within the teachers interviewed. This was, in an extreme fashion voiced by Harald, in his third interview when talking about ‘inappropriate’ pupils being present in some of his classes:

Harald (third interview): *If I have a look at the pupils I have in my classes. Either gymnasium or realschule there is one fourth or one fifth of the pupils that should not be in this class. That might sound hard but I think they should be in a different type of school. I do not think I should spend too much time revising things, doing the same things repeatedly in order to push them so that they can reach the next level and at the same time, may be four fifths of the class fall asleep because they are bored. When I talk about efficiency I mean I would rather focus on the majority of the class than the minority who should not be there.*

While this quotation, taken out of context, fails to convey the enthusiasm about teaching that Harald so obviously (in person) communicated to me, it *does* show a philosophy that is embedded within a system that welcomes, what some in Germany believe to be, a meritocratic, if strongly hierarchical, education system. It further highlights the significance of both cultural and institutional factors on the meritocratic values of some of these emerging teachers. For Harald, there is no question of his teaching having to be aimed at individual pupils within his class. Harald’s perception is to teach to the whole class with those failing to keep up clearly, for him, being in the wrong school.

Ursula, in her third interview, raises the issue of the assessment system in Bavaria and how this system works against her own personal and professional values related to teaching children:

Gerry: *At certain times of the year their work is marked and they have to gather a certain amount of marks if they are to progress from one year to the next is that right?*

Ursula (third interview): *Yes but they are constantly marked. So in every lesson I have to ask them and give them an oral mark and I also have to give marks for the quality of their contribution they give to the lesson, this is an on going thing. I think ok in the next couple of weeks I have to keep a special eye on Marcus and Fritz and then after each lesson, I give them a mark and then I add them and divide them by the number of marks and then that is the mark for the period.*

Gerry: *This is all years marked in the same way in the gymnasium?*

Ursula: *Yes, and all subjects.*

Bernstein (1975) has related curriculum content to both assessment strategies and pedagogic delivery. He argued that the teacher's choice of pedagogic approach was constrained by the system in which the teacher operated within. Here we see how the curriculum that Ursula works with prioritizes summative strategies of assessing student outcome (Capel et al, 2005) i.e. the provision of mini 'snapshots' of the progress that pupils make, over more formative types of assessment where pupils gain a clear idea of what they need to do in future in order to improve.

The sorts of tensions that mediate the values of emerging teachers in Germany are, in many ways, different from those present in Norway. It is true that teachers in both countries will have attended similar types of schooling to the one's they are being trained to teach in. However Gymnasium trained teachers receive little in the way of practical teaching before their first state exam despite the fact that they have been studying for the qualification for many years. Furthermore the period that German teachers study for is significantly longer than their Norwegian (and English counterparts). Feiman-Nemser (2001) and Hebert and Worthy (2001) claim that the length of a teacher education programme impacts on pedagogical thinking. The average age of German university graduates is twenty-eight (Hohlmeier, 2004). Most of this cohort had taken between seven and nine years to qualify as gymnasium teachers with all the incumbent values associated with the particular status these teachers occupy (see

Chapter Two). However it is only in the last two years of this period of study that they gain any significant experience within the classroom. Less emphasis is placed on pedagogic training compared to the other schools within the tripartite school system. Thus these teachers have spent a longer period of time in which to be inculcated with the values widely held about what ‘being a gymnasium teacher’ means *before* they enter the classroom as trainees. Furthermore, with two years of training in schools they will be bombarded with values held within the Gymnasium teachers’ ‘communities of practice’ (Wenger, 2002). That said, it is over generalising to say that Gymnasium teachers do not value the use of a variety of teaching methods at the start of their career. But the prioritisation of subject content over other forms of pedagogy was a theme that resonated throughout most of the interviews conducted with the German cohort and one I believe deserves attention because of its relative absence within the Norwegian case. I also believe that the values expressed by these teachers are values that have been contextualised by a far longer period of training than that experienced by both Norwegian and English teachers. This tends to make them more embedded and less subject to change

### **6.3 England**

Since the late 1980s, initially under a Conservative government and then under New Labour, a market-driven philosophy to the provision of education has existed in England, under the glaring eye of performance league tables (Lambert and Lines, 2000). This has, in some cases, led not only to a greater emphasis by schools on examination success but to the fostering of a competitive environment between departments as a means of achieving this goal (Herrington, 2006). Furthermore whereas the Norwegian and German teachers interviewed in this thesis shared similar educational backgrounds (as pupils the Norwegians attended comprehensive schools and the German teachers interviewed all attended Gymnasiums) the teachers from the English cohort come from a variety of educational backgrounds. These factors contribute to the variety and specificity of values expressed about teaching and learning by the English sample of teachers interviewed in this study.

Sylvia was thirty-six in her first interview with me. As a pupil she attended a girls’ selective grammar school. She is white and prior to teaching held an extremely

successful job in the city as a financial advisor but decided that she wanted something more challenging and rewarding than her previous career could offer. After one year of teaching mainly business studies she remains enthusiastic about the work she does and is happy with her career change. She is also reflective (Schon, 1987) about her teaching:

Sylvia (second interview): *I like to use pupil-talk in my classes as much as possible so getting them in pairs or groups or getting them to move around – debates and more child-centered stuff or quizzes and also getting them to move. All the things we learnt on the PGCE but it depends on the class and the level I think. On every course I have taught so far the beginning part of the course has very much been imparting knowledge, for sixth form classes as time has gone on I have become more a facilitator, for the year ten vocational class which is course work I have become a facilitator. For the G.C.S.E class 100% exam it is still very much imparting information. I am not happy with the lessons that I teach in that class.*

Although this is Sylvia's second year of teaching, she still applies the theories of university training to her own practice. The empowerment of her students through student-centred learning is something she values and reflects a traditional humanist approach to teaching (Petty, 2004). With her sixth-form students she deploys a variety of methods where students play a bigger role in the learning that takes place and she is happy with the work she does here. But she makes a distinction between the teaching required at this level and the teaching she delivers at GCSE which she views as more content-driven. She, as yet, has not been able to apply the methods of teaching she values to this more content-driven syllabus and time-constrained course.

Roby's own educational background is one of private school followed by a degree at Oxford. During his second interview with me Roby tells me about his job role and some of the pupils he teaches:

Roby (second interview): *Yeah my official title is humanities teacher which is in a definite comprehensive school in the best sense of the word in that both ends of the spectrum exist. Some kids go to Oxbridge and then quite a few go to good universities and then we've got some real idiots at the bottom of the scale as well.*

Roby's terming of some of these students as 'idiots' highlights a dichotomous categorisation of 'idiot' to the more 'ideal' (Becker, 1977) pupil destined for Oxbridge. As the conversation continues, and despite his training, there was no apparent space for him to place students in alternative categories that were, in his eyes, admirable. For him, you are either academically gifted or not:

Gerry: *What do you mean by 'idiots'?*

Roby (second interview): *Kids that are not interested and I suppose it's not a very 'PC' word for not very bright kids as well so in terms of teaching GCSE groups you've kids that are going to get A stars and then kids where it's not even worth entering even if they are quite willing because they'd be lucky to scrape a mark even if everything went well.*

Rather than accepting the idea that student teachers change and modify their views on teaching through classroom experience and training, Zeichner, Tabachnick and Densmore (1987) argue that what takes place is an elaboration of previously existing perspectives and a selective focus on experiences that validate these perspectives. These values, they believe, remain latent during formal training but play a major part in teacher socialisation once in the classroom, particularly when the teacher is stressed. There is little evidence in Roby's comments of the sorts of discourses he might have been introduced to during his initial teacher training (e.g. those of 'inclusiveness' and 'differentiation'). He goes on to explain how he plays videos to avoid conflict with some of these students:

Roby (second interview): *In the lectures they are not really interested and it's not rewarding teaching them and I suppose there is quite a lot of conflict between me making them do work or sometimes we just watch video...and you know obviously they don't feel they are getting too much out of it and probably justifiably.*

Bottery (1992) argues that some teachers place greater value on a more didactic set of teaching skills and the ability to 'control' the class and 'feed' the knowledge she/he possesses into the minds of the students being 'taught'. This is common in the early experiences of newly qualified teachers (Petty, 2004). Roby is aware of pupils not being interested in the subject area he taught while at the same time recognising that they resented not being pushed academically by him. His use of both the video and the word 'lecture' with little reference to alternative teaching strategies that are more child-centred (see: Bodner, 1985; Vygotsky, 1986; Bruner, 1996) highlights a more content-driven approach to teaching at odds with the training he received. At this particular juncture in his early career as a teacher he values these teaching strategies as a form of coping strategy (Austin et al, 2006).

Carmen qualified as a teacher in Kenya but retrained in England. She teaches Business Studies and Geography. Born in 1965 she arrived in England three weeks before she was due to start her teacher training in London. Her two sons arrived in England towards the end of her PGCE year. Carmen's values about teaching and learning appear to shift over the duration of the first two interviews:

Carmen (first interview): *I think with teaching the underlying factor is variety. Depending on the content you want to deliver. Depending on the circumstances depending on the available resources there is a lot that comes into it and also your creativity. Of course I will use teacher talk because at the end of the day you have to deliver and I have to give explanations when I have to make some rules...I will use tasks for individuals or for groups. I will make task sheets, discussion groups, pair them up group them into*

*three or four. I will use games, role plays, I will use simulation if we have something we are discussing.*

It would be easy to gloss-over Carmen's emphasis on 'creativity' in the quotation above as one her professional values. Her use of the phrase 'teacher talk' while arguably similar in meaning to Roby's use of the word 'lecture' is contextualised by the way she deploys a variety of teaching strategies of which 'teacher talk' is just one. While Carmen is not new to teaching she is new to teaching in England. Once into the job the dilemmas (Jones, 2003) she encounters as she attempts to manage her work-load mediate her professional values. With the introduction of Curriculum 2000 in England came a diminishing period of available teaching time as students, for the first time, had to take compulsory units at the end of their AS year (their first of two years in post-16 education). This means that delivery of subject content takes place in most schools in England and Wales between September and March with the remaining time spend on exam preparation. Carmen is aware of both the pressure on English teachers to 'perform' (Ball, 2001) and the limited amount of time made available to them. Contrast Carmen's quote above with this extract one year later:

Carmen (second interview): *I think here [in England] you are pushed a lot to ensure that people pass their exams in your subject and now the performance related pay comes up that kind of situation can push someone out if they are in a situation. I so want to be able to give them a good time with me but the pressure to get them through exams and so little time. I was told it was easier in the old A level system but now students are with me at sixteen and I know I have to get them through in all this stuff and revise and then take them through again. It's not like it's even over after the AS we are told they have to be prepared for A2 even before the summer starts. Where is the time for creativity!*

Teachers can sometimes experience dilemmas (Lewis-Shaw, 2001) or tensions between the competing priorities of communication of subject content, interest/concern for students and some of the priorities of the schools in which they work. The pressure on

Carmen to perform supports Ball's (2001) claim that, in some cases at least teachers' work is increasingly viewed and evaluated "solely in terms of output measures (test scores and examination performance) set against cost (subject time, class size, resource requirements)" (Ball, 2001: page 13). And yet Carmen's values of creativity and social justice remain despite the fact that she feels she is 'pushed' within a context of performance related pay and exam pressure.

Edward was 26 at the time that these interviews first took place. He attended a comprehensive school, did his degree in sociology and then had spent a year teaching in Malawi before coming back to London to train as a teacher. In the extract below he talks about how difficult it is to retain, in practice, many of the ideas taught to him when he was training:

Edward (second interview): *When I was doing my PGCE I always seemed to concentrate on delivering things really well and exciting and actively and differentiated and all those things. When you got into the job a lot of that went not out of the window but there was pressure put on to deliver results. Not from my head of dept or from the headmaster, but probably from myself that ultimately that is how you are assessed, that is the way you judge yourself.*

Carr (2000) argues that secondary teaching is seen in the UK by newly qualified teachers as essentially a 'technical' rather than 'emotional' pursuit incorporating 'bench marks', 'targets' and 'curricula rubrics' with Ofsted, LEAs and governing bodies there to 'blow the whistle' if such implementation is not carried out 'properly'. While there was little evidence of this in the interviews with Sylvia and Carmen, data from the above extract would, initially, seem to support Carr's (2000) view. Drawing on Arthur et al's (2005) value orientations to teaching there is a sense of Edward's desire to be both a 'successful' teacher (one that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms) and an effective one (determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself and how 'best' to teach it). While Edward has retained enthusiasm for the job there is a tension between his values expressed through his desire to deliver 'things really well' and his desire to 'deliver results'. While both sets of actions are 'results' it is the latter



which provides a more quantifiable set of outcomes and one that is of more significance to him further down the line of his career.

Tensions between values and practice are commonplace for emerging teachers (Jones, 2003). Much has been written about the value of ‘reflection’ in the professional development of teachers (see: Schon, 1987; Hatton and Smith, 1995; Farrell, 1998). Some teachers resist aspects of teacher education programs which ask them to reflect on teaching. For them, teaching is “something you do, not something you think about or study” (Bolin, 1990, page 11). Jim was the only trainee interviewed in the English cohort who displayed this characteristic so early on in his career. A former grammar school pupil, Jim was twenty-four when he started these interviews and now lives in Australia. After his second interview we lost contact and to the best of my knowledge he is no longer involved in teaching. Both cynicism and idealism are evident at the end of his training:

Jim (first interview): *I think we are spoon feeding people and churning them out and we are not actually making them responsible because the learning process isn't just about a textbook but about going into work and learning for yourself because 9 times out of 10 you'll have one days training with your line-manager and then be left to get on with it and if you can't think for yourself act independently you can't really learn and learning is about life really.*

Throughout the interview Jim appear to display little respect for the values he was introduced to during his teacher training, believing that the job is very much about ‘getting in there and just doing it’. By his second year while there is a ‘nod’ to some pedagogic values (e.g. differentiation) he still retains his more pragmatic approach to classroom practice:

Jim (second interview): *I just can't be arsed with that...to see every thing from the student and child's point of view is ridiculous. And go to all these training courses talking about discipline, differentiation and seeing everything from the students*

*point of view. All these teachers sitting there saying, 'Oh how can I get little Johnnie to learn well it is simple, you just sit them down tell them to shut up and get on with the work and control them'. I know it sounds didactic but it works.*

Such 'common-sense' (Brookhart & Freeman, 1992) conceptions about teaching (e.g. "you just sit them down...") often lead many newly qualified teachers to have high confidence in their ability to teach.

Eleanor was twenty-two at the start of her interviews with me. She went to a comprehensive school and finished her degree in Business Studies and then did the City and Guilds teacher-training course before embarking on the PGCE course. In her first interview she talks about how she feels her own strategies for teaching and learning are constrained by the nature of the exam system.

Eleanor (first interview): *You're teaching for the exam and that's it and the syllabus are so detailed as well and to fit that all in the timetable. You might get it...like learn this for this and learn this for this and there's not much room for people to come out and have their own ideas and initiative...and it's all very much text book style and you know as long as you know this, this, and this, it's right what's next to learn is this, this. I think it's very restrictive.*

By her second interview Eleanor has encountered two external constraints on her values. The first is the exam system that she talks about above. The second is her awareness of the competitive environment in which she is working and how she feels this impinges on what she would like to do in the classroom:

Eleanor (second interview): *We started the beginning of the year with the head standing up and congratulating the staff on exam results. He stood there and went through the most successful*

*departmental results and of course everybody knows that if you're not mentioned you're not up there. Which means there is more pressure on us this year to perform. I thought I would be able to take them on trips. I've collected some really neat ideas on more active learning strategies from [name of conference] but I can't see how I can do these ideas and deliver in the time we have. All I'm saying is I just feel I have to cram as much stuff into their heads as possible and where's the fun in that!*

Turbulence exists for many newly qualified teachers when the values that drive them are at odds with the values of the schools in which they gain first employment (Day, 1999). This means that for some newly qualified teachers schools may well be sites of value conflict (Huberman, 1992). From the beginning of her academic year Eleanor feels pressurised to deliver in the classroom, not only out of her own personal values she conveys about teaching (i.e. her desire to use her “neat ideas”) but by the weight of pressure extolled on her to perform in a competitive environment. This can bring with it a shift not only in the pedagogic practice teachers are trained to embrace but the importance placed on it as they struggle to meet extended demands made upon them in light of the competitive environment they might work in. The tensions that teachers in this cohort experience are, in some ways, similar to those of the German Gymnasium teachers. In both cases external constraints act to create tensions that mediate the values that emerging teachers bring with them. This happens as a result of clashes between the values inherent within the assessment systems in those countries and those of the teachers being interviewed. However in the English scenario another ingredient is added with the existence of external exam league tables that mediate the values in schools concerning examination performance in ways not apparent in the German setting.

#### **6.4 Discussion**

This chapter illustrates the power of the locale in influencing the values of these ‘becoming’ teachers. The interview extracts have shown how values concerning teaching and learning vary from one educational setting to another with cultural norms

and values partially shaping what is considered acceptable pedagogic practice in the first place. The degree of freedom that teachers have to determine their own pedagogic practice depends on the principles that guide the leadership of the school or college into which the teacher is being socialised as well as the values of the ‘communities of practice’ they inhabit. Furthermore in all three locales in this study there are teachers who experience ‘dilemmas’ (Berlak & Berlak, 1983) when they are caught between conflicting images of what kind of teachers they would like to be, what they think they are, what their training and the institution in which they work tells them about the role of the professional teacher and the form of assessment and curriculum that guides their teaching. These teachers’ values are mediated through tensions generated by these conflicting constructions of what teaching and learning is.

The interviews in Norway revealed tensions that mediated the pedagogic values of these Norwegian teachers. The sense here was that there was a broad commitment to the development of the cognitive, social and emotional development of the child. This was in line with the Norwegian commitment to unitary/comprehensive education which all Norwegian interviewees themselves experienced when they were pupils. Norwegian teachers, unlike their English counterparts are trained and qualify to teach the 6-16 age range. Many schools in Norway cater for the entire age range. Unlike the variety of school types that exist both in Germany and England, in general Norwegian schools are ‘schools for all’ i.e. there is no differentiation or selection. This means that all Norwegian teachers are expected to teach ‘mixed ability classes’ in ways that most German gymnasium teachers are not. To be more specific teachers in Norway are trained with the expectation that their classes are for all, rather than the ‘school for all’ notion of the English comprehensive school where many classes will be either set, or streamed. Setting and streaming does not exist in Norway and goes against the Norwegian cultural perception that everybody should be treated in the same way. This also means that as far as status is concerned there is little opportunity for Norwegians to place themselves (or be placed) in differing status positions based on the type of school they work in (in contrast to the tripartite system in Germany and the variety of types of school that exist in England). Furthermore this means that there is a wider tolerance for different behavioural issues that confront the teacher. An egalitarian pupil/teacher relationship was the common ‘ideal’ with the teacher to be viewed by pupils as a friendly ‘significant other’. However the dilemma of living up to an image of teaching

and the reality of what the job entails caused tensions and feelings of inadequacy in some teachers interviewed. Some teachers felt that approaches encouraged by teacher trainers might be too pupil centred at times. However raw teacher power was rarely seen as an option although for some teachers in this cohort it was felt that teachers are not encouraged to be strict enough.

All the German teachers interviewed were, themselves, gymnasium pupils and thus despite attending different schools, share a 'gymnasium' experience in education. There is within the German cohort, albeit with reluctance in some, a greater emphasis on a content-driven approach to teaching that reflects the values, imbued over a longer period of training along with their own experience as gymnasium pupils. Despite the desire (in some) to deploy a variety of strategies and ideas about education they have learned from their training, once employed within the system it is difficult not to get sucked into an ethos that is content driven. Many teachers appeared to hold loosely humanistic principles at the end of their training but this seemed (with the exception of Ursula) to have little opportunity to be enacted once in the privileged sector of the German tripartite system. One of the ways that emerging teachers can bolster their own values along with their professional identities is through privileging curriculum content rather than privileging student need. These teachers tend to focus more on the cognitive realm of teaching at the expense of the more social, emotional and political dimensions that some Norwegian teachers expressed. Far from the unitary principles deployed in Norway there tended to be more of a philosophy of exclusion rather than inclusion if teachers felt that they were not reaching certain students. The focus and values of this cohort was primarily on 'teaching' rather than 'learning'.

Like their Bavarian gymnasium counterparts, many of the English sample are being prepared for what they believe is an 'exam driven culture'. Many of the values expressed by the English cohort might be considered to be pseudo humanistic i.e. these teachers deploy many discourses surrounding individual learning (e.g. 'child-centred'; 'differentiated'; 'active-learning' etc). That said, with the exception of Jim and Roby the teachers interviewed retained their values about the pedagogy they believe works for them. Most teachers felt pressure to 'deliver' the content of the courses they were teaching but in most cases, as experience kicked in, a variety of pedagogic strategies were in place. The wide variety of educational experiences that teachers have had as

pupils along with training that celebrates more student-centred learning partially accounts for this.

Common however to many of the teachers in these three locations is their recognition of a shift in teaching from a more inductive and student-centred approach introduced to them during their training to a more teacher-centred one once they counter the reality shock of the classroom. This means that the values that most emerging teachers have are not fixed or constant but shift as they gain experience of teaching. As they become more experienced most of these teachers continually assess and reassess their values about teaching and learning.

## **Chapter Seven – Constructing and deconstructing the teacher's role**

Teaching roles are constructed by key policies, discourses and values that are located within the countries, societies and institutions in which teachers work. In this chapter we see how teachers are aware of how teaching is constructed in their own societies and, during the course of these interviews how they, as teachers, deconstruct these roles. In so doing the chapter explores what similarities and differences in values are evident within the three national settings with a particular focus on what the respondents value as central to their role of being a teacher. The chapter is arranged, in order, around the dominant themes about the role of the teacher that emerged from coding the data. These included in Norway: teacher as 'friend' and 'carer'; in Germany 'subject specialist' and 'benign authoritarian'; and in England 'carer' and 'strong authoritarian'.

### **7.1 Norway**

In Norway the teacher is constructed in the preliminary part of the *Rammeplan og forskrift for Praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning* (1999) ('Framework and provisions for practical teacher education) as a carer, a humanitarian, an adult confidant and as a friend (Kirke, 1999). This major policy document also describes the state's image of the desirable teacher as a 'learned' professional, a co-worker, a role model and a carer (ibid page 40). In analysing these interviews both 'friend' and 'carer' were frequently used in the interviews with these Norwegian teachers.

#### **7.1.1 Teacher as 'friend'**

Noddings (2002) has argued that there is a general retreat from the language of 'friendship' in the classroom. Yet in the Norwegian case not only is the use of the term 'friend' embedded within the framework for teaching documentation but also appears as a dominant theme within the data collected for this study.

One of the stimulus cards that Beate chooses in her first interview is 'Professional'. Although she deploys 'friend' during the extract below, little apparent significance is placed on its particular value to her:

Beate (first interview): *Are they looking at me with respect or do they look at me as 'I don't care', she is just a friend, it's just her, we don't have respect for her, she doesn't do this or do that, or do they respect me and have discipline to what I say.*

In fact as one of her professional values, friendship does not immediately manifest itself but grows significantly over the two-year gap between first and third interviews. Contrast her use of 'just a friend' above with the growing significance it has for her by her third interview below:

Beate (third interview): *You can have a professional relationship with your students but they can also be your friends. They can trust you but you can still kind of hold your distance.*

Gerry: *You use the word 'friend'?*

Beate (third interview): *Well, friend...someone they can trust, if you call it a friend? I am talking about a person that can be trusted, a grown up person that can be trusted that they can have a good time with.*

Beate clearly is talking about her need to assert herself as a teacher. She suggests that both respect and friendship might be hard to sustain in teacher-child relationships, particularly at the start of that relationship. However by the third interview she has resolved this for herself. The use of the term 'friend' when applied to relationships between pupils and teachers is one often caught up in the values of trust:

Vivi (second interview): *I hope my pupils are my friends and I think they look at me in that way. Because a lot of them tells me you are the only one we can talk to. I want to be my pupils as friends*



*but I don't think the other teachers in the school I am working want to be the pupils' friends because if you are too close friends you might not see the faults the pupils make...it is difficult to do this but I don't want to change my friendship with them but I do want them to believe I can teach them.*

As Jens becomes a more experienced teacher trust also becomes a pivotal point within a tension generated by wanting to appear both as a 'friend' and be a good teacher:

Jens (third interview): *We are a sort of friend to these children because what I feel is that students trust me because they can tell me things so that is a good thing. I want to keep that trust but be a little stricter. It is a balance because if I become too strict they will not trust me.*

In both cases there is an unease expressed about the balance between their 'friendship' with their pupils and how this might impact on other aspects of their professional roles as teachers. There can be a delicate balance of the 'trust' element of the friendship that many teachers try to cultivate and their assessment role as subject teachers (Stephens, 2004). This can happen because of the tensions generated between managing their pupils, being in authority, respecting their pupils and a desire for their pupils to respect them as teachers.

Stephens (2004) when writing about relationships and the Norwegian education system contrasts the more egalitarian relationships between Norwegian teachers and pupils with those of their British counterparts which he describes as one comprising 'contrived distance' (e.g. the English use 'sir'/'miss' etc in English schools). It is, however, clear that *some* Norwegian teachers desire this distance from their pupils:

Gerry: *The word 'friend' is used a lot with Norwegian teachers. Would you use the word 'friend' as well to describe the relationships you have with your pupils?*

Jakob (third interview): *No, not a friend, I will be a man who is with them as a good man, as a positive man but not friend because my friends are my age. I think I need to make my distance with the pupils. I think for me to be a good teacher it is important that they see me as 'teacher' and not one of their friends.*

Jakob is (in his interviews with me) passionate about working with children but he is wary of the use of 'friend' as one of his professional values. There is no reason to believe that he does not value the trust and egalitarianism that many of his colleagues share. In Chapter Three I discussed Arthur et al's (2005) value orientations that encompassed 'good', 'successful' and 'effective' teaching. 'Good' teaching is an orientation to teaching that goes beyond that of knowledge transmission and subject orientation (Arthur et al, 2005). The orientation not only acknowledges the importance of subject orientation but prioritizes the values of care and respect of pupils (Arthur et al, 2005). Jakob is caught up in a tension between his humanitarian values (he wants to be seen as a 'good man') and those related to his desire to be seen "as teacher". He resolves this dilemma by moving the term 'friend' out of discourses associated with teaching and into those associated with his private social life.

I am aware that the emergence of 'friend' as a coding category can cause difficulties in unpacking some of the ideas not only voiced by these teachers but also with words used in policy documents. To some extent this is symptomatic of comparative research in different countries. In Norwegian, German and English being 'friendly with' and being 'friends of' can convey a variety of meanings. 'Friend' can convey relationships where equivalence in power exists but also be used in a variety of ways that give insight into the values that teachers have about their roles. The difficulty in fully understanding Inga's use of the term is partially resolved by her use of the term 'friendly adult':

Inga (third interview): *I try to be an adult, like being a friend but still an adult*

Gerry: *'Friend'?*

Inga (third interview): *I do not want to be a friend on the equal line as their friend in their spare time but I would like to be a friendly adult or someone they can confide in and trust.*

Berne's (1970) work on transactional analysis can be applied to the use of certain types of pedagogic strategies adopted by some teachers with reference to the 'ego states' of 'parent', 'adult' and 'child'. Perhaps there is a sense with Inga that it is not so much the belief that children are her 'friends' but more a case that she prefers interacting with them on a level that is equivalent to the 'adult/adult' transactions that Berne writes about. It is in this sense that she deploys the use of the word 'friend' when describing her relationships with her pupils.

It is impossible to divorce the institutional and professional use of the concept 'friend' by these teachers from the wider context in which they are socialised. We have already seen in previous chapters that to be a professional teacher in Norway is about cultivating the whole child (Tonnessen, 2004) and making children feel, first and foremost, comfortable in the presence of the teacher (Stephens, 2004). We have also seen how these teachers will have experienced very similar educational values when they were pupils themselves. One contextualising feature of the formation of these professional values in Norway is that teachers are always on first names with their pupils at all levels of state education:

Hanna (third interview): *When they come in the morning and they see me, several of them run towards me, they give me a big smile and I think this is nice. When I meet them outside they say 'Hanna', 'Hanna'.*

Gerry: *They do not call you 'miss'?*

Hanna (third interview): *[laughing and shaking her head] No! They call me 'Hanna'. I think that is very Norwegian. Even the headmistress. I think she did in the beginning, get them to*

*call her 'Headmistress Eleanor' but they don't. They call her 'Eleanor'.*

One implication of Hanna's comments is that in Norway pupils need to be made to feel comfortable in the presence of their teacher. Pedagogic performance depends not only on the theories of learning that inform the approach adopted by the teacher but also by the clothes worn, position adopted in class (front, back, sitting, standing etc), lighting, equipment, gender etc. The ingredients to this 'pedagogic style' (Edwards and Usher, 1997) vary, to some extent, from one setting and context to the next. However, on my many visits to Norwegian schools, first names were the norm and Norwegian teachers were informal in terms of dress codes in comparison to many of their English counterparts. They do not wear suits and many wear jeans and t-shirts and that includes head teachers. Pupils and students of all ages are encouraged to call teachers by their first names. The use of the word 'sir' or 'miss' is anathema in Norwegian culture, particularly in Norwegian schools. Linguistically the Norwegians have no word for 'sir' and Norwegian children in the schools of the teachers interviewed in this study would not dream of calling their teachers 'miss' nor would Norwegian teachers or parents expect this.

It would be wrong to assume that there is no ambiguity in 'friend' as a value expressed to describe the sorts of relationships that exist between many teachers and pupils in Norway. It is also important to recognise that there may well be a 'translation effect' here that muddies its usage by these teachers. However it is significant that Norway is the only country within this study that actively encourages the use of the term in its policy documentation (see above). The category 'friend' is clearly evidenced as a coded theme within the data and perhaps this is not surprising bearing in mind that it emerges within the Norwegian framework as a desired professional characteristic in relationships between pupils and teachers. However its usage is full of ambiguities. Norwegian teachers value an egalitarian relationship between them and their pupils and in particular they prioritise 'trust' as something they consider an essential ingredient. However what is clear is the need for some element of contrived distance between teacher and pupil albeit in a less dramatic sense (dramatic in Norwegian eyes that is) than is often found in other national contexts.

### 7.1.2 Teacher as carer

All professionals are said to have an 'ethics of care' (Noddings, 1992) where caring forms the foundation for any ethical decision-making that the job entails. However how this is worked through in terms of what it is to be a teacher is context specific. Humanitarian, adult confidant, surrogate parent and social worker, Norwegian teachers going into the profession do not perceive themselves as purely instructors but rather as members of a multi-faceted vocation of care (Collay, 2006).

Both Inga's parents are teachers and perhaps this contributes to her ideas that teaching was easier in the past than today. At the end of her training teaching is not simply about the delivery of a formal curriculum:

Inga (first interview): *Come on! Look at the world today. It's not like when you were a teacher in the 70s or 80s. Things have changed since I went to primary school...it is difficult because some children don't have any borders and eh...broken homes and parents just don't...the children just don't always get what they need from the parents such as homework and reading. Several parents struggle with mathematics and if the parents don't help them...then why on earth should they [the pupils] bother to take part in the lessons and teaching...so in many ways that adds to the problems.*

In terms of how the role of the teacher is constructed in Norway, in terms of care, Norwegian teachers are in some cases viewed as substitute parents. Texts such as King (1998) or Cameron et al. (1999) however, suggest that the association of teaching with caring is sector specific i.e. it is significant in defining primary teaching as both low status and primarily a women's occupation. And yet serving as carer, role model, guide and teacher of life skills are all roles that Jens acknowledges as central aspects of the work he does as a teacher:

Jens (first interview): *We have those many jobs to do, not just teaching but you have to be parent, friend, psychologist and office worker.*

*I think social work has become a major part of the teaching role in modern times. As a male teacher many children don't have a father who will live at home and then of course you become a role model for the children.*

What 'caring' actually means to all of the Norwegian teachers interviewed is not easy to establish. Expressed in many of these extracts 'caring' conveys a moral commitment to the child. In combination with the value placed on being a friend (see above) the role of a teacher is as much that of a friendly uncle or youth worker as it is instructor of knowledge. Other teachers however focussed on what they saw as a surrogate parental role:

Julie (first interview): *Many see that we have to take on more responsibility from the parents because they work more and don't see their kids so much so we have to be a social worker as well...It's our job to do that. You have to take on some of the parents' job as well. Society says we have to do that because we see parents who are neglecting some of the children's needs. Most of the job is not only teaching but a social worker as well.*

However Hanna's dual identity (Woodward, 2005) as both mother and teacher combines to influence resentment of the parental role she feels she is expected to play by parents. As a Norwegian teacher it is expected that all parents have access to her home telephone number and it is acceptable for parents to call her in the evenings or at weekends. Hanna's own experience of being a mother influences her own resentment of the societal role that is expected by her from the parents of the pupils she teaches:

Hanna (second interview): *It is because I think as a mother and I take a lot of responsibility for that and I see things that the parents of my pupils expect from me. I would never dream of putting that [responsibility] on my son's teacher. The other day one parent said 'I tried to call you this weekend but you wasn't home'. They were expecting me to apologise. 'Sorry, I have been away'! I feel that they expect it to be*

*but I don't think that is the right way. I don't think that is the way it should be. In a way I think that responsibility is put on me. Some of the parents say 'we don't want to help them with their homework...you are supposed to do that...you are supposed to teach them so they understand so they can do their homework at home alone' and many of the parents work and they don't have the time for it*

Hanna starts to deconstruct her role of the teacher as it is being positioned and constructed in Norway. Her dual-identity as teacher and mother play-off each other in this process of deconstruction. On the one hand, Hanna acknowledges her role as viewed by the parents i.e. the responsibility placed on her to be there for them but she also acknowledges her own role as a parent in the education process. By doing this she concludes that this responsibility is too much.

In many cases the multi-faceted professional identities and values of these newly emerging teachers are being forged in a stressful environment largely devoid of contact with other teachers. This isolation from other adults (Petty, 2004) can leave the professional identity of a Norwegian teacher in a potentially fragile condition – a fragility that can be further exacerbated by the kinds of parental contact that Hanna talks about. Hargreaves (1998) asserts that emotions are at the heart of teaching and good teaching can be 'charged with positive emotions' (ibid page 835). The balance between the positive effects of the emotional work that teachers do and the stress they encounter is clearly evidenced by Hanna during her second interview:

Hanna (second interview): *The good part is when I teach I feel that I have a good contact with the pupils and I feel that I am doing a good job. It can be small things like, one of my pupils who was standing next to me and I was holding him on the shoulder and he was trying to get away and I thought 'okay', he doesn't want me to be physical so I just kept a distance. Then a few days later he came with one of his books and he came to me and he just held me, held*

*around me and he was just so amazed about something I had been teaching. I thought 'ok, this is nice'.*

Nias (1989) suggested that an examination of teachers' experiences would be incomplete if it did not incorporate discussion about emotions, both positive and negative. In Hanna's case, this emotional side of teaching (Day, 2002; Zembylas, 2003) can have a positive effect on some of the stress she experiences teaching. Her need to stress the 'good part' of the job highlights some of the ambiguous feelings she has about the work she does.

These Norwegian interview extracts have focused on values associated with the 'friend' and 'carer' identities taken up by these teachers. In general these teachers welcomed the 'friend' tag that accompanies their description of the work they do. In addition to this they acknowledged the inevitability of their role as carer. One aspect of this caring role was in many in many cases, acting as surrogate parents and this was greeted with less enthusiasm. These values fit a dominant role of teaching in Norway that exists in the legislation and policy literature. It is one that has been internalised by many of these teachers when they were pupils themselves and is further endorsed during their training to become teachers. However, once they start to 'perform' (Goffman, 1961) this role some teachers find that it is not easy. The delicate balance between managing to be a teacher and being a friend or carer throws up ambiguities and complexities which in turn can lead some to deconstruct not only this role but some of the values associated with it.

## **7.2 Germany**

In sharp contrast to the notion of equality-as-sameness that can be found in the Norwegian educational system, the social function of the tripartite system of education in Germany is one that allocates or confers a different status to the pupils who attend the types of schooling available. This is also the case for the teachers who work in these schools. Indeed, it has been claimed that many believe that the highest status a teacher can achieve is to work in a Gymnasium school (Reutin, 2004). The integration of pupils in later life in social and professional activities is frequently determined by the type of school they attend. This includes the Gymnasium teachers interviewed – all of whom



attended Gymnasium schools themselves as pupils. Furthermore the distinction that exists between the three categories of teaching qualifications manifests itself in the separate training programmes and is legally endorsed in salary differentials, allocation of teaching hours per week and a higher status within the civil service career structure (Jones, 2001). This has implications for the sorts of values and roles that German teachers talk about and the way in which the Gymnasium teacher is constructed.

### **7.2.1 Teacher as Subject Expert**

Kron (2000) has argued that teachers in Germany at secondary level are ‘instructors’ rather than ‘educators’. By this he means that they see themselves as subject specialists with high value being given to teaching and assessment of content. “Educating, advising and innovating are of minor importance” to teachers of this age range (Kron, 2000: page 173). While I do not agree that this generalisation can be made across the German educational system in general I do believe this to be applicable to many working within the Gymnasium environment. This does not mean that teachers do not value a caring or pastoral role but it does reduce the importance for some.

Before training to become a school teacher Claudia had trained adults in the work place. She talks about what she feels is the difference between working with adults and young people in schools:

*Claudia (second interview): You cannot compare these two professions – teaching adults means you have to entertain them – you have to be good in order so that they don’t drop out/quit – you have to be good at what you do – concerning the social level – in school you have to be good concerning the material level. It is not that important that you are a good teacher – or a friendly one or whatever but you have to teach – and the end of the year they have to be at a higher level than they were before – that is why it is a completely different job.*

We have seen in Chapter Three how Arthur et al (2005) have drawn attention to three value orientations to teaching. These are comprised of ‘successful’ teaching (that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms); ‘effective’ teaching (determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself and how best to teach it); and ‘good’ teaching, an orientation to teaching that goes beyond that of knowledge transmission and subject orientation. The latter orientation not only acknowledges but prioritizes the values of care and respect of pupils as in the Norwegian setting. Claudia’s prioritisation of the delivery of material over the social aspects of teaching highlights the values she believes are associated with being a gymnasium teacher. For her it means to be in command of a variety of facts to be transmitted down to the pupils in her care. These prioritise the ‘successful’ and ‘effective’ value orientations that Arthur (2003) has written about. There is little emphasis, for her, on the sets of social relationships she might build with the young people in her care during the process and any implications that this might have for their learning. For her, the ‘social level’ is confined to teaching adults whereas a ‘higher level’ means her pupils are in command of more subject material rather than any commitment on her part to work on the development of the whole child (Capel et al, 2005).

I stated earlier that all teachers from this cohort have, themselves, attended gymnasium schools as pupils. Most of the German cohort of teachers have taken, from the start of their university education to first teaching post, between seven and ten years to qualify. This has meant that a decision to follow the pathway of teaching is taken at nineteen with most teachers starting their first employment by the time they are twenty six to twenty eight years of age. In addition to being inculcated for a longer period with values and key discourses concerned with education, these German teachers’ values shift as they become older. Nikolas, for example, at nineteen was not sure of what he wanted to do in terms of career and, as a result, his love of his subject partially determines his career choice into teaching:

Nikolas (second interview): *Why am I doing this now? Because I don’t really have any alternatives. That sounds pretty poor but I mean that it is not the only reason because I do enjoy it also, not all the time but who does? Why did I want to do it? I accuse myself sometimes as I had so many choices and what did I*

*do? One reason is that I chose to study those subjects which I liked best at school which is ok and can be done when studying for teacher but I didn't even look around, so that is quite poor. But that is one problem with German school teachers I think by the time you start to work for being a teacher until you reach it is too long.*

Embedded within this quote is all the uncertainty that a nineteen year old might face when confronted with the decision to invest so much time on a career path that won't start for many years to come. It is worth remembering that before the first state exam that teachers in training sit, hardly any time is spent in school. Therefore their own experience as former gymnasium pupils plays a significant role in their socialisation into the job of teaching at these types of schools. The emphasis placed on the importance of the subject above and beyond the importance of the pupil is part of that gymnasium experience and was sharply brought home when the issue of inclusive learning creeps into the conversation with Nikolas below:

Nikolas (second interview): *I am here to teach my subject. I, myself, had a problem with one mother, the English mark for her son, he was dyslexic and here in Bavaria they are helped in many ways, I think they are helped too much, but that is just my opinion...and they get more time...and I don't agree with it because basically I think they should be helped they should have special courses, but in real life they don't get any help, they have to deal with their problems. I was always bad at maths and no one ever gave me any credit either.*

The tripartism that exists in Germany in general, and in Bavaria specifically, places an emphasis on the difference between a so-called 'average' child and a gymnasium child allocating them different schools and teachers accordingly. Reutin (2004) notes that little consideration is given, in Gymnasium schools, to children with learning difficulties as this distorts the traditional role of the Gymnasium teacher as a subject expert. This is in sharp contrast to the discourses associated with the Norwegian notion

of an all unitary/comprehensive school. In his last interview Nikolas describes how he coped with pupils who, in his eyes, were problematic and unsuitable for the classroom environment in which he taught:

Nikolas (third interview): *Well I do not have any training for that but I do think that we have to do our job and that job is to teach our subject. What happens is you see that students that come from problematic families, broken families or single parent families very often have problems at school...it is very hard for them...but I have not been trained for this and I think these pupils should go into other forms of schools.*

In his deconstruction of what he sees as his role of being a teacher Nikolas struggles with his humanistic values concerning teaching. This struggle leads to ambiguity and tension as he is aware of both the needs of children coming from problematic families and his particular definition of what he believes is the role of the teacher. The values he associated with his gymnasium training mean that he cannot entertain much thought of teaching students with behavioural problems - any inability on his behalf to 'include' those students is resolved by his belief that these students should be excluded. We can see therefore how the values associated with subject delivery that present themselves in the German data can contrast strongly with the more 'caring' image given by many Norwegian teachers.

Pastoral care for students is often subjugated to the role of one teacher in a particular school rather than associated with what being a teacher means in general in the Gymnasium, as Ursula indicates:

Ursula (second interview): *As a religious education teacher that is where they put the pastoral care...we also usually have one teacher who is responsible, the school psychologist. It's a normal teacher who has additional training. So they would be the contact person for dyslectic pupils or with behaviour problems or something. He would be the specialist and have all the contact addresses to send them to certain agencies. But the general pastoral care like going on*

*retreats or if something happens at the school or personal issues would normally be done by the religious education teacher.*

Gerry: *So there isn't such a strong emphasis on the role of the teacher as tutor or a responsibility being placed on tutors in general for the well-being of the child?*

Ursula: *No.*

The conferring of the pastoral role of teaching on particular members of staff confirms and strengthens the view within Gymnasium schools that teachers should just be teachers of their subject. It is worth noting that the OECD PISA report in 2002 highlighted the lack of pastoral care in many German secondary schools as the chief weakness within the German school system and contrasted the role German teachers play with many of their British counterparts.

In her second interview, Katarina confirmed what Ursula had said. Once again I was struck by how little opportunity these teachers have to engage with their pupils in ways that go beyond subject delivery:

Katarina (second interview): *There is something like a tutor who is responsible for the class but it is only an organisation thing really. He or she has to check work and they are handed in correctly on time. And he or she has to care about the reports but that is mainly it and very often they are teachers who only teach one or two lessons a week in a class so they don't even have the time to get in touch with the pupils very often. This is not something we [she means most Gymnasium teachers] have much to do with. If there is a problem then we contact these special teachers otherwise all we really do is just teach our subjects and we barely have time for that which is a shame – it's not really what I went into teaching for.*

The wistfulness of Katarina's response highlights a clash in values that she experiences once into the job she has spent so long training for. Many German teachers juggle between a desire to live up to their own 'ethics of care' (Noddings, 1992) and the requirement (in some cases legally pursued) to be subject specialists. The expectation, coming from the parents and institutions in which these teachers work, is that pupils are taught to perform successfully within the gymnasium school in general. 'Success' is generally interpreted in terms of exam success rather than on any other criteria of measurement and has little to do with the 'good teaching' that is associated with Arthur et al's (2005) more humanistic values of a teacher.

### **7.2.2 Teacher as benign authoritarian**

I use the concept 'benign authoritarian' to describe, within the German context, a dominant theme that emerged in the data that combines both being 'in' authority and being 'an' authority around knowledge (Eraut, 1994). Once again, the situatedness of teaching can complicate any generalisations made about teaching in different locations. The duration of most gymnasium lessons is between thirty-five and forty minutes providing a whirlwind change from one lesson to the next as teachers move from one classroom to the next, greet their students and install order before the lesson can begin. Little time is available for more humanistic elements in teaching. The system not only emphasises the subject specialist notion associated with being a gymnasium teacher but also requires many to become what I refer to as a 'benign authoritarian'.

In the first extract below Dagmar is one year into teaching and rejects the notion that the role (Goffman, 1959) she adopts in the classroom clashes with her own personal values and identity:

Dagmar (second interview): *When I teach I don't play the 'teacher' role but actually I am Dagmar and not as a teacher. I am the same in the classroom as I am at home. I don't seem to have to give punishments and I don't shout and there is a good atmosphere – at least, that is the feedback I get from my students.*

However one year later she already has adapted her teacher behaviour to fit into the institutional constraints of a time and place that subsequently require her to put pressure onto her students:

Dagmar (third interview): *I have to make sure they are doing their work that I set them and that they are working towards their targets but it is also the students/pupils. I think they see me as a competent teacher, and friendly even though I do not always give them a lesson that is worthwhile [she laughs with mock guilt]. The lessons are too short [35 minutes] and they do not really show the chance to get close to the students. Sometimes I have to be strict with them but this is not something I like – it is not something I went into teaching for but I see now that it is a necessity for me.*

Most of the teachers in the German cohort complained about the shortness of lesson periods. The extract above cannot convey how Dagmar's mock guilt conveys a real desire to be seen as a good teacher. She reveals an implicit desire to form closer relationships with her pupils than can be permitted in the time constraints. She resents how this requires her to adopt an approach to teaching that is not in harmony with her own values.

Magda in her first interview has constructed her teacher's role as an authority and not a friend. This role is one in which her job is to impart knowledge to her pupils. But she is concerned because she requires an atmosphere that is conducive for learning to take place:

Magda (first interview): *I know that authority is sometimes useless with some pupils. You have to find different ways and so on because some pupils cannot cope with too much authority – you cannot break them. You have to respect the pupils and pupils to you. You can talk to pupils very hard and say 'that's not the way it goes' but you must not show that you like them sometimes...you must be fair and you must be*

*strict – not too strict but ‘here is the border’. They see me as strict.*

However, rather than simply internalising the values of the Gymnasium system, by her second interview Magda starts to deconstruct the role as a teacher in light of her original values that took her into teaching in the first place:

Magda (second interview): *There is little time to spend talking to pupils which I don’t like. I thought there would be more doing that...they must know that you like them because if not they won’t accept it...I think I am seen as quite strict. I want to have things I say done and you can’t be too hard all the time but they should know that here is the line and they accept it.*

There is little opportunity for Magda to focus more on the caring side of teaching she thought she would engage in. The emotional repertoire required by teachers to sustain high quality, enthusiastic teaching (Day and Leitch, 2001) is an important side of the job for Magda and yet one that is limited within the institution that she, and many of her Gymnasium colleagues, teach in.

In her first interview Claudia’s ‘very strict’ approach with her students appears unproblematic for her because it is endorsed with ‘humanity’ and is a foundation of good teaching, in her eyes:

Claudia (first interview): *I think the students accept me, they see me as very strict but consistent, which is not a problem. They accept it and are also content with it but they also feel a sense of trustworthiness and humanity. Strictness is a foundation that you need to make it possible to teach 30 people. Strictness does not mean abusing authority or of exercising constant control. Instead strictness means to me discipline, it creates the precondition that makes teaching possible.*



The importance two years later that Claudia places on strictness is still present however with experience and reflection she has more time in her class to prioritise other values that she considers important to her as a teacher:

Claudia (third interview): *Strictness is still important to me as without it I cannot do all of the things that I need to do but it is very important to teach not only the subject material which I have to teach in the school, it is very important to teach how to speak with other people, how to make a good impression in front of persons with respect. To communicate in a way which is full of respect. I am a person who has respect for my pupils and I will show the best way to become a good person in their profession, their private lives, in their lives with others.*

Once again I am reminded of the complexities and ambiguities these emergent teachers experience and of the futility of attempts to standardise such experiences (Tickle, 2000). There is, in this teacher, a more organic notion of the development of the pupil rather than just a focus on subject delivery which contrasts with the notion of teacher as a subject specialist and authoritarian. I am *not* saying that humanism does not enter into the educational psyche of German teachers<sup>41</sup> but rather that it is not foregrounded by these gymnasium teachers in perhaps the way it is with the Norwegian teachers.

### 7.3 England

All teachers in England are responsible not only for the academic but also for the pastoral care of the child (TDA, 2007). What marks out differences in the English experience from that of both Norway and Germany is the role of the form tutor *in loco parentis* (Maguire and Dillon, 2007) and the expectation that many teachers will also be form tutors (Jones, 2007). Both factors contribute to the particular cocktail mix of values that construct teaching in England.

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<sup>41</sup> Indeed the influence of Humboldt (1767-1835) on humanistic notions of education, although fragmented, have influenced a variety of educationalists from Montessori to Dewey and are the backbone of much educational theory in Germany today.

### 7.3.1 Teacher as carer

As in the Norwegian context, Teacher as ‘carer’ is also a dominant theme that emerged in relation to how teaching is situated and constructed and how these English teachers situate themselves within their role as a teacher. They see a significant part of their role as carer, albeit begrudgingly at times (often deployed via terms like ‘parent’ or ‘social worker’) or via their additional role as tutors that many took up when employed in their schools.

Carmen describes the maternal perceptions she feels that her pupils have about her professional role as a teacher in the secondary school where she works. In so doing she expresses, with relative ease how a switch can be made from this maternal role to that of subject specialist:

Carmen (second interview):

*The children in the school, the students look at you. One, they want you to be a role model and two, my tutor group call me ‘mum’ because they say that I am like a mummy and they will come to me when they have their own personal problems or within themselves or with the school. Yet at the same time you know when to draw the line, when it comes to the lesson like when I am teaching business studies then they know how to draw the line – they are old enough.*

Teachers' interpretations of ‘critical incidents’ have been important in understanding teacher values and practice (e.g. Jones, 2003; Kelchtermans, 1993; Woods, 1993). In her second interview, Carmen talks about how her maternal and subject specialist roles can merge, albeit uncomfortably when there are ‘critical incidents’:

Carmen (second interview):

*You do take the work home with you and my husband tells me off for this. Just recently we had a boy who had been off school for several days. A good boy from a caring family and he hasn’t been*

*into school now for long time and he always attends. I was worried and called home and was told that he had witnessed his older brother being attacked at the door by a gang of youths with a baseball bat. He was beaten in front of his family and what do you do. I have spent so much time worrying and trying to get councillor and police and his family are afraid for him. And this worries me and when I see his friends in class it's difficult not to think of him and try to get them to get him to come back.*

A critical incident refers to an experience which, as defined by the respondent, results in a change of professional behavior (Jones, 2003). They can be experienced by emerging teachers like Carmen and can lead to crises for some newly qualified teachers as they struggle, very often alone, to find a solution. Such incidents require the teacher to possess physical, mental and emotional stamina in order to cope with the often painful process of reappraising their personal and professional values in light of the real experience of being a teacher. Often these vivid experiences seem remote from the ideas of training that they have only so recently left behind them.

Critical incidents are going to be experienced by teachers in the English sample in their early careers more frequently than teachers in either the German or Norwegian settings (Stephens, 2004). The London sample of teachers are not only teaching in a wider range of schools than their German and Norwegian counterparts but are also likely to experience at least one urban 'inner-city' setting<sup>42</sup>. As a result many will frequently be in contact with pupils with emotional difficulties in ways less apparent in Norway or Germany. These incidents are going to be experienced by many trainees early on in their professional lives at a time when they are probably less secure in terms of their professional values and their experience of managing children. Many English teachers

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<sup>42</sup> Trainee teachers on PGCE courses in England must experience two school placements during their training and it is commonplace for universities to make sure that these two placements offer contrasting experiences of teaching.

are therefore going to be experiencing elements of 'care' in quite difficult and contrasting circumstances to those of their Norwegian and German colleagues.

The emotional involvement that Carmen has with her pupils was not uncommon amongst the other teachers that I interviewed. Liz is enjoying her job as a teacher but describes a particular incident with one of her pupils being forced into an arranged marriage:

Liz (second interview): *She had said 'no' she did not want to and they had also told her that if she even talked to a boy she would get pregnant so that is why she would not sit next to or talk to any boy at school. And we were trying to make her fit in by asking everyone to talk to her and wondering why she would not talk back. We had to draw pictures of a penis because she did not know what one was and she was really scared about getting married. So I had to report it to the social services and went through their social services at school and I sat with her and drew pictures with her and she went home and came back the next day and said 'yes' she did want to leave home and is now in a women's refuge...I get angry because surely this is not my job I mean a part may be but this continually happens.*

Liz is, at the time of this incident, relatively inexperienced as a teacher and this situation involves a variety of cultural values that collide with her own emerging professional values as a teacher. While anger is the emotion that Liz expresses as the outcome of her situation it is a sense of frustration that Edward has in a situation that calls for immense emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1996) on his part as one of his pupils is pulled out of school weeks before she is about to complete her courses:

Edward (third interview): *It does get to you and sometimes it's so hard to remain 'pc'. My school has a multi-cultural mix and I had one girl come up to me and tell me that her friend was no longer at college because she*

*was being married off. I had taught this girl and she had been in my tutor group. She told me that perhaps I could talk to the family as I knew them. I spoke to the tutor and eventually went around there...They were of course sweet and offered me tea and said all the right things and agreed that she would come back to school and I felt good, felt I had really achieved something by doing the visit. She of course never came back into college. I felt gutted by that.*

Emotional intelligence is the ability to identify, understand, experience, and express human emotions (Goleman, 1995). Regardless of whether or not it was ‘right’ for Edward to take the action he did, his immediate emotional response was to get involved and by feeling ‘good’ confirmed his belief that this was part of his professional role (Arthur, et al, 2005). Sadly however he was not rewarded with the outcome he had hoped for.

We see in these extracts examples of teachers who, like their Norwegian counterparts, care immensely about the work they do and the young people that they engage with. These teachers are however, working within a context where, very early on in their careers they may well be dealing with acute dilemmas as part of their daily job as teachers. This means that although the coding of ‘carer’ in this sample might appear similar to that of the Norwegian sample, the ways in which this role is being constructed by these English teachers are very different.

### **7.3.2 Teacher as strong authoritarian**

The role that is being constructed for these English teachers is being powerfully deconstructed by the realities of the London classroom. As we have seen, teachers in England are trained to be secondary school teachers in their particular subject specialism. This subject role, unlike that of their German counterparts, is augmented by a pastoral role. The complexities of classrooms in many London schools is such that

many of these teachers are trying, emotionally, to deal with their early experiences of being a teacher feeling coerced into being repressive because they are facing children who, in many cases are not very pro-school.

If 'friend' was a value that Norwegian teachers conveyed about the roles they adopted with their students then its antithesis can be found in some of the values espoused by teachers interviewed in England specifically when talking about the authoritative stance they adopt with pupils. There is, for example, an almost wistful sense in which Roby conveys this desire for authoritarianism that he feels he lacks:

Roby (second interview): *Once they've got to the age where they are questioning whether they really want to learn RE [religious education] or are not interested in learning Religious studies, that's when I have problems controlling them, then obviously they are at that age where they tend to be a bit more rebellious anyway. So that's probably a job that I find very difficult to do. I think I am awful at it but you know I don't have that 'don't-fuck-with-me' aura that some teachers seem to be able to cultivate. So you know, teaching year ten boys I really don't look forward to.*

The desire for and value placed on the 'don't-fuck-with-me' aura contrasts so strongly with the 'friend' notion of teaching that Norwegians cultivate and is also at odds with the more benign approach to authority adopted by some of the German teachers. Rob is not alone in his desire to be able to 'turn-on' this form of authoritarianism. Eleanor in her second interview talks, almost with relish, of her ability to be 'evil and strict':

Eleanor (second interview): *I am not that friendly with any of my classes now, and they used to come to me with all sorts of problems...like if I shouted at them or really mad at them they could tell and they would do the work straight away...with my younger classes I am really really evil and strict, last year I was little bit more smiley and it got to me with some of*

*my classes. I really had to hammer down to make them do some work...you have to be a complete cow bag.*

There are clear ambiguities in this short quote as Eleanor deconstructs her teaching role. What 'got to' her is her inability to cope with curriculum delivery with a more humanitarian approach to teaching that she, on one level, believes should be part of her role as a teacher. Her inability to juggle these roles results in her valuing the formation of the contrived distance (Stephens, 2004) and authoritarianism that some of these teachers believe to be a part of their role.

In contrast to Rob and Eleanor, Sylvia's approach to students seems relatively unthreatening, despite her use of the word 'scary' and her acknowledgment that this is desirable at times:

Sylvia (second interview): *I think some aspects of classroom management are authoritarian...If I am talking and trying to make a point I don't like it if people are talking or talking at the back of the class. I think it is rude and they will miss out on something quite important...It might be that I just look at the person or I may walk over very quietly and ask them very quietly. I have found that the quieter I use my voice the more scary it can come over. They know I mean business and if I have to keep them back they know that the systems in place to deal with them will be used by me.*

Finally, Edward brings the issue of gender to the fore when comparing differences in how he believes males and females deal with behavioural issues. He talks of a particular difficult year nine class he covered because of an absentee teacher:

Edward (third interview): *I do not have to do anything...I think as a man you can appear more threatening when you need to and the voice can be used to command fear in a way a woman cannot do. That's a huge generalisation and there are some*

*scary women teachers here but in general I think that's the case.*

Many of the English sample are working in schools in often complex and challenging circumstances and where they feel torn between wanting to deliver their subject and maintain caring relationships with their students. There is, however, also a sense in these interview extracts, that within the culture of teaching in England it is more acceptable than in the Norwegian and, to certain extent, German scenarios to cultivate a more authoritarian stance. More importantly it is seen by some as a desirable and perhaps necessary element to the professional 'tool kit' that teacher can deploy.

#### **7.4 Discussion**

This chapter has explored what similarities and differences in values are evident within the three national settings with a particular focus on what the respondents value as central to their role of being a teacher. In this small sample of teachers interviewed we see Norwegian teachers being powerfully constructed around 'friend' and 'carer'. In Germany the Gymnasium teacher is being constructed as a 'subject expert' and 'benign authoritarian'. In England it is being constructed as a 'carer' and 'strong authoritarian'. Throughout these interviews we see how the dominant values in these different societies that construct the role of the teacher are then played off against the individual values of teachers as they gain experience. As such we see the way in which these teachers are both positioned, and position themselves by the variety of values shaping what it is to be a teacher in the different countries under examination as well as the specific school type and age ranges involved.

When looking at Norwegian teachers' values equality, social responsibility and mutual respect seem to take precedence over issues surrounding authority both in terms of student expectations of teachers but also amongst teachers themselves. It is worth noting here that in sharp contrast to Germany and England, Norway lacks an elite sector with a tradition of classical education or of any significant private education system preferring its unitary/comprehensive school system. For most Norwegians this has meant that equality takes precedence over cultural or academic achievements



(Tjeldvoll, 2002). The teacher-as-advisor or guide that we saw being flagged up in the previous chapter complements the anti-authoritarian stance embedded within the teaching profession that was highlighted in these interviews where teacher as ‘friend’ and ‘carer’ were dominant themes.

It would be wrong to assume that Norwegian teachers are less ambitious than their German or English counterparts. Ambition is a culturally constructed term and one that in the Norwegian case can have a negative connotation. The ability to reflect on a job (Schone, 1982) that is crafted over many years and involves working well with children and parents is a significant feature of the role of teachers in Norway. This somewhat more organic, holistic view of what it is to be a teacher potentially negates the institutional need for further training although as we shall see in the next chapter many Norwegian teachers wish this were otherwise. Teacher education in Norway aims to help beginning teachers to foster self-discipline among pupils and to nurture a carer role in the classroom (Stephens, 2001). There is a sense in these interviews that the emotion of the carer comes from the heart where the teacher positions her/himself as a humanitarian, adult confidant (Berne, 1970) and ‘friend’.

In Germany the salaried civil servant status in the final years of training means that gymnasium teachers receive benefits in terms of pension contributions and health insurance. The status of teaching in Germany is also strongly dependent upon the type of school you teach in and is commensurate with the training accorded to that type of school. This means that the existence of the tripartite system in Germany has an immediate effect, economically and culturally in terms of the economic and social status that beginning teachers accept (and value) when they embark on the training process and how they view their own notions of being a professional teacher. As part of this study focuses on the experiences of a sample of *gymnasium* trainee teachers it is important to emphasise these differences in status between them and other teachers in Germany. The separateness of the various categories of teachers, reflecting social selectivity at school level becomes immediately apparent in these interviews. In the German gymnasium the notion of being a teacher is embroidered by their ability as subject specialist and a former gymnasium pupil. A teacher in these schools needs to possess an ability to get on with parents of the pupils of a relatively elitist and exclusive gymnasium philosophy that is the antithesis of the inclusive education that exists in

Norway and is part of the variety of discursive constructions in England. First and foremost however the gymnasium teacher is a subject specialist teaching pupils who have been selected at a particular level that, theoretically, 'matches' the level of teaching delivered.

The teachers in my small sample value the notion of a caring profession although not necessarily the roles that this may entail (e.g. social worker). The contextual factors of challenging schools in London may serve to disrupt and interfere with those sorts of values that attract teachers into the profession in the first place. Most teachers in the English sample value, albeit, ambiguously the need for authority and they also perceive their careers within a trajectory that will take them into different schools and/or job roles. Teacher training inculcates beginning teachers with the practical skills and willingness necessary for instructing pupils in National Curriculum subjects, and for managing classroom discipline to some degree of competency. Therefore those teachers who go into schools and do their job according to this remit will, if circumstances permit, be promoted. The structures in English schools provide such opportunities, both for early promotion and frequent mobility that do not exist in Norway and Germany. With an emphasis placed on competence, classroom management and technical skills, the English teacher is less of a facilitator and more of an agent of social control. And yet significant too is the caring role that many of these teachers talked about. Once again, the tutorial emphasis that schools place on their teachers endorses this particular role.

In these globalising times we can therefore see how national settings construct what it means to be a teacher and how these teachers then deconstruct this in relation to their own individual values and the values within the locale where they work. These values may or may not necessarily match with national values, expectations and assumptions about the role of the teacher.

## Chapter Eight – The monitoring of teachers

I stated in Chapter Four that there were a variety of factors that might shape, influence and construct the values and identities of the teachers in this study. Two such factors that emerged when coding the data were the formal and informal types of monitoring of teaching that take place in the schools where these teachers work. Olssen et al. (2004) have discussed these forms of accountability in relation to the concept of ‘trust’ which, they argue, has been eroded with neo-liberal accountability practices of monitoring, reporting, recording and surveillance associated with aspects of economic globalisation. As with other writers in the field (e.g. Troman, 2000; Winch et al, 2000; Fetchenhauer et al, 2006), they distinguish between external low-trust accountability based on direct forms of line management and internal high trust accountability based on professional responsibility. Teachers’ views in this study about the different forms of monitoring they experience show that formal and informal mechanisms are deployed differently in each of the countries under examination. In focussing on these mechanisms this chapter draws attention to some of the ways in which teachers’ values are constructed in different national contexts and institutional settings. I look first at Norway, then at Germany and finally at the English settings.

### 8.1 Norway

We have already seen how curriculum content in Norway is largely shaped by Norway’s national curriculum L97 (see chapter two and six). We have also seen how, once out of university, many Norwegian teachers can experience a form of relative autonomy in their classroom where, in general their pedagogical decisions depend mostly on their own values (rather than those of others), knowledge, interests and preferences about how to teach. This relative freedom is accompanied by the knowledge that once qualified there is little hope or expectation of any further observations or guidance about how to teach. There is also no form of overt monitoring:

Inga (second interview): *You are on your own...You have the exams for the pupils and if fifty per cent of your class fail then of course*

*something has to be done and then they [the school leadership] will look into my way of teaching but there is no kind of checking while I am teaching. It's not like a person from the government comes around to watch me.*

The general perception amongst the cohort was that once qualified Norwegian teachers were relatively free from the close monitoring they had experienced during their training and that they were just left to 'get on with it'. For some however this is not something to be celebrated:

Georg (second interview): *I feel really on my own and for me I think it's working [his job] but at the same time I should like to have someone there and tell me what was wrong.*

There is tension and ambiguity behind Georg's self-reflection and his expressed desire to improve as a teacher. He believes, possibly, that his teaching is 'working' but has no tangible evidence to confirm his beliefs. He craves some sort of professional dialogue that can reinforce his self-evaluation. Without such dialogue in the early stages of their careers some teachers face disillusionment, insecurity and low morale (Hardy, 1999).

There is also a sense with many of those interviewed that there is little that you can do as a teacher to be sacked or suspended from any school as Hanna conveys:

Hanna (third interview): *I can do what ever I like. You can work, work and stay on and nobody can kick you out. At my school the deputy head has come to visit may be once, not to see me but to say something to the pupils.*

When any sort of monitoring of teacher performance was acknowledged as having taken place it was generally considered to be relatively informal and, in some cases perceived to be covertly deployed:

Jan (third interview): *Yes I think the other teachers even if they do not say so are following [what he does]. They look at my work. If I take too many breaks when I work and my boss [the principal] at the place she does not say anything but I think she follows up my work. The principal she may get info from teachers but she says she is satisfied with my work.*

Henning in his second year is adamant that the rigorous monitoring that he believes teachers experience in England (and, at the time this research was taking place, under discussion in Norway) is something that in reality could never take place in Norway:

Henning (second interview): *Nobody comes in to see me teach...The principal will check our lesson plans once or twice a year but we don't have any where near the same [levels of monitoring] that you have in England. We don't have that. We wouldn't accept that! [he laughs as he says this] There is a discussion of course [in the media] and you need to know if teachers are doing their job or not, but the students will say something at once if the teacher is not doing their job.*

Norway's trade unions are significantly stronger and more active than teachers unions in England. There is, therefore, a sense that when Henning says that 'We wouldn't accept that' he activates not only his identification with being a teacher but also his identification with being a member of a trade union. There is also a sense conveyed here that there is something implicitly 'Norwegian', something that goes against Norwegian social democratic values and therefore unlikely to warm to the 'strong' form of accountability he associates with teachers in England rather than the high-trust accountability he experiences in Norway (Fetchenhauer et al, 2006). One year later and there is a playing-off between the sorts of pedagogic freedoms he experiences in the

classroom and his awareness that if his pupils are unsatisfied then this will be fed back to the school via parental concerns:

Henning (third interview): *I feel very free, well, at first I would feel that there would be someone coming in and controlling [observing] what you are doing but they do not and I have not seen anyone, which is ok because they know every thing is ok.*

Gerry: *How does the school know everything is ok?*

Henning (third interview): *Well because they told me that if the pupils are not satisfied they tell their parents and the parents always calls the school and complains.*

Increased parental involvement in education is not necessarily oppressive to teachers. Troman (2000) argues that many schools function in such a way that they expect automatic deference to professionals, thus excluding the voices of parents who are expected to be a passive and trusting group. For many Norwegian teachers however, parents play a significant role in setting the educational agenda and determining what a 'good' teacher (Arthur et al, 2005) is and this is not necessarily welcomed by all the Norwegian teachers interviewed. The camaraderie that can develop between different trainee teachers can quickly dissipate once into full-time employment and this can be a source of frustration for some new teachers contributing to the sense of isolation they experience. This sense of isolation can be exacerbated by the feeling that they are under the critical gaze of the parents of the pupils they teach:

Julie (third interview): *I think that if you do a lousy job there isn't anyone in particular that can see what you do. Most times you are alone. You have the parents and they give the feedback to the school if there is something wrong in the form of a complaint...that is something I really miss because these*

*last two years I have been really trying and sometimes it would be really safe to have one person with you the whole day to see what you do.*

Becoming a competent teacher entails more than acquiring technical skills (McNamara, 1996). It demands physical, mental and emotional stamina in order to cope with the often painful process of reappraising the values and idealism encountered when training to become a teacher (Jones, 2003). While Julie may well be developing her own identity as a teacher she is doing this largely in isolation i.e. there are few 'mirrors' for her to reflect on any sort of image of self she is developing. For her to be confident as a teacher she requires confirmation of it by some 'significant other'<sup>43</sup> (Mead, 1934). In the Norwegian scenario very often this 'significant other' will take the form of parents whose views on education will in some cases be at odds with the values of teachers relatively new to the profession. Julie communicates a desire to know how she is developing professionally but acknowledges that in her school there is little opportunity for her progress to be monitored by others other than the sometimes negative reactions she may encounter from the parents of her pupils. Julie, apart from her own extended professional values, in this case, her reflectivity, relies on the potential concern of parents as the only 'significant other' that can mediate her emerging professional values.

The sense that there is no formal system of monitoring teachers can sometimes add to the insecurity that many newly qualified teachers' experience:

Tine (third interview): *Often the door is open so they can come and see me if they like but they do not...it is good to be trusted but when they say to me 'oh you are doing a wonderful job and everything is ok' how do they know?*

The trust and praise that Tine receives from her school administration is devalued in her eyes because she feels that it is not based on any evidence. One obvious way around

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<sup>43</sup> I explore the issue of the role of significant others (e.g. parents) to teachers in Chapter Ten

this, would be to request classroom observations from other members of staff. If individual teachers would like some kind of professional feedback they can in some cases request that a senior member of staff comes into the classroom to observe. However this is not 'normal' practice. In some cases, the very fact that observation takes place may give the impression to other staff that the observed member is, in some way, deficient in an aspect of their teaching role rather than be seen to be participating in a 'collaborative school culture' in which members of staff act as 'critical friends' as part of their professional development (Hargreaves, 1992).

Hargreaves (1999) argues that when a teacher asks a colleague for help they place their confidence and perceived competence on the line. Their professional persona and sense of self is put at risk. Hanna wishes to be observed despite any negative impressions that this might convey to other colleagues or the vulnerability she might experience under the scrutiny of others:

Hanna (second interview): *I think that some teachers would not like people coming in and surveying you, writing down what you are doing, but others feel that is a good thing and you can improve yourself but it doesn't happen very often because many teachers feel that then you are not really managing your job. I think you would have to ask for it yourself but it is very difficult to get because there are not a lot of people doing it. If it happens it is usually carried out by a deputy head and one of them hardly teaches so what does he know?*

In the school where Hanna works, if and when observations are carried out these are usually done by the head of the school or one of her deputies. Hanna's extended professional values (Hoyle and John, 1997) are evident in her desire for advice and guidance about how to improve her teaching. However she experiences tensions and ambiguities (Tickle, 2000) as a result of these desires. To be observed could, in Hanna's eyes, be viewed by other teachers as an indicator of poor teaching rather than simply the professional desire to improve. The data extract highlights that no structure exists for



such observations to take place. In her words Hanna's school is 'big' with 500 pupils however the only person she feels should be observing her is one of the deputy heads. Faced with little hope of support and engagement from other professionals there is a danger that other teachers in Hanna's situation could experience resentment and the possibility of retreat into a position of individualism or 'strategic' compliance (Lacey, 1997).

In contrast to some professions where, as a process of induction, targets are often set for professional development (Fautley and Savage, 2007), no teacher interviewed in the Norwegian cohort was given information at the beginning of the year about expected outcomes by the end of the first year of teaching. In response to my asking Inga about what 'targets' were set for her at her school she replied:

Inga (second interview): *We don't do this so rigidly...there is no target set for my own career and there is nothing set in relation to what I have to do with my pupils. We have like this curriculum what tells us what they have to learn for the year and we try to make some progress in this. No one tells me that this pupil was here [she points abstractly in the air] last year and has to be way up here [once again, pointing but to a higher position] by this year and nobody checks up on their [the pupils] progresses. But nobody expects me to do any courses or any thing like that.*

For many trainees the initial period of employment after being trained as a teacher involves a transition from some of the idealism and the theoretical input they have received in their training to the relative isolation of being a full-time teacher (Petty, 2004). Norwegian teachers are subject to a high-trust (Fetchenhauer et al, 2006), professional form of accountability, in part, related to the children they teach and their parents. The high levels of professional trust accorded to these teachers correspond with processes of monitoring which are, in the most part, informal and related to these two groups. Rather than in any 'managerial' sense (Sachs, 2001) the monitoring is also, to

some extent, ‘collegial’ (Little, 1982) and self-initiated (Raymond et al, 1990). These teachers experience little in the way of formalised observation or monitoring procedures once qualified and this is in stark contrast to the close scrutiny they are under as trainee teachers. Little observation of teaching takes other than at the behest of those that request it. In some cases teachers express vulnerability about the views colleagues and pupils’ parents might have of their teaching and there is a sense of greater social accountability to parents rather than to other colleagues.

## 8.2 Germany

Public services in Germany have been characterised as ‘high-trust’ (Fukuyama, 1995). The somewhat bureaucratic and centralist set of schooling systems nevertheless do confer considerable autonomy and high levels of trust in its teachers (Elliot, 2004). This means that while both formal and informal systems of monitoring exist in German gymnasium schools it is the latter that holds greater significance for the teachers interviewed in this cohort. The extent to which German teachers feel both accountable and vulnerable to the different types of monitoring they under go varies from teacher to teacher.

The following extract is taken from Magda toward the end of her training. Coding and analysis of the data highlighted a general feeling of the pressure these Gymnasium teachers were under from the continuous observations over the two years they were doing their practical training. This is significant because there is a contrast in the monitoring they encountered during their training and the lack of monitoring that exists once qualified:

Magda (first interview): *When you are a [student] teacher you are watched all the time, what you are doing, is there a problem, are you getting on. You must be quite correct. Correct all the time and may be after you have been teaching for a year you still have people sitting at the back of the classroom and judging not only objective but they try to give you*

*their own style but you must find your own way to teach and sometimes I think that's not my personality.*

There is a sense here of how the process of 'becoming a gymnasium' teacher is being constructed via these observations. The formation of such a teacher causes significant tensions with Magda's own perception of what being a teacher might mean as she attempts to achieve a balance between professional autonomy and institutional conformity. This process continues as she battles to reconcile her personal values with those expected by her profession as a whole and the particular institution in which she has been trained to teach. One year later Magda works in a Gymnasium school which she describes as possessing 'significant social problems' in Munich:

Magda (second interview): *In this school there is some observation but there is not a lot to be honest. In my school for example the director is coming twice a year and that is it and he does not see each teacher but just sees who he can get in...nobody else observes us. I teach how I want... Freedom increased this year because there was no supervision. I have not been and will not be observed this year...I have little chance to talk with colleagues about teaching ideas and this is bad I think.*

Isolation in teaching is not uncommon (Lortie, 1975, Petty, 2004) and some commentators raise concerns about the impact on teachers' values when faced with poor social relations and poor communications that exists in some schools (Raymond, et al, 1990). Magda does not believe she will be observed at all. Nor does she have the opportunity to socialise much with the teachers she works with.

The perception that there was little in the way of observations of teachers carried out once teachers qualify in Bavaria was shared across most of the cohort:

Dagmar (second interview): *Once we are qualified there is little control [monitoring]. Every couple of years the headmaster will come and watch but generally little control. We have a lot of*

*freedom – we much check the year plan but apart from that there is a lot of freedom.*

It is not that these teachers believe they will not be formally monitored but rather the monitoring takes place over a much longer time frame with no mention of short term or annual targets, appraisals or performance related pay. What formal monitoring that does take place is infrequent:

Ursula (second interview): *It works like this, every three years all teachers are assessed by the headmaster, for that he visits without telling you, he visits the lessons and he also may look at the tests you have written.*

Worth noting here is that most German interviewees commented on how it was always the head of the school that monitored the performance of teachers via observations. No other member of staff was part of this process:

Elsa (third interview): *You are assessed every three to five years (I think it is different in private schools). The headmistress comes in to see your lessons. Last year there was the director of all the schools in Eastern Bavaria, he doesn't check every lesson but he came around and checks and sees. He was here for three days with some colleagues, each for three lessons.*

Elsa was the only interviewee in Germany who made reference to an external visit and no other teacher interviewed was aware of any impending inspections despite being asked in my final interviews. Within the school the head is responsible for carrying out the relatively few observations that take place. Whether or not Elsa was correct about the frequency of such internal observations was beside the point. More important however was the fact that this was her *perception* of the degree of monitoring she thought she might receive.

In her second interview with me, Katarina's extended professionalism (Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996) is evident with her concern over the lack of monitoring she felt characterises the German educational system:

Katarina (second interview): *I think it is quite a dangerous thing because once you are in the profession it is almost impossible to throw somebody out. I think it is not to exert pressure on people but to give them the feeling of being monitored so that they start reflecting about what they are doing because I think the problem with teachers is, they always tend to get criticised a lot, so people don't criticise themselves well enough or often enough, they do what they have done for years...they get caught in a daily routine which they cannot get out of and being left on our own which some teachers like I think is bad.*

When institutional arrangements coincide with the high-trust forms of accountability present within the Gymnasium system, some teachers can adopt the social isolation that Katarina hints at. This strategy is deployed to maintain and defend their sense of self (Nias, 1989) particularly if some teachers feel they might face potential criticism from others. In some cases teachers, new to the profession and in settings where such isolation is possible, are more likely to display a conservative tendency to "accept things as they are" (Bleach, 1998: page 57). In Katarina's case however, her professionally derived values demand some form of discussion about her own practice.

We have already seen in Chapter Three how parents in Germany have a legal right to dispute grades and take legal actions against the teachers that are grading their children. This can happen if they feel that the grades have been unjustly awarded with the resultant pressure being felt by some teachers:

Dagmar (second interview): *There is pressure from parents on teachers to give good marks. They [parents] go straight to the teachers and blame teachers. They do not see the weaknesses in the kids but only the teachers and they use the law against poor marks...I have not been approached in this way*

*before but I am aware that many of my colleagues have been and it is something that I think about when marking work.*

This particular form of accountability to parents is peculiar to the German context. Built into the training of teachers is a rudimentary knowledge of German law. Teachers once qualified are socialised in an environment where the awareness of parental rights is prevalent. I asked Ursula in her third interview about the legal constraints on her job.

Gerry: *The system in Germany is such that quite often teachers are held legally responsible for the low marks that they can give. Is that something you consider when you are marking work?*

Ursula (third interview): *Yes it is, I am worried, and therefore I make sure that I can argue my case, so when I set my exams I write down my expectations and give the points there. I have a very clear idea of what the answers should be, and I show the pupils what they have done wrong and how they should have done it so that the whole thing is very transparent.*

The high-trust forms of accountability within Gymnasium schools is more than offset by lower-trust forms that exist outside of schools via the institutions of the family, law and media, all three of which cast a critical gaze on the teaching profession:

Elsa (first interview): *The teacher is very easily seen as the black sheep, and at the same time public opinion, and in the newspapers telling teachers they are lazy...I find that it is particularly stressful to know that particularly in Munich more parents are more likely to take teachers to court if their children don't achieve.*

The inference that in an area e.g. 'particularly in Munich' some parents are more likely to use legal pressure was shared by Anna:

Anna (first interview): *I think that parents very often complain about teachers where the rate of pupils who fail is extremely high and headmasters don't like see that so they tend to put a bit of pressure on teachers. But it also depends on the area where you are but very often there are parents who very quickly go to a lawyer and say this and that is wrong and my child has to make it into through to the Abitur*

The subtext here was that if parents were deemed to possess suitable cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1975) then they might be more likely to use legal pressure to enhance their children's grades. Magda feels that some parents are better at manipulating the system than others:

Magda (second interview): *And very often there are conflicts about the grades you get. The parents want to have the best grade and they get a high success in this and it is usually lawyer families.*

The vulnerability to these informal forms of 'monitoring' is commonly felt. A discrepant response from Harald however is voiced in the form of a collective accountability in response to the monitoring he acknowledges exists:

Harald (third interview): *I feel very much protected by the system we have here because it's not only me whose responsible, I can hide behind my colleagues, I don't stick out...all discussions are taken by the group...I might initiate a discussion but I am not really responsible for them and that is a lot of protection for me...from parents and our head.*

Formal monitoring procedures exist for these teachers albeit over a relatively long timeframe and when these procedures are carried it is by the heads of the schools in which they work. Informally however teachers interviewed made strong reference to how they felt parental, legal and social institutions (i.e. the media) impacted on the work they did in gymnasium schools. Bureaucratic processes of monitoring relate to the legal rights of parents and are a source of concern for many of those interviewed. There is

however, in contrast to the Norwegian sample, little discussion about professional accountability. Rather, there is greater focus placed on attainment and performance.

### 8.3 England

The formal arrangements for monitoring and accountability of teacher performance are significantly greater and more thoroughly deployed in England than in either the Norwegian or German scenarios. Ball (1994), writing about the degree of surveillance that teachers in England experience comments that: “as the focus of appraisal, accountability, comparison and review, the teacher is very visible; as an expert professional actor and decision maker she is all but invisible” (Ball, 1994: p62). Since the introduction of competitive league tables after the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) most English schools are now subject to unprecedented levels of economic scrutiny and control of organisational procedures (Petty, 2004). This practice is so deeply embedded in mainstream culture that the UK has been referred to as the 'audit society' (Power, 1994). It is in this low-trust environment (Fukuyama, 1992) that the values of the English teachers in this study are continuously being constructed.

Carmen talks about the more competitive nature of the English education system compared to the one in which she was initially trained (in her home country of Ghana) and how this relates to the forms of monitoring she experiences.

Carmen (second interview): *The school wants to be seen as a good school as a school that performs well and so they are pushing for results irrespective of the kind of kids you have, their abilities, their behaviour, whether they allow you teach well or not that is irrespective all they want is good grades. So you are continuously, continuously being pushed for that and you feel it. It becomes a problem and that's just to market themselves, to market...and then of course the management pick so many targets to set and of course you're supposed to monitor just like in business. You*



*monitor the students so that you know they are moving towards meeting targets.*

Carmen is working within a comprehensive school with children of a wide ability range in her class. Her broader commitment to the development of the whole student in terms of personal, social and intellectual growth is focussed via ‘targets’ that she has to monitor. She works in a marketised educational environment far removed from her earlier ideas expressed about what teaching means to her (see Chapter Six) and experiences a competitive pressure within a more businesslike environment rather than the school environment she was trained for in her country of origin.

Commenting on how things have changed since she was at school Sylvia, now in her mid-thirties at the start of her teaching career is aware of the difference.

Sylvia (first interview): *I don't know if teachers experienced the pressure that we are under. May be they did in different ways but now everyone is driving towards this common goal the National Curriculum GCSE's, A-Level's it's all so much more centralized. Schools are rewarded monetarily on the results they produce so therefore pressure is put upon teachers to produce the results yes that's why. I mean there are league tables now that there weren't certainly in the Eighties.*

The escalation of market forces means that teachers are “now working within a new value context in which image and impression management...are becoming as important as the educational process” (Ball, 2001: page 13). Ball goes on to state that “teachers’ work is thus increasingly viewed and evaluated solely in terms of output measures (test scores and examination performance) set against cost (subject time, class size, resource requirements)” (Ball, 2001: page 13). This means that exam performance of students places the teacher at the centre of a monitoring mechanism that focuses on school results. Here Cara talks about her nervousness in light of the publication of her students exam results:

Cara (third interview): *I am actually very nervous. It's a judgement value and you're going to be judged about yourself on the basis of exam results...I mean that everything is going by the figures and I think the general atmosphere within the school is, I mean everybody is aware we are under-performing as a school but given the intake we should be getting higher A-C grades that we have been.*

Cara makes no mention of any concern or excitement she might have about the students. The exam results are a public barometer of her performance as a teacher and tied into the overall performance rating of the school. As such her values concerning teachers are being reconstructed in terms of her ability to deliver results rather than being a 'good teacher' (Arthur, et al, 2005).

Most English teachers interviewed agreed that the transition from training into teaching was marked by a reduction in the level of monitoring they experienced while on teacher practice but nevertheless it was still very much present in their first year of teaching. This marks the English sample out as distinct from both that of Norway and Germany because the professionalism of teachers in this English sample is not accepted, assumed or taken on faith (Troman, 2000). Nora talks about her NQT year:

Nora (2<sup>nd</sup> interview): *The feeling that you are being assessed also, always looking out to see how you are doing. That feeling is not very nice. It's for every NQT in that school. Then of course you have the formal observations in that first term alone. I had eight. So every few weeks someone was observing me, either my mentor or my head of department or another teacher in the department.*

Unlike in both Norway and Germany where no such system was in place, at the time these interviews took place performance related pay was already a reality for all teachers. This means that some teachers experience processes of monitoring that are related to pay-structures rather than to educational concerns about the well-being of

pupils. For Liz the paperwork involved in the performance monitoring system is a source of frustration, stress and distrust (Troman, 2000):

Liz (second interview): *Because apart from the teaching there are so many other deadlines all this performance sheets and target setting and everything so many deadlines to meet and there is a policy in our school where you have to give one homework every week and so if you teaching seven groups like I teach that makes seven homeworks per week. For each of these we have to write down the grades on these performance sheets. It drives me crazy. I spend more time on the sheets than marking their bloody homework.*

In some cases the monitoring that takes place can take a slightly more threatening character seen below when Eleanor describes the complex sets of monitoring procedures she is exposed to in her third year of teaching. She explains how little of what she actually does in the classroom is checked as more focus is placed on the ‘output’ of the pupils she teaches. She responds to my enquiry about the degree of monitoring she experiences:

Eleanor (third interview): *Not in terms of how you teach but absolutely everything you do must be put down on paper. Everything is monitored, you have ‘book look’ every half term, they will select and you do not know which class or year group or anything they just will suddenly pick.*

Gerry: *‘They’?*

Eleanor: *Senior management. They will pounce and they will pick ten books from a class. In the first year I was there they will pick year groups, they would do say, year seven and they will take ten books from each teacher. At other times they have targeted a teacher and do ten books from that teacher’s class and you have not got the time to say oh, I*

*didn't actually mark that well, I haven't wrote targets for that one...You are warned, you are told you will have a 'book look' every half term, you just do not know who it is going to be or when.*

Teachers and students rushing around because of the notion of 'book look' brings to mind the idea of the 'Panoptican', a prototype prison designed by 18<sup>th</sup> century philosopher Jeremy Bentham. Although its design features were never fully incorporated into the British prison model, many features were, including prison 'watch towers'. Its significance for Foucault (1977) was the creation of an institution in which prisoners were never fully sure if they were being watched or not and, as a result would, in his eyes moderate their own behaviour accordingly. In this case 'book look' becomes a panoptican internalised by teachers and students alike as they moderate their behaviour in the expectation that they just might be monitored by those in the 'watch tower'. Eleanor continues:

Eleanor (second interview): *They do spot checks on you*

Gerry: *Who comes around and 'spot checks' you?*

Eleanor: *Senior management, X [the principal] does as well. Governors come around all the time.*

The analogy of the prison can be further extended to incorporate prison guards with these 'others' consisting of heads, governors and various forms of senior management. While this comment comes from Eleanor, it was generally accepted by all members of the English cohort that there would be a variety of people coming into the classroom to observe them teach.

Nora's introduction to her first year of being a qualified teacher starts on a competitive note with exam results prioritised by the head of the school in which she is about to teach. The school enforces various practices that have been highlighted as those that successful departments have incorporated in the past:

Nora (second interview): *Of course they start the year by showing us our exam results compared to everyone else's exam results. Mine have improved from last year. Ofsted come in with glowing reports saying this is what you should do. In theory I was sitting there thinking 'oh yes, this makes sense and this is what I used to do in 'X' [previous sixth form college where she trained]'. It is just the fact that you have to – it is really annoying. And learning objectives. We have to write on the board learning objectives and key words of what we are going to learn in that hour. I just think them up on the spot. By the time they have wrote all that down, 10 minutes are gone anyway.*

The practices laid down by the Training and Development Agency (TDA, 2002) that Nora has learnt during her teacher training (i.e. the writing up of learning objectives on the board) become internalised by her as the 'required' practices of the Senior Management Team (SMT). As such they lose their pedagogic discursive value and become values that are associated with the demands of SMT. Nora shows how on the one hand she might incorporate them into her day to day activities but equally how they might only be carried out to placate management thereby losing any benefits such actions might have had in the classroom.

Helsby (1999) has been critical of what he describes as 'low-trust schooling' (page 65) and its negative effects on the creativity and innovation that can be so much a part of teaching (Fautley and Savage, 2007). Teachers in this English cohort generally place greater emphasis in their interviews on the more formalised systems of monitoring and accountability than that found in either the Norwegian and German settings. These formalised bureaucratic technologies of management (Deem, 1998) far outweigh the types of informal monitoring mechanisms that the teachers in the Norwegian and German settings discussed. In many cases the values associated with Arthur et al's (2005) notion of 'good teaching' are being reconstructed to reflect values associated

with the more competitive exam driven culture that pervades many of the schools in which these teachers work.

#### **8.4 Discussion**

Arthur et al (2005) have drawn attention to three value orientations to teaching that inform some of the ways in which national pedagogic traditions influence the values of becoming teachers. These comprise of ‘successful’ teaching (that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms); ‘effective’ teaching (determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself and how ‘best’ to teach it); and ‘good’ teaching, an orientation to teaching that goes beyond that of simply knowledge transmission and subject orientation. The latter orientation not only acknowledges but prioritizes the values of care and respect for pupils. We have also seen how the ‘nested cultures’ (Doherty, 2004) that exist within any school setting can vary in the values that underpin what is considered to be ‘good’ teaching. These cultures, along with the institutions and the ideologies that inform the values that circulate within them, can also be a source of confusion and ambiguity for the emerging teacher when they are subjected to different forms of monitoring of the work they do. In all three countries we see varying degrees of both professional and public forms of accountability that both influence and are influenced by values.

Norwegian teachers are subject to a high-trust (Fetchenhauer et al, 2006), professional form of accountability, in part, related to the children they teach and their parents. At the time this research was being carried out no formalised inspection system existed, no performance reviews took place and there was no performance related pay adopted. The monitoring that did exist seemed to quite often take informal forms via parental concerns and the individualised interpretations of what other members of staff might think about them. It is possible to identify three monitoring mechanisms that emerge within this Norwegian setting. The first is the belief that other members of staff will feed information about the professionalism of the teacher concerned back to each other or to the principal. The second and perhaps more Foucauldian (1975) notion of control is an appeal to conscience (as seen in Inga’s appeal to her conscience as a way of

maintaining her professionalism despite what she perceives as the absence of such professionalism in some of her colleagues). This extended form of professionalism coincides with Arthur et al's (2005) value orientation towards 'good' teaching. Finally the belief that parents will voice their concerns to the school if the teacher concerned does not perform the role they expect of her/him. It is in this environment that Norwegian teachers are constructing and, in some cases, reconstructing the values introduced to them during their training.

Within the 'high-trust' (Fukuyama, 1995) bureaucratic and centralist sets of schooling systems found in Germany (Elliot, 2004) there are no German equivalents of the inspection regime that exists in England. The German teacher is subject to inspection only by the Head of the particular school she/he is working at – and this takes place every three to four years. The purpose of this is certainly to monitor what is taking place however this observation can also be linked to the possibility of promotion. There was less evidence in these interviews of the sorts of professional accountability voiced by many of the Norwegian sample. Teachers interviewed for my German sample face neither the paperwork – nor the meeting schedules that their English counterparts face. There is virtually no evidence in these interviews of German teachers being aware of any output-oriented assessment of their school systems. Only in one quote did we see a teacher refer any type of inspection which in this case was informally carried out. This does not, however, mean there are no other monitoring mechanisms. Rather, they are less formalised and in some cases rely more on the individual agency of the teacher concerned than more structurally embedded monitoring procedures found in English schools. The public accountability that German teachers face is different in nature to that of either the Norwegian or English situations. While there certainly is less by way of direct monitoring of performance via observations and performance targets that we have seen with the English cohort a greater emphasis was placed by German teachers on the role that parents and the legal system play in the monitoring that teachers face and the subsequent focus on attainment and performance of pupils i.e. 'successful teaching' (Arthur et al, 2005).

Within the English sample of teachers there is evidence of both external low-trust forms accountability based on direct forms of line management and high trust accountability

based on professional responsibility. Certainly the successive UK governments have achieved high degrees of control over teachers' practice (Elliot, 2004) and this is confirmed by the formal arrangements for monitoring teacher performance reported by the English sample. The issue of parental surveillance for example is one that seems to hold more poignancy in Germany and Norway than within the English scenario. It is however worth noting that within the cohort of English teachers, with only one exception, no mention was made of Ofsted when discussions focussed on observations. The high degree of accountability at all levels that English teachers are subjected to draws attention to the both 'successful' and 'effective' teaching value orientations that Arthur et al (2005) refer to. This can mean however that, as was the case of Nora, certain practices and the values associated with them shift according to the sorts of bureaucratic management procedures that enforce these more formal types of monitoring.



## Chapter Nine – Opportunities for professional development

This chapter focuses on how different forms of professional development influence the roles and values of the becoming teachers interviewed in this study. The professional development of teachers is located in their personal and professional lives and within the policy and school settings in which they work (Hargreaves, 1992; Day, 1999). When I talked to the teachers in this study it was clear in all three national settings, that most teachers valued two aspects of professional development – namely opportunities for promotion and opportunities for staff development. It was also clear when analysing and coding the data that how professional development is located varies enormously in different settings, from the formal (e.g. specific courses that are offered for teachers to attend) to the informal (e.g. informal discussions with other members of staff about how to teach a particular aspect of a subject). It also varies in terms of whether or not the development offered (and sought) is for humanitarian concerns about teaching and/or for more utilitarian concerns (i.e. focussed specifically on a particular outcome e.g. suggestions for how to improve exam performance offered by a particular examination board). In this chapter Norwegian teachers' views are examined concerning opportunities for promotion and opportunities for staff development (section 9.1). German teachers' views are discussed concerning opportunities for promotion and opportunities for staff development (section 9.2). Finally English teachers' views are explored concerning their opportunities for promotion and their opportunities for staff development (section 9.3.).

### 9.1 Norway

Due to Norway's relatively tiny population of 4.5 million, Norwegian schools are small with a significantly lower teacher pupil ratio (11 pupils to one teacher<sup>44</sup>) than in either Germany or England. The leadership or administration of most Norwegian schools is made up of the head or principal of a school plus one or two deputies. All other teachers within most Norwegian schools occupy the same level (and status) within the organisational structure (Stephens, 2004). Within these structures 'team leaders' do

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<sup>44</sup> Helgoy I; Homme A., (2004) "Governance in Primary and Lower Secondary Education. Comparing Norway, Sweden and England" Stein Rokkan Centre for Social Studies, University of Bergen

exist but they do not have authority over others within their team and do not receive higher wages. They are the communication portal from the administration to the teaching staff. There are no ‘managers’, ‘line managers’ or ‘heads of department’. These factors are significant when discussing to what extent teachers in Norway experience both opportunities for promotion and opportunities for staff development.

### **9.1.1 Opportunities for promotion**

When comparing promotion opportunities of teachers in different countries certain job roles and their titles cannot be used comparatively in studies like this without complication or contestation. So, for example, what might appear as a seemingly straightforward question about the organisational structure can, in a different national context, be problematic: In the Norwegian scenario some of these specificities are linguistic in nature:

Gerry: *What about managers? Do you have managers?*

Beate (third interview): *I don't know what you mean by 'managers'.*

Like most of the teachers who participated in the Norwegian study Beate's English is excellent and yet she did not understand the word ‘manager’ used in this context. The word ‘manager’ is, in Norwegian translated as ‘leder’ (Kirkeby, 1999) and broadly corresponds to the English word ‘leader’. Norwegians associate ‘bossiness’ with the word ‘manager’ whereas ‘leader’ conveys a more orchestrative role when dealing with other people be they pupils or staff. The notion that teachers “are all managers now” (Ball, 1999: page 17) is far from the reality of Beate or indeed any of the other Norwegian teachers interviewed during this study. However linguistic differences are not the only factor influencing how people perceive particular job roles or certain values.

In Norway, ambition as a value, can have a negative connotation and one associated with a collection of values referred to as ‘Jante’. ‘Jante’s law’ (*Janteloven*) comes from the Danish author Aksel Sandemose (1933). For Norwegians today *Jante’s Law* has

come to mean the unspoken rules of Scandinavian communities in general that embrace egalitarianism and hard work while rejecting most forms of pride and ambition. Many Norwegians today argue that *Janteloven* contributes to the democratic outlook that they possess but also claim that it can stultify motivation (Stephens, 2004):

Jan (third interview): *It sometimes feels difficult to go anywhere in the job we do. Our schools are small by your standard and I think we do not have the opportunities that some teachers in England have. But I also think there is a problem with wanting to put your head above the rest and say 'I can do this...I want to do this'. This is something typically Norwegian I think and part of me likes this and part of me does not.*

To be viewed as 'ambitious' in Norway today can still evoke negative responses from those who view it as arrogance or self-centredness. While many dispute the significance of *Janteloven* it is a concept that is sewn into the cultural fabric of Norwegian life:

Hanna (second interview): *I hate it [Jante] – it's something that many people have [she laughs as she says the next part] and something in particular my father portrays. It is almost about being ashamed to say that you are better than somebody else. Part of me likes this – but I think in some careers it is important to be able to encourage people to go for things because they want to. I think this also effects how people live their lives. If you have a particular car here then many people will think that it's showing off and I wonder how this affects people when working.*

I do not wish to exaggerate the role that *Jante* plays in the lives of Norwegian teachers but it is important to highlight how cultural values can refract and deflect particular assumptions about jobs. One of those assumptions that I carried, as an English researcher, into these interviews were based around the power that I thought some

members of staff might have over others. The relatively non-hierarchical organisational structure that is common in Norwegian schools is reflected in Vivi's description of her team leader:

Vivi (second interview): *She [team-leader] has no authority over us perhaps in the way that I hear your teachers have in English schools over staff. Here that role is taken by the administration [meant in Norwegian as head and deputy heads of the school] of the school. Her job is passing on information from the top of the school and she can communicate any issues we may have. But we do not have to do anything that she asks. She would never ask in the first place. We [the teachers in her year] work as a team and decide what needs to be done.*

There is, in this extract, no evidence of any expectation that the position of team leader carries a power relationship whereby that person can be considered to hold higher status. When I asked Henning about his chances of promotion the responsibility of being a team leader was seen as getting 'in the way' of the job of teaching:

Henning (third interview): *Well that is quite difficult because you have two or three jobs in the school and if you start there you might be there for ten, twenty years and you have the same two or three person for that period almost...promotion in teaching? How can you do that because you teach anyway if you are a teacher! How can I be expected to do a good job as teacher if I am also worrying about administration issues in running the school?*

Henning's surprise at my curiosity about promotion opportunities for Norwegian teachers not only highlights both the lack of promotion opportunities afforded the Norwegian teacher but my own cultural assumptions about what teachers, pragmatically might value i.e. a desire for promotion. In Henning's eyes, there is an incompatibility

between promotion and his humanitarian values that reflect his primary goal, i.e. to be a good teacher (Arthur, et al, 2005). That said, all interviewees, when asked about promotion agreed that there were few positions that teachers can be promoted to. Hanna's response typified this viewpoint:

Gerry: *Is there any expectation for you to take promotion?*

Hanna (third interview): *There is no expectation for me to do that here.*

Gerry: *What about teachers in general?*

Hanna (third interview): *No, I don't think so. You can have a little bit more responsibility but not much. You can be deputy head or headmaster.*

The lack of promotion opportunities was not gender specific but common to both males and females interviewed and reflected in part the flatter organisational structures in Norwegian schools:

Jens (third interview): *When you are a teacher in the school you can become a headmaster. Every fourth year your salary will rise a bit but there are no real possibilities within the school for you to rise up. There are not that many possibilities to go up, as the structure is flat. You have all teachers and you have headmaster so there is no where to go.*

To a certain extent 'promotion' is an evacuated discourse in Norwegian schools (Kidd et al, 2005). The lack of a more hierarchical organisational structure brings with it a lack of promotion possibilities for the staff in the school and is typical of the circumstances of all the teachers I interviewed in Norway. This means that the way in which being a

teacher is constructed in Norway is far more wrapped up within humanitarian values associated with classroom practice than those framed within an identity focussed on job roles or the power positions such promoted roles might take up.

### **9.1.2 Opportunities for staff development**

By and large few curriculum subject organisations exist in Norway leaving little opportunity for teachers of similar disciplines to meet. In addition to this, whereas English policy makers have introduced a system of documentation that forms a bridge between pre-service and post-service development for teachers, no such system exists (at the time of writing) in Norway. There is also little pressure on Norwegian teachers to seek further training once they are employed in their schools. And perhaps, as a result, there are few organisations that offer teachers formalised continuing professional development opportunities. Talking about the professional isolation Vivi sometimes experiences she states that:

Vivi (third interview): *It is a shame but I have never the opportunity to meet with other teachers who share my interests. It would be fun to say meet up with other teachers of religion or sport or mathematics. It would be nice to see what they do and share ideas. There is little chance to do that here [in the school]. We are too busy.*

Gerry: *Are there any subject societies or associations that you can join to do this?*

Vivi (third interview) *I know of no such if they exist. Perhaps they do but I have not heard of them.*

None of the interviewees were aware of any such organisation outside of the school in which they worked that could offer them a chance to meet other teachers who shared their interest or expertise in a particular subject area. I asked Georg how he kept abreast of his subject knowledge and subject pedagogy:

Georg (third interview): *I would say that in my school the administration are not doing too much to help us learn. I think that it is the administrations job to teach us [here meant to provide additional training for staff]. Of course you can teach yourself with books, read, but the admin have to put things so that we can learn better to make an environment that wants us to teach more.*

Many Norwegian teachers are socialised into an environment in which there is little contact with professionals other than those that work within the institution where they are employed. Any 'collective setting of debate informed by theory, research and evidence' (Sachs, 2001: page 156) is limited, in most cases for the Norwegian teacher after qualification, to a handful of other members of staff to which she/he comes into contact with within the school. This was confirmed by Georg's view below which was broadly representative of most of the Norwegian teachers interviewed:

Jan (third interview): *I do not think it is like in English schools. I have heard that many teachers go to conferences and meetings about learning how to teach. I have not experienced that here. We have been told we have the possibility to get outside speakers into our school but I have not seen this. It would be nice as I feel quite hungry for new ideas.*

Despite the 'hunger' that Jan experiences there seems little opportunity for formal forms of professional development in the sense of increasing his subject or pedagogic awareness. Furthermore despite Ball's (1999) reference to 'generic MBA courses' (Ball, 1999: page17) when referring to the reformation of teacher identity in 'Northern countries' there seemed little evidence to show that teachers were inspired to further their education or update their qualifications. What staff development that does exist tends to be arranged by the school in which teachers work rather than by any external agencies:

Gerry: *Do you ever attend training outside your school for example conferences or forms of training put on by other organisations?*

Hanna (third interviews): *No I don't think that is common here or at least not in my school. We tend to have meetings once or twice a year where the whole school gets together. This year we had sessions by visitors on bullying which was useful although to what extent the school puts such ideas into practice I sometimes wonder...and we meet also in the [name of place] which is in the middle of the forest and there we can exchange ideas and it is more about staff bonding. But we do not have any outside training that I know of. I think in England you have a more exciting chance of development. Here I think it is easy to become stale.*

In these interviews it seems that little value is placed on the need to keep teachers up to date in terms of subject knowledge in Norway. Greater value is placed on experience and classroom practice. Layder writes that: “resources generate power which underpins a person’s ability to effect change in his or her social circumstances” (Layder, 1994: p138). Authoritative resources refer to non-material factors i.e. positions of authority and power which empower one set of human beings over another (Layder, 1994). In the case of these Norwegian teachers there is little in the way of authoritative resources that empower the Norwegian teacher within the organisation in which they work to bring about change. And yet this does not impede their own notions of what ‘being a teacher’ is. Rather their values seem to be more bound up with the autonomy they possess as practitioners in the classroom rather than within any occupational hierarchy that exists in other organisational settings.

## **9.2 Germany**

With flat school structures, a federal state system, relative school autonomy and tripartite education the opportunity for promotion and access to staff development is, for the Gymnasium teachers interviewed, difficult to come by. Federal structures mean that



the Laender in Germany strongly determine many aspects of the educational programmes pursued while at the same time allowing for regional differences in the way that schools manage themselves. Teachers are trained and employed by the Laender and as such tend to stay working at the particular school where they have been placed. Schools also possess a degree of autonomy in what is taught, and in many cases, how it is examined but Bavaria is one of the few states that has a centralised examination system. Further more, as we have already seen, the tripartite system also means that there is significant variation in the training of teachers, teaching styles, experiences and indeed the level of contact between teachers from different types of schools. All these factors have consequences for the availability, or lack of, promotion and staff development.

### **9.2.1 Opportunities for promotion**

Teachers interviewed in this cohort expressed little awareness of opportunities for promotion in the schools in which they worked. The sense of a fixed occupational structure with little space for upward mobility is evident in what they say:

Ursula (third interview): *There is not much in the way of promotion chances here. There is not much you can do, there is very little alternative I think to being a teacher once you have done the job for ten years what should you do otherwise?*

Gerry: *What about working your way up through the school structure?*

Ursula (third interview): *I think that is very hard, you cannot, I think it is not something you can decide or plan. You just work your time and do your best and as time moves on you might move up. And those who are very close to the headmaster might go up a little bit faster.*

As is the case with the Norwegian schools there are no ‘line-managers’, heads of department or heads of years in Gymnasium schools leaving little opportunity for

teachers to seek promotion. What opportunities that existed seemed to be shrouded in a veil of mystery and a lack of transparency:

Magda (second interview): *He [the director of the college] writes what you are doing and if you want to make a career then you have to do some extra jobs in the film room or doing the drama group or something like that to make them know, or if you are writing a book! That's good...that's sugar and he normally knows who is active and who is not at his school. Of course there is the space it is possible if you are his friend.*

Gerry: *So you would not describe it as a very objective system?*

Magda: *One could say that – yes!*

For Magda how good a teacher somebody might be plays little part in why certain people might be promoted. Harald too, is vague about how one gains promotion in the school where he works although he does acknowledge that the marks of his students might play a role:

Harald (third interview): *There is hardly any way to have a career for example. You cannot be promoted. The headmaster and second headmaster and that is it.*

Gerry: *How do you get promotion?*

Harald (third interview): *I do not know, it is probably the marks and you have to have friends somewhere, you have to have published things, to become a headmaster, and you have to stick out in some way.*

Many university students chose, in Germany, to become teachers because of the civil service status that this can confer which guarantees job security, good pay and pension provision at a time when the German economy is in recession. And while these benefits

are clearly appreciated by Nikolas there is a sense of ennui when he talks about the lack of opportunities for promotion:

Nikolas (third interview): *You get really good payment here after the training but it does not increase very much after that...pay rises with inflation, you get benefits and even for being much older than before, it goes up every two years. So that is not a problem but there is not really an incentive for working really strong because you do not get any benefit for that. That is the difference. You may start in engineering at the same level but you have chances of going really higher – on the other hand [he smiles as he says this] you do also have the chance of being fired – something very difficult to do if you are a German teacher.*

There is also a sense, in the extract above, that Nikolas is weighing up different values i.e. the benefits of security of employment that teaching offers against the financial gains he could be abetting outside of teaching, but in a riskier employment setting. Elsa also talks about the difficulty in progressing upwards within any teaching institution in Germany and, like Nikolas, hints at the implications this has for staff motivation:

Elsa (third interview): *There is not many ways to climb up the ladder any higher. You can either become principal or vice principal or you can go into the training of other teachers. That is all you can do basically...there are not so many positions you can have to raise your income. At the moment this is fine and I am a teacher but I am wondering how it is in a few years time and whether or not I will be bored with what I do.*

With little opportunity for promotion and with a pay structure that rises incrementally there is a sense that some of the teachers interviewed find this problematic, and in Katarina's case she adopts a somewhat fatalistic approach:

Katarina (third interview): *Well I think it is getting more and more difficult and it is like there is a strict hierarchy so it can get on after a*

*certain time like five years or ten years and it doesn't really matter how hard you work...usually you get promotion after certain time unless something really bad happens which happens in that time and whether you work very hard or not it always happens so there is no real attraction for people to work hard.*

In contrast to Katarina, Magda is more upbeat and focuses on her relationships with her pupils rather than any aspirations she might have about promotion opportunities. She does take up extra responsibilities but ones for which she is not paid:

Magda (third interview): *It is quite difficult because you do not have that much observation so normally you do not get forward because you're doing a good job but you take extra work. So you are doing supervisor of a subject for all teachers and you do not get paid for that.*

Gerry: *So what keeps you motivated to do a good job?*

Magda (third interview): It surely has nothing to do with the system but it is only the children. It is like – you get it back. All the things you do in class you get back and if I am doing a good job in teaching I get it back. If I go out of school and I am feeling good and it has been a good day, that's my motivation and sometimes I get good feedback from the parents.

When teaching is conceptualised as a personal relationship between one or more people, it becomes possible for teachers to find emotional satisfactions within their working lives rather than to look for these in other places (Nias, 1989). In her third year Magda's motivation is maintained by her love of teaching and extra responsibility placed on her for which she is not paid. As a supervisor she is there to act as a guide to the others rather than occupying a position of power and responsibility. What she 'gets back' is confirmation of her emerging professional identity as a gymnasium teacher and the emotional satisfaction she associates with that role.

### 9.2.2 Opportunities for staff development

German teachers, once in teaching stay for a significant period of time in the profession<sup>45</sup>. The conditions of service are such that teachers frequently chose to remain in the profession despite the fact that there are motivation issues for some. As Weick (2001) has noted, one key factor in motivating staff in general can be the availability of staff development opportunities. However there was little by way of staff development made available to the German teachers interviewed in this study. That which exists is usually taken up on a voluntary basis by the staff concerned within their own time:

Gerry: *Is there no pressure on you to carry out any form of professional development once qualified?*

Katarina (second interview): *Well yes you can do but there is no pressure on people and usually it is during the holidays so a lot of people do not apply to do any extra qualifications or extra courses.*

Ursula offers her own explanation as to why there is little opportunity for staff development:

Ursula (third interview): *The Bavarian system is centralised with exams centrally set...I know that in England the exam boards are in a kind of competition with each other and therefore give free training for teachers who take up their courses. No such courses exist here, or at least I don't know about them – there is nothing I can do to get training in the subjects I teach for example religion.*

Contrary to the more marketised and competitive educational environment in England, in which examination boards and sometimes publishers provide training days, in some cases free, in subject specific areas for teachers, no such system exists in Germany. In many cases schools set their own examinations and with no per capita funding mechanism and no competitive system such as the English school league tables there is

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<sup>45</sup> This is not to say that teachers do not leave the profession prematurely. Approximately fifty per cent of all teachers leave teaching before the official pension age of sixty three and five for females and males respectively retiring somewhere between fifty one and fifty six (Hafner and Bauer, 2005).

little impetus for such training to be provided and little pressure placed on teachers to take up such training as Magda highlights:

Magda (second interview): *I think once in the year you have the chance to take a course but I think the pressure [to do so] is too low. I do a lot of reading myself and informing myself about my topics but you don't have to. It is quite bad. For instance, there are teachers that still can't write a word on the computer.*

The impetus for professional development, in Magda's case, is on the teacher rather than the institution in which she works and this tended to be the pattern with other teachers interviewed. Further more there was no knowledge of subject associations that teachers could join to further their own professional knowledge about how to teach the subjects they were interested in:

Katarina (third interview): *I am lucky in that I have built a good collection of resources from my colleagues and from my time in my training but I did not think it would stop there. I don't know what I expected but I am wondering what happens in ten years time.*

Gerry: *What about meeting other teachers that teach the same subject as you. Do you have that opportunity?*

Katarina *In my school there are a couple of teachers but when else do I see them? Teachers leave early and I don't meet up with other teachers in my area.*

Gerry *In England we have what we call 'subject associations' that teachers can join where they get resources and exchange ideas. Does this not exist here?*

Katarina *No. I can, I think meet up with teachers in the union but that's not usually about teaching but more about*

*problems of work. I don't know of anything that you say here.*

One feature of the OECD PISA report in 2001 was criticism of the lack of professional development made available to German teachers. This is very much apparent in these interviews. Katarina's lack of awareness of outside opportunities for professional development was typical across the cohort and Magda was the only member who mentioned the opportunity of working in her own time to further her professional knowledge. Teaching is being conducted within a relatively isolated environment and one compounded by the lack of opportunities to engage with experts in subject pedagogy and the enthusiasts in teaching that often are present at professional development courses elsewhere. That said, as a consequence of the OECD report, from 2003 all teachers in Germany have had to receive a minimum of sixteen hours of professional development a year (Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs, 2004). (This development had not started at the time of data collection).

### **9.3 England**

School structures in England tend to be more hierarchical than their Norwegian and German counterparts providing a variety of possibilities for occupational mobility within the institution in which teachers work. This also has a knock on effect in that teachers have greater opportunity to seek promotion in different schools as job vacancies arise. In terms of staff development, the competitive environment that schools in England operate, is made up of a variety of competing institutions that include publishing companies, examination boards and training facilities all vying for the custom of a teaching population staff over ten times larger than that of Norway (Ofsted et al, 1999). This is not to paint an overly rosy picture of the English scenario but to flag up important differences in the three systems that have bearing on the interview data below and to acknowledge the utilitarian nature of much of the staff development offered (Kirby, 2000).

### 9.3.1 Opportunities for Promotion

The issue of promotion and movement from one school to another is a strong feature of the English system and one that is largely lacking in both Norway and Germany. I have already highlighted how the demographics in Norway and the Federal Structure in Germany restrict the movement of teachers in both countries. I asked Roby why he thought that the turn over of staff in London is faster than in other places:

Roby (third interview): *I think probably that it is not so much that people want to leave but that there are jobs and promotions in other schools in London. So basically senior staff moves on. Experienced members of staff have the opportunity of a pay rise and promotion elsewhere. Other people move for a change of scene or to get out of London.*

Before his second interview Jim had told me how he was planning to move to Australia with his girlfriend. I picked this point up in the interview that followed by asking him if he could see himself teaching in five years time:

Jim (second interview): *Of course, yeah. Even if I stayed here, I'd probably end up teaching for the rest of my life. But, depending on circumstances, I might get bored of it, but I would certainly like to see me promoted, head of department, as deputy head, or something like that. because I think that I've a lot to offer. The problem is, if I get bored, I'll look for another job.*

Despite his imminent move to Australia there is no question in Jim's mind that opportunities for promotion would not present themselves to him if he remained in England. And yet regardless of the investment that he has made in becoming a teacher he would have no qualms in changing professions if boredom struck. And while I do not place significant emphasis on this it is worth noting that Jim, Carmen and Edward all made references to having or wanting to work abroad. I do therefore believe that being a teacher in England provides opportunities outside of the country for work which in turn adds to the job mobility of others once these places are left vacant. It is also



worth noting that in contrast to the length of time taken for German teachers to qualify, in England, once teachers have their initial degree the actual period of training lasts one academic year. Such an 'investment' in a career is obviously significantly less than that taken up by teachers in Germany who tend to consider teaching as a 'job for life' (Reutin, 2004). Within the more flexible employment markets associated with the British economy (Smyth et al, 2000) this allows some to consider teaching as a 'quick' route to a profession that has currency abroad (TDA, 2006).

As with many others in the British sample Edward expects promotion to be part of his immediate career as a teacher. In his second interview one year after qualifying he talks about what this entails.

Edward (second interview): *On Monday I am about to have an interview for deputy year co-ordinator position, deputy head of year...The school that I am at is quite high achieving but because it's quite a pleasant school to work at there are not that great deal of opportunities for promotion and the head of department has been there for eight or nine years and this came up and I had been working with the form group and somebody said why don't you go for it you'd be really good.*

Edward's perception of the school as not having opportunities for promotion can be accounted for by the fact that there is limited mobility i.e. teachers at his school tend to remain there rather than moving on to other posts in other schools. One year later he proudly confirms he is head of department:

Edward (third interview): *I have been at [XXX] School London since I qualified, which is where I had one of my teaching practices, I have just been made HOD (head of the Dept) because the previous one has just been made AST. Things are going very well.*

Edward's construction of 'being a teacher' is tied up with a variety of job roles other than just that of teaching. Carter (2000) has suggested<sup>46</sup> that the processes of becoming a teacher involve varying degrees of personal and professional growth. For Edward the fact that 'things are going very well' in his career is intrinsically tied up in his notion of promotion as part of his career. The construction of his identity as a teacher is founded on an expectation that promotion forms part of his professional journey.

In his second year of becoming a teacher Roby obtains promotion and explains how significant a development it is for him:

Roby (third interview): *I have become assistant head of year, year nine in the mean time...I would say I am not really a career type of person and the promotion fell into my lap. Assistant head of year is a dogs' job, the money was not a big step up and there is a lot of work to be done and so not many people want to do it. I was pressed ganged into it. The first time I was asked at the beginning of last year I turned it down. I didn't feel settled enough and I thought it might be taking on a bit too much and I thought I would get stressed out and my teaching would suffer. After a term the person who was doing it moved onto another promotion within the school and I thought 'well actually I can do it now' and I enjoy it. I suppose really because I have a bit more to say to the kids, which makes my life easier and partly because I do not mind dealing with the discipline side when it is little pep talks.*

In Chapter Three I discussed how economic security, social status and particular working conditions are values of a sort that act as significant 'pull factors' in drawing

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<sup>46</sup>Six schools were used as case studies to investigate working conditions and practices, to provide more detailed insight into the range of factors affecting the process of becoming a teacher, and to examine the nature of the learning arising from teachers' induction experiences. Beginning teachers and their mentors and supervisors at each of these schools were interviewed on four occasions during the course of the 1998 school year

some people into teaching. Despite his earlier cynicism about teaching that we saw in Chapter Six Roby's identity is bolstered by his new status, part of which involves him disciplining pupils. His enjoyment of the new role exists despite his earlier reservations about the increased work load and the relatively small financial reward.

In Sylvia's third interview she describes enthusiastically the processes of promotion she has experienced over the last year:

Sylvia (third interview): *This is my third year of teaching now and in my second year I was given an extra point for financial literacy because we were designated a business and enterprise college and during last year I applied for, and got, the post of assistant staff development officer. This entails helping the person responsible for staff development...I have responsibility for beginning teachers and graduate trainees and I am loving it.*

Teachers' values are reformed and adapted as they move from one period of their professional development to the next (Willemse et al, 2005). Sylvia's enthusiasm radiated throughout the interview and this was partly due to her work with trainee teachers about which she was extremely enthusiastic. Nevertheless despite her obvious enjoyment of the job in the school where she currently works she does not rule out moving onto a new school to maintain her motivation:

Sylvia (third interview): I love working in the school where I am but I can possibly see a time when I might want to work in a new school, new environment...there are a number of jobs out there and I think I am a well qualified person...having worked in the city for a number of years prior to teaching.

Cara is far less enthusiastic about teaching than Sylvia. She is already planning an exit strategy and yet is aware that there are a variety of pathways she could take. For her the job of being a classroom practitioner does not inspire her:

Cara (second interview): *I just think I don't have any aspirations to be something like a senior teacher head of year or I don't know deputy anything, and I don't want to remain a classroom teacher because I know how that can be and you do feel powerless you feel, I don't know used and abused just through the system and there's so much demands on you and I don't see it as desirable to do that to myself. So because of that I envisage I will leave teaching within the next five years and that's actually my aim and if I am still teaching then I shall be kicking myself.*

After two years of teaching Cara has had enough although she is prepared to stay within the world of education for career opportunities. She stresses that teaching was always going to be a means to an end rather than a professional 'vocation' in its own right:

Gerry: *Are you still going to be teaching in three years time?*

Cara (third interview) *I would love to say no, I always wanted to do teaching as a stepping-stone. I haven't really had a specific career goal. Something in politics would be good but it is still so general that I can't say what it is. At the moment I am in the mind that now I am in the educational arena I can work towards doing something that is located in education but not in the classroom or in a school. An ideal might be consultancy, going in and dealing with issues like the area of raising achievement of ethnic minority people something, I feel I am interested in and I am contributing something. If I feel I am in the position where I have no purpose and it could be anyone doing what I am doing.*

In contrast to the extremely long periods of training that German teachers experience prior to qualification, the process in England is relatively short comprising of the PGCE academic year of training. This, combined with opportunities for promotion,

sidestepping or movement out of one career into another mean that the PGCE year can be perceived as a ‘stepping stone’ into other careers for some individuals (TDA, 2006).

### 9.3.2 Opportunities for Staff development

I do not wish to paint an overly rosy picture of the availability of staff development opportunities in England. That said, there is a mandated structure in place for the professional development of teachers in their first year as a newly qualified teacher funded by the state (TDA, 2006). Many of these courses can be relatively expensive and while some courses that exist are offered free nevertheless school budgets still need to find resources to pay for cover for any teacher who is away on a training course<sup>47</sup>. This means that some teachers are unhappy about the level of staff development they experience. However, compared to the teachers in Norway and Germany, the English teachers do have opportunities not available to their overseas’ colleagues. Many of the courses available to teachers in England focus specifically on pedagogy as both Liz and Edward highlight:

Liz (third interview): *My school has been quite supportive this year and I have been able to go on odd bits of training...in particular one session was about NLP [Neuro-linguistic programming] which was weird but tremendous and had us all standing around and copying the movements of others in an attempt to empathise. It has actually really helped with offering some ideas I had never thought about – refreshing.*

Edward (third interview): *Because now I’m involved with mentoring I’ve been able to get the school (they’ve got shit loads of money) to pay for me to attend sessions and I went earlier this year to*

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<sup>47</sup> There are also a wide range of courses often laid on by local boroughs in the late afternoon and evenings for teachers to attend.

*this one on Gardner and his intelligences. It wasn't so much about the intelligences but more the various ideas of teaching you can incorporate using the variety of styles that he talks about. We got loads of resources, although they weren't so useful but some of the ideas were brilliant. I've been trying to plan with them since.*

In both extracts above there is enthusiasm expressed by both teachers regarding the staff development that focuses on pedagogy. In the extract below, however, Eleanor was less impressed with the utilitarian nature of her staff development and her school's reluctance to send her on certain types of courses:

Eleanor (third interview): *It is rubbish, anything I wanted to go on, is basically dismissed. As an NQT I was supposed to get at least two and I went on one, and that was after I got the job and not of my choice. I am getting one for vocational GCSE but that is only because it is a new course that is going to bring more grades. So, because it is a new course I have managed to persuade them. I have not filled the form yet so whether it will happen I do not know.*

Gerry: *And how do you feel about that?*

Eleanor: *A bit annoyed because what is the point of identifying weaknesses to strengthen if you are not allowed to go on the courses? One of them was only £40.00 and it is not an expensive course.*

Despite her annoyance at how little staff development she is getting at the school in which she works she nevertheless is sent on courses throughout the year partially in response to her appraisal in which she has identified 'weaknesses' in her teaching. This is also partly to do with the career profiles that trainee teachers are given at the end of their training. These profiles identify targets for development that are to be met once the trainee teacher qualifies and starts work in their new schools. As I stated above, in

England there are more opportunities for teachers to gain development via the variety of organisations that are available, with many competing to offer services to schools and colleges. However, in Eleanor's case staff development is utilitarian in nature i.e. it is specifically addressing the necessary curriculum requirements of the school.

In some cases teachers in the study referred to membership of subject associations as a way of boosting their subject pedagogy. Sylvia tells me about the organisations she belongs to:

Sylvia (second interview): *I belong to the union and I also belong to [Name of organisation].*

Gerry: *What does that give you?*

Sylvia (second interview): *Insight into teaching cultural studies and debates on how it fits into the curriculum and citizenship...I am sure I am not using it to its full potential but I get a quarterly magazine and I get to go on their day courses and conferences.*

While Sylvia feels that she does not use the subject organisation as much as she could, nevertheless she is aware of their existence and uses some elements of support available. Nora is more enthusiastic about the association she belongs to which supports teachers of the social sciences. She describes what is available to her:

Nora (second interview): *I went to this conference for the first time last year and it was a weekend conference which was so useful. There were a variety of workshops and also publishers came down and we could see all the latest books and resources. There were some key lectures by [names of key speakers within her subject area]. It was also good because I got to meet some of the people who write the books. I'm also going on some examination board stuff next month I think which should help for newly qualified teachers...I think*

*one of the most useful things however was the fact that I met up with other teachers and we swapped ideas.*

The opportunities for teachers to meet up with colleagues who teach the same subject may be limited if contact remains solely with people employed within the school. Nora's comments highlight opportunities afforded many teachers in England largely absent to those in Norway and Germany.

While not championing the marketized environment in which teachers in England are employed the competitive environment that schools operate in, combined with a comparatively large population does mean that these teachers are presented with a variety of employment opportunities within schools and an array of courses available to them not afforded those in the other two countries. While the populations of Germany and England might not be considered too dissimilar (compared to Norway) England's more centralised education system (in comparison to the fragmented federal structure in Germany) offers opportunities for providers of professional development courses. This comparatively dynamic environment provides the context in which being a teacher in England is constructed.

#### **9.4 Discussion**

When considering how teachers' values play into and rework becoming a teacher, two factors have emerged in this study that reflect the cultural distinctiveness of the three locations under investigation: firstly the opportunities for promotion and secondly different forms of staff development. Both factors serve to construct teaching differently in these different locales.

Norway's education system and its demographics mediate the way Norwegian teachers' values and identities are constructed around teaching and the institution in which they work. Becoming a teacher in Norway is less concerned with job mobility and status and more to do with longevity of service and experience. Norway's relatively small population is largely schooled by its 'unitary' or comprehensive education system which, at the time this research took place, did not entertain a competitive or marketised



school environment. Norwegian schools serve the communities in which they work, and while that might mean that particular head teachers are concerned about their school's performance, a culture of 'performativity' (Ball, 1999) does not exist. This lack of competition between schools also means that there is less pressure placed on Norwegian teachers to seek staff development. With little in the way of pressure on schools to compete, and with a substantially smaller population, there is little commercial impetus to provide such training. In general job mobility is relatively absent in Norwegian schools thereby diminishing the opportunities for promotion. Because of a small population and because the structure of schools caters for a larger age range there are relatively fewer schools which are spread over a much larger geographical area with many schools in largely rural areas. It is not that these teachers do not value opportunities for promotion but rather to consider promotion as part of their career trajectories is unrealistic.

First and foremost the Gymnasium teacher is constructed as a subject expert. These German 'becoming' teachers will, in most cases, remain teachers for many years with little or no opportunity for promotion. Germany's tripartite system means that the somewhat elitist position that gymnasium teachers occupy within the overall system and the general belief that teaching in such schools is primarily an issue of subject knowledge rather than pedagogic knowledge diminishes the perception that professional development is a requirement. This is partially due to the federal structure in Germany where gymnasium teachers tend to stay within the federal state that trained them and employed them. This means that there is less opportunity for German teachers to seek promotion in other schools because, quite simply there are no jobs to be promoted into. Furthermore gymnasium schools are neither in competition with each other or with any of the other types of schools in the area. Thus there is little institutional pressure to provide training for the teachers in these schools. There is little scope to construct their roles as teachers other than within the subject area they teach and the value they place on experience. There was little evidence in the interviews with Gymnasium teachers on the value placed on keeping abreast of new teaching ideas or a recognition that not to do so could invite 'staleness'.

For most of the English teachers becoming a teacher, is concerned with job status in a way largely lacking in the other two scenarios. This is not to diminish the value of the

work they do with children but to acknowledge that promotion is an often vital ingredient in how they construct their values and professional identities. Job mobility is very common both intra- and inter-school. Because of the wider variety of job positions within English schools there is a greater impetus to seek positions at different schools thereby opening up the possibility for teachers within schools to move up the ladder. A variety of hierarchical positions exist in many secondary schools in England that are wholly lacking in both Norway and Germany. Furthermore there is a greater expectancy by English teachers that they should gain promotion within a relatively short space of time. This becomes more and more realistic because of the mobility that teachers in England can experience. This means that the way that many English teachers articulate what becoming a teacher means to them is done so in terms of their job position and expectation of promotion.

Opportunities for promotion vary between these three countries in ways that construct teaching differently making discussions about the possible convergence of teaching identities problematic. Similarly, opportunities for staff development also vary. The more utilitarian forms of formalised professional development found in England reflect the English educational context in ways not possible in either Norway or Germany. L97 (The Norwegian curriculum), although specifying elements that need to be taught, is not as prescriptive as the English National curriculum and in the case of the German tripartite system with its variety of different school types the federal structure means that in most Laender, schools determine what should be examined (that said, Bavaria possesses a centralised examination structure). This means that in both the Norwegian and German cases it is substantially more difficult to provide meaningful training based around subject and pedagogic practice because of the wide variety of examination structures in place. This is in sharp contrast to the per capita funding mechanisms deployed in England that place schools on a 'league table' depending on their exam performance. This puts pressure on departments to ensure that teachers, where possible, are receiving subject and pedagogic training to ensure increased exam performance. The wide variety of commercial and examination based institutions in England provide many opportunities for an accessible audience that by and large are catering for a more centralised examination system, albeit provided by a number of different agencies.

It has been argued that confident professional self-images within teaching are developed and maintained through interactions with other colleagues who share similar disciplinary interests (Delamont et al, 1997). One way of strengthening a secondary school teacher's identity in this way is through membership of subject associations, however such identity 'props' (Collinson, 2004) were generally not available to either the Norwegian or German teachers interviewed in this study. As a result of many of the above points there is little commercial viability in setting up training institutions catering for qualified teachers in either Norway or Germany. The population size of the former and the diverse and decentralised federal structure of the latter restrict the commercial viability of such enterprises. Unlike the situation in the UK there are very few subject organisations in which teachers in Norway and Germany can join and this further restricts the outside contact that teachers in these two countries might otherwise have with colleagues teaching the same subjects. This adds to the existing isolation that many teachers in Norway and Germany complain about. This is in strong contrast to the situation in England where a number of such organisations exist that provide the opportunities for professional development that many of the teachers in this study valued albeit to fulfil what are mostly (but not completely) utilitarian aims.

## **Chapter Ten – The Significance of Others**

In Chapter Four we saw how one key factor in becoming a teacher was the recognition of ‘others’ both within and outside the institution in which teachers are employed. Teachers’ values are mediated by ‘others’ in the three countries under examination. The data in this chapter focuses on the significance of these ‘others’ in the way in which becoming/being a teacher is socially situated i.e. the way in which these ‘others’ influence both the construction of teachers’ values and what being a teacher means. In so doing it addresses, in part, all of the research questions that this thesis has posed (see Chapter One). Coding and recoding the data elicited a number of key themes and dominant codes were evident across the data (Silverman, 2001). In Norway (section 10.1) these themes included the significance of the community; parents; friends and colleagues. In Germany (section 10.2) these included the significance of parents; the media; colleagues and pupils. In England (section 10.3) these included the significance of other departments; managers; outside agencies and colleagues.

### **10.1 Norway**

Due to the organisational structures in place in Norwegian schools (see Chapter Seven), the variety and frequency of relationships with other members of staff within the institution in which teachers work are significantly less than those in both Germany and England. Furthermore we have also seen how there is little in the way of outside institutional involvement that teachers can take part in. This means that the values of teachers in Norway are mediated by fewer immediate ‘significant’ and ‘generalised’ others than, for example, in the English school setting. However this does not mean that the influence on these teachers’ values is any less significant.

#### **10.1.1 The Significance of the Community**

I have shown, in Chapter Two, how in terms of the values communicated to Norwegian trainee teachers, schools are still very much seen as the ‘heart of the local community’ by the public and educational policy makers (Helgoy and Homme, 2004). Norwegian Schools are characterised by an openness that is unmatched by their English or German

counterparts. There are no fences around most schools in Norway. While, at the time of writing, many buildings in which teachers in England work are run down and in need of repair (Smyth et al, 2000) in sharp contrast the schools in which the teachers in the Norwegian sample worked were, in varying degrees well maintained and relatively new, both inside and out. Members of the local community are allowed to use any of the outdoor playground/sports ground facilities and I found it common to see Norwegian children playing in the grounds of schools at the weekend or during the evenings after school had closed. Hanna talks about the local school where she lives (not works) and how she uses it as a playground in the evenings for her children:

Hanna (first interview): *I often take [name of her children] across the road to the school...It is nice because a number of parents meet there with their children and we talk while the children play...there are no restrictions and no fences here [Norway] but I think this is very different from your [Schools in England] schools which are quite intimidating I think.*

Vivi, a mother as well as a teacher also talks about the openness of the schools to the community:

Vivi (first interview): *For Norwegians the school is part of the community. Why fence it off? It is not a prison. We [talking here as a Norwegian, not as a teacher at the school] use the playground, the swimming pool even if our children don't belong to that particular school...I have seen your schools in England. They look like prisons with bars keeping them in. What message does that give off about education, teachers and schools?*

This sense of community is not just one restricted to how the school serves the immediate neighbourhood. It is also fostered within most Norwegian schools. On my visits to many of the schools I was eagerly invited to join in on many lunches and functions at the schools I observed and it was common to see wives, husbands,

boyfriends, girlfriends etc invited to social events targeting staff of the schools. Employees are also trusted to work 'on-site' at the weekends if they choose with many staff possessing their own set of keys to gain entry:

Gerry: *Do you have much work to do at home in the Evenings?*

Jakob (third interview): *No, if I have work outside this time [what he considers to be his normal working day i.e. from 8.20 through till 4.00pm] I do it at Saturdays at school. I do nothing at home I have the keys to come into school on Saturday.*

Jan also has access to the school he works at any time he likes.

Jan (third interview): *I am off to school on Sunday evenings to plan the work for the following week...Most teachers certainly would not choose to work at the weekend but if you want to you can. I can borrow keys and come in when ever I want...There are a few of us that do this at the weekends. It's nice because we do not get bothered by the day-to-day stuff.*

Teachers are embedded in their communities and this means that their practices are, to some extent, transparent to parents and the community in general. This also means that their values can be mediated by community expectations and aspirations for the children of these communities. Beate explains her version of the public conception of Norwegian schools. She had, during her years of training, also worked at one of the many American international schools that exist in Norway:

Beate (third interview): *I feel that the Norwegian way to look at school is that the school is there for you, the parent, the teacher, the pupil and the community. It is there to serve you, everything. But at the international school I felt that you had to be there for the school and be a part of the school, serve the school, not that the school serves you. So you kind of feel*

*that if I am not doing my job they [the international school] will not let me be there.*

What I am arguing in this first section is that because the schools and communities are so tightly knitted together, inevitably the values of the local communities feed into the school and teachers' values and identities are mediated by these beliefs and values. This feature, while being very typical in Norway is unusual in contrast to the German and English setting. The openness of schools to the local community along with an openness to its staff to come into the school 'out of hours' adds to this 'community' feeling. It is of course true that these schools are in a country of significantly smaller population size than either the German or English national settings. One might therefore argue that such settings would automatically mean that there would be a more communitarian relationship between teachers, pupils, parents and the local community. And yet this relationship between school and employee is peculiarly Norwegian and reflects some of the more social democratic values we have looked at in earlier chapters. These values contest some of the values associated with economic and political dimensions of globalisation.

### **10.1.2 The Significance of Parents**

In Chapter Seven we have already seen how many Norwegian teachers recognise, albeit resentfully at times, their professional role as surrogate parent. As a 'generalised other' parents can sometimes be used by the emerging teacher as a tool to bolster their identity formation as a teacher, particularly in what has been referred to as critical incidents (Jones, 2003) in the early developments of teacher careers. This can be seen in the case of Beate below describing the aftermath of an incident in which she was verbally threatened by one of her pupils:

Beate (third interview): *I talked to the mum, I called her later...In situations like this we are encouraged to deal with this ourselves before involving other member of staff...I stopped him and spoke to him and told him he could not speak to an older person or to a grown up which you are supposed to respect. He said I do not respect you and I do not care what you are*

*telling me. You just have to give me my bottle back, which he knew he was not supposed to have. I believe some of it is from the school system but most of it is from the parents. It is the way they raise the children from birth until they start school. The expectations they give them.*

It is tempting to see such conflicts in a negative light however Rothman and Friedman (2003) note that conflicts can be formative because people and groups tend to forge their own sense of identity in opposition to others. And yet instead of turning inward to the institution and seeking explanations for why the school could not aid this teacher, or perhaps questioning her own part in the interaction, Beate's response was to focus blame on 'parent' as a reason for the conflict she faced in the school. This 'technique of deficit' (Abbot, 2004) removed any question in her mind that she or the school was in someway responsible for the interaction or lack of support Beate received. Beate blames the family by constructing a deficit notion of the role the family plays in the upbringing of the child.

We have already seen how teachers in the German gymnasiums are extremely conscious of parental concern, in some cases enhanced by the threat of legal action if grades are not satisfactory. This legal pressure is largely absent in Norway. However with many of the Norwegian interviewees there was a sense of parental interest and involvement with the education of their children which focused both on learning in the school and at home. Teachers often referred to parents when talking about responsibility for learning:

Jakob (third interview)

*Parents are very interested in the children and they see what they are doing and follow in the homework book. They call the school and ask and you have to answer. I think this is true for 80% of parents...when we are sending home papers to fill out about the school and how it is organised they send them back. I think I have to be on top every day. I feel like I have to because I do not want the parents on the phone complaining.*



In Chapter Eight I looked the role that parents play in the more informal monitoring procedures of teachers adopted in Norwegian schools and this is certainly evident in these extracts. However here the focus is more on the teacher's awareness of the role that parents play in the education of pupils along with the significance of parents within the educational process as a whole:

Tine (third interview)      *Parents are very concerned about their children so if we were not doing a good job then the parents would react instantly. They take up contact with our administration quickly if there is a doubt about what goes on in class. I also am in contact on the phone regularly with most of my parents. We [Norwegian teachers] have to give our parents our home numbers and often they call in the evenings to talk about silly issues but it's part of my role and they don't usually complain that much.*

The significance of parents in the education process cannot be over emphasised (Crozier and Reay, 2004) and in the Norwegian context accountability, responsibility and parental interest overlap and are interwoven making parents highly significant others in the Norwegian setting. As an English teacher and researcher I found this degree of access by Norwegian parents to their childrens' teachers extraordinary and much greater than is the case of those teachers in Germany and England. And yet while this is cause of resentment in some cases there is also an acknowledgement that parental involvement is to be welcomed.

Georg (third interview):      *I think my views change as I teach more now and I think I was thinking parents were important but now I need them. I used to think 'it's down just to me' but when parents don't take interest in their children's homework books then you see its effect in the class. I do get angry sometimes when the phone rings at night when I am relaxing but I'm also glad they are interested. When they are not my job is harder.*

Georg's values are clearly shifting here in terms of the significance he places on the importance of parents in the work he does. Within the school it is generally true to say that Norwegian teachers engage less with other professionals in their day-to-day roles and responsibilities. However their relative isolation is, as this section shows complemented by a unique relationship they have with the parents of the children they teach. This makes parents a significant external factor in both the co-construction of the values that these teachers voice about being and becoming a teacher.

### 10.1.3 The Significance of friends

Teaching is socially constructed through particular norms and values about teaching. These norms and values are embedded in society and articulated, challenged and contested by intending teachers as they 'try out' these values with the social groups they engage with. In the absence of opportunities to test out these emerging values with other professionals in school, it is left to many Norwegian teachers to rely on family and friends to do this. Tine's perception of her own emerging identity and professional values as a teacher is inevitably mediated by her own perceptions of how other groups of people, in this case, her friends, perceive her job:

Tine (first interview): *If you are going to reach any status as a teacher in Norway you have to choose subjects like Maths/history/typical male subjects and you have to work in a higher grade. There are many females in the first four lessons [by this she means first four years of teaching i.e. 6-9 year olds] but if you are going to reach any status you have to work with the youths/older students and preferably in higher education and it stresses me. And all my friends say 'why don't you study and take subjects that you can teach in higher grades and 'then you will really be someone'. But I don't want to be that. I want to teach lower grades.*

Tine's friends' reactions reflect their own values of social status and these are partly internalised by her to throw up an image of her teacher identity. But these are at odds

with her own values about teaching that focus on her desire to work with young children. Early years teaching does, in many national settings, have a lower status compared to later age ranges (Petty, 2004). Torrill admits, seen through the imagined eyes of her friends, that this engendered career choice has a somewhat reduced status when compared to the more 'masculine' older subjects she highlights. Here she makes an association with her own career trajectory and compares this with the more generalised social category of 'other' contained within the categories of Maths and History Teachers who she perceives as having a higher social status. The tension created between her personal and social self whereby the former seeks to differentiate itself from other social groupings is resolved in her commitment to teaching a younger age group regardless of the social expectations that this is the 'normal' role taken up by female teachers.

Bradley (1996) talks about the use of passive and active identities by people in social interaction. So, for example, a female teacher might, at any given moment be only conscious of their identity as a 'teacher' until their identity as a 'woman' comes under threat in terms of conditions of work (maternity leave, promotion prospects etc). Bradley draws attention to how certain identities can lay dormant i.e. are not 'activated' until that identity might be seen to be under threat. She argues that individuals are not particularly conscious of these passive identities and do not normally define themselves by them unless events occur which bring those particular relationships to the fore when they then become 'active identities'. In Svend's case (below) his idealistic notion of his identity is 'activated' (although not openly to his friends) when he perceives their negative portrayal of the work he does. Conflicts in the images of teaching that Svend and his friends have about the job he is being trained for are a source of tension for this particular trainee teacher as indeed are differentials in the social status of the work he and his friends do:

Svend (first interview): *As a teacher here in Norway there is a line between status and how I am seen as a teacher. I know that many of my buddies/friends they say that 'oh you're just being a teacher because of the holidays and you try for more pay but you don't do anything'. I tend to smile and laugh when they say this but it gets to me. For my friends don't*

*see me or my fellow students as idealistic people but I like to see me as that way but not my friends.*

Drawing on Mead's (1934) work on identity (see chapter three) there is a distinction between Svend's professional 'me' and his somewhat more fragile friend 'me'. This fragility is based around the values of social status his friends possess and project onto the teaching profession. Svend's identity as a teacher is bolstered by his idealism while simultaneously being constrained by the recognition of how others perceive his occupation, in this case, his friends.

Many of Hanna's friends are teachers and they meet up usually for dinner at one of their homes:

Hanna (second interview): *It's difficult because I hate the idea that when we get together we start 'bitching' about this and that at work. And sometimes it does feel like we are doing that but I think for many of us this is one of the few chances we can really get to talk about the work we do....we don't do this all evening [she laughs] but it is good to do this. I also think that with some of these friends I may not always like the work they do at school. With one in particular I hate the way she treats the job as just a way of paying for her house and it is easy to build up negative feelings but when we meet up it sometimes helps us bring things together again...other friends and even my family don't really understand the work we do...it's terrible but we have one teacher who we all unite against when we talk and this also brings us together.*

The formation and consolidation of values takes place within a variety of settings in the continuous and often subconscious processes of reflection that take place through the variety and frequency of certain types of relationship (Fuller and Bown, 1975). In Norwegian schools the opportunities to form relationships are few and far between. These significant others can often be friends and teachers at the same time and the

opportunity to interact with these colleagues in a different and more informal setting can cathartic. With Hanna we can see how she wishes *not* to spend her social time talking about work and yet the very isolation she feels she has in the school means the opportunities her evenings with friends generate to let off steam about the work they do. The opportunity to focus their ‘bitchings’ acts as a form of catharsis to unite them in what can otherwise be an isolatory experience.

#### 10.1.4 The Significance of Colleagues

When talking about the degree to which there is professional contact with other members of staff it is worth noting that Norwegian schools do not offer school dinners to their pupils. For many the working day starts at seven-thirty with classes starting at eight to eight thirty in the mornings. Most classes are over by one in the afternoon and it is common for many teachers to be out of the building by two thirty in the afternoon. This factor must be borne in mind when considering the relatively little contact that Norwegian teachers have with each other during school hours. Common to most countries, beginning teachers’ greatest problems are associated with the lack of spare time and demands made by high levels of clerical work and heavy teaching loads (Ganser, 1999). However the existence of friends, outside of teaching, who one can talk to about the problems at work is useful although not favoured by Svend:

Svend (third interview): *I have no formal support and that is something that I am critical about. I’m ok with the teaching but find all non-teaching work difficult to keep up but it’s getting better. My friends are supportive but in the end I hate talking about it [teaching] to them. I don’t think they really understand the work I do. I think there should be one person you can talk to but I have great colleagues. We are three teachers working very well together and that helps.*

The emphasis that Svend places on the importance of his colleagues was a theme that *did* emerge across all transcripts when analysing for significant others. The role that

colleagues played as significant others was one where, quite often, the collegiality was played out, out of school rather than within it:

Hanna (second interview): *I don't usually have time to talk with my colleagues at work and to be honest many of them leave early in the day and I don't get to see them. We do meet up with the girls in the evenings. Quite often at one of our houses and that is fun. At the moment we are taking turns in cooking and we sit and talk, quite often about other colleagues or work but I think this is quite important as a release*

We have already seen in Chapter Three how different organisations can have their own distinctive cultures or 'communities of practice' which influence the professional values of those that work within them (Brown, 1997). Organisational structures of schools, departments and/or groups of teachers have particular ways in which they encourage certain attitudes and expectations as to how the job should be done. Teachers are, in part, socialised into an organisational setting made up of a plethora of different working relationships with significant others (e.g. teacher/teacher; teacher/mentor, teacher/cleaner; teacher/admin staff; teacher/pupil; teacher/parent; teacher/line manager etc). However teachers also actively construct relationships, meanings and values within the institutions in which they work. For example, a trainee teacher developing ideas about what 'good' teaching is, may enter a school and have their ideas challenged by established teachers of a subject discipline who use their experience to justify why they believe that some ideas may or may not work. Furthermore, in Norway newly qualified teachers are expected to take on the same responsibilities as those with 20 years experience in the classroom from the first day of the job (Carter and Francis, 2000; Feiman-Nemser, 2001). Some of the Norwegian cohort complained about the lack of support they had from colleagues within the schools in which they worked:

Inga (third interview): *I worked in this school before I started my education [meant here as university education] so when I came back it was like 'it's only Inga, she has come back from a little break'. They automatically thought I knew everything ...it*

*can be really tough and you feel stupid if you have to always ask others about how you do this and that. In my first year I found this very difficult but I am used to it now.*

Ibarra (2003) argues that the support and collegiality that can be provided by new mentors, role models and professional groups adds to the likelihood of well being and success within careers. And yet, for example, there were no mentors attached to any of the interviewees in this sample (with the exception of one ‘informal’ colleague that volunteered). While the introduction of mentoring in Norway was, at the time this research was being carried out, being discussed (Stephens, 2003) there was no formalised system in place for newly qualified teachers to be supported in their first year of teaching. Despite this lack of mentoring, the smaller school sizes in Norway do mean that there should be more opportunity to approach senior or other members of staff within the organisation. However this does not always bring about a response that is helpful to the member of staff who asks for help:

Hanna (second interview): *We are very much on our own. One of my pupils had a way of behaving which was a big problem with the class and me and I went to the headmaster and said ‘listen I have a problem with this kid and I can’t do it alone I need to get help’. And I went to the social teacher and another teacher and they just say they have so much to do it is difficult to get help because where are you going to get help from? So I just think it is summer soon so I just leave it. It takes a lot of energy because you think about it a lot and I am in charge of the class so I have to phone home and the responsibility is mine and sometimes it is getting me down a bit.*

Some teachers in this study did feel that they were left to ‘sink or swim’ (Hatch, 1986) with little in the way of organisational support offered to them other than the voluntary support offered by their colleagues:

Beate (third interview): *I am all by myself. It's scary and they have given me the worse kind of class in school which before has been used to three teachers all the time and suddenly almost all this year I have been on my own. What help I have had has been done by teachers I work with and that has made me feel better but at times I have hated the job. Without the support of these teachers I would probably have left or gone back to my Americans.*

Much has been made of initial experience of teaching being one of isolation (Marland, 1993), a struggle to survive (Petty, 2003) and a 'reality shock' (Veenman, 1984) after the safety of teacher training. Burden (1982), in describing the first year of teaching as a 'survival' period, maintains that this induction period involves feelings of inadequacy, stress and confusion on the part of the teacher. Such an experience can have a detrimental effect on the values that teachers develop during this time. Their idealism can be dented and in some cases this, along with a heavy workload can lead to teachers dropping out before they have completed their training. I do not however want to paint an overly negative picture of the Norwegian experience. Jan's initial experience confirms the idea (Hebert and Worthy, 2001) that the first year of teaching is not necessarily negative:

Jan (second interview) *Last year was hard and I did not really know or feel like I was doing the right job. It is so difficult to bring all the many things we are told we have to be together in this year. I wanted to be friendly and care but I wanted to be their teacher and show them new things. And with parents as well it feels like a lot of pressure. But my friends I work with helped me when they could and we had one senior teacher who gave me lots of help and I feel better now.*



In the case of Georg his introduction into his first year of teaching was aided by the provision of an unofficial mentor:

Georg (second interview): *They have one teacher that for two or three hours will take care of me a week. If I need any help then he is there for me anytime. He is a kind of mentor. I guess the management of the school take the right person to do that stuff as this has really worked for me.*

It seems strange that within a profession that fosters notions of reflection, inquiry and examination into the practices and beliefs of both pupils and teachers, the latter are often being ‘assimilated’ into schools where the social structures are such that no such possibility exists to engage in these active processes. There are, therefore, few opportunities for Norwegian teachers to ‘test’ out their values with other adults. School size can play a significant role in creating stronger interpersonal relationships both between pupils and staff and between staff themselves. Darling-Hammond (1997) refers to those schools as being successful in these issues containing no more than 500 pupils. However the smaller school sizes in Norway does not necessarily mean that stronger relationships are formed between colleagues in these schools. The structure of the working day and the lack of organisational support offered by the school often means that teachers are working in relative isolation. It is also worth noting a cultural difference in the way that many Norwegians socialise. It is far more common for Norwegians to spend time at peoples’ houses in the evenings as events in themselves or as pre-cursors to going out. This is partially to do with the significantly higher prices paid for drinking in pubs and clubs in Norway. This seemingly small point plays a significant role in differentiating the Norwegian social experiences of teachers to those in Germany and England where it is more common to ‘go for a beer’ after work with colleagues than it is in Norway, particularly within the region in which this research was carried out<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> The South West of Norway is a strongly protestant region where in some areas alcohol is forbidden. This was *not* the case with interviewees in this study nevertheless the, for some, prohibitive taxation on alcohol limits the amount of socialising that is done in bars, pubs or restaurants and as such is a factor worth considering when thinking about working relationships that teachers extend into their private lives.

## 10.2 Germany

I have already shown how a desire to communicate more closely with other teachers is a recurrent theme in many of the interviews in all three national settings. The reality of teaching in a German gymnasium means that, as is the case in Norwegian schools, there is relatively little opportunity for contact with other professionals either within, or outside the institution in which they work. Furthermore, because of the Federal state structure in Germany, teachers rarely move around from one school to another during the course of their careers.

### 10.2.1 The Significance of Parents

In in-depth coding, the significance of parents was a very recurrent theme with most of the German sample and this is understandable because parents in Germany have a legal right to dispute grades and take legal action against the teachers that are grading their children. While in reality this does not actually happen that often it does mean that teachers are constantly aware of the potential for such action to take place. The notion of teachers having to ‘defend’ themselves seemed poignant in both Claudia’s and Annas’s extracts below:

Claudia (first interview): *I think that teachers are in a position where they have to defend themselves from the pupils or from very often the parents because if the pupils don’t get the marks they need to get on in life very often the parents blame the teacher.*

Here we get a sense of Arthur et al’s (2005) value orientations to teaching where the emphasis by parents is one that firmly elevates the ‘successful’ teacher (i.e. one that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms) over and above the ‘good’ teacher (a value orientation that goes beyond that of simply knowledge transmission and subject orientation). What interest that is expressed by parents tends to be in terms of specific assessment outcomes rather than a more humanitarian concern with how the child might be developing:

Anna (first interview): *It also depends on the area where you are but very often there are parents who very quickly go to a lawyer and say*

this and that is wrong and my child has to make it into through to the Abitur.

The 'Abitur' is the qualification German students need in order to gain entrance into the higher education institution they wish to study in. We have already seen that there is little in the way of pastoral support for many of these pupils. We have also seen that teachers in general teach in Gymnasium schools who are ex-Gymnasium pupils themselves and therefore there is little expectation that teachers should be interested in anything other than the academic achievements of their pupils. This point was brought home in the extract below where Ursula elaborates on how parental involvement can make a difference in the work she does as a teacher:

Ursula (third interview): *You have little contact with the parents because the parents are not coming to meetings [the equivalent to parents' evenings]. Once they have got their children into the gymnasium you hardly see them. You only see the parents of the students who have no problems which is a nightmare because it's the troublesome ones that I need to talk to. If they only realised how parents can help at home, with homework or by putting the right kind of pressure. As a mother of two I know how much I can effect the education of my own children. I find it so hard to believe that other parents can be so uninterested.*

Despite the threat of parental action that some teachers referred to in other cases the significance of parents for teachers was their apparent *lack* of interest in their children's education and the power that, it is felt, they have over teachers:

Harald (first interview): *Some of the parents attack me and others don't give a damn if I exist or not or what I do with their kids – generally they don't feel responsible for the learning of their children which annoys me because they are part of the equation. As a teacher I think I can do so much more if I know that I have the parents on my side.*

The awareness that teachers must have, of the importance of parents is made clear in their training. They are, for example reminded of the potential for legal ramifications (gymnasium teachers study law as part of their training). But, at least with this respondent, little is made during training of the role that parents can play in the education of their children and how much this can be enhanced by parental/teacher communication (Crozier and Reay, 2004):

Anna (second interview): *We have to study law because the parents of our children can and often do complain about the test marks we are giving them. I think this is something very special to the Gymnasium schools as many of our parents are from these schools themselves. It's understandable because they are wanting their children the same as they do when in school. But there is not much conversations with them [parents] about other things like how they are in class or if they have difficulties - just grades.*

The construction of being a teacher for these emerging teachers is influenced, in many cases, by a particular notion of the role the parent should play in the development of pupils. This role is predominantly seen as 'policing' the academic achievements of the pupils in their care. It is *not* generally a role that enforces a more humanitarian notion of teaching but rather one that is more instrumental to their progress in achieving a place at university.

For some teachers the deferential relationship that some schools take with the parents of the pupils who attend can get in the way of the work they see as essential to being a teacher:

Katarina (second interview): *My school sometimes gives the impression that parents are more important than we teachers. It does not effect me in the class...in class I am too busy and too into what I am doing with the children. But it affects me when I mark and perhaps on decisions about poor pupils and behaviour and sometimes I think 'I am not going to*

*bother' as I know that the school will always listen to parents more than us.*

Nikolas also feels that in some cases his head teacher places the interests of parents above the interests of his staff:

Nikolas (second interview): *What I experienced in the Gymnasium was that I thought that the headmaster was giving in too much to the parents he was backing the teachers sometimes but you couldn't rely on it but mostly he was backing the parents. Which can be alright if a teacher has done wrong he should do that but in the first way he should be backing his teachers at least he should ask them before he is saying something to the parents. But most times when a parent was complaining he was just making any decisions without asking the teacher who was responsible and I think that is ridiculous.*

It is not unusual for teachers to bemoan the lack of support that parents might offer in the education of their children or indeed the support they can offer to teachers in school. What marks out the German scenario as different from both the Norwegian and English contexts is the awareness that teachers have of the possibility of legal action that parents can enact (even if, in most cases, this does not actually happen). This means that 'to be a teacher' in a gymnasium school is to be continually aware of the legal ramifications of a 'wrong decision'. The significance of parents to these teachers tends to be in terms of their power in a regulatory capacity rather than because of any pedagogical intervention they might make.

### **10.2.2 The Significance of the Media**

Vulnerability to the judgements of colleagues, headteacher, parents, inspectors, media reports etc is a particular feature in the emerging identities of newly qualified teachers (Kelchtermann's, 1996). The use of teachers as 'political folk devils' (Ball, 2001) is not

something unique to any one national context (Troman, 2000; Buckingham, 2003) although the emphasis placed on the negative treatment of teachers in the popular media was highlighted by many of the German cohort:

Katarina (first interview): *About a year or two ago it was getting really bad in the German press and there was one case where Schroeder called teachers 'lazy bones' and those are things that make the public opinion very negative and very biased and...everybody has been to school so everybody knows best.*

With (at the time of writing) a faltering German economy Anna referred to a recent article in the German media attacking the teaching profession:

Anna (first interview): *I think that teachers have a very bad reputation in Germany. Recently there were two articles in the paper about teaching and the picture was painted of a hellish profession...many have the idea that teachers have very much free time in Germany. The afternoons are free and they only work in the mornings and that in the afternoons we have to prepare lessons...No body realises what the job is really like.*

Sometimes the effects of media coverage can be mediated via other colleagues. The combination of poor media coverage and the PISA report referred to in Chapter Two is also felt throughout the profession and has been communicated back to Ursula via older colleagues she works with:

Ursula (second interview): *The media does a lot of damage I think. If you speak to the public they will tell you that teachers are lazy that teachers spend their afternoons playing tennis. They will tell you teachers are to blame for everything that does not go well. I think that annoys more and more. That is what I get from the older colleagues. They are fed up particularly about the PISA – there are many publications*

*about teachers and how they work and were trained and we are getting a negative echo in the press.*

Harald also reflects on the impact that poor media coverage has on the profession both in terms of the feedback he gets from his friends and the possible effects on future recruitment into the profession.

Harald (third interview): *I hear some of my English colleagues telling me how they think we have it very good in Germany. I think that we all believe things are better somewhere else. My friends often make jokes about how my job is so easy and how it is not like other professions. I think this also is a picture we have had in our German newspapers since many years. Which is a pity because perhaps this is bringing not the best people into the job. I smile of course when I hear this but inside it's sometimes annoying to me to hear these comments when people do not know what we really do. I think the media could help here.*

These teachers identify the power of the media in terms of their social status. The German media plays a significant role in the stereotyping of a profession that in reality is made up of a hierarchical system with different types of teachers. Many of these teachers point to the negative media representations of the profession rather than to any positive role media coverage could provide. In all cases though, a sense of demoralisation is apparent within the data with the blame laid on poor media coverage of teaching.

### **10.2.3 The Significance of Colleagues**

In the interviews with German teachers little mention was made of any significant individuals that teachers worked with. Part of this gap is explained by the timetable that German schools operate which, like the Norwegian scenario, means that with no school lunches, the working day is significantly shorter than the English timetabling arrangements for teachers. But this restriction is also based on limited direct management structures within German schools with most power within the organisation

not being decentralised but emanating directly from the principal or head. It is therefore more appropriate to refer to a lack of significant others within the German scenario.

Nikolas explains what this lack of contact with other members of staff means to him in terms of the sociability of teaching:

Nikolas (second interview): *With the organisation of the German school it is quite difficult to [meet other teachers] because you work there in the morning till one o'clock or two o'clock then most teachers leave so then they are home correcting stuff they are preparing the next lesson so there is hardly any time. I mean it could be different if they had another system, if they had longer school days in which teachers would be in school but not always teaching...I also see that it is a big disadvantage because I would like to work in a team.*

The choice and discretion some workers exercise over the substantive and procedural aspects of their jobs has been variously labelled 'control' or 'autonomy' (Coates, 1998). And yet autonomy has, however, also been described as 'a lack of mutual support' (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). German teachers do meet up in teams to discuss planning but, as with the Norwegian schools, there are no department heads or line managers to whom these teachers are directly accountable:

Gerry: *Have you got a line manager or anybody that you are directly responsible to?*

Elsa (third interview): *Just the headmaster. I think the only real place that there is an opportunity to meet up with other teachers [outside the institution in which she works] is if you are in a union and there you might meet up with different types of teachers. I am in one and I meet up with kindergarten teachers and other gymnasium teachers and you could build a lot of contacts there but it is not organised in*



*anyway and so you could basically live your life without meeting any other teacher.*

Ursula also confirms this lack of direct management and her reliance on the team of teachers she works with:

Ursula (third interview): *I think in England teachers are more told what to do. It's not that we are not but I don't think [she mimes 'under the thumb'] we are told so much what to do in the way you are. I work in a team but we decide how we will get through based on the curriculum. And so we rarely mix with the head master and his team being the deputy head and the one who is doing the timetables. We rarely mix with them because they have their own rooms and they decide everything.*

Ursula's day-to-day tasks are dictated by the needs of the curriculum and the overall wishes of her head of school. How these decisions should be carried out is decided by her team without the mediation of an additional manager or year head.

Teachers can be socialised into their profession by more experienced 'old hands' who not only can teach them explicitly, the required skills and rules but also, implicitly, how to require the right 'look and feel' (Ibarra, 2003) i.e. the social norms and values that govern how teachers in their environment should behave. Despite the older age range of the German cohort compared to their Norwegian counterparts, continuous reference by most Gymnasium teachers was made to the apparent age difference between teachers who have just qualified and their older colleagues. However in many cases older colleagues were viewed as a hindrance to the profession rather than that of a benefit. That said, for the sake of sensitivity, I did not ever ask what age constituted an 'older colleague' but rather acknowledged that it was a coded category that was of some significance for many of the German cohort. For example, Harald suggested that his older colleagues in school were 'beyond their sell by date' in terms of delivering the curriculum i.e. newly qualified teachers believed they understand the purpose of the curriculum, and by inference the older ones do not:

Harald (third interview): *I think these kinds of colleagues are going out, the older generation. The new generation of teacher, forty years and younger I think they understand the purpose of the curriculum.*

Anna, in talking about PISA was critical of the tripartite educational system as a whole and the conservatism of her older colleagues:

Anna (second interview): *Germany was not really well portrayed...a lot in the papers about improvement for change and we need reforms but actually perhaps actually the only way the system can change is when a new generation of teachers come – there are so many teachers around that have no desire to change. Reform must come from new teachers. Reform lies in the heads of these teachers.*

If some colleagues were critical of the conservative methodology they claimed their older colleagues adopted others were concerned with the greater amount of contact hours younger colleagues put in. As a result Katarina believes that older teachers are partially responsible for the poor status the teaching profession has in Germany:

Katarina (first interview): *People always say that those [older teachers] are the ones that come home at 12.00pm and finish their work at 12.00pm and they complain about having too much work and about life being so terrible and they have holidays all the time.*

Anna focuses her attention on older staff in terms of an attack on her own idealism:

Anna (second interview): *I find it hard sometimes to be in a room of teachers that complain about the pupils we have. We have good children here and yes I get cross with them and tired sometimes but I am so keen to do this job well and I work hard and I sometimes feel that they [older colleagues] have a smile on their faces when they watch me prepare*

*and put hard work into this...it's like they think that one day I will learn what it's really like and won't bother anymore. That's not me and I don't want to be like them.*

Her assertion that 'that's not me' is a strong affirmation of how she is already acknowledging a sense of what being a teacher means by positioning herself against that of an altogether different teacher identity she wants no part of. In this sense the negativity she expresses emphasises and strengthens her own value system about what teaching means to her. However not all teachers were so critical of the interaction they had with older teachers. In the case of Nikolas his perception of older colleagues was a positive and supportive one:

Nikolas (third interview): *We do have many young colleagues here but also the older colleagues are really nice and they come up to you and say 'can I help you this way or that way' and 'if you have any questions just ask'.*

Ursula also felt their contributions were positive:

Ursula (third interview): *I think now I take more notice of what they have to say. At first it seemed that many colleagues would make generalisations that I almost certainly did not want to accept...I wanted to find my own way and not be brainwashed by their cynicism. But now I tend to listen more, not to their comments about children but more about changes and the system and I realise in many cases now their comments to me earlier are correct. But I think we have so little time to socialise with them. Our school day means we are either in the class or at home and I think this is a wasted opportunity for some wisdom.*

While there was no clear pattern in the way that older colleagues were 'othered' what was significant was the specific reference to them in a way that was absent from the interviews both in Norway and in England. The range of opinions expressed about older colleagues' views includes accusations of conservatism in teaching methodology,

laziness and intolerance for the idealism that younger colleagues possess. Common to all of these viewpoints was the way these teachers positioned themselves as ‘others’ as a strategy to strengthen their own values concerning what being a teacher means.

#### **10.2.4 The Significance of pupils**

The isolation that teachers experience is one of lack of adult contact and of course in most cases teachers go into the profession to work with children and young people in general. However it is often easy to ignore the long term impact of the many negative interactions that teachers and pupils experience. In response to the stimulus card “why do teachers leave the profession?” Claudia responds by saying:

Claudia (first interview): *Very often it must be the frustration because they [teachers in general] don't get the response they would need in order to make them go because pupils tend to take everything for granted...they usually don't tell you something is great or they like something very much. It's more often you get a negative reaction that something is boring or not interesting and why do we have to learn that and it hurts sometimes. I know I have to be used to it but it does hurt especially when so much effort goes into it.*

In her third interview the discussion turned to the issue of ‘burn out’ and survival strategies and the impact that pupil’s interaction with her has on her own sense of well being:

Claudia (third interview): *I feel it is more important how I relate to the pupils and how they relate to me and how they relate to each other in the classroom. I also feel I am more sensitive to how I am treated. Recently I discovered that actually it hurts when I come into the classroom and no one takes notice of me, and I say good morning and no one answers back and I feel that over a long period of time I am not able to cope with that. So I told my pupils that actually I do not think that it is very nice, and I am a human being and I am not*

*feeling well if I am treated like that. So they laughed and they said, should we ask how you slept, and I said yes, for example that would be very nice. So we have a much more relaxed and a nicer start and for me, this little thing changes a lot. I try to explain that the relationship between teacher and the pupil is a special one and that sometimes it is better not to notice the teacher but that over the whole day every class is doing this and it is not good for me.*

The most common problems faced by novice teachers are, amongst others, issues to do with: classroom discipline; control and management of classes; motivation of students/pupils; and assessing students' work and progress (Cooke & Pang, 1991). For Katarina the effect that this has on her increases as the year progresses:

Katarina (second interview): *It's very nerve wracking...I realised that after the Easter holidays I was very well relaxed...I did not see the problem so much then...I did not care so much about it. It didn't get on my nerves so much. But the longer school goes after the holidays the more things get on your nerves. Then, every day pupils come to you and say 'well sorry I haven't done my homework'...and after Easter holidays I said 'well just ok you have your mark'...but now I really get upset and I think 'why cant they do their homework'.*

Not all responses that specifically referred to pupils were so negative. Quite often teachers singled out their interactions with their pupils as a welcome retreat from the more mundane elements of the work they do outside the classroom:

Anna (second interview)      *You know how it is. It is easy to forget sometimes that the reason we are here is to work with students. Sometimes I am feeling frustrated because we have a planning meeting or there is some sort of 'bla, bla, bla' from our headmistress about something she thinks the school has to*

*do or I am marking. And then I go into the class and the students will say something to me and I think 'god I am so lucky to be here' and they really believe that I know my subject.*

Anna presents her time with students as a sanctuary from the more mundane elements of work she considers to be part of the everyday life of all teachers. In so doing she continues to situate her ideas about being a teacher in terms of her subject specialism (a characteristic of many of the Gymnasium teachers) but also re-affirms her own values that relate to her desire to work with young people. This 'sanctuary' notion of the classroom was one that was presented in different ways by other trainees:

Magda (3<sup>rd</sup> interview): *There are long days in this job but I am careful to have friends outside of teaching so I would not say that this [she points around the class] is my life. But I would say that sometimes in the chaos and emotional turmoil of being an adult [again she laughs] then I find the communication with my class refreshing. But the classes are too short to be able to really enjoy these times.*

There are few opportunities for these emerging teachers to engage with other professionals when working in German schools. The structure of the day and the relative lack (in comparison to English schools) of contact with other 'para-professionals' contribute to the feeling of isolation that many teachers complain about. This makes the significance of pupils in the emerging identities of these teachers and the construction of their emerging values all the greater. In some cases this emphasises a sense of mismatch in ideals in terms of what they imagined teaching would be like and the reality of teaching as they see it. However in other cases this significance is one that reinforces the more humanitarian values that drew many into teaching in the first place.

### 10.3 England

In part, because of the introduction of the 1988 Education Act in England and Wales, in which competitive league tables were introduced, a competitive educational environment typifies many English institutional cultures (Stephens, 2004). In some cases teachers' values emerge within a tension created when differentiating themselves from other teachers while simultaneously wanting to 'feel part of' or assimilate with both significant and generalised others (Brown, 2004). Within the English scenario what is noticeable within many of the interviews is the degree of differentiation that exists when teachers talk about significant others.

#### 10.3.1 The significance of other departments

Many of the English respondents talked about other departments in terms of their exam results, performance and competition. Depending on the institutional culture of the school, it was felt by some of the English sample that rivalry between different departments and teachers was sometimes encouraged by school heads and managerial teams:

Liz (second interview): *There is a lot of that [competition]. It is not too bad but it is definitely a feature that the head teacher, especially in this new management team relies on initially. They are always trying to compete within departments and we have full staff meetings where they will say this department did not meet their targets and this department did.*

English schools, as I have already mentioned, have significantly longer working days than their Norwegian and German counterparts incorporating a school lunch into the working day which, inevitably for some, means more time, during the working day, spent in the staff room and more time for the ubiquitous 'staff room' politics:

Edward (second interview): *I have made very good friends, but it's also quite stereotyped staffing where I know there is a table for business studies and I know there is a table which is for language teachers and there's a table which is maths and*

*science and a table which is history and geography. But there still is definitely, you know, very definite divisions between people.*

He went on to highlight how sometimes the existence of a ‘smoking area’ could sometimes cut across departmental divide:

Edward (second interview) *I did a school swap in another school where the staffroom also seemed to have its unspoken departmental areas but that had a smoking room and it was far more mixed and because in the smoking room you had lots of people from lots of other departments. Immediately I met more people and spoke to more people than I did in my first term from different departments. That was cool because I very quickly got to get a sense of what was going on around the school...sometimes your departments where you work can become little islands and I think the danger is that you don't meet up with other teachers from different subject areas and I don't think that is healthy.*

Lacey (1977) has shown how many teachers ‘strategically comply’ with the values of their place of work as they become socialised into the school culture. In the English setting we find a variety of factors that not only differentiate the English setting from the Norwegian and German ones but also influence the values of these teachers. These factors are cultural (a competitive school climate); temporal (the school timetable) and geographical (the existence of smoking areas and different places to sit). In all cases they contribute not only to the sense of differentiation between departments felt by the respondents but also what becoming a teacher means within these school cultures.

### **10.3.2 The significance of managers**

Middle managers have been referred to as ‘toxic handlers’ (Dierkes, 2003) in the way that they very often are the harbingers of unpopular policy decisions made from above



affecting those 'below'. And yet many references were made by the English cohort to managers about the positive roles they played in their working lives:

Sylvia (2<sup>nd</sup> interview): *Suzanne [name changed] is an excellent year head and an inspirational teacher. She's obviously extremely overloaded but I never get the sense that she has no time to talk over any issues I am worried about. Perhaps that's why she's so over loaded [laughs]. My appraisal this year allowed me to talk about some professional development I would like and I know that whenever possible she allows people to go on training*

It has been acknowledged that many employees find the appraisal process (a process by which employees are evaluated in terms of their progress in their place of employment) at times threatening and a source of stress (Middlewood, 1997; Pennington, 1993). Susanne clearly finds the process a rewarding one in a school in which professional development is encouraged. This combined with the fact that her appraiser is somebody she respects as a teacher contextualises her teaching experience as one that is extremely positive.

The fear of vulnerability that some Norwegian teachers expressed if they asked for assistance with issues to do with their teaching is not realised by Carmen:

Carmen (second interview): *My line manager is really supportive and has helped me a lot with some of the more troublesome kids. I feel worried sometimes about appearing so vulnerable but they [other members of staff] encourage us to use the system to help us and that includes using senior tutors.*

In both cases it would appear that the structures within the institutions in which Carmen and Sylvia work provide access to managers who support and guide their professional development in this fledgling stage of their teaching careers. However this experience was not uniform across the cohort. In some cases teachers appeared more vulnerable to the potential criticisms that managers were in a position to offer:

Jim (second interview): *They talk of a pigeon hierarchy<sup>49</sup> and that is so true here...The fact you want to become a manager should bar you automatically from becoming one. They're rubbish and quite often bad teachers promoted out of teaching. We have one deputy who comes up with all these ideas about changing how the school should be structured and he can't even control the classes he teaches...he only has six contact hours.*

One way of bolstering a teacher's identity in times when those identities might seem fragile is to 'other' groups in a negative light (DiMaggio and Cohen, 2005). Jim's use of the word 'we' is a means of developing high in-group solidarity while creating a 'backstage' (Goffman, 1959) image of an audience that is sufficiently inhuman, in this case, 'management'. By doing so he appears immune from the insecurity that restructuring processes sometimes instil in employees (Mahony and Hextall, 2001). Roby made reference to the role that managers play in mediating school policy decisions:

Roby (first interview): *Just in terms in sort of the hierarchy that is set up at the moment, you know, the number of inspections and exams I think that's a real going back to why teachers leave the profession. The lack of freedom that teachers have is not a particular constant thing you can see why people need a kick up the backside from time to time so I can see that inspections and exams are sometimes necessary but not to the extent that they are at the moment. And then that sort of seeps through within the department and that causes department strain and the head of the department having to take quite a, you know, a sort of shop floor managerial divide so that things aren't necessary amicable as they could be within the department.*

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<sup>49</sup> A colloquial phrase to refer to how those in positions of power may treat those 'below' them with little or no respect

Collegiality was threatened by what Roby perceived as a culture of fear created by a 'hierarchy' brought about as a result of an inspection regime. The knowledge of the unofficial and official rules, values and attitudes associated with any occupation are significant in helping the newcomer to adjust (Watson, 1995). The culture within the department where Roby worked is partially responsible for the ideas he was developing. Roby went on to describe the attitude of one of his colleagues who line manages him:

Roby (second interview): *There were some on the register that were not turning up and the head of department – Joanne [name changed], you know, head of religious studies, was sort of saying 'well I don't think chasing them because they're more hindrance than you know, they don't really achieve anything in lessons and they are not really interested so why bother chasing them when they tend to disrupt the lesson'...Yeah, so anyway basically we haven't chased them very much and if they didn't turn up we let the parents know at a couple of stages in the year that they are in danger of not getting their exam. But beyond that it has fallen between us and the head of year to chase them and they are the sorts of kids you do not really want in your lessons anyway.*

Graham (1998) recognises that inherited traditions and conventions channel understanding and perspectives in particular ways. Like the German gymnasium teachers (who all went to gymnasium schools themselves) Roby's value system reflects his own experience of education. This, along with the culture of the department to which Roby had joined was imbuing Roby with a set of 'received wisdoms' about expectations and behaviour as a teacher working within this particular comprehensive school. Hoad (1976) has argued how some teachers passively acquire the values and professional expectations associated with the particular institution in which they work. Not only does Roby seem to take on the values of 'Joanne' his manager but he also seems unable to challenge them.

### 10.3.3 The Significance of outside agencies

Not surprisingly in the English setting, reference was made to the impact that outside agencies have on the careers and working experiences of the English teachers interviewed (Jones, 2003). In some cases this was a positive impact and in others more negative. For example, many of the English teachers had either been asked to be involved in a variety of initiatives on offer at the schools in which they work or in some cases they were pressured into becoming involved. For Edward the opportunity to become involved in one such initiative was welcomed:

Edward (third interview): *There is this thing 20/20 that specialist schools trust are running which I am part of. It is a three year programme...This year was some conferences and next year is a pageant, the third year it involves a foreign trip to a school abroad...The partner school I think is America or Australia, which will bloody brilliant.*

He goes on to talk enthusiastically about other initiatives he is involved in:

Edward (third interview): *I have gone to him (the head) and said 'is there anything that you want me to focus on', and he said, 'no, do what you want'. So in the school I am in, I have had a lot of freedom and that continues in the term that we have this ITT [Initial Teacher Training] project, and we have to do bits and pieces of research that goes alongside that. I.T.T management is pretty much left up to us...and of course we get funding, more funding, for every project we are involved with and that means more money for the school and more opportunity for training days off. Of course we have to feed back to our school but our pay off is that those who get involved will get a couple of hours reduced on their timetables.*

Edward is in a situation where he is exposed to a variety of values. He believes himself to be fortunate working within an institution that he considers to be dynamic. This allows him to be involved in projects that potentially will bring more money into the school he works in. The funding mechanism within the English system, along with an enthusiastic head empowers him in terms of his own professional development and brings him into contact with outside agencies as a result. However not all involvement with outside agencies was so enthusiastically greeted. One frequently referred to in less than glowing accounts was Ofsted<sup>50</sup>:

Roby (second interview): *There are a lot of teachers where I work who are moaning and groaning about OFSTED. I think in religious studies we did better than most other people last year, which is obviously no reflection on me because I wasn't teaching last year. But, so for that reason there is probably less pressure just because we done alright as a department. I mean this is why we get this feeling we are going to be Ofsteded in the near future because we as a school are not quite measuring up and I can't believe the fuss that is being made. Fingers being pointed at those departments that are doing well and those that aren't. It's not very healthy.*

I did feel when re-reading the above extract that perhaps Rob would be considering the impact of the Ofsted visit differently if his department had not performed so well in the previous Ofsted visit. He is conscious of their existence but is ambivalent about the impact this has on his own experience of teaching. Jim, however, was far more colourful in the vocabulary he used to describe his initial thoughts on the significance he placed on the existence of OFSTED inspectors:

Jim (second interview): *I do not really care what you think. You are a person that has been trained for five minutes in some place and I*

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<sup>50</sup> The Office for Standards in Education is a non-ministerial government department set up from the schools inspectorate in 1992 to help improve the quality and standards in education. It achieves this through inspection and by providing advice and information to the Secretary of State for Education.

*really don't care. They are wankers they really are, they are scum of the earth. We are going to be Ofsteded and someone is going to say something about what I am doing wrong and I will take it on board and I will listen but if it is really out of order I will turn around to the school and say find someone else.*

It is, perhaps, not surprising that a variety of conflicting sets of emotions emerge when teachers talk about the variety and significance of others they engage with. These conflicts of emotions come about as a result of an inherent tension that exists between, on the one hand, the sensitivity to evaluation by significant or generalised others and, on the other, the existence of norms and values and characteristics of important reference groups that the 'me' (Mead, 1934) has internalised. Jim continues but in slightly more reserved tones.

Jim (second interview): *I think if the inspectors judge you in the practicalities I would not have a problem with it. Certainly I think the targets that the school set up are all a very good idea. But I think when it gets to ridiculous paperwork, at the end of the day, there are those that can teach in five minutes, it's obvious, so you make them go through all that telling them what they can teach when that's the wrong way about it, what you should be telling them is this is what you're good at this is where we want you to get and we are going to give you time to do that, not going to put pressure on you, we're not going to make you ill, we're not going to make you sick, and basically it comes down to society in the bigger picture, and what does it say in any society that puts more in stockbrokers pay than for teachers pay, for the amount of money we put into invest in our future.*

Tensions also emerge for Jim as he both strategically complies and redefines (Lacey, 1977) the values he encounters in his particular institution. He remains angry at a system that, he feels, complicates what he considers to be a very straightforward process or sets of processes that he defines as ‘teaching’. His frustration is focused at values associated with two sets of generalized ‘others’ namely inspectors at the institutional level and society as a whole. The former defines what teaching is and how it should be undertaken, the latter the financial rewards and ultimately the social status accorded to the occupation.

While Cara, apparently, is not particularly concerned about the implications of managerialist discourses for her in the classroom she is aware of the extent to which the school, partially in response to its competitive positioning in the league tables, goes to great lengths to introduce teachers to these discourses via the hierarchical structures within the school:

Cara (second interview): *I am beneath the senior management, head teachers, governors...I have a relatively small amount of power you know my freedom to do as I please because on the one hand I am regulated by outside guide lines. We have staff meetings or we have several staff meetings and we often have sessions with senior management with ‘whole school policies’ [said with her miming punctuation marks in the air] where we try and adopt policies you know where we try. And raising achievement or looking at league tables within the borough and trying to raise the standard looking at how we are performing and trying to increase performance...and it’s funny ‘coz you see department heads and year heads taking it so seriously but when it comes down to my role as a classroom teacher you tend to forget, those things are less important to you as an individual but more important as a whole school and because I’m not senior management, unless it directly affects me, I don’t give a thought to it.*

Despite the layers of ‘others’ that she is aware of, and that potentially have power over her, Cara believes that she is relatively autonomous in her classroom. There are a variety of outside agencies that English teachers refer to when describing their daily working lives, in ways not possible in both Norway and Germany. These ‘others’ play a part in the construction and location of some of the values that these teachers express about the work they do. While it might be tempting, in the light of these interviews, to argue that the existence of some of these ‘others’ provides a richer and perhaps more dynamic environment in which teachers can emerge as professionals, they can also act as reality definers (Bryan, 2004) in the way that they define what and how teachers do the work they do thereby influencing their values.

#### **10.3.4 The Significance of colleagues**

The longer working days that English teachers put in, compared to their Norwegian and German counterparts, means that there is a potential for greater engagement with others because of the increased time teachers are on school premises. Lunch breaks and British pub-culture were referred to as spaces for communication by many of these interviewees:

Liz (second interview): *It's not often that we really have time to stop and have a proper lunch but even if its grabbing a sandwich it's just good to snatch time. We have a really nice area next to the canteen where we can, weather permitting, sit down and it actually feels like you're not in the school. It's nicer than the staff room which gets stuffy and quite cliquey...it's also slightly less confined and it means you can talk about things without others hearing and that's important sometimes....I mean, to bitch is actually quite healthy I think.*



The 'space' provided by the existence of a lunch break provided a variety of functions. For Liz it is an opportunity to 'let off steam' with colleagues. For Edward it sometimes is the only opportunity to catch other members of staff about work related issues:

Edward (third interview): *It's funny but we spend too much time in meetings discussing issues that for many of us seem irrelevant. Lunch times are times where I can quickly grab a tutor of a particular pupil...of course it's dodgy because people want to switch off in a way but I also think we recognise that there is little time in the day to actually communicate with each other about work related issues.*

Both in Germany and Norway there are no lunch periods for teachers and so this particular opportunity to communicate is context specific to the English scenario. The longer working day also means that there is a greater tendency for some English teachers to 'pop' into the pub after work thereby providing further opportunity for communication with other colleagues in ways noticeably absent in the other national contexts:

Sylvia (first interview): *One of the really good things about training at [name of institution] was the heading down at the end of the week to the student union bar. In fact sometimes I felt that this was more beneficial than many of the sessions laid on [at her training institution]. It was here that we let off steam and could share anecdotes about our various experiences and not feel guilty. I was afraid that this might come to an end once I started to work but this has continued. We have a local [pub] we go to...they are a great crowd and seem to have accepted me and it is just so nice to be able to unload to others.*

The significance of colleagues for many of these teachers was voiced in terms of the support they feel many offer. The existence of 'spaces' in which the 'lid' can be taken off means that teachers can meet up and certainly, at times, bolster fragile identities in times of stress. Similarly the existence of a relatively constant set of work colleagues in

an institution that has a low turnover of staff might well be argued to provide a further supportive environment in which teacher identities can be nurtured and their values voiced:

Jim (second interview): *We, just a couple of us, probably hit the pub a couple of times a week – sometimes only for a pint but on Fridays we are there for the duration. It's nice because the local we go to is a teachers pub...there are many schools in the area so it's quite often there's a gang of us and I also drink with teachers in my school who I don't have that much daily contact with. It's like taking the lid off the kettle.*

However these interactions can also reinforce the self-perception of the teacher in ways that restrict the emergence and development of new values and therefore the potential for new teacher identities (Ibarra, 2003). Thus while the English policy context is one that very obviously, for some, is cause of stress, tension and dilemmas, for others it provides a rich, dynamic environment that offers future possibilities:

Nora (first interview): *I imagine I will stay in one school for two or three years and then move on. I think that is expected here and I also want to gain promotion...I don't want to become stale...I think that happens more in primary schools...teachers always working with the same people...I did not like that when we went into these schools in our training...people had been there for years and there were not many staff. I think in secondary schools you get more opportunities to meet up with people that might give you ideas about what you can do as a teacher and the different kinds of jobs that are out there.*

Great value is placed by these teachers on the possibilities available for career development and in many cases this is attributed to the variety of people that teachers engage with in the schools they work in:

Edward (third interview): *When I look back at the two schools I trained in and my experiences in Malawi it's amazing because there are all these influences on me as a teacher and I think that's a positive thing...I said before I had these great mentors and teachers...I think there are many opportunities here if you want to progress as a professional teacher and staying in the same institution for a long time restricts those.*

Sometimes, however, the longevity of affective ties that are built up with colleagues over a prolonged period of time can lead to occupational inertia and complacency and the inability to see how the job can be done differently. One way of countering this tendency is to periodically change the 'audience' (Goffman, 1959) teachers come into contact with<sup>51</sup>. This particular viewpoint is articulated by Sylvia:

Sylvia (third interview): *I am really happy where I work and I work and socialise with some awesome colleagues. At present there is no need for me to change my job and I feel my progress within the school is a good one. I do think however that it is important to move on at some stage...to see the same job done differently is, I think, crucial.*

A key value of significant others expressed here is in terms of professional development. Sylvia's desire to move on at some stage in her career highlights work by O'Connor (1997), who argues that teachers in the past have adopted:

*Strategies to defend their 'substantial self'. That is, once they felt technically competent, they changed schools or moved from one sector of education to another in search of a reference group [O'Connor, 1997: page 6].*

However while most teachers in this cohort assumed that they would 'move on' after a few years, Carmen was less convinced about the benefits of this than Sylvia:

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<sup>51</sup> As a managerial strategy Schlutz (2004) notes how in America petrol service station managers were regularly 'rotated' from one branch to another so that such complacency could be minimised.

Carmen (second interview): *One thing I see here [England] is teachers wanting to move from one school to another...There might be something wrong with you if you stay in one school for a long time...but I see this as a good thing as it means you develop within a school and understand how all the pieces fit together. I think that you improve without having to re-learn new systems and ways of working. We have one teacher who has been here for twenty years and he is considered to be one of the best teachers in the school so I don't believe it's bad to stay.*

Ibarra (2003) stresses how important it is for the successful development of 'working' identities that employees are able to break out of their existing network of colleagues so that new role models and new values can be developed. She stresses the importance of "people who can give you glimpses of what you might become" (Ibarra, 2003: page 169). To be 'reflective' about the type of teacher one becomes requires a variety of 'others' in which one can project ones reflection onto. The English secondary school scenario provides the opportunity at least for a greater degree of contact with other professionals than in both other national settings.

#### **10.4 Discussion**

The similarities and differences in the formation of teachers' values and identities is as much a product of the depth and quality of relationships (or lack, thereof) with significant and generalised others as with any other factors discussed so far in this thesis. A teacher's perception of these others (e.g. managers, other teachers, the media, and government officials) is not only influential in the construction of their emerging values but can provide different internalised pictures of the professional social world they are becoming part of. In many cases these others serve to mediate the values that teachers talk about. In some ways this mediation can be straightforward but it can also be contested and struggled over.

Professional identity can be understood as "that part of the workers' subjectivity which is associated with their self-image with regard to education, knowledge, skills, ability

and work” (Ulriksen, 1995: page 1). In Chapter Four, we saw how identity can be used to refer to the relationship between Mead’s (1934) ‘I’ and ‘me’ and how the former perceives and constructs the social world through the eyes of the latter, via interaction with these significant and generalised ‘others’. It follows on therefore that if, in different national locations, a variety of different ‘others’ are ‘significant’ to those teachers within those national contexts then these others will mediate values and influences on the teaching profession in different ways. In this chapter we see differences in the variety of others (significant or generalised) that play a role in the lives of these teachers. In the Norwegian case reference was made to the significance of: the community, parents, friends and colleagues. In Germany reference was made to the significance of: parents, the media, colleagues and pupils. In England reference was made to the significance of other departments, managers, a variety of outside agencies and colleagues.

When focussing on the part played by national policy contexts and institutional settings in the changing values of teachers, the significance to the teachers in this study of some of these ‘others’ is in their capacity to be reality definers (Bryan, 2004). In other words, some individuals or institutions have greater or lesser power to define what teachers can and cannot do, and more importantly how they should do things. Education policy makers and school heads may have very clear ideas of what they consider to be appropriate ways for teachers to engage with their work. Equally true however, as the data in this chapter shows, is the fact that teachers may react in very different ways to such expectations, with behaviours ranging from complete rejection to complete engagement. Between these extremes newly qualified teachers may exhibit a wide range of values in the extent to which they engage with the activities they perform both in and outside the classroom. How they engage is, to a certain extent, determined by the variety of ‘others’ they consider to be significant to the jobs they do.

I referred in Chapter Three to the communities of practice that are crucial to the formation of teachers’ values. Learning to become a teacher is a social process whereby teachers are participants in the routine practices of the professional community they belong to. Professional values and practices are often forged within this environment. However when talking about the communities of practices of teachers in different national settings, these practices vary. While there are some similarities in the

referenced groups above (e.g. colleagues are referred to by teachers in all contexts, parents in two contexts) there are very obvious differences. In the Norwegian scenario the school is viewed as a significant part of the community and accessible both to staff, pupils and, to a lesser extent the immediate neighbourhood. This coincides with a less hierarchical structure within schools where there is a less apparent status differential between the different jobs that teachers carry out (e.g. there are no managers). However greater emphasis in Norway is placed on the role that parents play in professional lives of teachers and in some cases this was treated with a certain degree of resentment on the part of the Norwegian teachers interviewed. Much of the work carried out by these teachers is in isolation from other adults and therefore the communal contact with other professionals can, and is, in many cases essential for feelings of well being within the school they work in. The shorter working day and relatively flatter structures within the schools also means that Norwegian teachers placed greater emphasis on the role that their friends and colleagues play although this tended to be more outside of school time than within. There is also a sense in these interviews of teaching being constructed around Arthur's (2005) value orientation of 'good' i.e. that a good deal of emphasis is placed by these others around the values of care and respect for pupils above and beyond knowledge transmission and subject orientation.

Within the German scenario parents also played a significant role although one that is quite often contextualised within a greater legal responsibility that teachers have in terms of the academic output of their pupils. Parents tend to be viewed in terms of the power they possess rather than in their capacity to play a role within the pedagogy of their children. What is perhaps surprising is the level of awareness that the German teachers have of their international ranking through, for example the PISA report. It was evident in these interviews that teachers were concerned about this and the scrutiny they felt they were under in terms of both politicians and the media. I say 'surprising' because I had imagined, before this research took place, that this might be more apparent with the English teachers in light of the many processes of monitoring that they experience. The 'othering' of colleagues was a significant factor in the German interviews which I have interpreted as a form of identity bolstering in light of the vulnerability that some of these teachers experienced. Drawing once again on Arthur's (2005) value orientations to teaching, greater emphasis, through these others, was

placed on the importance of 'successful' and 'effective' teaching rather than on 'good' teaching.

Values can be socialised, constructed and in some cases both, in a complex amalgam, through the occupation of teaching and both within and outside the institutions in which teachers work. These values interplay with many of the values that teachers bring with them into teaching when commencing their training and this is clearly evident within the English context. Watson (1995) has argued that teachers facing common problems tend to develop common values or modes of thought and action (Watson, 1995). However this can become problematic for the newly qualified teacher when a variety of groups exist within (and outside) the profession that seek to determine what those common values might be. The professional communities of the English cohort contain a greater degree of differentiation at institutional level (e.g. the degree of departmental rivalry) than their Norwegian and German counterparts. The hierarchical structures that exist in these schools place far more significance on the role that managers play in the daily lives of teachers in ways wholly absent in the other two settings. The existence of outside agencies, while viewed positively by some (depending on the agency) focus a spotlight on the activities of teachers in ways not apparent in Norway and provide a greater number of reality definers (Bryan, 2004). The values of the teachers in the English cohort emerge within tensions created when differentiating themselves from many of these others (e.g. inspectors, other departments, and managers). However there is a sense that despite these tensions many of these teachers value the dynamic environments in which they work and the opportunities they see for their future professional development. Perhaps in the English context there is greater synergy with their emerging professional values and many of the pragmatic values that teachers are said to have when entering their career in the first place and which I discussed in Chapter Three.

## Chapter Eleven – Conclusion

### 11.1 Introduction

It might be suggested that a study that contests the more deterministic elements of globalization when exploring the professional values and identities of teachers, cannot then argue that these values and identities are determined by the cultural and geographical locations in which teachers are bound. Such an argument might be considered to be paradoxical. For example, in suggesting that teacher identities and values are shaped by national and local cultures, the same accusation of over-determination might be levelled at this study. However, convergence accommodates variety and difference.

This study focuses on a small sample of teachers in three different countries and is based on interviews that took place within a two-year time frame. The historical processes associated with globalization could not possibly be explored in such a short time-scale. Nor are the study and its samples of teachers meant to be representative of the whole teaching workforce within the national locations from which the samples are taken. However, this qualitative and interpretive study does nevertheless serve useful and illuminative purposes that accommodate some level of generalization while recognizing the specificity of context and setting in which these teachers are located. I have not attempted to show how teachers' identities and values are shaped by the national culture which they inhabit but rather to show, at a number of levels, how teachers' identities and values are *influenced* by their national contexts and institutional settings. These levels interweave in ways that construct, inform, contest and distort values about teaching that complicate any generalizations made about teaching occupations in different countries.

A study that examines teachers' values in different national locations is able to explore some of the tensions between the meta-theoretical considerations of globalisation and the micro-reality of teachers daily lives in schools. In so doing it can explore the ways in which teachers' professional values are influenced by the national contexts and the settings in which they are located. The dilemma for me has been to adopt an analytical framework that acknowledges some of the 'macro' large scale structural processes that



can influence the professional lives of teachers while simultaneously addressing the ‘micro’ small-scale individual actions and meanings important to me as a qualitative researcher and teacher. Broadfoot (2002) says that tensions occur between the “external directives to institutions which shape social space and the individuals’ capacity to choose” (Broadfoot, 2002: page 5). This tension inflects my thesis. In particular I have struggled to balance the idea of ‘structure’ (as a form of constraint on human action and meaning) and ‘agency’ (emphasising the subject experiences of the teachers in this study).

In this chapter, I want to return to some central questions related to my research. First, I want to critically evaluate my theoretical approach. Then I wish to reflect on my three main research questions. In this chapter I also want to critically consider my contribution to the field of teacher education, some limitations of my research and my self-positionality. Finally I want to highlight some areas for future research.

## **11.2 My theoretical approach**

This thesis has been theoretically and methodologically framed by questions related to globalisation and the work of Derek Layder (1993). In Chapter Two I highlighted three contrasting theoretical approaches about the nature of globalisation that are significant to this thesis. The first sees globalisation in terms of the *convergence* it produces in political, economic, cultural and social terms. The second approach relates to the influence of globalisation on the nation state. The third theme examines how a combination of both a ‘global’ and ‘local’ focus in understanding of the processes of globalisation has particular resonance for a thesis that examines the values of emerging teachers. With regard to the first and second approaches I have recognised that processes of globalisation exist and there are some elements of similarity in policy making in the three countries. Educational policies perceived as effective in one national setting can be ‘borrowed’ (Green, 1996) and/or implemented in other national settings. For example, the publication of Norwegian school mathematics test results on the internet in Norway is but one example of how educational policy-making in England in the 1990s has migrated to the Norwegian context.

However as Phelan (2000) notes: “Best practice like good wine doesn’t always travel well - it needs testing in cultural situ” (Phelan, 2000: page 26). In Chapter Two I have shown how the pace of change in educational policy varies enormously between the three countries under examination. The complexities, specificities and unpredictable nature of becoming a teacher can only fully be understood when the interaction between the global and the local informs any such description and exploration. In relation to this third approach to globalisation I have adopted a research framework suggested by the work of Derek Layder (1993) applying it to the construction of teachers’ values and identities in ways not ventured by other educational researchers.

Layder’s ‘context’ refers to the wider socio and economic environment in which the social activity of teaching is located. His research map has shown how values are at the heart of this category along with the significance he places on tradition as macro-phenomena worthy of analysis. Layder’s ‘setting’ has been used in this thesis to focus on organizational cultures and communities of practice; patterns of social activity and many of the power and authority structures within the school in which the teachers in this study work. Layder’s construct of ‘situated activity’ has allowed this thesis to focus on the nature of certain kinds of social involvement i.e. how certain types of social interaction might be linked to the formal and informal working relationships that are culturally specific to the teachers in this study (e.g. the use of ‘sir’ or ‘miss’ conveying particular power dynamics between members of teaching staff and their pupils in English schools in ways not possible in Norway). Layder’s (1993) use of ‘self’ as a level of analysis focuses on how teachers’ identities might be influenced by certain social situations. In encountering social situations teachers can adopt social practices that reflect their values, theories or mental models to handle these situations. At the level of the ‘self’, a focal point for this research has been how teachers are affected and respond to certain social processes that reflect their values and the values that circulate within the contexts and settings in which they are located.

By allowing the thesis to be theoretically and methodologically framed in this way the study shows how the professional values of these newly qualified teachers are constructed and mediated in different ways through the situatedness of becoming a teacher in the three settings. In so doing it emphasises the role that national context and

institutional setting play within professional identity formation in ways that other writers have ignored when addressing theories of globalisation.

In addition to the work of Derek Layder this thesis has also been shaped by the role of three key research questions that I employed to assist in sculpting the research. I now want to return to these questions in the following section.

### **11.3 The three research questions**

This thesis has posed three questions: What values do ‘becoming’ teachers hold in relation to their proposed occupation? What similarities and differences in teachers’ values are evident in three national settings under examination? What part is played by national pedagogic traditions, national policy contexts and institutional settings in the changing values of newly qualified teachers?

In this chapter I include a table below that summarises the dominant trends in the values of the teachers who participated in this study. In the earlier data chapters of this study I have discussed my findings in relation to these key values. In what follows I want to critically reflect on these questions. Three factors inform the sorts of values that becoming teachers articulate: first, the type of education system that the teacher is being prepared for during their training; second, the institution that teachers experience as employees and finally the form of schooling that they received when they were pupils.

In Chapter Two I discussed how Norwegian teachers are introduced, during their training, to an anti-authoritarian stance that is embedded within the teaching profession. Norwegian teacher training embraces a variety of values that cluster around equality of status, anti-authoritarianism, and inclusive learning - the latter by way of ‘default’ i.e. the nature of the comprehensive system of schooling (Stephens, 2004). This comprehensive system will have been the same system of education that the trainee experienced when they were pupils. The Norwegian teacher is trained to be a ‘guide/supervisor’ (Stephens, 2004) rather than the more authoritarian notion of teaching not uncommon to the English or German school settings (Kron, 2000). The following table summarises the dominant trends in the values of the teachers who participated in this study:

Table summarising the dominant trends in the values of teachers in this study

Values	Norway	Germany	England
Democratic	✓		
Authoritarian		✓	✓
Control	✓	✓	✓
Child-centred	✓		✓
Teacher-centred		✓	
Subject-centred		✓	✓
Equality	✓		
Professional Status		✓	✓
Humanistic	✓		✓
Efficiency		✓	✓
Inclusiveness	✓		✓
Exclusiveness		✓	
Creativity	✓		✓
Friend	✓		
Care	✓	✓	✓
Collegiality	✓	✓	✓
Security (Job)		✓	
Parent-oriented	✓	✓	
Promotion			✓
Staff Development	✓	✓	✓

Norwegian teachers are trained to teach a far wider age-range than their German and English colleagues (most teachers are trained to teach the 6-14 or 6-16 age range). This latter point has two consequences. As Norwegian teachers are trained for a wider and younger age-range there is a propensity for them to engage with values that are more child-centred (Stephens, 2004). Child-centred values tend to be more common with teachers working in the early-years sectors (Furlong and Maynard, 1995). This wider age-range necessitates a more generalist subject knowledge base which diminishes the importance of subject-speciality that is prevalent in the other two national settings. This makes it less likely for Norwegian teachers to define their professional identities in

terms of being subject specialists. Thus we see Norwegian values clustered around notions of democracy; child-centred teaching; inclusiveness and equality.

Teacher training in Germany varies depending on the type of school the teacher is being prepared for. I discussed, in Chapter Two, how this training takes place within hierarchical, differentiated, and fragmented contexts with Gymnasium teachers accorded significantly higher status than their colleagues in other forms of German schooling. Gymnasium teachers are trained as subject specialists of two to three subjects for a period of between five to eight years. The nature of the recruitment is such that Gymnasium trained teachers are all former Gymnasium pupils. They are trained to be ‘instructors’ with priority being given to teaching and assessment over the more pastoral roles that Norwegian and English teachers are trained for (Stephens, 2004; TDA 2007). Many of the gymnasium teachers in my sample tended to focus more on the cognitive realm of teaching at the expense of the values associated with the social, emotional and political dimensions of teaching expressed by their Norwegian and English counterparts. These factors explain why the Gymnasium teachers in this study place more value on their status as subject-specialists than teachers in the other two locations. Their own experience of being a gymnasium pupil combined with a belief that pupils have been selected for this particular form of education mean less value is placed on child-centred teaching techniques. The care that these German teachers express is articulated around a desire to transfer their knowledge of their subject to the students in their classes.

In Chapter Two I discussed how the training of teachers in England takes place under a variety of pathways and within a much greater diversity of types of school than in either the Norwegian and German settings. In contrast to both Norwegian and German trainee teachers, there is no relationship in England between the educational background (i.e. the type of school the trainee has attended) and the type of school the trainee will eventually qualify to teach in. Although all nine teachers interviewed in this study were teaching in the urban-environment of London, their schooling backgrounds (unlike their Norwegian and German counterparts) varied from comprehensive, to private, to grammar school providing a rich and varied set of values relating to what ‘being a teacher’ might conceivably mean. This means that during their training these teachers will have encountered (directly or through seminar discussions) a variety of approaches

to teaching and learning in very different contexts. The English PGCE school-based requirement (24 weeks secondary) is significantly higher, in terms of time spent in school, than any other European country (Maguire, 2001). These factors mean that trainee teachers in England are likely to have greater experience of a wider variety of schooling than their Norwegian and German counterparts. Like their German counterparts they are trained to be subject specialists (although in a significantly shorter period of time). However more in common with their Norwegian colleagues they are also trained to embrace pastoral values as a feature of their professional role. The values of the teachers interviewed in England range from the subject-centred and authoritarian to more broadly humanitarian and child-centred.

To varying degrees all thirteen Norwegian teachers were committed to the state unitary/comprehensive education which all Norwegian interviewees experienced when they were pupils. Unlike the variety of school types that exist in Germany and England, in general Norwegian schools are 'schools for all'. Norwegian teachers are expected to teach 'mixed ability classes' in ways that most German Gymnasium teachers are not. To be more specific, teachers in Norway are trained with the expectation that their classes are for all. Setting and streaming does not exist and goes against the Norwegian cultural belief that everyone should be treated in the same way. This means that while 'inclusion' as a discursive construction, did not enter into discussions I had with Norwegian teachers, they are constantly dealing with these issues without framing them within such a discourse. Inclusion is a practice and a goal they take for granted. As a result there is a wider tolerance of different kinds of pupil behaviours that confront the Norwegian teachers in ways not so apparent in either of the other two countries. Furthermore, as far as teacher status is concerned, there is little opportunity for Norwegians to place themselves (or be placed) in differing status positions based on the type of school they work in or the position they hold within the school. These teachers are trained to teach the range of pupils from six to sixteen in inclusive environments ruling out status differences within the teaching profession that are more evident in the other two countries.

In the German gymnasium the notion of being a professional teacher is tightly bound up with academic leadership and is embroidered with the ability to be both a 'subject specialist' and a former gymnasium pupil. In terms of Arthur et al's (2005) value

orientations, the emphasis is on ‘successful’ teaching (that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms). All ten teachers interviewed in Germany had attended gymnasiums and shared the ‘gymnasium’ experience which tends to emphasise a more content-driven approach to pedagogy. While there is a desire amongst some of these German teachers to deploy a variety of strategies and ideas about education they have learned from their training, many get drawn into a gymnasium ethos that is content-driven and targets a narrow ability range. Furthermore, certain gymnasium teachers sometimes used ‘exclusion’ as a strategy to bolster their professional identity. Rather than necessarily admitting their potential inability to teach a particular pupil or groups of pupils some teachers claimed that these pupils should not belong to this type of school in the first place. In some cases these factors can contribute to a philosophy of exclusion on the part of gymnasium teachers rather than the inclusive philosophy of the Norwegian teachers. First and foremost, however, the gymnasium teacher is a subject specialist, teaching pupils who have undergone selection at a particular level that, theoretically, matches the level of teaching delivered.

Turning now to the English context, the wide variety of educational experiences that teachers have (as school students, trainee teachers and qualified teachers) within the English cohort is, I believe, significant in understanding the variety of values they held about teaching and learning. ‘Inclusion’ and ‘differentiation’ are discourses that English teachers are exposed to during their training (TDA, 2007). Both of these are, via the ‘standards’ (TDA, 2007), assessed not only during training but in the induction process once these teachers qualify and work in their new schools. Drawing on Arthur et al’s (2005) value orientations to teaching, there is a sense with most of the English cohort that they desire to be both a ‘successful’ teacher (one that brings about desired learning in narrow subject terms) and an effective one (determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself and how ‘best’ to teach it). However the existence of external exam league tables also mediates the values in schools concerning the importance of examination performance not only for the pupil, and teacher but for the survival of the school. This can bring with it a shift, not only in the pedagogic practice teachers are trained to embrace, but the importance placed on it as they struggle to meet demands made upon them in light of the competitive environment they might work in. However creativity, as a value, remained in most cases, despite the fact that many teachers feel ‘pushed’ within a context of performance related pay and exam pressure.

My second research question sought to map the similarities and differences in teachers' values. As is evident in the table above there is considerable overlap and similarities in the values of many of these teachers. However on closer examination some of these values are articulated in different ways in different contexts. For example, the concept of care arose in the interview data with teachers from the three settings but care was differently constructed in relation national setting and national pedagogical dominant values.

The positioning of care as a value for the Norwegian teachers in this study bears close resemblance to Arthur et al's (2005) value orientation associated with 'good' teaching, an orientation to teaching that goes beyond that of simply knowledge transmission and subject orientation. Norwegian teachers' conceptions of being a good teacher foreground concerns about equality, social responsibility and mutual respect. These values take precedence over concerns on authority. There is, as I noted earlier, a sense that the emotion of the carer comes from the heart (Stephens, 2001) where the teacher positions her/himself as a humanitarian and adult confidant (Berne, 1970). Many of the Norwegian trainee teachers used words like 'carer' and 'friend' to describe the types of relationships they were attempting to cultivate with the pupils they taught. This pastoral operationalisation of 'care' in part recognises the younger age range that teachers have been prepared to teach. However this caring role is also inflected by cultural norms and values (Parsons, 1969). The reluctance on the part of most Norwegian interviewees to use the word 'control' or 'power' reflects a humanist stance embedded within the training that they have received. And yet this reluctance also reflects social-democratic values that many Norwegians associate as the bedrock to Norwegian society (Gundem and Karseth, 1998).

A sense of care was also conveyed by the Gymnasium teachers in this study although in most cases this was articulated through concerns over their ability to deliver their subject discipline rather than in the more pastoral sense found in Norway. Care as a value for the Gymnasium teacher is constructed around a desire to be a 'successful' teacher (Arthur et al, 2005) i.e. one that brings about desired learning in subject terms. It is also constructed around a desire to be an 'effective' teacher i.e. determined objectively by the nature of the subject itself and how 'best' to teach it. Care, as a value for Gymnasium teachers, is about being a good instructor of a particular subject



discipline. These interviews revealed that there was little or no expectation by the school of a pastoral role for these teachers. In most cases these teachers are positioned by the expectations and values of the parents of the pupils they teach, along with their own experiences of being a Gymnasium pupil themselves.

Care as a value for English teachers clustered around both the pastoral and academic roles they are employed for. The tutorial responsibilities that some English schools place on these teachers endorse both these functions. The teachers in the English sample recognised care as significant value in their professional repertoire. However it was evident that for some of the teachers in the study a sense of caring was a means of gaining better academic results, and therefore a response to the particular form of accountability associated with being a professional teacher in England. In other words a ‘good’ (Arthur et al, 2005) tutor is more likely to be one that has high retention and achievement rates rather than necessarily being a greater ‘carer’.

What I am suggesting is that even where there are similarities, as with the concept of care values need to be interrogated in terms of practice and pedagogy. In this way differences within similarities will emerge in teachers’ values as has been explored in the earlier data chapters. One of the factors in precipitating differences in teachers’ values relates to my third question which concentrated on the part played by national setting.

In the thesis three major aspects of national provision played a part in constructing the values of teachers. These were pedagogic traditions, policy contexts and institutional settings. These elements have all been described and documented in the earlier chapters. The key analytical question that arises is one that has already been addressed in part. It is the role played by structure (national provision) and the role played by agency in the construction in teachers’ values and identities.

To draw on Goffman’s (1974) dramaturgical approach to identity the social actor is, to a degree, free to interpret the script that she/he is given. Many of the participating teachers exercised varying degrees of agency in regards of their choice of teaching and learning strategies. In all three locales in this study, there were teachers who were caught between conflicting values of what kind of teachers they would like to be, the

kinds of teachers they thought they were, what their training and the institution in which they worked told them about the role of the professional teacher and the form of assessment teachers needed to deploy with their students. These cultural differences play an important role in determining what is considered acceptable pedagogic practice in the first place. The degree of freedom that teachers have to determine their own practice depends on values of the 'communities of practice' they inhabit. Simultaneously, the degree to which policies are mandated or merely advocated will exercise constraints on teachers' values. In all three locales in this study there are teachers who experience 'dilemmas' (Berlak & Berlak, 1983) in relation to their professional values. These teachers' values are mediated through tensions generated by conflicting constructions of what teaching and learning is. Common for many of the teachers in these three locations is their recognition of a shift in teaching from a more inductive and student-centred approach introduced to them during their training to a more teacher-centred one once they encountered the reality shock of the classroom. This means that the values that most emerging teachers have are not fixed or constant but shift as they gain experience of teaching.

In exploring the role of national setting in relation to teachers' emerging professional values one point of distinction needs to be addressed. This is the role of significant others in value construction (Mead, 1934). What emerged from the consideration of the data was that the teachers in all three settings identified significant others who played a part – but a different and distinctive part – in influencing their values.

In Chapter Ten I showed how, in the Norwegian case, frequent reference was made to the significance of the community, parents, friends and colleagues in the daily lives of these teachers. In Norway, the school is viewed as a significant part of the community and accessible both to staff, pupils and, to a lesser extent, those who live in the immediate neighbourhood. Much of the work carried out by these teachers is in isolation from other adults and therefore the communal contact with other professionals can, and is, in many cases essential for feelings of well being within the school they work in (Stephens, 2004). Greater emphasis in Norway is placed on the role that parents play in the professional lives of teachers and in some cases this was treated with a certain degree of resentment on the part of the Norwegian teachers interviewed. The Norwegian teacher is largely working alone. There is little opportunity to mix with the

kinds of professional bodies of educationalists available to English teachers. I have also shown that there is little in the flatter structures of the Norwegian school that allows for either a career progression or many of the support mechanisms found in more hierarchical organisational forms. In short, there is little opportunity, drawing on Goffman's (1959) analogy, to hold a mirror up and reflect on the formation of an identity for, in Norwegian schools there are few mirrors.

In Germany teachers referred to the significance of parents, the media, and colleagues (younger and older) in their daily lives as teachers. According to my German interviewees, parents played a significant role in their socialisation, although one that is set within a legal responsibility that teachers have in terms of the academic output of their pupils. In recent years, German teachers have come under the scrutiny of the media and politicians following the PISA report and it was evident in these interviews that teachers were concerned about this. The 'othering' of older colleagues was a significant factor in the German interviews which I have interpreted as form of identity bolstering in light of the vulnerability that some of these teachers experienced.

In England reference was made to the significance of other departments, managers, colleagues and a variety of outside agencies. The professional communities of the English cohort contain a greater degree of differentiation at institutional level (e.g. different degrees of departmental rivalry) than their Norwegian and German counterparts. In recent years the hierarchical nature of schools in the UK combined with new forms of managerialism have meant that heads or principals devolve responsibilities down to heads of schools, year or department and in turn make those lower down accountable for the success rates of pupils within their care. Such accountability is picked up through appraisals based on targets and observations and therefore can be used both to apply pressure on individuals to take part in staff development, or indeed be used by teachers as an excuse for staff development. Organisations like Ofsted along with the variety of managerial structures in most schools provide 'reality definers' (Bryan, 2004) for teachers in England not available to their Norwegian and German colleagues. These 'others' play their own part in the construction and location of the values expressed by English teachers. They can provide different internalised pictures of the professional social world they are part of.

In the English scenario teachers have greater access to a wider variety of these different internalised pictures.

Three countries, three pasts and three presents - all with different cultural traditions and subject to the forces of economic globalisation that, for some, point to a more homogenised future and the end of history as we know it (Fukuyama, 1992) rather than the 'glocalised' (Kidd, 2004) heterogeneity that I have encountered during this research. While the policy contexts surrounding the work that teachers do in all three national settings, is, to an extent, informed by sets of discourses associated with economic globalisation, any influence on teacher identity or their values is far from predictable. Teachers may react in very different ways to the expectations that policy makers, school heads, parents and any of the 'others' that surround the work that teachers do. I have also shown, through these interviews with three small groups, that newly qualified teachers exhibit a wide range of values in the extent to which they engage, on a personal level. The activities they perform both in and outside the classroom are influenced by the variety of 'others' they consider to be significant to the jobs they do.

#### **11.4 The contribution of this research to the field**

The thesis contributes to the development of social theory by focusing on the construction of the values and identities of teachers. It can be used to contribute to policy debates such as the ones mentioned at the beginning of this thesis (e.g. to question to what extent the marketisation of education in one educational context might be a policy solution to raising educational standards in another). The analysis that has been generated from this research can also be used to inform the work of those who are concerned to support the socialisation of new teachers into the profession. Day (1990) acknowledges the policy relevance of this type of research when he argues that profiles taken at various stages throughout the careers of teachers can be used to guide planning and implementation of teachers' professional development. Furthermore, Hatch (1999) argues that prospective teachers need an awareness of the complexity of teaching and the inherent dilemmas in teachers' work. The importance of teaching as 'dilemma management' should be an important objective of teacher education programmes (Hatch, 1999). Knowledge of the challenges faced by teachers new to the profession can

therefore offer guidance not only for induction but also for initial teacher education, thus improving the preparation of teachers in coping with their first year of teaching. This in turn could have significant impact on future retention figures.

A second contribution of this study lies in contrasting the value sets of teachers in three different national settings. There is an understandable tendency for teachers to concentrate on their own policy setting and on their own institutional locations. Sharing the experiences of teachers who do similar work but in different settings helps produce a more complex, sophisticated and nuanced understanding of what it is to be a teacher. I hope that in some ways my study has contributed towards this sort of understanding.

### **11.5 Limitations of the study**

In all research projects decisions have to be made about what to read, about what to ask and above all how to analyse what it is that we are exploring. Along the way it is inevitable that we will make mistakes. It is only on completing our research that it is possible to reflect back on limitations to our work, limitations that may not have been apparent at the start. In this section I want to briefly re-visit some of the limitations of my work, limitations that have also been discussed in the methodology chapter (Chapter Five).

One of the major limitations in my study relates to the construction of my three sample groups. All the samples were small and in some ways not directly comparable. For example in relation to the Norwegian sample, these teachers were trained to teach a much wider age-range (six to sixteen) whereas those teachers used in the samples for Germany and England were trained to teach pupils from eleven to eighteen/nineteen. Age-setting and sample construction are issues that I would want to consider if I were to repeat this study. One might, for example, expect certain values to be more prominent (e.g. the humanistic values concerned with the nurturing of pupils as seen with the Norwegian use of 'friend') within early years teaching. These values might be less dominant with teachers working with older student cohorts as found in the German and English samples. If I had worked with samples of teachers in the primary school age

ranges in all three countries, values might have been expressed that could have been more 'child-centred' in all the national settings.

However when I started this research the focus was on values and how they related to national context and institutional setting and that still stands in this completed work. This thesis has focused on the local construction of teachers' values in terms of an argument that challenges the more deterministic claims of convergence within the teaching profession. The examination of 'local' differences strengthens the 'local' emphasis within the 'glocal'. The specificities of both national context and institutional setting play a greater role in the differences in values expressed by these teachers than the phase they have been prepared for.

I am aware that some of the debates I have touched on have thrown up conceptual difficulties that I have not been able to resolve. The thesis has, to some extent, addressed the relative importance of structure (the forces which can contribute to shaping teachers' values and identities) and agency (the degree of control which they can exert over what kind of teachers they wish to become). There are constraints which lie in the external world, where material and social factors can limit the degree of agency which teachers possess (e.g. availability of staff; teaching resources etc). I accept that in the case of educational policy making, this in part is determined by governmental fears about the pressures of competition exacerbated by fears concerning economic globalisation. I also accept that in constructing their values and professional identities, teachers are partly constrained by the processes and structures of, not only the communities of practice in which they operate (Brown, 1997), but the variety of other factors that this thesis has explored.

I have shown how teachers in all three contexts and settings construct their own interpretations of what being a teacher is, could, or should be. To what extent global conceptions exist about what teaching is, is impossible to say. However I have no doubt that many teachers in the future will continue to interpret what teaching is via a variety of mediums, not least, their own personal values, many of which, will be unaffected by the policy intentions of their political 'masters' and will be more to do with how, via their professional 'me', they mediate the values of the variety of others they encounter.

## **11.6 Self-positioning in relation to the data and the participants**

The positioning of the researcher can operate as a filter affecting each and every stage of the research process i.e. from initial reading of related literature, to the design and analysis of the research strategy, research questions and the final writing up of the thesis. In this section I briefly examine my own self-positioning relating to the thesis and its analysis in light of my own biography and my involvement with the respondents in this study.

As discussed in the beginning of this chapter, my choice of research topic reflects, in part, my own personal and professional biography which has taken me into the teaching profession and a career teaching in London. Caelli et al (2003) argue that the positioning of a researcher refers to the researcher's motives, presuppositions, and personal history that lead toward, and subsequently influence a particular inquiry (Caelli et al, 2003). I had already gained substantial contextual understanding of the experiences of 'becoming a teacher' in London prior to the study and these understandings were enhanced during the research process. Positioning has also occurred through my disciplinary socialisation (Ray, 1999) where I have been influenced by my introduction to qualitative research methodology during my Masters degree in the sociology of education. This emphasised not only the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of a variety of research approaches, but also a critically theoretical understanding of education systems. These biographical details have influenced not only my conceptualization of the thesis but also the ways in which I have carried out and analyzed the data.

If the biography of the researcher is significant to any discussions regarding self-positioning, so too is the effect of field work. As a researcher working in the field on my own I spent two years getting to know these emerging teachers. I have been invited into some of their homes, their schools, and in some cases privy to sensitive and at times emotionally charged dialogue. As a writer this can present issues about how one represents these experiences (Lather, 1991). In writing a document of this length it is sometimes difficult not to adopt a collusive style in places or indeed leave some assumptions implicit within the presentation of such data. It could be argued that in places I have indeed done this although this has never been my intention. I have tried to be reflexive in my writing of the thesis. I am also aware that my own experience in the

three countries prior to the study being carried out, along with my linguistic ability will result in the fact that the reader will not always have the same kind of understanding of the text as the writer. This may lead in some cases to a situation where certain interpretations may be perceived by the reader as merely intuitive interpretations. I have attempted to be as honest as possible concerning all elements of the research process and how this has affected the final text version. All research is value driven and my own values inevitably influence the research outcomes of this thesis. Nevertheless I attempt, not only in this chapter but in this thesis to articulate a knowledgeable and theoretically informed choice of methodology and method which is congruent with this inquiry while remaining both ‘contextually qualified’ (Brisard et al, 2007: page 224) and ‘contextually sensitive’ (Crossley and Jarvis, 2001: page 407) to the respondents who have contributed to this research.

### **11.7 Directions for further research**

A follow up study of all three groups of teachers at a later stage in their professional development would allow a further exploration of some of the issues discussed in this thesis. Such a study might seek to address the question of whether teachers’ values and identities change as they gain further experience and it could also identify factors that lead to the decision some might make to leave the profession. I have not, in this thesis, addressed the issue of the gendered nature of teaching. Women have historically always had a lower status than men within the professions (Hoyle, 1974). But when looking at the teaching profession in all three countries, with its preponderance of women, I have been acutely reminded of their lower status both within and beyond their profession, even in Norway with its flatter organisational structures. In every occupational category women are more likely to be ‘proletarianised’ (Apple, 1986) than men due to the “sexist practices in recruitment and promotion, patriarchal power relations and the relationship between teaching and domesticity” (Hull, 1995: p49). Future research could examine how the gendered nature of teaching influences both the values and identities of teachers new to the profession in these three countries. Finally, further research could be carried out examining the significance of the phase qualified for on the values of teachers which is a feature that has been under addressed in this thesis.



## **11.8 Concluding statement**

Strong versions of globalisation can reduce hope in an increasingly complex world. They can both frighten, and be used to frighten, all occupations including teaching. Often couched in terms of inevitability, the pressures associated with economic globalisation can drain energy and commitment from teachers. And yet this thesis offers complex hope in these globalising times by showing how teachers' values are, in part, contingent on their own identities, local conditions, local and national cultures in which teachers are situated. Expectations of what being a teacher means are constructed locally regardless of any converging tendencies at a global level. The values of the teachers in this study and their concerns for their students give rise to complex hope in exceedingly complex times.

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## Appendix One – Interview Cards

<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Moral Purpose</b>	<b>Isolation</b>
<b>Professional</b>	<b>Power</b>	<b>Autonomy</b>
<b>Control</b>	<b>Promotion</b>	<b>Status</b>
<b>What teaching methods do you use?</b>	<b>Who is responsible for learning?</b>	<b>What does 'learning' mean?</b>
<b>Why do teachers leave the profession?</b>		

I devised this research tool and the subsequent categories with help from one of my tutors (Dr Eileen Carnell) when carrying out research for my Masters dissertation at London University's Institute of Education. This dissertation was related to the professional socialisation of teachers and we considered that these categories and questions would cover many of the issues that arise with trainee teachers after the issues were discussed in our seminars and highlighted within some of the literature (e.g. Bubb et al, 2004). This method worked well and I decided to use this method (treating the research for the Masters as a pilot) with no changes after agreement with my original PhD supervisor Stephen Ball.

## **Appendix Two – Additional issues explored in interviews**

- Can you tell me a little bit about what you have been doing since the last time we met?
  - Probe<sup>52</sup> for choice of schools
  - Probe for Job interviews
  - Probe for job roles
- Can you tell me a little bit about your career prospects?
  - Probe for opportunities of lateral/upward movement within school
  - Probe for opportunities for CPD
  - Probe for external professional projects
- Can you tell me a little bit about the monitoring of teachers' work that takes place in your school?
  - Probe for observations
  - Probe for appraisal procedures
  - Performance (exams/retention etc)
- Can you tell me a little bit about the organisational structure in your school?
  - Probe for working conditions (hours/meetings/lunch etc)
  - Probe for organisational structure
  - Probe for accountability (related to possible line-management)
- Can you tell me a little bit about other adults (not teachers) you have contact with regarding the work you do?
  - Probe for parents
  - Probe for support staff
  - Probe for meetings
  - Probe for outside agencies
- Can you tell me a little bit about your reflections on your training as a teacher?
  - Probe for subject pedagogy
  - Probe for relevance
  - Probe for deficiencies
- Can you tell me a little bit about your pastoral role in the school you work in?
  - Probe for tutoring
  - Probe for other employees you have contact with regarding pastoral role
  - Probe for training regarding pastoral role
- What keeps you motivated to teach?
- Is there anything you feel that you have not told me that you would like to address in this interview?

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<sup>52</sup> Probes to be used only if necessary/required

### **Appendix Three – Coding map showing application of Derek Layder’s (1993) Research Map in the initial stages of coding**

## **Appendix Four – Coding map (after ‘Breakthrough’ moment)**

## **Appendix Five – Coding map of ‘parent’ as key emerging theme in Norwegian and German data**

**Appendix Six – Photocopied extract of section of Norwegian data transcript where ‘parent’ starts to emerge as key theme**



**Appendix Seven – Photocopied extract of section of German data transcript where ‘parent’ starts to emerge as key theme**

## Appendix Eight – Outline of timetable for entire thesis

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.
<b>2000/2001</b>	Redrafting of initial proposal for Stephen Ball  (Attend research seminars)	Review literature on Prof. Soc.	First draft of p/s chapter	Write up of N. Educ. system →		1st wave N. interviews + transcription	W/up of G. Educ. System	1st wave G. Interviews + t/c	W/up of E. Educ. System	1st Draft of Intro	1st wave E. ints + t/c.	Initial open coding of all data
<b>2001/2002</b>	Review of literature on identity	Writing of first draft on identity (to become Ch 4)	Joint coding of sample data by MM and GC	First draft of analysis of all first interviews given to MM and SG	F/back on data w/up and Id chapter.	2nd wave Norwegian Interviews	T/c. of data and initial coding	2nd wave German interviews	T/c of data and initial coding	1st draft of Ch 2 to MM and SG	2nd wave English ints + t/c	Cross country and cross year coding
<b>2002/2003</b>	Target b/ground reading given by SS with f/back and write up →		Write up of method. chapter		Re-work glob. Into Ch 2 →	3rd wave Norwegian Interviews	T/c of data and initial coding	3rd wave German interviews	T/c of data and initial coding		3rd wave English ints + t/c	Cross country and cross year coding
<b>2003/2004</b>	Re-work prof. socialisation chapter into new Ch 3.	Analysis of German data to MM and SG	Analysis of English data to MM	F/back on data chapters and re-analysis of N Data	“Break-through moment” re analysis of N Data	Re-casting of all data & plan of new data chapters followed by re-coding of all data		Ch 6 to MM	Ch 7 to MM and SG – f/back from Ch 6	Ch 8 to MM and SG – f/back Ch 7	Death in family no work done on thesis	Write up of Ch 9
<b>2004/2005</b>	Ch 9 to MM and SG	Ch 10 to MM and SG f/back Ch. 9	First draft Conc. (Ch 11)	Re-working of Intro and conclusion →		Preparation and submission of upgrade report →			Upgrade	SG/MM upgrade feedback	Re-visit research questions & R/Map	
<b>2005/2006</b>	Hospitalised no work carried out on thesis			Draft 1 given to both MM and SG	F/back from SG and MM	Re-working of Ch 3 into new Values chapter →			Re-form research questions	Revision Ch. 6	Revision Ch. 7	Revision Ch. 8 and 9
<b>2006/2007</b>	Revision Ch.10.	Feedback from MM and SG all data Chpts.	Revision Ch. 1	Revision Ch. 2	Revision Ch. 3 & 4.	Revision Chapter 5.	Thesis final check by MM	Final draft checked and sent to printers	Formally submitted to Kings.			