



**THE PREDICAMENT OF THE NEW PRIMARY TEACHER: EDUCATING
TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALS IN CHANGING TIMES**

by

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ABSTRACT

The predicament of the new primary teacher: educating teachers as intellectuals in changing times by Roderick Mackenzie

This thesis is based on a case study of the predicament of new primary teachers in a time of rapid and multiple change. It examines the proposal that emerging teachers should be supported as intellectuals in responding to the inherited collision of education policy and practice within postmodernity. Action research methodology was employed to investigate a small scale attempt to support student teachers as intellectuals in their final period of the BEd. Some participants were followed into the first year of teaching, using an ethnographic and autoethnographic methodology to evaluate and elaborate the initial proposal. The study shows that emerging teachers could function as intellectuals but there was little political or professional support for this. In particular there were neglected elements in both preparation and induction periods concerning professional purpose, vocation and orientation. The study contributes to our understanding of the dilemmas of tutoring emerging teachers as intellectuals. It also contributes to our understanding of the predicament of new teachers, which is typified as caught between the rock of the state and the increasingly hard place of the school. In this situation clarity of ideals and beliefs are required, and personal and social strategies are needed to carry these through in the problematic contexts of both policy and practice. It is recommended that the imbalance of preparation and induction programmes is reconsidered in order to allow for these neglected elements. Finally the study offers a cultural rationale for professional purpose and vocation based on principles of equality, quality, diversity and democracy.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

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A programme of advanced study was undertaken as an extension of my work as a lecturer involving BEd students, newly qualified primary teachers and experienced primary teachers.

Relevant research seminars were regularly attended. Conferences at Chester, Birmingham, London, Exeter and Plymouth were attended and a paper was presented at the latter. An article and a chapter in a book were written for publication and several newspaper letters were published.

During the period of research I have corresponded with Dr. Michael Golby at the School of Education, University of Exeter.

Signed.....*Rod MacKenzie*.....

Date.....*14th April 1997*.....

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INTRODUCTION

This study investigated the predicament of new primary teachers in changing times and considered some of the implications for initial teacher education. It had its origins in my personal and professional transition from primary school headship into teacher education at the institution where I had received my own initial teacher education in 1968-1971. The account of the research developed here is, therefore, a double narrative of the development of a new tutor, linked with the emergence of new primary school teachers. These accounts are contextualised within a third narrative of wider political and cultural changes. Local 'tales from the field' (Van Maanen, 1988) about the self on the journey of teaching within educational institutions, need to be located within this wider cultural context to be understood more fully (Wright Mills, 1970). Giddens (1991 p22) argues that there is a 'dialectic of the local and global' from which 'no-one can opt -out'. This study brings a cultural perspective to bear on changes in primary education that have taken place from the 1960s to the 1990s. In this period it will be argued that primary teaching has been politicised and has become increasingly subjected to misrepresentation, legislation and innovation overload (Alexander, 1994). In addition accelerating economic, technological, social and cultural change has outpaced educational response (Hargreaves, 1994). My research concern as a newly appointed tutor was with how I might support emerging teachers in dealing with this inherited and continually changing educational, political and cultural context. There were five stages to the research process, which involved both conceptual and empirical investigation drawing on the traditions of case study and action research (McNiff, 1993; Cohen and Manion 1985). First, the nature of the new teacher's inheritance was investigated;

second, a course of action was proposed; third, the proposal was implemented; fourth, the implementation was evaluated; fifth, the original proposal was reviewed and revised in the light of previous findings to reach final conclusions. These stages are now related briefly to the chapters forming this study.

Chapter one considers the rhetoric and the realities of the confused inheritance of the new primary teacher which, it is argued, reflects the more general cultural confusions of postmodernity. The solution proposed is to prepare teachers as critically reflective intellectuals for their uncertain inheritance. Chapter two considers the mixed methodology of the study involving action research, ethnography and the autoethnography that was developed throughout in order to lend the research process reflexive rigour. Chapter three investigates the small scale attempt to implement the proposed preparation of teachers as intellectuals by developing and evolving a BEd Education Studies course within the institutional context. The evaluative stage of the research began in the action research period and was continued thereafter. Chapter four follows the second cohort of emerging teachers through into their first year of teaching employing an ethnographic approach. The latter constructs a grounded, many-voiced account of the perceptions of new teachers of their inherited predicament, which allows my original perceptions and proposals to be evaluated and checked further. Chapter five concludes the study by drawing previous findings and conclusions together, in order to review and revise the original proposal. Recommendations are made and a cultural rationale for teacher education and professionalism is proposed for future development.

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Since 1988 primary education has been dominated by legislative changes.

Pollard et al (1994) comment:

The 1988 Education Act was a classic manifestation of the prevailing political climate in its explicit commitment to market forces and competition....(it)led inevitably to open hostility between government and education professionals...(p2)

Thus the challenging predicament of new primary teachers is one of inheriting the collision between the profession and the politicians. Chapter one considers this problematic inheritance within the context of changing times and proposes the solution that new teachers be prepared as critically reflective intellectuals in order to meet these challenges. The first section of the chapter considers the changing situation of primary teachers and the inheritance of new teachers in terms of policy and practice. The second section locates this inheritance within the general confusions of changing cultural conditions and considers aspects of modernity and postmodernity in relation to primary education. The third section considers postmodern developments in theory and practice in relation to primary teachers as intellectuals.

The challenges that lie ahead for teachers have been considered by Pollard (1990), who has argued that a 'new professionalism' will be needed in which '...aims, values and commitments will still play a part' (p75). The exploration of the proposal that new teachers be prepared as intellectuals undertaken in this study is intended as contribution to the search for a new professionalism.

1 THE CHANGING SITUATION OF PRIMARY TEACHERS AND THE INHERITANCE OF NEW TEACHERS

The following sub-sections will consider first the political rhetoric and second the professional realities of primary teachers in relation to changes in the period leading from the Plowden Report (CACE 1967) to the national curriculum and the Dearing (1994) revisions. A third concern with the professionalism of primary teachers within the new 'economy of power' (Ball, 1994 p1) will be explored in order to identify the inheritance of the new teacher which is typified as postmodern (Kelly, 1995). Pollard et al (1994) comment that following the turbulence of legislative reform '...there is a need to take stock, to interrogate evidence on which to base future judgements about support, adaptation or opposition to change' (p2). This section weighs the rhetoric of reform against the professional realities of primary teachers in order to identify the mixed professional inheritance of the new teacher more clearly.

1.1 The Rhetoric of Reform and the Politicisation of Primary Education after Plowden

Kelly (1994) describes the political strategy for educational change in the form of the ERA as 'power-coercive' seeking 'to effect change through the application of power' (p3). Kelly goes on to note that direct forms of control like legislation are combined discursively with other forms such as the political rhetoric accompanying and legitimating change (Ball, 1990; Hartley 1994a, 1994b). Considerations of the rhetoric in relation to the reporting and

representation of policy and practice by the media are thus increasing (Alexander, 1992; Galton, 1995; Wallace 1993). The following sub-section considers the context which gave rise to the political rhetoric and considers some of its features in order to note the effects of the discourse on the situation of primary teachers.

The political rhetoric accompanying educational changes from the publication of the Plowden Report through to the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) and the amendments of the national curriculum by Dearing (1994) can be understood initially in relation to contextual political and economic factors. Pollard et al (1994 p1) suggest that three broad landmarks in education throughout this century can be understood in the context of their times. The need, for example, to balance local and national government, it is suggested, lay behind the creation of local education authorities in 1902 and came about because of 'contemporary fears that a centrally run education system might be appropriated for ideological purposes.' The 1944 Education Act belonged to a more optimistic concern with 'equality and social engineering that characterized the immediate post-war years.' The context of the 1988 ERA however was a more pessimistic one of general economic decline which provided the pretext for central control. Galton (1992 p18) thus applies an economic explanatory framework to the period considered here. Galton suggests that the relative economic optimism preceding Plowden, typified by the white heat of technology vision articulated by Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1963, led to the optimistic 'springlike' growth metaphors to be found in Plowden and to 'brief summer flowerings' in some LEAs. Galton claims that the following oil crises and the economic recession of the 1970s,

brought the 'autumnal' rhetoric of 'cutbacks and pruning' of successive calls to go 'back-to-basics' following the 'fiscal crisis of the state' (O'Connor, 1973). Autumnal political rhetoric about primary education included renewals of longer standing allegations (Delamont, 1987) that the supposed progressivism of primary practice had led to a decline in educational 'standards' particularly in 'basic literacy' and 'basic numeracy' (Callaghan, 1976 p332) which had, in turn, decreased economic competitiveness. This can be termed an 'economic' priority, a position primarily defined both by the political need 'to make economies...and to determine educational goals in line with perceived national economic priorities' (Pollard et al 1994, p2). Variants of this first 'economic back-to-basics' rhetoric can be heard from politicians on all sides from the speech made by Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976 at Ruskin College onwards and set the climate for the centralisation of control and 'accountability mechanisms' (Pollard et al, 1994 p2).

Alluding to the gap between 'economic back-to basics' rhetoric and the realities of primary practice Alexander (1994 p28) details the rise of the rhetoric as it was increasingly recycled within the political and economic context from the 1970s onwards:

Despite the gap between progressivism in its pure form and what was actually going on in the majority of England's primary schools, primary teachers as a profession had to endure a barrage of media and political misrepresentation as progressivism and therefore they themselves, became the scapegoat for the country's educational and economic ills. This started shortly after Plowden, with the publication of the Black Papers, reached a peak in 1974-6 with the William Tyndale affair, Bennett's apparent demonstration that traditional methods were more effective than progressive and Callaghan's "Great Debate", and then resurfaced in response to the publication of the Leed's report in 1991. It is now being recycled to justify the exclusion of higher education institutions from teacher training. Primary education had become politicised: and truth, as always, was the first casualty.

The first period of allegations of progressivism led to the attempt to control the curriculum through the ERA. The second period of allegations of falling educational standards due to alleged progressivism in fact became a part of the 1992 General Election campaign, in which the 'Three Wise Men' report on primary practice was commissioned (Alexander et al, 1992). This report showed tensions which indicated its political provenance:

If 'Plowdenism' has become an ideology to which thousands of teachers have unthinkingly subscribed, then it is necessary to ask why the teachers concerned have stopped thinking for themselves and have apparently become so amenable to indoctrination. If things have gone wrong-and the word 'if' is important- then scapegoating is not the answer. (para 22)

The rhetorical repeat of the word 'if' reveals the tensions at work (Galton, 1995). The construction of 'Plowdenism' as ideology, set the stage for further reports attempting to steer primary practice with intertextual references providing mutual legitimation for the process (NCC, 1993: OFSTED, 1993, 1994a). The second recycling of the allegations of progressivism thus led beyond the determination of the *curriculum* by political intervention to an on-going attempt to set an agenda for *pedagogical* practice also.

In summary so far it can be seen that in the period from Plowden to Dearing the politicisation of primary education in relation to the curriculum and pedagogical practice was advanced by both Labour and Conservative governments. There was a direct political link between Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's 'back to basics' speech at Ruskin with Conservative Prime Minister John Major's 'back to basics' speeches at the 1992 and 1993 Conservative Party Conferences. Andy Hargreaves (1994 p xiv) comments:

In England and Wales, policy makers tend to treat teachers rather like naughty children; in need of firm guidelines, strict requirements and a few short, sharp evaluative shocks to keep them up to the mark.

Ball (1990) draws attention to the rhetorical 'discourses of derision' which accompany legislative control. Kelly (1994 p12) points out that the discourses of derision have been used to 'rubbish' Plowden as lacking rigour and to give the pretext and set the climate for introducing legislation and 'another form of discourse- National Curriculum speak', which itself needs to be deconstructed (Kelly, 1994).

In addition the 'back-to-basics' rhetoric developed further layers in the early 1990s as the economic 'feel-good' factor failed to renew itself and social and cultural concerns emerged. This was particularly fuelled for example by the murder of James Bulger by two other children in 1993 and was once again driven by extensive media coverage. Examples of opinion promulgated by the media ranged from a sombre identification of a 'moral panic' in adults associated with a 'moral vacuum' and a hope that teachers could 'pick up the pieces' (*The Times Educational Supplement*, 21 February 1993, editorial); through to the New Right rhetoric such as 'Are schools destroying the morality of children?' (Professor O' Hear, *The Daily Mail*, 19 March 1993). The renewed focus on social and cultural 'back-to-basics' became part of the context for the subsequent discussion paper on moral and spiritual education from the NCC (1993b) followed through by OFSTED (1994b) (Winkley, 1995). Kelly (1995 p151) identifies a preoccupation with 'law and order' as Conservative policy now showed re-emergent concerns with social cohesion and control alongside economic competitiveness (Ross, 1995). Cultural

concerns had been evident in the national curriculum rewrites from 1990 onwards. Ball's (1994 p7) analysis of this identifies an increasingly 'authoritarian' national curriculum emerging. This was exemplified in the struggles over national curriculum English and history as more obviously 'cultural' subjects in their content. Ball thus suggests that 'generic' political, rather than economic causes underlay the shift towards 'cultural rightism' and this will be considered ahead within the wider cultural context.

In summary, the first period of 'back to basics' focused on economic concerns led to the politicisation of primary education and attempts to control both curriculum and pedagogy. The second period focused on social and cultural concerns and indicated the possibility of further intervention. Hargreaves (1994 p6) points out that 'In the political rush to bring about reform, teachers' voices have been largely neglected, their opinions overridden, and their concerns dismissed'. Ball (1993 p108) also comments:

...there is little discursive space in all this for anything except acquiescence or silent dissent...As always it is not just a matter of what is said, but who is entitled to speak. The teacher is an absent presence in the discourses of education policy.

This takes us into some of the concerns of this study to pay attention to 'local memories and marginalized perspectives' (Ball, 1994 p4), and to researching the 'submerged knowledges' (Foucault, 1980 p81) and lost voices of teachers. This can be approached initially by asking what the professional realities of primary teachers beyond the political rhetoric were in the period.

1.2 The Professional Realities of Primary Teachers after Plowden

There is little evidence of a progressive primary school revolution in the research and reports from Plowden onwards. In relation to the first period of allegations of progressivism the 'Three Wise Men' report itself declared:

The commonly held belief that primary schools, after 1967, were swept by a tide of progressivism is untrue. HMI in 1978, for example, reported that only 5 per cent of classrooms exhibited wholeheartedly 'exploratory' characteristics and that didactic teaching was still practised in three-quarters of them. (Alexander et al 1992, para 19)

Campbell (1993) summarises:

The picture from HMI surveys was consistent with findings from researchers ...that teaching concentrating narrowly on the basics was the typical approach..(p19)

Continuing pedagogic conservatism after Plowden, rather than progressivism would thus seem a more accurate typification of the overall situation emerging from the research. Although, however, this typification of the underlying conservative realities of primary education informs professional overviews, little of this research and expert opinion has received attention from politicians and the media and the representations used to construct and to recycle representations of progressivism have become entrenched (Galton, 1995).

The end of the first period of allegations of progressivism from politicians was thus in effect simply a lull before the next period, the first of what Ball (1990 p147) calls a 'series of ratchet steps...a process of climate building' for

political intervention. Meanwhile, however, professional resistance or counter-action was thin, Pollard (1990) identifies 'the relative inability of the profession both to co-ordinate and explain itself' (p72). During the lull after this first period, professional debate and exploration amongst researchers and academics actually turned inward to attempts to explain the lack of progressivism rather than its ubiquity (Galton, 1992; Richards 1982). Simon (1981) concluded that the progressive primary school revolution was a myth. Other researchers identified a gap between the rhetoric of progressivism used by primary teachers and the realities of their practice (Alexander, 1984, 1992; Edwards and Mercer, 1987). The evidence would thus seem to indicate that both traditional realities and progressive rhetoric lingered on together. This rhetoric/reality gap constructed by professionals would seem to have compounded the rhetoric/reality gap constructed by politicians. Wallace (1993) argues that:

The rhetoric of progressivism, adopted within the myth of primary speak, was taken as reality by teachers' attackers in creating a counter-myth that progressive practice had lowered standards. Teachers had unwittingly provided government ministers and the media with their ammunition.

The myth of progressivism might thus be recognised as a virtual reality reflecting political, economic factors and more general cultural factors.

Beyond this myth however there is also a substantial body of research and literature relating to primary practice attempting to describe its realities. These accounts reveal the more balanced approach attempted by many primary teachers particularly through the later part of this period as extensions of the curriculum and pedagogy were attempted. Far from the progressivist

stereotype primary teachers in reality attempted to reconcile 'competing imperatives' (Alexander, 1988) espousing 'liberal pragmatism'(Richards, 1988). Research indicates that teachers could demonstrate considerable craft and artistry as they aimed for and sometimes achieved a holistic balance beyond the oversimplifications of ideological polarisations (Nias, 1989). In many ways the predicament of primary teachers can thus be typified as coping with ideological overload as they inherited the expectations of previous times and then increasingly had to respond to new times as well.

Blythe's (1965) earlier identification of different ideological influences on primary education has been developed by a number of writers (Blenkin and Kelly 1981; Golby, 1988, Alexander, 1995). These accounts describe primary education as being formed by a combination of elementary school, child-centred and developmental concerns. Pollard et al (1994 p14) distinguish between an earlier child-centred 'naive developmentalism' and its later form which, after Plowden, gradually and unevenly evolved from its original ideological base toward reflective teaching (Pollard and Tann, 1987). This was based particularly on constructivist psychological research into children's learning in which Piaget and Bruner were seminal figures and was initially structuralist in orientation (Kelly, 1995). The further evolution of developmentalism was later associated with social constructivism as the influence of Vygotsky re-emerged and increasingly became post-structuralist in orientation (Bruner, 1986; Kelly, 1995). These developments in primary schools were uneven because the continuing influence of earlier ideologies on the primary school after Plowden actually produced a mixture of traditions in reality, rather than a pure form of one or the other. Thus in the 1970s a

complex 'hybrid' mixture of these traditions was evident (Mackenzie, 1983). In the 1980s Pollard et al (1994 p13/14) identify an 'emergent professionalism' associated with the reflective practitioner. In the early 1990s under the impact of the national curriculum Alexander (1994 p30) described the continuation of the 'hybrid' in an 'uneasy mix' of all these influences. In many ways therefore the national curriculum simply added mandated force to an existing historic aggregate of impossible ideological demands, fuelling the policy failure of the 1990s. Pollard et al (1994 p235) comment:

Workloads, stress levels and demoralization became very high and teachers began to consider forms of collective action to assert a countervailing power to that of Government. The most telling example of this was provided in 1993, when resistance over assessment requirements led to reporting procedures being boycotted in many schools.

Resistance forced government concessions on a wider front as the impossibility of the national curriculum itself became more public, producing a domino effect on policy and leading to the review undertaken by Dearing (1994). It is worth registering again how little the voices of teachers themselves had been heard. The consultation exercise mounted by Dearing was a belated attempt to rectify this.

1.3 Professionalization or Deprofessionalization? The Variety of Teachers' Responses to Legislation.

Previously the inherited predicament of new teachers in the 1990s has been typified in terms of a collision between politicians and teachers. Pollard et al (1994 p232) argue that primary teachers have felt this the 'most sharply' because of their growing commitment to the emerging professionalism of

reflective teaching and the developmental tradition which offered a stark contrast to the political ideology underpinning policy. The impact of the ERA on primary teacher's professionalism in England can now be explored.

Some general accounts of the situation of teachers in the late twentieth century stress the diminishing autonomy and agency of teachers as controls and demands intensify. It has been argued that teachers are subject to 'deprofessionalizing' or 'proletarianizing' tendencies as a part of a broader process of the general downgrading and deskilling of work in the current phase of capitalism (Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Apple, 1986; Densmore, 1987). Theorists of the 'intensification' thesis hold that teachers' work in the last decades has become overloaded with bureaucratic and administrative demands in ways that make professional possibility problematic (Hargreaves, 1994). Thus a timely critique of current tendencies to reduce teachers to government technicians has been made (Grundy, 1989; Smythe, 1987; Hill 1991). However accounts of the erosion of teacher professionalism need to be taken in a measured way. A binary opposition can be set up with a deterministic view of deprofessionalized technicians on the one hand contrasted with an idealised professionalism on the other. The view taken here is that such polarisations do not sufficiently recognise the variety of professional response to the controls of state. Ball (1994 p11) points out that the variety of professional response is greater than a simplistic 'dominance/resistance binary'. Ball (1993) is in no doubt about the severe personal and professional effects on teachers of the attempt to cast them as both 'scapegoat and victim' (p120) under the ERA and of the 'potential of a massive overdetermination of the work of teaching' involved. But Ball is

referring to *potential* deprofessionalization and the intentions, as he reads them, rather than the outcomes of the ERA. Bowe, Ball with Gold (1992) explore the contexts of policy which is open to interpretational slippage and contestation in practice and indicates the possibility of different professional responses beyond the simple view that policy 'is simply something done to people' (p15). Ball's attempts to contrast the policy view from 'above' with professional perspectives from 'below' is useful here. This, he claims, means 'rethinking...the simplicities of the structure/agency dichotomy' (Ball, 1994 p15), within what Raab (1994) typifies as a 'long and elaborate implementation chain' (p24). Ball (ibid) claims that this necessitates 'applied' rather than pure sociology and replaces the 'modernist theoretical project of abstract parsimony with a somewhat more postmodern one of localised complexity' (p14), which has drawn criticism (Hatcher and Troyna, 1994). However since Ball's theoretical heuristic is explicitly aimed at relating 'macro concerns and micro concerns' (Maguire and Ball, 1994 p282), it is not well typified as ignoring wider political factors. What is important for present purposes is to note that both Ball and his critics recognise that power is potentially in professional and as well as political hands because this avoids the danger of 'naive pessimism' (Ball, 1994 p23) and a view of the teacher that is too passive (Raab 1994). Ball (1994 p25) also points out the 'danger of idealizing the past..in which teachers once had autonomy and now do not' and endorses more subtle notions of 'a shift from licensed to regulated autonomy' proposed by Dale (1989). Apple (1989 p15) summarises:

Conflict, compromise, mediation, the uses of state policies for one's own interests that may be different from those envisioned by state policy makers; all signify anything but passive acquiescence.

In relation to the situation of primary teachers under the ERA Woods (1995 p8) thus identifies many different 'modes of adaptation' made by teachers to the legislation. Pollard et al's research (1994) also found a variety of professional responses to the ERA and developed a typology ranging from 'compliance, through incorporation, active mediation and resistance, to retreatism' (p228) Their research indicates that teachers were far from:

...puppets pulled by the strings of policy makers...they must make choices about the way they carry out their work...they effectively become makers of policy ...in their own classrooms. (p78)

However there is no doubt that the dilemmas of the primary teacher (Pollard and Tann 1987) have intensified under the legislation. Woods (1995) argues that there is a struggle enjoined between intensification and teachers' 'creativity'. The present study provides evidence of intensification and a struggle between the forces of deprofessionalization and professionalization. Woods (1995) sees this as:

...the meeting point of intensification and self, and the coping strategies devised by teachers to manage difficulties and dilemmas...structure and agency, system and individual, constraints and creativity. (p11)

Hatcher (1994 p55) argues that 'What fundamentally differentiates different types of professionalism is how they relate to the state'. These accounts indicate the need to revise and update earlier concepts of 'restricted' and 'extended' teacher professionalism (Hoyle, 1974; Stenhouse, 1975). This will be considered in following sections in relation to concepts of reflective teaching (Zeichner, 1995) and teachers as intellectuals (Giroux, 1988; Beck, 1990). The view proposed and developed in this study is that new teachers need to act as intellectuals in order to make sense of their inherited predicament and to

develop the 'new' professionalism identified by Pollard (1990). The challenges in doing this in the 1990s are severe, but although the situation of teachers may be finely balanced, so too is the situation of politicians.

1.4 Summary: An Uncertain Inheritance and New Teachers as Intellectuals

The situation of primary teachers is increasingly complex and contested as expectations have grown without concomitant resourcing. The inheritance of the new teacher can be summarised as follows:

1. Generally the period from Plowden to Dearing resulted in an uncertain hybrid condition in primary education created by conditions of ideological overload and reflecting more general changes and uncertainties. This overload was initially begun by the growing and competing demands of the elementary, child-centred and developmental traditions. The national curriculum added a further secondary school subject style of curriculum to the existing hybrid, increasing the overload. Meanwhile myth and counter-myth created a confused virtual reality in which rhetoric/reality gaps were evident amongst both politicians and professionals and which masked both the persistence of 'basics' in the curriculum on the one hand and also the basic nature of funding on the other. The continuation of conservative pedagogical practices was balanced gradually with a growing professionalism associated with reflective practice in the 1980s. Successive governments, however, scapegoated teachers for alleged falling standards and finally adopted a power-coercive strategy to gain central control, driving the national curriculum and testing through without real consultation or negotiation. The increasingly

interventionist approach had first economic and then social and cultural correlates in relation to both curriculum and pedagogy. Teachers were thus launched on the high rhetoric of Plowden at the beginning of this period, increased their professionalism within it despite the discourses of derision, but then collided with an impossible mandated subject national curriculum at its end. The effects of these managerialist uses of power and official reason and rhetoric on primary teachers was to intensify their work in many ways. The historical growth of expectations, demands and under-resourcing on the one hand, combined with the new workloads and the unmanageability of the national curriculum and testing on the other led to the boycott of the latter and pointed to the need to review the former. There was an increasing tension between the professionalization or the proletarianization of teachers. Primary teachers in the 1990s were thus caught in a deeply uncertain condition as Woods (1995 p8) comments 'betwixt and between' the potential professionalization emerging after Plowden and the potential proletarianization following ERA. The resolution of this condition depends in part on the variety of professional responses to this situation and this is the general inheritance of new teachers.

2. New teachers thus inherit a state that can be typified as *betweenness*. This transitional sense of being uncertainly *between* one thing and the next also appears to be more generally evident in the 1990s educationally, politically and economically. The general situation outlined above sets the conditions with which new teachers, like their longer serving colleagues must come to terms. Pollard et al (1994) identify some emerging issues around the themes of power, values and understanding in which the effects of the combination of central

power and knowledge represented in the ERA on the people in the schools are questioned. Such considerations are central to this study and broaden quickly when considered further in the wider cultural context. The attempt for example to shift educational power away from professional hands to the political centre goes beyond questions concerning teacher autonomy, accountability and professionalism. More general questions about the power problematics of state and school and society within democracy also arise (Dale 1989, Kelly 1995). Equally the underlying clash of values between professionals and politicians is fundamentally a clash about the type of human selves, schools and society desired. Also the different epistemological formulation of what knowledge, understanding or reason is taken to be, is a profound cultural disagreement about both the nature of knowledge and who authoritatively determines, constructs and controls what it is to be. This in turn demonstrates the relation of power and knowledge (Usher and Edwards 1994). In terms of people and values the uncertainties of established power/ knowledge means inevitably that there are consequent general uncertainties between people and a similar existential uncertainty is thus manifested within people (Giddens 1994). Usher and Edwards (1994 p12) comment that these general problematic conditions describe the uncertain 'contemporary state of culture in its broadest sense.' Williams (1976 p116) defined culture in this sense as 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual' and this meaning will be adopted here.

The recognition of the general uncertain cultural conditions surrounding the hybridized contemporary situation of primary teachers inherited by the new teacher leads on to a consideration of what can be done to support teachers. The general proposal of this study emerges from this. New teachers have

much to think about and work their way through if they are to make sense of an increasingly complex scene and to decide where they stand and what their own personal, professional and political response to cultural change can and should be. It is argued in this study that new teachers need to do this by practising as critically reflective intellectuals. The inheritance of a hybrid in-between condition in both school and society, caught somewhere between the old and the new, will be defined as the general mixed cultural condition of modernity and postmodernity aspects of which are now considered.

2 ASPECTS OF MODERNITY/POSTMODERNITY AND PRIMARY TEACHERS

The international literature and controversy generated by the terms modernity and postmodernity is wide ranging, although postmodern discourse has been slower developing in the UK than elsewhere. Earlier British approaches to the study of culture (Williams, 1961) generated a cultural approach to curriculum studies in the UK (Lawton, 1973, 1975; Reynolds and Skilbeck, 1976; Golby, 1977; Mackenzie, 1983). International developments have since expanded the field of cultural studies which now includes postmodern perspectives which are notably European and American rather than exclusively British (Brantlinger, 1990). The contributions of these cultural developments are critically considered in this study in an attempt to build on the original concerns of the British field, concentrating in particular on the cultural and curriculum politics of education (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). So far in this chapter the situation of primary teachers has been

considered in terms of the professional problem of response to the conditions created by political and legislative change. What now follows is an attempt to understand this political and professional conjuncture more generally as an aspect of the mixed cultural condition of modernity and postmodernity. Postmodern discourse may offer insights in three ways. First, it contextualises primary education in the wider cultural conditions. Second, it offers a reappraisal of the specific situation of primary education and teachers which illuminates the issues of the balance of political and professional power; the related analysis of which knowledge and which rationality and whose values are to prevail; and the issue of the nature and fate of the human self in such conditions which were raised above. Thirdly, this reappraisal of the effects of official rhetoric, knowledge and power as inscribed in the ERA on the people teaching in the schools offers insights about what might be done professionally and politically with culture and curriculum. Nias (1995 p3) reviewing Hargreaves' use of the concept of postmodernity suggests that it might offer 'theoretical coherence' to empirical studies of the situation of teachers. Dale (1994 p38) also calls for critical theory to be brought to bear on the 'central-local relationship post-ERA'. Postmodern discourse offers approaches to this by providing an analysis of current cultural conditions and a commentary on personal, professional and political responses to those conditions (Kvale, 1992; O'Sullivan, 1993). Clearly the field is too great for any comprehensive survey here and only some aspects can be considered. What follows is sub-sectioned and begins with a discussion of the meanings attached to the concepts of modernity, postmodernity and postmodernism. This is followed by an outline account of modernity and postmodernity which is then related to primary education.

2.1 The Meanings of Modernity, Postmodernity and Postmodernism

Seale (1991 p9) notes 'A plurality of postmodernisms and definitions of the postmodern are in circulation.' Nomenclature itself is problematic leading to various attempts to disentangle it (Featherstone, 1991). Hargreaves (1994 p38) distinguishes postmodernism from postmodernity as follows:

Postmodernism is an aesthetic, cultural and intellectual phenomenon... Postmodernity by contrast, is a social condition. It comprises particular patterns of social, economic, political and cultural relations.

In this study the terms 'modernity' and 'postmodernity' are used in the senses indicated above to refer to broad cultural conditions. The terms 'postmodern', 'postmodernism' and 'postmodernist' will be used to indicate 'a body of thought, a way of theorising' and also 'a way of practising' (Usher and Edwards, 1994 p1) developed within postmodernity. Usher and Edwards (1994 p7) point out that the terms resist 'reductive and simplistic explanation', since a shared feature of these is a critique of attempts to construct universalising or 'totalising' theory thus 'any attempt at definition must lead to paradox since it is to totalise...that which sets its face against totalisation.' This leads these authors to the recognition that terms like postmodernism or postmodernity are 'umbrella' terms '...under whose broad cover can be encompassed at one and the same time a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, an attitude and a mode of analysis' and this position allows them to develop a 'broad overview of certain key strands' in the field. This approach also suits the present purposes to draw eclectically on debate in the field.

One common usage of these terms is to periodise social and cultural change,

despite the difficulties of doing this. Smart's (1993p14-20, 23) useful analysis brings out three broad possibilities: either modernity and postmodernity are continuous; or there is a sharp rupture or break between the two; or there is some relation between them. To argue for continuity brings with it the problem of the redundancy of the term postmodern, 'modernity' as a marker is seen to be adequate whether it is the early, middle or late phases of it that are being referred to, so the 'post' of postmodernity must be refused (Giddens, 1990). On the other hand the notion of a *sharp* break or periodisation of the two brings with it considerable differences of view as to when the new and the old began or finished and what signs we may take of this. Toynbee (1954) for example, one of the first to employ the idea of a 'postmodern age', located it at the turn of the nineteenth century whereas Wright Mills (1970) writing in the 1950s placed it fifty years later. Lyotard (1992,p3) places it at 'the end of the 1950s', but points out that 'the pace is faster or slower depending on the country'. Other writers take a more gradualist outlook which will be adopted here, seeing the changes as emerging throughout the 1960s (Harvey, 1989) and associating them more 'with the collapse of Cold War in 1989' (Ingles, 1993 ix; O' Sullivan, 1993).

In contrast to continuous or sharply periodised and sequential views, this study will take the gradualist approach and employ the third sense of postmodernity identified by Smart (1993), derived from Lyotard (1992), which concerns itself with the *relation* of modernity to postmodernity as cultural conditions. This relation between the two terms is immediately suggested by the addition of the 'post' to the term modernity. In this reading of the terms their dynamic interrelationship is stressed, since cultural changes co-exist with

cultural continuities the terms modernity/postmodernity are inextricably linked or 'parasitic' (Heller and Feher, 1988 p10), they co-exist rather than being simply sequential. The view that will be taken here is that the relation between the two terms is symbiotic and complex. The cultural conditions created by modernity lead to postmodern responses, so that postmodernity in this reading is seen more as a *mood* or *attitude* engendered by modernity (Bauman, 1992). The position adopted here is rather than, that we are 'living in an interregnum' (Smart, 1993 p15) as an uncertain cultural condition, rather than in times that can be sharply typified as new or old, modern or postmodern. What, however, is clear is that 'a new postmodern age' has not arrived with this condition, *post-modernity* is rather more a way of living with the problems of modernity, history is with us rather than more simply behind us and we are better to recognise this by going 'beyond binary oppositions' between modernity and postmodernity (Kvale 1992 p7). Smart (1993 p12) offers a useful summary of the relational sense of modernity and postmodernity:

Postmodernity as a contemporary social, cultural and political condition. Postmodernity as a form of life, a form of reflection upon and response to the accumulating signs of the limits and limitations of modernity. Postmodernity as a way of living with the doubts, uncertainties and anxieties which seem increasingly to be the corollary of modernity, the inescapable price to be paid for the gains, the benefits and the pleasures associated with modernity. In the latter set of comments there is the implication of postmodernity as a condition necessarily closely articulated with modernity , postmodernity...as a more modest modernity, a sign of modernity having come to terms with its own limits and limitations.

Turning now to postmodernism it can be noted that this too has more moderate and extreme expressions. Before considering these however it is worth briefly acknowledging some criticisms of different notions of

postmodernism. Opposition to postmodernism comes from both left and right (Smart, 1993). Problems arise however when the oppositional rather than relational sense of modernity/postmodernity is stressed, when insufficient differentiation between the plurality of postmodernist positions occurs, and when more extreme pessimistic positions are conflated with more moderate ones. Critics thus typically assert that postmodernism offers nothing new, is prone to reactionary and conservative forces and is hedonistic, nihilistic and relativistic (Skeggs, 1991; Cole and Hill, 1995). But the re-evaluation of change and novelty in modernity is the point of much postmodernist concern (Harvey, 1989), which indicates that the charge that postmodernist thinking is necessarily conservative overlooks the existence of both reactionary and progressive forms of *both* modernity and postmodernism. The plurality of postmodernist approaches means that many offer the prospect of 'a practice of resistance' (Foster, 1985 pxiv) as well as wider emancipatory possibilities (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). Similarly typifying postmodernism as hedonistic often assumes its exclusive connection to consumerism and this is then too often easily merged with a problematic denigration of both personal pleasure and personal development (Roszak, 1979). Beyond this, nihilism need not be taken as the inevitable human response to postmodern diversity and consequent uncertainty, freedom and creative opportunity are also possibilities. Smart (1993 p38) thus suggests that a 'reconstructed critical tradition' (p38) in which many views are drawn on would be a useful way forward. This is the stance adopted here where the concern has been to draw critically from different perspectives.

Perspectivism however is not to be mistaken for relativism (Usher and

Edwards, 1994). In this respect Squires (1993 p3) differentiates usefully between postmodernist positions, identifying 'strong' and 'weak' or 'soft sceptical' forms of postmodernism, indicating that 'only the strong forms undermine the possibility of normative criticism generally'. Stronger postmodernist positions are often deeply pessimistic personally and politically whilst the more 'soft sceptical' construct a more optimistic outlook allowing for agency, resistance and alliance (Firth, 1995; Foster, 1985; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). Thus Polkinghorne (1992 p161) identifies a more 'affirmative' and Thompson (1992 p247) a more 'constructive' form of postmodernism. Kelly (1995 p73) also reaches a balanced postmodern epistemological position on a 'spectrum' from 'ultimate certainty' through to 'complete scepticism.' This will be returned to in discussing postmodern reflective practice ahead, what needs to be noted here is that the mood of Smart's more modest modernity is reflected in more moderate postmodernist thinking in its search for pragmatic positions which weigh and balance multiple perspectives beyond binary oppositions or paralysis of judgement (Kvale, 1992).

What is of value in this eclectic approach, as noted previously in Ball's work, is a recognition of common concerns and the sharing of understanding of the situation of people in current cultural conditions. If postmodernist claims are sometimes over inflated or extremely expressed, 'equally unconvincing are the pretensions that nothing of importance has happened and there is nothing to stop business as usual' (Bauman, 1988 p229). Arguably the important thing to pursue is a critique of the ill-effects of the relational condition of modernity/postmodernity at present and what might be done with reconstructing it and this can be advanced as Smart (1993 p96) says through

looking at both agreements and disagreements and searching for 'common ground.'

The situation of teachers and teacher education can thus be typified as being caught up in and reflecting the general *cultural interregnum* which is stuck between the old and the new, between the mixed condition of modernity/postmodernity and the future. The term 'interregnum' carries notions of being between times, at the borders of modernity/postmodernity where both co-exist and the 'new' is yet to emerge (Giroux, 1992). In this view the postmodern condition arises as a human response to the 'malaise of modernity' (Hargreaves, 1994). A general outline of this malaise is given below followed by a relocation of the situation of primary education and teachers within it.

2.2 An Outline of Modernity/Postmodernity

An outline of modernity is offered by Hartley (1994b p231) who describes it as an impulse that:

...requires sobriety, pragmatism, practicality, a Puritan temper, Weber's 'iron cage of bureaucratic rationality', a work ethic. Its production process is typified by mass production, clear demarcation of task, hierarchy and an interventionist state...There are grand theories to explain it...there is a 'central value system' into which we are said to be socialised; there is uniformity, certainty, a grand design.

Habermas (1983 p8, 9) defines 'the project of modernity' amongst other things as the 'effort to develop objective science' and apply this to the 'the rational organization of everyday social life' to bring about the progress and

emancipation through reason envisaged by Enlightenment intellectuals. However the early emancipatory ideals of modernity, to which education has been central (Usher and Edwards, 1994), have not been easily translated into practice. Means may contradict ends (Carr, 1995) and 'the problematic relation between knowledge and control' emerges (Giddens, 1994 p27). Thus for Habermas and others, the project of modernity needs completion or recovery (Toulmin, 1990; Berman 1983), in that it needs to be rescued from its debasement into mere instrumental rationality and 'scientific ideology' (Carr and Kemmis, 1986 p131/ 2 1986). Hartley (1994b p231) notes how instrumental rationality in the form of the 'Fordist production process... seeps into many aspects of life' including education (Lyotard, 1992). Thus many criticisms of modernity are systemic, claiming that alongside benefits there are inevitable human and environmental costs to the project of modernity. Usher and Edwards, (1994 p137) identify the 'dual face' of schooling which has been 'the dutiful child' (p24) of modernity and so shares its more general problematics. The problematics of power, knowledge and people surrounding the ERA are thus part of the more general problematics of modernity, which have grown ever more insistent.

Since Weber's (1970) original prediction of the progressive 'disenchantment of the world' critics have concluded that the optimism of modernity has given way to a postmodern pessimism as the ideological state 'juggernaut of modernity' (Giddens, 1990 p139) has 'manufactured uncertainty' (Giddens, 1994 p21). Human belief in the promises of progress has been eroded (Harvey, 1989; Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 1991) and general 'exhaustion, environmentally and experientially' advances (Smart, 1993 p90). This would also seem to apply

to the education system and to teachers in the UK (Hargreaves, 1994). Social and cultural critiques claim that the promise of progress embodied in the major political ideologies of modernity in both the communist East and the capitalist West have faded throughout the century following two world wars, the Holocaust and the threat of nuclear destruction (Harvey, 1989; Hall et al, 1992). The original redemptive promises, it is claimed, were inclined to 'hubris' (McLennon, 1992 p340) and over-inflated the claims of rationalism (O'Sullivan, 1993; Smart, 1993). Promised utopias have thus receded, disappeared or have proved to be dystopian (Kumar, 1989), the domination and control of nature has proved highly problematic and has eroded the ecological fabric and the human condition within it (Yearley, 1992). Smart (1993 p86) summarises the sense that modernity 'introduces a process of depersonalization which increasingly affects all aspects of human life'. Gradual human disillusion, it is claimed, creates what Lyotard (1992 pxxiv) calls the 'incredulity toward metanarratives' of legitimation and progress associated with postmodernity, which dislocates both power and knowledge and carries many 'risky' implications for the people living in such uncertain conditions. Since no one discourse can hold the centre in the linked condition of modernity/postmodernity, then power and knowledge become potentially more plural and democratised and dispersed and therefore more multi-sited and multi-agented (Appleby, Hunt and Jacob 1994). Local power takes its place alongside central power and systemic contestation becomes endemic (Thompson, 1992). A connected existential identity crisis for human subjects arises who, faced with the waning of belief in official knowledge, are pressed to construct their own meanings, or to act as intellectuals in the terms of this study (Bauman, 1988). Usher and Edwards (1994 p10) summarise some of the

complex connections that constitute postmodernity:

Postmodernity, then, describes a world where people have to make their own way without fixed referents and traditional anchoring points. It is a world of rapid change, of bewildering instability, where knowledge is constantly changing and where meaning 'floats' without its traditional teleological fixing in foundational knowledge and the belief in inevitable human progress.

At the risk of oversimplifying three very broad overlapping options can be identified in responding to the cultural problematics of postmodernity. These can be typified as attempts to restore the past, to live for the consumerist present or to reconstruct the future. A brief consideration of these options will clarify the typification:

1) **Cultural restorationism:** O'Sullivan (1993) identifies a 'new fundamentalism' as a 'direct response to what is taken to be the relativism of postmodernity' (p26). Hall (1992 p311) defines this as the impulse '...to restore coherence, 'closure' and Tradition in the face of hybridity and diversity.' Restored certainty is thus attempted in the form of a pastiche of elements of a renewed religious, racial, ethnic, nationalist and political heritage of a golden past (Sacks, 1991; Mestrovic, 1991; Smart, 1993; Hall, 1992). Giddens (1994) analyses the contradictions of the 'uneasy' and 'unstable' (p40) mixture of such elements in new right positions.

2) **Consumerist culture:** alternatively, beyond this 'paralysing nostalgia' (Smart, 1993 p102) for the older 'enchantments', postmodernity is typifiable as a loss of 'collective innocence' (Mestrovic, 1991 p2). This leads lead to a variety of anomic conditions, mixed with the consolations and seductions of consumerism (Featherstone, 1991), involving the 'hypercommodification'

(Crook et al, 1992) and 'hyperreality' (Baudrillard, 1983) associated with the surface spectacle of consumer capitalism and its globalisation fuelled by the new technologies (Bauman, 1992; Giddens, 1994). This complex 'aestheticisation of everyday life' is perhaps the most common image associated with postmodernity and the expansion of the cultural sphere (Featherstone, 1991). Bauman (1992 p 224/5) however renews the long critique of the 'duplicities' of 'choice' and 'freedom' underlying consumerism.

3) **Cultural reconstruction:** beyond restorationism and consumerism however, a third 'reconstructive' possibility opens (Thompson, 1992). This possibility draws on the more modest modernity and the more moderate postmodernism previously identified. This is typifiable, because of the pluralisation of knowledge, as a collective intellectual coming of age beyond the older ideologies of modernity accompanied by an acceptance of difference and diversity but within democratically constituted community (Squires, 1993; Giddens 1994). But this can only be achieved if *anomie* can be resisted (Mestrovic, 1991). This option, in common with the others, brings the risks, dangers and problematics of 'postcolonial' identity politics and 'diasporic' life style (Hall, 1996; Gilroy, 1992; McRobbie, 1994) alongside the 'decentred' (Foucault, 1979) 'dissolution' (Gergen, 1992) of the essentialist stable human subject (Usher and Edwards, 1994).

All three of these cultural responses have curriculum reflections. The general situation of primary education and then of teachers within this complex cultural condition may now be further considered before exploring the contribution postmodern discourse might make to responding to that

situation.

2.3 Primary Education, the ERA and Modernity/ Postmodernity

The enormous literature generated by explorations of modernity and postmodernity is not as yet reflected in the field of education. Some writers have begun to apply postmodern and post-structural discourse to secondary schooling (Hargreaves, 1994; Ball, 1994). Other studies have looked at schooling and education in relation to postmodernity and the postmodern in more general terms (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, Usher and Edwards, 1994; Carr, 1995; Lyotard, 1992; Hartley, 1994a, 1994b; Wilkin, 1993; Slaughter, 1989; Doll, 1989). Some more specific attention to the national curriculum and primary education in relation to postmodernity and postmodernism has also now been given by Ahier and Ross et al (1995) and Kelly (1995). What follows draws on these accounts to reconsider education policy and then curriculum in relation to the cultural conditions outlined above. This will allow for further discussion of the situation of primary teachers and their personal and professional responses within this developing cultural context.

The complexity of the condition of modernity/postmodernity was reflected in the politics and educational policy of the premierships of Margaret Thatcher and John Major. Politically Hall (1991 p118) describes Thatcherism, for example, as a project that attempted 'regressive modernisation', as a reactionary rather than progressive use of the power configurations and controls associated with modernity. Gamble (1983, 1988) identifies the mixture of economic liberalism and social authoritarianism which formed the project.

Hall and Jaques (1983 p11) similarly argue that Thatcherism was a mixed attempt to 'free market values...and to reverse the whole postwar drift of British society' and to substitute 'reactionary Victorian social values-patriarchalism, racism and imperialist nostalgia.' Apple (1989 p7) identifies the 'rich mix' of populist themes involved, which powerfully combined elements of the cultural responses identified above, in the mixture of the freedoms of postmodern cultural consumerism with the controls of cultural restorationism. All these accounts suggest that the consumerist rhetoric of 'rolling back the state' to achieve a 'free market' was thus generally mixed with and masked the increasing realities of strengthening the state in order to achieve cultural restoration, and to bring back under central control the social diversity and cultural pluralism also associated with postmodernity (Thompson, 1992).

This postmodern mixture of consumerism and restorationism was reflected in both education policy and curriculum. The rhetoric of educational consumerism, diversity and devolution on the one hand was thus mixed with the reality of the nationalisation of the curriculum, testing and inspection arrangements on the other. Hartley (1994b) identifies this as the 'mixed messages of education policy':

At one and the same time, the discourse of education policy appears to reflect the postmodern and the modern, apparently reconciling the tensions between them. To repeat, the legitimatory rhetoric of ownership, choice and diversity accords with the consumerist culture of an emerging postmodernism. But the close specification of both educational targets and funding has all the hallmarks of the age of modernity. (p242)

Hartley (1994b) also points out that the liberal rhetoric masked the

restorationist reality, disguising the tensions in the project. The 1980s accent on economic liberalism and the free market, however, inevitably allowed these particularly 'disintegrative forces' (Giddens, 1994b p26) to erode and to consume the very socio-cultural fabric and traditions from which they emerged. This was one of the reasons why the internal tensions and contradictions of the Thatcherite project emerged more clearly in the 1990s. The earlier ascendancy of economic priorities and the free market in the 1980s, reflected in economic back to basics in primary education, was always mixed with other neo-conservative cultural priorities (Lawton, 1995). The latter surfaced more clearly later, in response to the postmodern uncertainties of continuing economic recession and the ending of the Cold War in the 1990s, bringing the new emphasis on social back to basics in education previously identified (Ross, 1995). The changing, contradictory cultural context is thus reflected in the complex regressive shifts in curriculum from Thatcherism to Majorism, which can now be considered.

In the first phase of the process Craft (1995 p124) thus argues that the national curriculum can be seen as 'a modernist act' in which as Pollard et al (1994 p20) say the 'unequivocally hostile message to teachers was spelt out: they must be controlled'. Kelly (1995) cites the nationalisation of the curriculum, the absolutist rationalist view of knowledge enshrined in the national curriculum subjects and the power-coercive manner of the imposition of the ERA as examples of this attempt to use the powerful central controls of modernity. Many of the more troubled features of modernity outlined previously can therefore be identified in the introduction of the ERA. The forceful, interventionist, bureaucratic centralism coupled with the certainty and closure

represented in the 'grand design' features of the legislation reflects an earlier 'technocratic' (Golby, 1982) approach to rational curriculum planning which is mechanistic and modernist in both style and substance (Tyler, 1949; Wheeler, 1967; Kerr, 1968). Kelly (1995 p155) claims that two such rationalisations of the curriculum are in fact comparable: the first resulted in the grammar school subject curriculum prescribed by the Board of Education in 1904. The second was represented by the ERA which replicated the subjects of the 1904 curriculum, imposing them this time, however, on the primary schools as well as the secondary (Aldrich, 1988). Oliver (1992) argues that the elementary tradition of nineteenth century utilitarian basics is also well represented in the national curriculum. Wallace (1993) thus sees this ideological mixture of the liberal humanist cannon expressed in school subjects with the utilitarian skills of economic basics as a combination of the 'old humanist' and 'industrial trainer' competing influences on education (Williams, 1961; Dale, 1989). Goodson (1994) concludes that the problem was one of 'historical amnesia', in that the old troubles of centrally imposed curricula were restored. This generally regressive impulse was also evident in the industrial and mechanistic production metaphors applied to education reflecting the technocratic approach to curriculum (Doll, 1989; Oliver, 1989). Craft (1995 p125) likens this controlling modernist production process applied to education, accompanied and packaged in the postmodern rhetoric of consumerism, to a form of the 'McDonaldization' of education. It might thus be concluded that Campbell's (1993) description of how the ideals of the national curriculum as 'a dream at conception' turned into a technocratic 'nightmare at delivery' reflects the more problematic aspects of the more ideologically extreme forms of modernity. The second phase of curriculum

rewrites in fact deepened that malaise, rather than curing it, as cultural restorationism emerged ever more strongly.

Ball (1994 p7) thus charts the rightward movement of the curriculum through a series of 'ratchet steps', beginning with what he terms the 'Mark 1' national curriculum, which was more oriented 'toward the needs of post-Fordist' (p5) national economic performance. This first curriculum step, considered above, was linked with the economic back-to basics concern of the 1980s. The 'Mark 2' national curriculum, however, was more involved with the social and cultural concerns that emerged increasingly in the early 1990s. For this reason Ball's description of cultural and curricular restorationism is linked more closely with Majorism than Thatcherism, because this emerged in part out of the triumphalism following the fourth successive Conservative General Election victory in 1992 and the collapse of communism elsewhere (Fukuyama 1992, Held 1992). Hargreaves (1994 p5) notes however that the end of the Cold War was also the end of the settlements of modernity bringing further national and economic global uncertainties and fears which contributed to a series of moral and social panics referred to above (see p4) and fuelled the reassertions of fundamental national and ethnic identity associated with cultural restorationist responses to postmodernity (Hall, 1992; Apple, 1989). Ross (1995 p98) thus argues that:

Contemporary social movement in Britain is not seen by the government as simply post-modernist phenomena, but as a breakdown of the old order and certainties, an unacceptable moral pluralism, a lack of identity associated with the loss of empire, the disintegration of the welfare state and relative economic decline. Faced with the collapse of what had formerly constituted the nation, the government is now part of a movement to invent a new nation in its place. (p98)

Hartley (1994a) refers to a sense of 'panic' due to the perception that:

postmodernism is not a culture, is not a shared way of seeing the world, is not a unifying narrative. There are no canons anymore. But from this panic may come calls for 'basics', for fundamentals, for collective rituals and identities based on nationhood, race, gender, religion...(p90)

Ball's 'Mark 2' national curriculum can be understood in this context. Hargreaves (1994 p5) points out that 'economic regeneration' is thus increasingly conjoined with 'national reconstruction. In an effort to resurrect traditional values and senses of moral certainty, school curricula...are being packed with new content that stresses historical, geographical and cultural unity and identity'. Ball (1994 p5) thus sees the national curriculum rewrites as being driven by 'neo-conservative cultural restorationism' creating 'curricular fundamentalism' (p39). The nationalisation of the curriculum employed the central controls and power-mechanisms of modernity in order to attempt to return to what Ball (1994 p46) identifies as a postmodern 'pastiche' of an idealised past, to replace 'the uncertainties of change with cosy, sepia images of family, nation and school which are tied into an ensemble of nostalgia'. Ball concludes that the curriculum thus became part of 'culture wars' aimed at 'de-pluralization' and 'the articulation of a classless and monoethnic society' (p7), through what Coulby (1991 p30) identifies as an increasingly 'nationalistic' curriculum. Kelly (1995 p83) warns however that this cultural and curriculum process is anti-democratic in that it seeks '..the firm imposition of the values of the dominant group on the rest', in 'a policy of "back to basics"' also evident elsewhere (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). Hargreaves (1994 p261) comments however that we should not:

take nostalgic refuge in the reconstruction of mythical educational pasts with their conceptions of traditional standards, conventional subjects and the narrow pursuit of basic skills. Educationally, it makes no sense at all to go back to the future in this way.

In summary political intervention in the curriculum had begun in the 1980s with the rhetoric of economic basics but this was a Trojan horse for an increasingly authoritarian cultural restorationist project which emerged more clearly in the 1990s. The perception of a connection between primary education and the cultural shifts of the 1960s and 1970s made it inevitable that primary teachers would be caught up in the gathering general conservative cultural restorationist 'backlash' in the 1980s and early 1990s (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). Ball (1994 p44) thus indicates that the restorationist project attempted to 'discipline' allegedly 'progressive' primary teachers and to recast them as 'traditional' moral agents of regressive modernity. Primary teachers thus found themselves caught up in a struggle between an increasingly diverse and changing postmodern society and a reactionary modernity in the state. Although this reaction captured and used the state apparatus of modernity, it was itself a part of the mixed uncertain condition of postmodernity and therefore prone to its problematics. This was increasingly evident in the divergence of the official rhetoric from the realities on the ground. The effects of this was to create conditions in education, as elsewhere, where a fundamentalist pastiche of the past was increasingly substituted for the realities of the present or for possible futures (Slaughter, 1996). Since the pastiche was based on a nostalgic cultural 'back to the future' myth (Mestrovic, 1991) however, Baudrillard's (1983 a p148) more general conclusion that postmodern conditions produce a kind of 'hallucination of reality' where 'a kind of non-intentional parody hovers over everything' (p151) has some force

here, as the 'dream at conception' turned to 'a nightmare at delivery' (Campbell, 1993). The effects on schools and teachers of restorationist representations of teachers added to professional uncertainty, bringing existential troubles for teachers as the 'emotions of teaching' (Hargreaves, 1994 p141) emerged and demoralisation and alienation grew (Campbell and Neill, 1994). At the same time, the postmodern rhetoric of financial devolution in the period attempted to push 'stress and crisis down the line' (Demaine, 1993) and to shift financial responsibility from the centre to the locality and 'manage the consent of both clients and professionals' (Hartley, 1994b p92). It can thus be seen that there was an attempt in the 1990s to achieve more central political control over primary education for less funding, in order to use that central control for cultural restoration. The command and control approach was increasingly tempted to further centralisation and to cultural imperialism, but always equally concerned to limit funding. Hargreaves (1994 p5) comments that this created conditions of potential 'ideologically compliance, and financial self-reliance' for teachers, placing them, in Ball's (1993 p77) summary, in an 'uneasy professional double-bind.' What will emerge from this carries all the uncertainty of postmodernity, but the outcome will depend in large part on teachers' personal and professional response to this situation, as was previously argued. Much turns on the personal and professional beliefs, decisions and practices of teachers. Like other groups in society teachers are subject to postmodern conditions and influences. Their existential options thus include decisions about how to respond to cultural restorationism, consumerism and reconstructionism and to their curricular reflections. Teacher professionalism can now be considered in relation to postmodernism.

3 POSTMODERNISM AND TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALS

Aspects of the professional situation of primary teachers in postmodernity have been set out by the two previous sections of this chapter. This last section now turns to what might be done to respond professionally to that situation. The potential of postmodernist thought to offer the 'theoretical coherence' suggested by Nias (1995) and to support teacher professionalism is explored. This potential is twofold: first, taken alongside empirical studies, as Nias suggests, it offers valuable description and recognition of existing teacher professionalism. Second, it contributes to developing that professionalism in the form of preparing teachers as critical reflective intellectuals. The initial typification of primary practice as postmodern offered here is therefore followed by a consideration of further aspects of postmodern discourse that might support development of primary practice. What follows is in three subsections, first considering existing primary teacher professionalism and the supportive potential of postmodernism. Second, connecting this to aspects of the debate on reflective practice in teacher education. Third, introducing the concept of teachers as intellectuals as a possible way forward which balances modernist and postmodernist approaches to theory and practice. This brief introduction to teachers as intellectuals provides a basis for the concept to be empirically explored and critically tested in future chapters.

3.1 Postmodernism and Primary Teacher Professionalism

A brief consideration of how teachers have responded historically to modernist controls will put discussion of the emerging professionalism of primary teachers in the 1980s identified by Pollard et al (1994) into context. This professionalism is typified as postmodern, rather than progressive and is connected to the empirical studies of primary practice earlier considered. The eclecticism of primary practice beyond false polarisations is related to postmodern refusal of binary oppositions. Further aspects of postmodern philosophy and psychology are considered.

Historically Hargreaves (1994) argues that the regimentation and standardisation of teachers, pupils and subject based curricula in state schooling reflected the rationalising, centralising and socially controlling aspects of modernity. He concludes that 'in modernistic school systems, sustaining and realising the self has been a constant struggle for teachers' (p30). Primary teachers in the UK developed a variety of local responses to the threat of depersonalization, eventually evolving the post-Plowden primary hybrid in which 'informality' became a professional way to humanise the bureaucratic modernist machinery of schooling (Blythe, 1987). Hartley (1994a p232) describes schools generally as 'museums of modernity', but notes what he typifies as more postmodern responses, particularly in the primary schools opening up after the 1960s, which he associates with reflective practitioner stances. Developments in primary schools after Plowden might thus better be understood in the context of the complex 'counter-cultural' (Roszak, 1969) movements of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and as part of 'the cultural and

political harbingers of the subsequent turn to postmodernism' (Harvey, 1989 p38). Giddens (1994) indicates that care must be taken to distinguish between the more unified progressive movement associated with modernity on the one hand, with the later fragmented postmodern social and cultural movements for change on the other. Giddens points out that the new social movements 'are not "totalising" in the way socialism is' (p 2/3) for example, and so are not then to be taken as 'progressive' in the older more unified modernist sense (Thompson, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1994). Turning back to primary education in the UK, it is thus possible to see the emerging primary professionalism of the 1980s in a new light. This professionalism is clearly not to be taken as 'progressive' in the older political and educational senses. Pollard et al (1994 p14) in fact identify the concerns of the position with 'wider social responsibilities' and 'equal opportunities issues and the role of education in society', rather than with a more unified progressive political project. Kelly (1995 p150/1) argues that in the 1970s and 1980s 'education was evolving and developing in phase with all other aspects of society', reflecting the diversity of postmodern development. In terms of pedagogy Kelly traces one line developing through the century from its origins in the pragmatic modernist epistemology of John Dewey, to its emergence in a neo-pragmatic postmodern position. Cope and Kalantzis (1993 p41) refer to comparable developments in the USA and identify Dewey's 'progressivist pedagogy of modernism and experience', from which they claim a 'pedagogy of postmodernism and difference' arose (Aronowitz and Giroux (1991 13/15). It would appear, therefore, that the 'emerging professionalism' identified by Pollard et al in relation to the 1980s in Britain associated with the more sophisticated developmentalist reflective practitioner stance earlier identified,

had more recognisably postmodern rather than progressive referents. Usher and Edwards (1994 p192) indicate however that education professionals are not likely to 'consciously construct themselves as postmodern but it may well be the case that more and more they are practising within the postmodern without fully realising this'.

Before exploring some conceptual features of such practice further however, it is helpful here to refer to the empirical research on practitioner realities previously considered. Perhaps Nias' (1989 p197-201) account which stresses the eclectic balanced pragmatic qualities of primary teaching - combining 'interpersonal', 'pedagogic' and 'coping skills' which teachers deploy in living with the dilemmas and uncertainties of practice - most clearly describes postmodern professional responses to the growing competing imperatives on the primary hybrid. Nias' account outlines the 'craftsmanship and artistry' involved in such practice, whilst also acknowledging the potential short falls. Alexander (1984 p147) typifies this as 'eclectic' and 'everyday' 'theory in action' drawing, amongst other personal and professional resources, on wider public theory (Griffiths and Tann, 1992). Nias concludes that:

Primary teaching at its best is a complex and highly skilled activity which holds in balance, and occasionally transcends, the historical, sociological, philosophical, psychological and practical tensions and constraints of the work itself. (p201)

Pollard et al (1994 p14) also suggest that the growth of this balanced reflective professionalism in the 1980s led to 'the disposition to draw eclectically on a range of teaching approaches....underpinned by new understandings about children's learning and the active role of teachers.' Alexander (1984 p172) had

earlier considered the 'intellectual' autonomy of teachers, which he defined as 'less a static entity than a condition of constant intellectual striving', requiring 'independence coupled with receptiveness and adaptability'(p173), involving 'scepticism toward certainties' and understanding the 'tentativeness and paradox' involved in thought and knowledge. This pragmatic, balanced, eclectic, reflective disposition allied to new understandings of the relation of teaching and learning and to a wider social consciousness and concern, thus begin to define the postmodern or 'new professionalism' referred to by Pollard (1990). One of the central features of the postmodern professional disposition is clearly exemplified in the rejection of one teaching approach for many, in which eclectic and pragmatic rather than ideological criteria govern practice. In this sense the need for reflective practice arises precisely because the closed certainties of more extreme ideological prescripts become problematic in the complex challenges of school life. Pragmatic eclecticism arises out of the inadequacy of totalising theory, which teachers' everyday experience demonstrates does not cope with the diverse challenges of the realities of practice.

In this respect Golby (1988 p30) identifies 'the failure of educational theory', which he comments has principally been demonstrated in 'its tendency to deal in over-simple categories of an "either-or" nature' and concludes that primary teachers have been more 'adept' at avoiding these polarisations and binary oppositions than academics (Kelly 1995). Alexander (1984 p151) also identifies the 'misconceived' and 'damaging' dichotomies of 'personal/professional' and 'theory/practice' underlying teacher education. The problematic nature of binary oppositions is also a recurring theme in postmodern thought in which

the more extreme modernist creations of 'arbitrary dualisms' (O'Sullivan, 1993 p29) are subject to deconstruction (Usher and Edwards, 1994). In fact as Schulman (1988 p33) points out an 'immune response to dichotomies' was earlier advised by the more moderate pragmatic stance adopted by Dewey (1958), since reactive oppositional thought does not provide the constructive base needed for creative professional development. Lather (1992 p90) in considering eclectic postmodern stances thus comments 'Binary either/or positions are being replaced by a both/and logic'. It can be seen therefore that the problematics of binary oppositions identified by postmodernist thinking offers the eclectic postmodern professionalism of primary practice both philosophical recognition and further resources which may now be considered.

An important feature of postmodern philosophy is what Kelly (1995) calls the 'epistemological revolution' (p63) in philosophy in the twentieth century, which he suggests offers a new legitimation for practice. This Kelly typifies as the move away from 'the certainties of rationalism' positivism and universalism, to a pragmatic, existential 'more tentative, less dogmatic view of knowledge - a transformatory rather than cumulative view' (p62). This means that as the certainty of absolutist established knowledge is contested, so a more pragmatically based human meaning making and understanding take over. Greater numbers of people function as intellectuals developing different perspectives of their own. Hence perspectivism is a common feature of postmodern thought (Kvale, 1992). It has been adopted for use in this study as an alternative to absolutism or relativism. Philosophically the position can be mistaken for relativism because it entails the rejection of one absolutist

metanarrative for many perspectives and voices (O'Sullivan, 1993). Usher and Edwards (1994 p26) point out however that this misapprehension arises because of a tendency to a binary opposition 'where only the two extremes of certainty or chaos are thought to be possible'. Lather (1992 p100) comments that the assumption seems to be that 'if we cannot know everything, then we can know nothing'. Kelly (1995 p71) points out that 'it is not necessary to assume that, because knowledge can never be absolute, it must always be subjective....Knowledge when viewed from a postmodern perspective can be seen as public, if not absolute and objective'. Sholle (1992 p276) thus indicates that perspectivism means that 'knowledge is contextual, not that all knowledge is false'. Usher and Edwards summarise thus:

What this implies is that it is possible to acknowledge many and different points of view whilst denying them equal value...We can still act ethically and still fight for some things rather than others but we have to do this within practices of everyday life and struggle rather than in terms of an appeal to a transcendent and invariant set of values [...] To subvert foundations is not to court irrationality and paralysis but to foreground dialogue, practical engagement and a certain kind of self referentiality. (p27, Usher and Edwards' emphasis)

Postmodern perspectivism thus offers a view of knowledge and values as existential social practices contextually grounded in collaborative, dialogical, engaged, reflexive concerns. This contrasts with Enlightenment absolutist reason that offered modernity its apparently secure foundations, boundaries, teleology and legitimating socio-cultural hierarchy to rule and control (Kelly, 1995; McLennan, 1992). This outlines some aspects of the general philosophical contribution postmodernism might make to reflective practice in education, providing a philosophical legitimation for existing postmodern professionalism and offering conceptual clarification and a literature to

support further professional development and to connect it to wider scholarship. Philosophical perspectivism has overlapping concerns with some postmodern psychological developments which may now be considered.

Postmodern psychological perspectives are now well advanced beyond the typically modernist origins of the discipline (Usher and Edwards, 1994). These arise out of interdisciplinary connections being made between psychology, language, culture and the human subject (Smith Harre and Langenhove, 1995; Bruner, 1986; Kvale, 1992; Gergen, 1992; Giroux, 1992). In education Pollard et al (1993) also identify social constructivist advances made from the modernist Piagetian structuralist base following the seminal work of Vygotsky. This has given a constitutive rather than simply representational linguistic turn to accounts of teaching and learning and so reintroduced the social and cultural into what had become overly individualistic, deconstructing binary oppositions between the individual and the social and the related opposition of teaching and learning. This reflects postmodern challenges of the modernist oppositions and boundaries, such as those set between the inner and the outer life, reality and representation, power and knowledge, nature and culture (Usher and Edwards, 1994). Alongside growing interest in psychology in discourse and rhetoric (Harre, 1995) Bruner (1986, 1995) has also renewed considerations of Vygotskian approaches and introduced interdisciplinary post-structural and postmodernist concerns into education, which have begun to influence primary discourse (Barnes, 1992; Pollard et al 1993). Mercer and Edwards (1987p 36) indicate that the work of Vygotsky and Bruner allows for 'a third step' beyond the false dichotomy of 'traditional' and 'progressive' ideology. Bruner (1986 p123) posits the concept of a cultural and

educational 'forum' which 'must express stance and invite counter-stance and in the process leave place for reflection, for metacognition' (p129). Mercer and Edwards (1987 p164) stress that this 'is a social process, not merely one of individual discovery but one of sharing, comparing, contrasting and arguing one's perspectives against those of others'. There is a clear connection to be made here with multiply voiced postmodern perspectivism located within the discursive cultural forum, involving both self and social reflection beyond the binary oppositions of ideology and its 'simple adversarialism' (Alexander, 1992 p194). The position is predicated on the postmodern reflexive self and social questioning of the effects on people of the fixed certainty and attempted control of ideology. Ethical questioning of power/knowledge structures at systemic, professional and personal levels are thus centrally placed, redressing the loss of value questions in the technical rationality of modernity (Usher and Edwards, 1994). The attempted third step for primary education beyond existing ideology, also generally urged by Alexander (1992), thus gives added weight to Pollard's (1993 p175) claim that the social constructivist position has 'the potential to offer a new legitimation' to primary practice.

Since the position also extends to adult cultural construction as much as to child learning it overlaps social constructionist accounts of knowledge and research (Gergen and Gergen, 1992). In common with perspectivism these too stress the socially constructed nature of knowledge arising from social practices rather than the transcendental 'God's-eye view' (Usher and Edwards, 1994 p20) standpoint of traditional academic disciplines, without however lapsing into the 'God trick' (Lather, 1992 p98) of relativism since the opposition of absolutism/relativism can be refused. This recalls the meeting ground

between a moderate modernism and postmodernism argued for previously. Shotter (1993 p15) defines social constructionism as 'the renunciation of systemic theory' in favour of 'practical theory', stressing its location in discursive '*practice*' (p15). There is also a recognition that all human beings are intellectuals and that there is a dialectical rather than oppositional relation between theory and practice (Popper, 1972; Reid, 1978). Griffiths and Tann (1992 p70) point out that such views draw on Aristotle's work on practical reason, Dewey's pragmatism and critical theory in general, making practice 'an expression of theory' and dissolving the 'divide' between theory and practice (Kemmis 1995). Hybrid terms like '*praxis*' (Carr and Kemmis, 1986) and '*pratique*' (Grundy, 1989) emerge from this. The influence of such views in both the fields of education and psychology is considerable and these fields offer instructive parallels. In psychology for example Kvale (1992 p48) identifies such developments as 'a rehabilitation of practical knowledge'. Polkinghorne (1992) drawing on Schon's (1983) work on reflective practice thus elaborates 'a postmodern epistemology of practice', claiming that this 'offers a postmodern alternative to modernist academic psychology' (p162). Chaiklen (1992 p206/7) however warns that Polkinghorne's adversarialism is unbalanced recreating a false binary opposition of academic modernist 'theory' and applied postmodern 'practice', divorcing the academy and the clinic and blocking the exchange of personal and public professional perspectives. In education similar confusions trouble the links between schools and universities (Popkewitz, 1987). Hartley (1994b p85) for example falls into the theory/practice binary opposition from the academic side devaluing the postmodern 'niche narratives' of reflective practice because of their alleged 'theoretical vacuity' (p85). The position taken in this study however is that

such elitism from 'theorists', or exclusiveness from 'practioners', is driven more by the 'ideology of professionalism' and status rather than epistemological criteria (Densmore, 1987). Against this divisiveness perhaps the parallel postmodern developments in both primary education and aspects of public theory, illustrated in this brief consideration of philosophy and psychology, suggests some possibilities for a renewed postmodern partnership between education professionals sharing perspectives.

In summary and conclusion, taken together, postmodern refusal of binary oppositions and acceptance of perspectivism, social constructivism and social constructionism offer important potential for primary teacher professionalism, both in offering significant recognition and legitimation of some existing aspects of professionalism and in suggesting developments which address the current situation of teachers previously explored. Combined further with cultural reconstructionism the potential for professional development would appear to be considerable. This potential has four main features. First, in relation to educating children, the position offers prospects for curriculum improvement through continuous reflective practice, which refuses the closures of ideology for an open, questioning, ethical focus on self and system. Second, in relation to teacher education, it offers a model for a critically reflective professional discourse based on collaboration and focused on continuing professional development. Third, in relation to adult education, it offers dialogical potential in forming learning partnerships between the profession and others, highlighting the importance of rhetoric and representation in the general politics of practice and the negotiation of value concerns. Fourth, it indicates the potential to make much wider connections

to cultural politics in general (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). This outline of some potential lines of professional development, generated both from grounded or personal theory and practice and further supported by public theory and practice, begins to offer definition to a view of teachers as critically reflective intellectuals. Postmodern professionalism may now be considered in relation to reflective practice and teacher education giving the professional context for the concept of teachers as intellectuals.

3.2 Postmodern Reflective Practice and Initial Teacher Education

Hartley (1994b) distinguishes between political and professional epistemological confusions troubling teacher education in the 1990s. This sub-section concentrates on professional confusions in order to return to the political later. What follows draws from Hartley (1994b) and Wilkin (1993) in identifying the rise of reflective practice as a 'postmodern development' (p35) changing the role of education tutors in initial teacher education. Further professional difficulties in giving 'reflective' practice critical definition through proposing 'levels' of reflection are noted. The place of theory in promoting critical reflection and the concept of teachers as intellectuals is considered.

Amongst teacher educators interest in reflective practice grew during the 1980s because of the professional perception of the failure of the 'top-down' model of theory (Golby, 1988). Alexander (1984) reviewed the dissatisfactions with the theory to practice model in teacher education, associated with the foundational disciplines of education and 'grand theory' (p152) and identified

the linked problems with the 'relative status' (p145) of the groups of education professionals involved. These problematics belonged to the power/knowledge formations of modernity and Wilkin (1993) suggests that the disciplines of education were the modernist 'metanarratives of teacher training' (p42), which were subject to postmodern challenge causing changes in 'the balance between theory and practice' (p36) and leading to the confusion of concerns with status and epistemology considered above. Thus Hartley (1994b p91) claims that 'The grand narratives of theoreticians have been eclipsed by the stories of practitioners'. This reversal of the power/knowledge hierarchy is too neatly portrayed however, particularly when the relationship of student practitioners and education tutors in initial teacher education is considered. Wilkin (1993) makes a more careful claim that 'public disciplinary theory no longer enjoys superior status over the personal theories of the practitioner in the classroom' (p42), suggesting some possible flattening of the previous hierarchy. What emerges however from these developments for present purposes is the need to give the role of the education tutor epistemological definition. If the grand theory connected with foundation disciplines which used to define this role is in decline, it follows that new definition connected with clarifying what is meant by 'theory' and reflective 'practice' is now needed. The 'dilemmas for the tutor' (Calderhead and Gates, 1993 p3) in this situation are considered empirically in chapter three, what follows here explores attempts to clarify reflective practice in relation to personal and public theory and connects this to attempts to define teachers as intellectuals.

There are many definitions of the reflective practitioner (Hayon, 1990; Tabachnick and Zeichner 1991; Calderhead and Gates 1993; Zeichner, 1995).

Zeichner and Tabachnick (1991 p1) thus observe that in the 'new zeitgeist' of empowering the reflective practitioner in teacher education 'important differences' of definition are 'masked by common rhetoric'. They argue that whilst important gains have been made since Dewey (1933) distinguished between routine and reflective practice and Schon (1983) differentiated the artistry of reflective teaching from technical rationality, further definition is now needed. They conclude that general agreement that thinking teachers are better is insufficient and may lead to a narrow socially blinkered focus on reflection for its own sake (Valli, 1990). They argue that there is too little indication in some accounts of reflective practice of what teachers should think about and act upon and that greater critical definition is needed (MacIntyre, 1993).

Critical clarification is attempted by Zeichner and Tabachnick (1991), who identify four different traditions of reflective practice in the USA as academic, social efficiency, developmentalist and social reconstructionist, locating their own position more in the latter. Zeichner (1995) stresses that whilst all the traditions have a contribution to make, there is a tendency in some to omit wider social concerns. He reviews social reconstructionist attempts to clarify reflective practice by putting the socially critical content of reflection on the agenda. Zeichner indicates that a strong concern emerges from such attempts for a collaborative teacher professionalism and for wider reflection on the social context and conditions of schooling, emphasising an 'ethic of care and passion' and 'compassion' and challenging 'the detached rationality that has dominated the literature in teacher education'. Fullan (1993 p8) similarly describes some teacher educators being 'pushed deeper to the moral purposes

of education in order to understand the basic rationale of teaching in post-modern society'. Fullan himself proposes a model of teachers as having 'moral purpose' and 'change agency' (p18). Wilkin (1993) reviews similar developments in the UK, which Hirst (1992) has typified as breaking the 'spell' of 'hard rationalism' in teacher education. The present study shares these concerns and attempts to advance them but there are very real problems and dilemmas if critical self and social reflection and the relations of student teachers and teacher educators and the role of the latter in particular, are to be clarified.

Some social reconstructionists have sought for example to define and deepen the concept of reflective practice by drawing on the modernist critical theory of Habermas, to arrive at the notion of levels of reflection. Three different levels of technical, interpretative and critical professional orientation are commonly identified in such efforts (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). There are however problems with this in that the very idea of 'levels' is hierarchical (Elliott, 1991; Wilkin, 1993). Zeichner comments:

The ideas of levels of reflection implies that technical reflection at the level of action must somehow be transcended so that teachers can enter the nirvana of critical reflection. This position devalues technical skill and the everyday world of teachers which is of necessity dominated by reflection at the level of action.

It can be seen that whilst some have defined reflective practice as self-reflection focused on the teacher's own practice within more local concerns, others have argued that this excludes wider social concerns. Thus attempts to redress this have sought to privilege levels of reflection, in which teachers'

collaborative and critical social-reflection is stressed. However, this hierarchy of reflection in some respects ironically recreates the previous modernist hierarchy of theory to practice, with the higher status of 'theory' reappearing as the perceived higher level of critical social 'reflection' (Elliott, 1991). In initial teacher education repressed tutor 'theory' can thus return, disguised as student 'reflection' leaving students to try to second guess the critical contents of their tutor's mind. Thus if foundational theory to practice models had their problematics so too have some reflective practice to theory models.

Ways out of this impasse for teacher education are offered however by a number of writers taking a perspectivist approach beyond binary oppositions. Menter and Pollard (1989) thus refer to the 'historical rapprochement' (p35) between the academic and the practical in teacher education. Pollard and Tann (1987) also take an eclectic stance indicating very clearly that both self and social reflection informed by micro and macro theories are to be drawn on. Griffiths and Tann (1992) suggest that 'the divide usually labelled as theory and practice, is, in effect, a divide between personal and public theories' (p76), with the personal 'focused on the small scale and particular' and the public on 'the large scale and the universal' (p77). They too suggest that both types of theory are needed in a 'spiralling' (p78) course of development through what Zeichner (1995 p14) now prefers to refer to as 'domains' rather than levels, in a mosaic of theories that can be entered at different points for different purposes. Wilkin (1993) notes that Griffiths and Tann thus reconcile personal or postmodern theory with public or modernist theory. Wilkin claims that 'this equalises the perspectives of all participants in the debate' (p49). Perhaps however this is as much a democratising aspiration as a description of current

realities. The position is idealised somewhat, since power/knowledge formations in initial teacher education are not so easily dissolved. Alexander for example earlier followed MacIntyre (1980 p296) in advocating theory as the *process* of 'debate...from various perspectives', but noted the problem of moving 'the competitive, individualistic and content-heavy approach intrinsic to mainstream British Higher Education, toward a more communal, interactive style' (Alexander 1984, p148). MacIntyre (1993) himself has also more recently clarified his position, however, by stating that 'the dialogic process of theory does not preclude *content*' (p148, my emphasis) in initial teacher education. He considers that students should reflect critically on the theories and practices of experienced education professionals, as a way subsequently of developing critical reflection on their own theory and practice. Wilkin (1993) suggests a need to balance process and content in initial teacher education, mutually respecting the perspectives of the different participants and contributions whilst maintaining a critical stance. Chapter three of the present study explores some of the difficulties and dilemmas this continuing debate reveals for both students and tutors in initial teacher education engaged in a perspectivist approach.

All these professional developments have taken place however within the changing political context considered previously. Menter and Pollard (1989) had earlier warned against government 'appropriation and bowdlerisation of reflective teaching' (p39) in implementing the national curriculum and assessment. Zeichner (1995) in fact claims that the concept of reflection has been hijacked politically in developments refocusing teachers' reflection on technical delivery of the prescriptions of politicians (Hartley, 1994a). The

concept of teachers as intellectuals arises, therefore, in part out of the professional context of teacher educators' concerns with reflection and as a way of resisting political predations which are potentially deprofessionalizing.

3.3 Primary Teachers as Intellectuals

This study as a whole considers the proposal that preparing new teachers as intellectuals has potential in responding to the situation that they inherit, offering some clarification of critically reflective teaching as a model for teacher development. The concept of teachers as intellectuals has been mainly proposed and evolved in the USA by Giroux and other writers working in the related field of critical pedagogy and has been the subject of critical interest (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986, 1991; Giroux and MacLaren, 1987; Giroux, 1988, 1992; Taylor, 1994; Hill, 1992; Beck, 1990; Smyth, 1987; Usher and Edwards, 1994). Some of the main features of the concept introduced here will allow for a continued critical discussion of both the potential and the problematics of the position in future chapters. Overlapping political, professional, pedagogic and cultural dimensions of the concept can now be approached by first clarifying the term 'intellectual'.

Said's (1994) overview of representations of 'the intellectual' indicate that, in common with the term 'reflective', it is a contested concept holding a range of meanings. Beck (1990 p49) notes that pejorative meanings such as 'egg-heads' or 'academics', based on populist anti-intellectualism and crude dichotomies, need rebuttal and refusal. In the last decade Giroux has evolved a critical definition of the intellectual with reference to the seminal writings of Dewey,

Wright Mills, Freire, Bakhtin, Foucault and Gramsci. Aronowitz and Giroux (1986) thus differentiate between 'hegemonic', 'accommodating', 'critical' and 'transformative' intellectuals and stipulate the latter as their focus. Giroux and MacLaren (1987) p271) define transformative intellectuals as engaged in more than the situated critical resistance proposed by Foucault, in that they are involved in the constructive and creative 'counter-hegemony' advocated by Gramsci (Williams, 1983). This dual focus on both the critical and the creative is one of the most useful central features of Giroux's definition of teachers as intellectuals (Giroux, 1988; Usher and Edwards, 1994). Giroux also connects curriculum with cultural concern indicating the general content and focus of a critical pedagogy. Teacher professionalism is thus presented as the intellectual work needed to be both critical and creative about curriculum and culture and their interrelation. More recently Giroux (1992) has also viewed teachers as cultural workers, which connects with the cultural reconstructionism identified earlier in this study. These points will now be elaborated, beginning with the professional and political context in which the concept of teachers as intellectuals was proposed.

The concept of teachers as intellectuals arises within the context of increasing criticism of teachers from the 1960s onwards of the kind considered at the beginning of this chapter and is in part intended as a strategic professional response to the further politicisation of education under regimes of 'authoritarian populism' (Usher and Edwards, 1994 p215). However, Taylor (1994 p46) points out that 'attacks on professionalism' in the period have come from 'both Left and Right, from counter-cultural and neo-Marxist writers as much as from New-Right Economists'. In effect the critique of teachers in the

1960s and 1970s from the Left, was taken over by the political critique in the 1980s and 1990s from the Right (Beck, 1990). Usher and Edwards (1994 p219) point out that Giroux attacks both Marxist 'correspondence theory' and the New Right 'cultural restorationists' since both take teachers as 'helpless agents of the system'. Aronowitz and Giroux's (1986) concept of teachers as intellectuals thus originated in a disagreement with the position of other critics at that time, such as 'Bowles and Gintis, Willis, Carnoy, Whitty and Apple' (p5), as much as the politics of the New Right. Aronowitz and Giroux claimed that critics on the Left had become 'mired in the language of critique' and had underestimated the possibilities for teachers and education to bring about progress. Therefore, whilst Aronowitz and Giroux's position is very much on the Left, it can be seen as an attempt to go beyond the various professional and political discourses of disdain from both the Left and the Right, which have blamed teachers for the alleged ills of the system.

Beyond critique Aronowitz and Giroux have sought a 'language of possibility' (ibid p5) which would allow for 'hope and agency' and constructive alternatives'(p19) in both curriculum and culture:

We believe that educators at all levels of schooling have to be seen as intellectuals, who as mediators, legitimators, and producers of ideas and social practices, perform a pedagogical function that is eminently political in nature.
(p19/20)

The movement here can be typified as from critique to possibility to pedagogy and thence to politics. This makes a contribution to defining the content and process of teacher reflection and to the debate about levels and domains of reflection considered earlier. It also exemplifies the reconstructionist

insistence on linking curriculum and cultural theory giving clear vision to the former and pedagogical grounding to the latter. Giroux (1988) locates such theory in the professional hands of teachers acting as intellectuals and comments:

Viewing teachers as intellectuals also provides a strong theoretical critique of technocratic and instrumental ideologies underlying an educational theory that separates the conceptualization, planning and design of curricula from the processes of implementation and execution. (p126)

The divisions of theory and practice are thus identified as crucial to whether teachers are viewed as intellectuals or technicians because they determine the degree of professionalism (Smyth, 1987). Giroux (1988 p126) continues:

It is important to stress that teachers must take active responsibility for raising serious questions about what they teach, how they are to teach, and what the larger goals are for which they are striving.

The further connection made here is of 'making the pedagogical more political...and the political more pedagogical' (p127). This means introducing critical social and political content into teaching, whilst making the process of teaching respectful and empowering students as 'critical agents' who are encouraged to have 'active voice'. Usher and Edwards (1994 p219) also point out that the position incorporates the need for the teacher to be active politically 'linking educational practices at the micro-level with political action at the macro-level'. Giroux (1988) summarises:

Transformative intellectuals need to develop a discourse that unites the language of critique with the language of possibility, so that social educators recognize that they can make changes. In doing so, they must speak out against economic, political, and social injustices both within and outside of schools. At the same time they must work to create the conditions that give students

the opportunity to become citizens who have the knowledge and courage to struggle in order to make despair unconvincing and hope practical. As difficult as the task may seem to social educators, it is a struggle worth waging. (p128)

Usher and Edwards (1994 p215) comment that this is education 'as a form of cultural politics...an attempt to reconceive and reconfigure the notion of citizenship in the postmodern moment' (Gilbert, 1995). The postmodern struggle for continuing emancipation and critical citizenship is central to the position. Giroux (1988 p7) advocates cultural balance in which education professionals should 'integrate the central features of a postmodernism of resistance with the more radical elements of modernist discourse'. This is amplified thus:

Postmodernism also offers educators a variety of discourses for interrogating modernism's reliance on totalising theories based on a desire for certainty and absolutes. In addition, postmodernism provides educators with a discourse capable of engaging the importance of the contingent, specific, and historical as central aspects of a liberating and empowering pedagogy. But in the end, postmodernism is too suspicious of the modernist notion of the public life, and of the struggle for equality and liberty that has been an essential aspect of liberal democratic discourse. If postmodernism is going to make a valuable contribution to the notion of schooling as a form of cultural politics, educators must combine its most important theoretical insights with those strategic modernist elements that contribute to a politics of radical democracy. In this way, the project of radical democracy can be deepened by expanding its sphere of applicability to increasingly wider social relations and practices; encompassing individuals and groups who have been excluded by virtue of their class, gender, race, age, or ethnic origin. (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991p81)

Aronowitz and Giroux (1986) also explore a central connection here with teacher education in which they are critical of programmes where 'prospective teachers are often trained to be specialized technicians' (p27), which they claim fuels ideological reproduction (Beyer and Zeichner, 1987). Instead they point to the need for teachers to be prepared as transformative intellectuals ready to

engage in the cultural politics of 'participatory democracy' (p27). Giroux (1988)

comments:

If we believe that the role of teaching cannot be reduced to merely training in the practical skills, but involves, instead, the education of a class of intellectuals vital to the development of a free society, then the category of intellectuals becomes a way of linking the purpose of teacher education, public schooling and inservice training to the very principles necessary for developing a democratic order and society. (p126)

Giroux (1992) also later connects cultural politics to the notion of cultural workers:

critical pedagogy needs to develop a theory of educators and cultural workers as transformative intellectuals who occupy specific political and social locations. Rather than defining teacher work through the narrow language of professionalism, a critical pedagogy needs to ascertain more carefully what the role of teachers might be as cultural workers (p78)

Once again Giroux attempts cultural balance of modernist and postmodernist concerns and sums up many of the themes of his evolving position as follows:

...cultural workers need to develop a nontotalizing politics that makes them attentive to the partial, specific, contexts of differentiated communities and forms of power. This is not a call to ignore larger theoretical and relational narratives, but to deepen power of analyses by making clear the specificity of contexts in which power is operationalised, domination expresses itself, and resistance works in multiple and productive ways... Critique, resistance and transformation in these terms is organised through systems of knowledge and webs of solidarity that embrace the local and the global..The issues of human rights, ecology, apartheid, militarism, and other forms of domination against both humans and the planet affect us all directly and indirectly. (p79)

This is an important articulation of what will be termed an ethic of person and planet in this study (Roszak, 1979; Capra, 1982). The connection of such an ethic to teaching and to teacher education as cultural politics with local and global transformative potential offers a radical culturally balanced 'principled

position' (Squires, 1993 p3). This broadly cultural reconstructionist view has some overlap with the postmodern primary professionalism and also to the social reconstructionist views of reflection in teacher education considered above.

Recent work by Fullan (1994), Kelly (1995) and Hargreaves (1994) suggests that critical interest in teacher education may be taking a cultural turn. The more modernist social reconstructionist concern with social justice can be combined with a more postmodern concern for difference and diversity, acknowledging that human emancipation has other dimensions besides political and material struggle, central though those remain. Perhaps three significant additional emphases can be identified in the cultural position. First, there is the postmodern recognition of the oppressive potential of the best of emancipatory intentions, including those of educators themselves, which makes ethical self-critique as essential as social critique (Usher and Edwards, 1994 p26). Second, there is an intense renewal of broader cultural concern with moral, spiritual and ecological values, which are critical of the more exclusively materialistic preoccupations of modernity whether of the Left or Right. Third, the commitment to radical democracy necessitates a critique of both the radical Left and Right, particularly when represented by elitist division or separatist exclusion that threaten wider solidarity (Hobsbawm, 1994). Carr (1995 p126) has evolved a similar position claiming that it is only modernist foundations rather than 'emancipatory ideals' that come into question and that the aim now is 'to reconstruct rather than to deconstruct' (p128). The acknowledgement that beyond critique there is the creative is a significant development.

Giroux's view of teachers as intellectuals has attracted both agreement and criticism. Beck (1990 p49/50), for example, agrees that teachers as intellectuals should resist the division of curriculum conception and execution and engage 'in constant cooperative inquiry into the content and method of schooling'; understand 'that what they do is inescapably political in nature' and not be duped by 'power elites' into promoting cultural values with which they do not agree. According to Beck teachers should 'become more respectful towards students' and develop 'a more democratic interactive approach' so that ageism, as much as racism and sexism, are combatted and moral and spiritual values may emerge. Beck disagrees however in other central respects, arguing essentially that Giroux has idealised what can be expected of teachers who can only play a part, albeit important, in bringing emancipatory reform and cultural change. Beck comments:

it does not do teachers a service to ascribe to them powers they do not have... This leads eventually to disillusionment and low self-esteem among teachers and disappointment and recriminations at the public level. It also gives a distorted picture of what needs to be done to achieve reform. (p48)

Usher and Edwards (1994) make similar points arguing that Giroux's position is 'over-theorised' (p220), meaning that it idealises both the power and situation of teachers in relation to society. They also argue that the position is 'under-theorised', in that its avoidance of the technical 'appears to have resulted in a curious silence on concrete educational practices' (p218). In fact the lack of clear examples and case studies of critical pedagogy in action makes it difficult, beyond the general level, to understand the practical implications of the position. It seems therefore that although the position offers much, it falls short on pedagogy. In this respect the damaging assumption that the

practical is somehow at a lower level of concern also returns us to the problems and contradictions of reserving a 'higher' place for critical theory, however well intended its emancipatory aims, previously considered. Ellesworth (1989) thus argues from her experience of initial teacher education that tutor insistence on the emancipatory aims of critical pedagogy can feel disempowering to students and may itself be disrespectful of student belief, thereby gravely contradicting its assumed ethical base. This has led to heated debate (Usher and Edwards, 1994 p218). Beck argues that the teacher growth implied in the interrelated elements of:

intellectual depth, political sophistication, respectful interaction with students, and social, moral and spiritual traits... cannot be produced forcibly. Teachers must be impelled toward them not out of fear or guilt but because of positive desire to build a better life for students, themselves and other members of society. (p50)

In other words reason and the negotiation of meanings, rather than force or compulsion, is the appropriate path to development. This recapitulates the mutually respectful perspectivist position in relation to a more democratised approach to initial teacher education considered previously. The potential and the problematics of putting this approach into operation is considered in chapter three. This section can be closed by noting that this study as a whole attempts to address some of the 'over-theorisation' and 'under-theorisation' of the concept of teachers as intellectuals.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt to take stock of the changing situation of primary education which forms the inheritance of new primary teachers has been made. Two main concerns have been pursued, the first to establish the realities of teacher professionalism and the second to propose how that professionalism can be supported and developed. These concerns may now be summarised in turn:-

1. It has been argued that the political rhetoric representing primary teachers as progressives constructed a virtual reality and set the stage for the regressive modernity of the ERA, which threatened to deprofessionalize teachers and to recast them as state technicians. The early economic rationale for the nationalisation of the curriculum employed market rhetoric which, in turn, masked an increasingly authoritarian restorationist project. The advocates of curriculum and cultural restorationism attempted to control teachers and recreate a nationalistic and ethnocentric hegemony through state schooling.
2. Primary teachers however were not so much progressive as postmodern. This eclectic, pragmatic, hybrid approach represented an emerging professionalism based on reflective practice. Emerging professionalism was supported by developments in teacher education and elsewhere, constructing a postmodern epistemology of reflective practice. However both political and professional epistemological confusions resulted with political attempts at centralising control co-existing with professional attempts to give reflection more critical and socially concerned definition. The concept of teachers as

intellectuals offers some clarification of this and proposes a cultural reconstructionist outlook, which promotes a general ethic of person and planet within radical democracy. A content for such developments in teacher education is generally suggested by the critical and creative study of curriculum and culture to balance the input from more traditional epistemologies. However such an approach cannot be built on compulsion, and therefore requires democratic dialogue, involving both personal and public theories. This suggests a process base for teacher education, changes the relationships of students and tutors and redefines the role of the tutor. My attempt to implement and evaluate this by developing a BEd Education Studies course, and then to relate it to the perspectives of new teachers is considered in chapters three and four respectively. First, however, research methodology is considered.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

A number of different research stances and approaches in the contemporary scene can be identified (Bogdan and Biklin, 1992). This study worked within the broad case study tradition associated with educational action research and ethnography (Golby, 1993; Elliott, 1991; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1993; Stenhouse, 1975). A reflexive autoethnographic approach was also developed to give fuller expression to the ethical, interpretative and textual aspects of the study (Ball, 1994; Diamond, 1992; Usher and Edwards, 1994; Sparkes, 1996). The case study position adopted evolved over the research period in response to different research needs and to post-structural and postmodern influences within the qualitative research traditions adopted, each of which will be considered in turn.

1 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

1.1 The Definition of Case Study

The following section considers the general definition and nature of the case study approach employed. Yin (1989 p23) defines case study and claims that it:

- *investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when*
- * the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident;*
- and in which*
- * multiple sources of evidence are used.*

Golby (1993 p10/11) also offers an examination of the significance and nature of case study which has been drawn on extensively here. He comments that

case study can help to 'reconceptualise the problem, understand more fully its wider significance and act more intelligently in resolving it' (p10/11). Case study thus offered an opportunity for the conceptual and empirical investigation of the opportunities and difficulties of preparing new teachers for the collisions of policy and practice contextualised within the complex cultural conditions explored in chapter one. Golby claims that the case study approach 'has the potential to relate theory and practice' (p3/4) and can promote the 'improvement of practice' (p10). The nature of case study is now considered.

The case study approach has met a number of criticisms emanating from other research positions of a more positivistic nature. Golby (1993) points out that whilst the case study approach does not employ 'positivist criteria' (p17) in relation to such concepts as generalisability, validity, reliability and hypothesis testing, it does have its own approaches to these issues, which are now taken in turn. First, Smith, Harre and Langenhove (1995 p59) define the nature of case study research as focused on 'the particular and the individual' rather than in research that seeks universal generalised laws. However, as these authors argue, the absolute opposition of particularity and universality is not well founded and thus Woods (1986 p50) argues that 'we can have both intensive description *and* generalizability'. Golby similarly distinguishes the 'particularity' of case study from 'uniqueness' (p7) and argues that although the type of generalisability claimed by positivists does not apply to case study, 'likeness' (p9) of cases can be considered in professional practices. Golby indicates the significance of the fact that researchers pursuing particular case studies will be both 'propelled' by and unearth references to like cases in the

literature. He thus points out the mistakes researchers may make in thinking that their 'problem or topic comes fresh from heaven (or hell) to them alone' and in employing 'too narrow a literature base' (p28). The existence of like cases in the literature is therefore a key element in the formation of a public tradition developing a valid and reliable research approach (Stenhouse 1975). Secondly, Golby thus emphasises the key role of validity through 'corroboration' (p17), through triangulation of both viewpoints and methods internal to the case study and in relation to the perspectives drawn from the external literature. Lather (1991 p56) and Siraj-Blatchford (1995) claim that a reflexive, dialectical research process is indicated by such considerations. McNiff (1988 p131) and Winter (1988 p55) link this with various collaborative and cooperative forms of enquiry that have been germane to the process of the present work and that generally carry perspectivist and social constructionist theory into research process and practice. Thirdly, Golby goes on to point out that the issue of reliability in much research depends to a degree on 'replicable' (p18) findings. He indicates that in case study this means offering sufficient clarity and explicit description of research practices to allow others to 'transfer them to their own contexts' in 'the pursuit of quality'. Finally, as far as hypothesis testing goes, Golby comments that 'it is important to have a reasonably precise idea at the outset of what sort of a case you are investigating. In other traditions this would be called having a hypothesis. Your hypothesis is a judgment concerning the nature of the case' which he points out is 'tested' by the investigation. Thus Hammersley and Atkinson (1993 p16) argue that 'the testing of hypotheses is by no means restricted to science'. Smith et al (1995 p64) note that the 'soft' methodology of case study can provide 'Popperian disconfirmation' better sometimes than 'hard' science. Golby

indicates that the 'detective work' (p12) involved in such case study may yield 'results which are personally and professionally discomfiting'. A number of further issues arise here involving research ethics and intentions, the researcher's interpretations and perceptions of reality, contextual influences and textual representations, which are now considered in turn.

1.2 Research Ethics and Intentions.

The first ethical issue in the present work lay in the concern to avoid what Woods (1993 p462) identifies as an exploitative 'rape model' of research (Lather 1986). Golby (1993 p20/1) comments that 'This means always respecting the dignity of others...one ought not to use people'. Bullough and Gitlin (1991 p37) however comment that too often student teachers are 'treated as though they were shapeless raw material' and it was clear to me from the outset that an ill-considered research stance would contradict the empowering intentions of the study. There was an obvious need, therefore, at the beginning of the project as Golby (1993p21) advises for 'openness and honesty' where 'it is ethical to make a full disclosure' of research 'aims, methods and the form its results' (p22) will take, to seek permission both from the students involved and from those 'holding responsibility' in the institution to proceed and this was sought and given at several points in this study. The determination not to exploit research participants was, however, only one part of the ethical concern of the study. Equally important was the aspiration to empower the student teachers who were involved. The ethical dimension of exploitation and empowerment in research can now be considered further.

Lather (1991) claims that many exploitative research stances have been associated with positivism and a hard modernist absolutist separation of facts and values, leading to linked claims of objective truth and emancipatory potential (O'Sullivan, 1993). For Lather and others 'the value-neutral claim at the heart of positivist authority is untenable' (p105) and is an 'ideological ruse' disguising self and sectional interest, using what Soderqvist (1992 p153) calls the 'reality illusion' to construct research as an 'innocent' activity. Against this and in order to escape the ethical problem of exploitation, Lather (1991 p20) thus argues for an 'openly ideological approach' through 'postpositivist' research in which interest and values are recognised as inescapable and are thus admitted and overtly declared, rather than being covertly maintained (Reason, 1988). Lather also defines non-exploitative postpositivist research aims and methodology as seeking the active empowerment of research participants. This leads to a further claim that research as empowerment has greater social and political relevance in responding to present educational and cultural challenges. Siraj-Blatchford (1995 p218) thus also claims that an explicit socially 'committed' action research position is required at present. Zeichner (1995 p20) advises teacher educators as follows:

Rather than merely documenting and describing the actions and reflections of teachers in an allegedly neutral fashion, we need to recognise the inherently partisan nature of all educational research and openly use our research to tackle particular kinds of problems and to accomplish goals which reflect our passions and commitments as educators and citizens.

'Empowering' and 'committed' positions however also have some problems and criticisms to face. In terms of the issue of exploitation for example it is evident that this remains a concern whether values are declared overtly, or

held covertly. Overt declaration of values and emancipatory intention in itself does not remove the danger of exploitation, as Acker, Barry and Essveld (1983 p431) state 'An emancipatory intent is no guarantee of an emancipatory outcome'. This critique indicates that openness must be taken as a beginning rather than an end to ethical concern if emancipatory aims are to be fulfilled (Ellesworth, 1989). Reason's (1988 p9/10) general account of 'postpositivist or post-modern' research positions similarly indicates the need for continual 'hard work' (p15) if care for participants is to be real. Golby (1993 p21) urges the 'need to maintain a constant watch on the ethical dimension' which goes well beyond beyond 'simple-minded' (p6) reactions to positivism. It is not hard to see that a partisan approach, for all its postpositivist rhetoric, could become just as oppressive and exploitative as any other. These problems were previously discussed in considering the claims of critical pedagogy and the same general conclusion reached there applies here. The underlying ethical concern is one of respect for the rights and dignity of the people involved. Empowerment and critique alike can be invited and encouraged, but not forced or commanded.

Whilst therefore the present study attempted to draw on the type of research stances and methodology advocated by Lather and others, further considerations were also crucial. Golby's (1993 p29) advice for example that 'There is a delicate balance to be achieved between case study as a personal crusade and as a neutral form of enquiry' was also well worth heeding, although 'open-mindedness' is a preferable term to express this than 'neutrality'. Dewey's (1933 p29) definition of open-mindedness in relation to reflective teaching with its perspectivist referents has clear relevance here,

since there is an 'active desire to listen to more sides than one, to give heed to facts from whatever source they come, to give full attention to alternative possibilities, to recognise the possibility of error in the beliefs which are dearest to us' and Pollard and Tann (1987 p16) follow Dewey in indicating that this brings up the issue of 'intellectual responsibility'. In summary, research approaches predicated on open declarations of empowering values and interest are therefore not necessarily to be taken as *automatically* more 'empowering' or ethical than the alleged sins of other research approaches. All positions need constant scrutiny if intellectual responsibility and ethical considerations are to be adhered to. Usher and Edwards (1994 p152), in common with many others, therefore go on to consider the need for reflexivity in research defined by the need 'to interrogate our own practices of research, in terms of how they can become part of dominant and oppressive discourses...despite our best intentions'. 'Reflexivity' receives a number of further definitions in the literature (Winter, 1987; Troyna, 1994b). Here it is used to indicate the need for researchers to be ethically reflexive about the origins, developments and consequences of their own values and interests; and to consider how these concerns frame their perceptions, affect other participants in the research process and lead on to particular textual representations of reality in the written outcomes. Woods (1986 p34) thus comments that participant observer approaches of the type used in this study require a combination of 'deep personal involvement and a measure of detachment' where the risks of 'going native' are balanced by attempts to achieve insights which are 'anthropologically strange'. The recognition of the need for a continuing process of reflexivity in research ethics thus overlaps a second concern with reflexivity, which relates to altered perceptions of reality

because of the researcher's inescapable presence which may now be considered (Steier et al 1992).

1.3 The Researcher's Interpretations and Perceptions of Reality.

The acceptance that the researcher's ethics and values are inescapable, leads to the recognition that these values frame and inform the researcher's interpretations and perceptions of reality (Lather, 1992). In this view, as Popper (1972) pointed out, once absolute value neutrality or objectivity have been unmasked, claims of neutral and objective perceptions of reality too become problematic (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). Gergen and Gergen (1992 p76/7) claim however, that this goes beyond taking 'observer effects' as 'mere annoyances'. They indicate that it involves going on to acknowledge that 'observer free' accounts are not achievable and that 'accounts of objects are never free of the observer'. Lather (1992p 91) too points out that 'clean separation of the interpreter and the interpreted' becomes impossible (Reason, 1988). However this does not mean that general attempts, as Woods (1986 p34) puts it, at a certain 'washing clean' of the researcher's perceptions and thought processes is impossible, but more that conscious rigorous effort in this direction is required and strategies for estrangement need to be sought. It has been argued previously that it does not follow from the general recognition that absolutist, or 'researcher clean', accounts are unachievable that relativism must follow, but rather that an alternative perspectivist stance is possible and that an eclectic social constructionist account can be developed. Thus, instead of pursuing a research stance with dubious claims to be 'disinterested' (Carr and Kemmis, 1986 p99), social constructionist research attempts precisely to

take a rigorous and declared interest informed by reflexivity, fair mindedness and a proper acknowledgement of the problematics of research perceptions of reality (Gergen, 1992). It also indicates the need for a perspectivist triangulation of viewpoints and techniques (Woods 1986), both of which have been sought in the present work in various technical and methodological forms. The search for technique is detailed in the appropriate places in future chapters. Methodologically Golby (1993 p28) advises 'Rather than attempting to minimise 'observer effect', it is better to take it fully into account' and to debate the basis of the researcher's perceptions. Golby thus indicates that 'autobiographical background' (p25) is needed and that 'researchers will sometimes be researching parts of themselves'. For the purposes of this study an attempt to produce a more self-aware research account, with aspirations to a more rigorous or 'cleaner' approach in both ethical and perceptual terms, was pursued in part through keeping a personal and autobiographical element in my field notes and research journal as an estranging strategy. This became an ethnography of the self in relation to the study, investigating my perceptions and interpretations within the research period in relation to both the institutional and cultural context. This offered a counter-balance to some of the problems arising from the close-encounters that constitute participant insider accounts. Diamond (1992 p67) uses the term 'autoethnography' for such 'accounting for our accounts' and the approach will be related to both the traditions of action research and ethnography in following sections.

It must also be remembered however here that the over-all research approach sought to draw insight and estranging perspectives to inform my research interpretations and perceptions of reality from the wide literature and research

base Golby recommends. Hannan (1995 p.12) offers perspective on this when he asks 'why be deliberately naive in terms of other findings?' Winter (1989 p30/1) also suggests that the advocacy of action research need not rest on the 'wish to deny the value of other forms of research', but more because it provides the 'detailed understanding of educational practices, in ways which can inform their development'. For the purposes of this study what generally emerged from such considerations was the need for a research approach that could accommodate different perspectives drawn eclectically from an interdisciplinary literature and a variety of research traditions, alongside the voices of emerging and experienced teachers, including the consciously and reflexively 're-viewed' developing perspectives of the researcher. If neutrality or objectivity were not attainable absolutely, an honest attempt to portray, to compare and to interweave different perspectives and voices, including a reflexive consideration of my own changing perspectives in relation to my values during the research period could be made. Woods (1986 p34) thus points out that in such approaches to participant observation 'The extent of the commitment, the observer's reactions and changes, all become part of the account' and Ball (1990b p170) insists that 'a reflexive account of the conduct of research' is a matter of 'methodological rigour'. In summary concerns with both research ethics and perceptions of reality generally suggested the need to include myself as the researcher within the research frame using an autoethnographic reflexive research methodology involving a dual focus on both the researcher and the researched with clear references to other views in the field. All such activity however takes place within a micro and macro cultural context bringing further influences to bear on research perceptions which may now be considered.

1.4 Contextual Influences on the Researcher's Interpretations and Perceptions.

The third overlapping concern with contextual influences on research perceptions means that reflexivity must however take a dual focus on both self *and* social concerns if an attempt at clearer vision is to be made. Gergen and Gergen (1992 p79) point out that there is a danger with reflexivity in that it may tend 'to lead inward' bringing the problem of 'infinite regress'. However they suggest that *social* constructionism with its emphasis on attention to discursive interaction and focus on the constitutive and conventional nature of language, explicitly defends against such research navel gazing and 'invites the investigator outward'. The further recognition that both the researcher and the researched must be viewed within the framing influences of the micro and macro cultural context has thus also been central to this study. Goodson (1991 p172) takes a historical and sociological approach to social constructionist concerns to remedy 'disembodied' and 'decontextualised' educational accounts. Denzin (1995) takes a more social psychological perspective in further locating this position in relation to post-structural, feminist and postmodern developments 'reconstructing' (p53) the earlier symbolic interactionist position formulated by Mead (1934) and the pragmatic philosophers (Ozman and Craver, 1995). Denzin (1995 p57) states that 'interactionists study the intersections of interaction, biography and social structure in particular historical moments' (Bakhurst and Sypnowich, 1995; Woods, 1995; Ball, 1994; Nias, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994; Bruner, 1995). Bogden and Biklen (1992 p28) generally summarise many such developments under the broad heading of 'postmodern' which emphasise 'the self's location in a specific historical time and body' (Goodson and Walker, 1991). This emphasis

on the embodied nature of research is extended in Gergen's (1992 p27) comments that in such an approach 'the scholar attempts to de-objectify the existing realities, to demonstrate their social and historical embeddedness and to explore their implications for social life'. Postmodern research must thus address both the contextual micro concerns of local embodiedness and the macro concerns of global embeddedness making it suitable for exploring the texts of both policy and practice and reflexively interrogating the different representations of reality constructed by all involved in the research process, including those of the researcher which are included in the autoethnographic approach adopted here (Usher and Edwards, 1994).

1.5 Textual Representations of Reality

Besides such *contextual* issues postmodern research also foregrounds *textual* concerns (Usher and Edwards 1994), Bogden and Biklen comment that 'this perspective emphasizes interpretation and writing as central features of research'. Ball (1994) suggests that such post-structural postmodern developments mean that 'the critical analyst must take risks, use imagination, but also be reflexive' (p2). Woods (1986 p188) sees the process of qualitative research particularly as an 'open-ended ongoing dialogue between data collection and theory' in which the 'search for ideas militates against early foreclosure' and where the 'writing-up' process is open to 'the production of ideas, as well as to their communication'. Golby (1993 p27) similarly comments: 'The writer may wish the readers to make up their own minds, do their own reading of the case to some extent bearing in mind the filter that is the author'. Gergen (1992 p27) claims therefore that such concerns do not

simply offer potential for 'telling it like it is' but assist us to 'tell it as it may become', since they offer the possibility of different or multiple readings and the attempt to represent these in the written production of the research text.

This section may now be concluded with reference to Gergen's overview of developments in social constructionist research in which he comments that 'Rather than remaining neutral on all questions of value, as in the modernist frame' (p27), we are 'invited to conjoin the personal, the professional and the political' as feminists and others have advocated. These perspectives are central to this study, in addition however, as chapter one indicates, an attempt has been made to situate such concerns within the wider cultural context of postmodernity (Giroux, 1992). In summary the research stance and methodology evolved thus attempted to locate the dual focus on myself as a new tutor/researcher in teacher education and the emerging new primary teachers within the complex context of the cultural conditions represented in chapter one and in the light of multiple readings of the data gathered and its interpretation and representation in the present text. The evolution of the research stance is now explored in the three further sections of this chapter which consider the action research, ethnography and autoethnography methodology.

2 ACTION RESEARCH

Action research is associated with developments in postmodern reflective teaching earlier referred to. A consideration of the definition and development of action research will allow the broad framework underpinning this study to be identified. Next self-reflection and reflexivity in action research are considered to give background to the evolution of an autoethnographic approach.

2.1 The Definition and Development of Action Research

Carr and Kemmis (1986 p165) state that 'There are two essential aims of all action research: to *improve* and to *involve*.' They give the following definition of the nature, aims and method of action research:

Action research is simply a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of these practices, and the situations in which the practices are carried out... In terms of method, a self-reflective spiral of cycles of planning, acting, observing and reflecting is central to the action research approach. (p162)

Zeichner (1993 p200) also defines action research as 'systematic inquiry by practitioners about their own practices' which broadly echoes a number of definitions (Kemmis, 1985; Elliott, 1991; Winter, 1989; McNiff, 1993) Various overviews also trace the development of different models of action research from its renewal and increasing influence from the 1980s onwards (Wallace, 1987; McNiff, 1988; Noffke, 1994). Zeichner (1993) discusses some emerging controversies between different 'camps' (p200) in the action research field over

this period. Pollard and Tann (1987 p12) point out however that although there are significant differences between different models of action research, all express 'a central concern with self-reflection' offering an important reminder of the common ground of practitioner involvement through self-reflection. It is possible however to see that 'self-reflection' carries at least two main different meanings influencing the development of action research, one more to do with ownership and control, the other more to do with methodology. A brief consideration of the politics of action research will give the necessary professional context for the methodological consideration of self-reflection clarified as reflexivity in the following sub-section.

Zeichner (1993 p200/1) surveys the politics of action research which reflect the tensions between theory and practice previously considered. On the one hand, for example, Kemmis (1986 p51) and others fear that action research 'has been captured and domesticated in individualistic classroom research which has failed to establish links with political forces for democratic educational reform' and thus fails to address the structural conditions of schooling (Nixon, 1987). On the other hand Elliott (1991), for example, sees the latter as dangerous and attacks what he perceives as academic 'terrorism' and the 'hijacking' of teachers' research (p13/14) and is fiercely critical of any denigration of the practical classroom focus of teachers' work. It is evident that the complex forces of modernity/postmodernity are at work in such disputes between education professionals, creating damaging divisions in the present educational, political and cultural context. Zeichner (1993) seeks to resolve these divisions, he is also critical of denigrations of the practical, but argues that since issues of 'educational equity and social justice' are

unavoidably present in classroom practice the debate is deeply confused. Confusion is in fact evident in that Zeichner's wish to resist any tendency towards the recreation of an 'educational research hierarchy' (p209) based on divisions of mental and manual labour, is in fact widely shared common ground (Kemmis, 1995; Sij-Blatchford, 1995; Elliott, 1991). Goodson (1991) retraces this controversy historically in the binary opposition of theory and practice which he deconstructs to arrive at what he terms 'middle ground' and comments:

I have been wrestling with how to integrate different foci and levels of analysis. In developing an integrated social constructionist perspective this work pursues the promise that the theoretic and the practical, or structure and agency, might be reconnected in our vision of curriculum scholarship. Were this to come about we might be saved from the recurrent 'flight to theory' followed by the counter-balancing 'flight to practice' (and the occasional intervening 'flight to the personal'). (p178)

This is useful and recalls previous discussion of postmodern perspectivism and the related post-structural methodological issues raised by Ball (1994).

It is not the purpose here, however, to pursue the more general politics of action research further, but rather to note the connection with the present study in three main ways. First, the warnings of the potentially exploitative and disempowering hegemony of academics over teachers had to be heeded and, if anything, these gained here even greater force in relation to my work with student teachers. Second, my own 'embodied and embedded' position as an ex-primary headteacher and newly appointed lecturer was transitional and uneasily balanced between the primary school and higher education at a time of upheaval and change in both. Also the position of the newer paradigm of

action research within my new institution was unclear and sometimes uncomfortable. Zeichner (1993), Kemmis (1993) and Elliott (1991) give autobiographical accounts of this transition from being a teacher involved in an action research approach as I had been, to being a lecturer working to establish action research in relation to more traditional paradigms within higher education. Zeichner describes something of a hybrid double-life emerging from this, contributing perhaps to the tendency to the over-theorisation of action research Elliott and others perceive, as legitimacy and status for action research is sought. If so, Goodson's (1991p170) warning that this is 'a devil's bargain', in which 'academics have become marginalised in both professional and political circles', because they have 'over-valued the accolades of the invisible college, and under-valued the worlds of policy and practice' (Goodson and Walker, 1991 p202) is worth heeding. The third issue concerning reflexive methodology is now considered.

2.2 Action Research Methodology - Self Reflection and Reflexivity

Beyond the politics of action research, 'self-reflection' can also mean methodological reflexivity as it was earlier defined. There is, however, great variation in the sophistication of different models of action research in responding to this issue. McNiff's (1988) review of different approaches to action research indicates considerable differences, for example, between the seminal work of Kurt Lewin (1946) and later models developed for example by Elliott and Adelman (1973), Kemmis and McTaggart (1982) and Ebbutt (1985). McNiff (1988 p33-37), however offers a familiar practitioner critique of such models claiming that they tend to be 'rigid' and too 'prescriptive' and are

'visual representations' of a 'stylised' 'mental' rather than classroom reality. Troyna (1994a p17) identifies a 'technicist' origin and base to action research in Lewin's model of action research, which continues to make its presence felt in later more formally organised models. Winter (1989 p30) also identifies a 'culture of positivism', in which action researchers no less than others have lived. He claims that this has created an 'ideological undertow', producing the continuation of 'positivist echoes' (p31) within action research itself, which makes it prone to managerialist manipulation (Zeichner 1993, Hartley 1994b). Since positivism employs a non-reflexive methodology it is possible to see that its continuing influence on action research has inhibited a clearer move to a reflexive research stance which includes the researcher more confidently within the research frame. Winter's account of action research redresses this to some extent by developing a reflexive methodology which has some affinities with the work of Whitehead (1981, 1983, 1989), in which reflexivity is explicitly foregrounded. Griffiths (1994) also provides a useful analysis of self-reflexive feminist action research methodology. Aspects of these approaches, which underpin the present work may now be briefly considered.

Winter's (1987) account of action research gives reflexivity a central place in questioning all perspectives. Winter (1989) later calls this 'reflexive-critique' (p43) and connects this to 'dialectical critique' (p52). Winter's approach is thus able to respond to both the self and social contextual concerns previously identified, which he typifies as 'concentric' (p47) cultural circles forming the field of enquiry and indicates the need for a reflexive dialectical methodology supportive to the present work. Similarly Whitehead's position is based on

dialectical questioning. McNiff (1993 p37) offers an analysis of Whitehead's position which is organised to promote the dynamic development of personal or 'living' educational theory and practice following five leading concerns which have been followed broadly in this study:

- 1 *I identify a problem when some of my educational values are denied in my practice;*
- 2 *I imagine a solution to the problem;*
- 3 *I implement the solution;*
- 4 *I evaluate the solution;*
- 5 *I modify my ideas and my practice in the light of the evaluation.*

In chapter one, for example, the problematic postmodern inheritance of emerging teachers was identified and a proposed solution was considered in the concept of teachers acting as critically reflective intellectuals. Subsequent chapters investigate, evaluate and modify this proposal, following stages of the framework through, employing ethnographic and autoethnographic tools in the process. McNiff sets out the spiralling process involved in such a dialectical process thus: 'practice---> theory--->re-formed practice--->reformed theory' (p39).

McNiff (1988 p47-52) argues that action research at this level of involvement promotes development in 'personal' 'professional' and 'political' dimensions for the teacher researcher. The creation of 'dialogical communities' (McNiff, 1993 p44) is indicated as the way forward and the general connections with perspectivism and social constructionism is clear. However what is less evident at first sight in McNiff's working of Whitehead's framework is a more inclusive attitude to insights drawn from public theory. In his foreword to McNiff (1993) Whitehead attempts to balance this, but the emphasis on a

practice to theory model remains strong. This tends to weaken the 'spiralling' interchange between personal and public theory which Griffith's and Tann (1992) argue for and the social constructionist 'middle ground' Goodson (1991) seeks. However it is evident from Whitehead's various writings that public theory is actually of deep importance to his approach. McNiff's (1993 p2-4) autobiographical account of her involvement with action research to PhD level also indicates the centrality of the wider literature '... not only to my professional practice, but to the total practice of my life'. What is significant here is a common concern⁽¹⁹⁹¹⁾ pattern amongst many action researchers. Whilst all place great emphasis on epistemologies of practice and self-reflective existential concerns, many also consider the impact of wider social and cultural influences upon their personal and professional development, particularly in terms of the use of a wide literature base (Golby, 1993; Cohen and Manion 1985). In this light the opposition of self and social reflection seems arid.

It is at this point that the value of post-structural and postmodern perspectives beyond the self/social binary also become evident. Bakhurst and Sypnowich (1995 p5) identify 'modest' and 'strong' versions of arguments for the concept of the 'social self' resulting, the former accepting the influence of social factors, whilst the latter holding that the 'human mind is not just shaped by society, it is made in society' (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1995; Watson, 1995). Griffiths (1994) draws on feminist epistemology to develop the view 'that action research should be both personal and political' (p71) in which the dialectical interchange between personal practices and public theories is also emphasised (Griffiths and Tann, 1992). Griffiths connects this

methodologically with autobiographical writing suggesting that:

One way of describing an action research report is that it is autobiography - writing about one's own story. Action research is, inevitably, a narrative: it is research into one particular situation, in one particular time and place. Moreover, it is research carried out into the researcher's own situation. Finally, it is research in which the self of the researcher itself is at issue. Action research requires the researcher's own attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and values to be brought into question. (p72)

Griffiths points out that the traditional Western image of autobiography as 'personal, confessional, individualistic, a-theoretical and non-political' (p76) is partial and of 'only limited use, for the purposes of gaining knowledge'. Griffiths connects self and social concerns and constructs a 'critical' autobiography which draws on 'individual experience, theory, and a process of reflection and re-thinking, which includes attention to politically situated perspectives'. She illustrates this with references to her own changing perspectives over time on social class and multiculturalism. The present work adopts a similar self-reflexive methodology, but also considers the dialectical interplay of these elements within the broader cultural context considered in chapter one. In summary and conclusion, therefore, the need to develop a more reflexive action research methodology brings forward the embodied and embedded perspectives outlined previously and begins to suggest ways of approaching the elements of the personal, the professional and the political contextualised within the cultural. Zeichner's account of what was here characterised as his 'double-life' as a teacher and lecturer, McNiff's identification of wider cultural influences on her and Griffiths' social and historical autobiographical searching have been taken up and developed in the present work as part of a mixed critical autobiographic approach adopted here

in the form of the ethnography of the self or 'autoethnography'. Before exploring autoethnography further however ethnography is considered.

3 ETHNOGRAPHY

Two sub-sections follow, the first sets out the definition of ethnography and its particular form and usage in this study. Second, the writing of ethnography in relation to aspects of literary theory and autoethnography is considered.

3.1 The Definition of Ethnography

Woods (1986) defines ethnography as follows:

The term derives from anthropology, and means literally a description of the way of life of a race or group of people. It is concerned with what people are, how they behave, how they interact together. It aims to uncover their beliefs, values, perspectives, motivations, and how all these things develop or change over time or from situation to situation. It tries to do this from within the group, and from within the perspectives of the group's members. (p4)

There is a clear connection therefore between ethnography and the perspectivist position earlier considered. Ball (1994) adds a further post-structural and critical dimension to the definition of ethnography claiming that critical ethnography provides a 'conduit for submerged voices which are obscured and marginalized by specific power-knowledge arrangements' (p4). Diamond (1992) also connects this with an empowering approach suggesting that if 'researcher educators' serve as 'critical conduits for teachers, they can be helped to help themselves and to evaluate and revise their own meanings' (p74). Critical ethnography was thus well suited to the investigation of the

situation of new teachers alongside their experienced colleagues. The aspiration here, in the second phase of the research, was to support and to raise the unheard voices of new teachers in a period when these perspectives had been drowned out by other powerful voices. In historical research Silver (1983 p299, 301) develops this as a concept of 'answer-back', which has resonance here. Lather (1991) claims that such an empowering approach to research requires a democratic collaborative process of 'give and take' (p86) informed by 'the need for reciprocity'; leading to a stance of 'dialectical theory building versus theoretical imposition' (p56) which is 'dialogic' and 'mutually-educative' (p63) in nature. However, as noted earlier, dialogical approaches bring problems of balancing perspectives and do not simply dissolve the problematic of power/knowledge attendant in all educational encounters or the ethical and perceptual problems of researchers which are more complex than is sometimes acknowledged (Troyna, 1994a). In the present work a dialogical approach was adopted first in creating an educational forum to develop the BEd Education Studies course in the action research phase of the project, which raised dilemmas concerning my role as the tutor. In the second ethnographic phase of the research the dialogic approach was again adopted in following the second cohort of new teachers into schools and writing a 'multiple voiced' (Eisner, 1992 p14) account of their predicament. This raised dilemmas, which are now considered.

3.2 Writing Ethnography

Diamond (1992) suggests that in the writing of ethnography 'Caring and attentive ethnography can assist teachers ...to produce polyphonic accounts of

practice as co-knowers' (p 67). The term 'polyphonic' is borrowed from literary theory and so, before considering this further, a brief account of the interchange between literary theory and writing ethnography will give some background. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983 p209) note that 'there has been a growing realisation that the lessons learned from literary studies can usefully be applied to other contexts' (p210). Diamond (1992) also points out that 'More ethnographers are adopting postmodern literary theory' (p67) in pursuit of such lessons. In the present work I was increasingly aware that the aspiration to act as 'critical conduit' for the submerged voices of teachers could gain some insights from postmodern literary theory. Two main concerns emerged, first that the creation of a polyphonic accounts of teaching could draw on work on the plural form of the novel and multiple readings of the text. Second that further perspectives on the dilemmas of authoring such an account could be sought, each of these concerns may now be considered briefly.

McHale (1987) defines polyphony in relation to the literary form of the novel thus: 'The interweaving of different registers in the text of the novel produces the effect of *heteroglossia*, plurality of discourse' which produces an 'orchestrated *polyphony* of voices' (p166). Clifford (1988) also explores anthropological perspectives on the writing of ethnographic texts in which 'the dialogical interplay of voices, can be accommodated' (p47). Diamond connects this to educational research thus:

Polyphony may supply a crucial aim also for educational research and for teacher education so that full due may be given to as many voices and points of view as possible... (p 71)

The present methodological aim was thus to create a 'cleaner' and more faithful polyphonic or plural account of the situation of new teachers, which would do justice to the different perspectives and voices. The creation of a plural text susceptible of multiple readings and leading to different interpretations was thus also indicated. However this raised the further problem of authorship and how a more plural text which balanced different perspectives, including my own, could be written to which we may now turn.

Clifford (1988) explores authoring options for writing ethnography ranging from the relatively 'indirect' (p47) forms of polyphony, to more direct authorial comment. Clifford's account indicates, however, that any aspirations to an account cleansed of authorial presence clearly misunderstand the inescapable nature of authorial editing and selectivity and indicates the continuation of positivist habits of mind, which assume the possibility of objective certain or totally clean representations of reality corresponding to truth through the assumed transparency of language, creating 'realist' texts. There are clear parallels here between 'scientific' positivist assumptions of 'observer-free' accounts and similar 'artistic' attempts to theorise 'author-free' novels. Both are modernist attempts to create as Booth (1987) says the illusion of 'authorial objectivity or impersonality' (p16). McHale (1987) recalls the 1930s modernist slogan 'Exit Author' that sums this position up and indicates that its postmodern successor 'The Death of The Author' (p199) is equally misleading and mistaken. Booth (1987) points out therefore that 'the author's judgement is always present, always evident to anyone who knows how to look for it...the author can to some extent choose his (sic) disguises, he can never choose to disappear' (p 20). Lather (1991 p133/4) relates this critique to

the naive 'realism' underpinning the writing of much educational research (Van Maanen 1988). Lather goes on to contrast modernist realist 'tales of the field' which claim 'totality, closure and coherence' (p134) with more interpretive, postmodern tales which feature 'ambivalence and open-endedness' (p135) leading to multiple readings and interpretations. McHale (1987 p199) thus identifies 'oscillation between authorial presence and absence' as characterising postmodern self-referential writing. Thus beyond the illusion of texts cleansed of their author's presence the issue appears much more to be one of what Booth (1987) calls 'authorial distance' (p38) in terms of detachment or involvement from and with the subjects of the text and the authorial control and pacing of the reader's responses through this. The author in the text may intrude or efface him or herself as needs be, speaking in many voices and so appearing as many authors. Woods (1986 p166/7), following Wright Mill's (1970) advocacy of the sociological imagination, offers an overview of the development of ethnology which is valuable here. Woods urges a more creative approach to contemporary ethnography which, having established its research credentials, now needs to draw more maturely on both artistic and scientific influences. Woods indicates the need to 'focus equally on the frames of mind, the circumstances' and 'the resources that promote the creativity and originality that go into theory construction' (Sparkes 1996).

Thus, if I could not exit from the text (and so, perhaps, be tempted to claim impartiality and objectivity), I could focus on both 'playing-up' other voices and reflexively marking my own presence in the creation of a polyphonic text informed as Woods indicates by 'creativity and imagination' on the one hand and 'discipline' and 'method' (p169) on the other. Clifford's (1988 p54)

comment that 'polyphonic authority' will be secured by 'a renewed attention to the subtle interplay of personal and disciplinary components in ethnographic research' was germane here. What was needed in such an endeavour was a mixture of both muting my presence at points and also of highlighting it at others, in order to gain self-critical reflexivity in the manner of postmodernist authors. In order to attempt this I decided to adapt approaches used by Trumbull (1990), Popkewitz (1988) and Diamond (1988), who studied their own development as teachers self-reflexively, acting as ethnographers of their autobiographies, or as 'autoethnographers' (Diamond, 1992). Hammersley and Atkinson's (1983) acknowledgement that in all writing of ethnography 'Different parts of the text are organised according to different principles' (p230), indicated that what was needed was a text organised reflexively in which the researcher was included in the frame in an autoethnographic form, alongside other voices in other forms. Wright Mill's (1970) proposal that the sociological imagination could be nurtured by keeping a 'literary' journal (p220) suggested a way forward methodologically with autoethnography which is now considered.

4 AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

Previous sections have set out the origins and evolution of the research stance and methodology and indicated some of the generally post-structural and postmodern influences at work in this process (Sparkes 1996). The need to include the researcher within the research frame self-reflexively and to take this as a critical autobiographic/ ethnographic, or 'autoethnographic', focus on both self and social concerns within the changing cultural context has been

outlined. This leaves the question of how such a critical autoethnography might be practised or written, which is considered below.

4.1 Writing Autoethnography

Some of the general compositional concerns of an autoethnographic research account relevant to the concerns of the present work have already been suggested by previous discussion, a summary and drawing together of these elements is now indicated. Autoethnography, as it is developed for use in the present work, is concerned to make connections between the local personal and professional institutional context of the research and the more global, political and cultural context. Its purpose is to re-search and to re-view the research process, perceptions and representations within the micro and macro cultural context studying what Wright Mills (1970 p159) referred to as the 'coordinate points' 'of biography of history and of their intersections within social structures'. It thus has generally reflexive and interactive self and social concerns; seeks the links between the personal, the professional and the political; is concerned to employ both personal and public theory in a spiralling process of deep reflection; and is existentially, politically and culturally conscious and engaged. Some further consideration of these distinguishing features follows.

Griffiths' (1994) connection of critical autobiography with research logs and diaries holds for autoethnography in that it is developed out of such activity. Goodson and Walker (1991 p2) however allude to accounts which are more 'deeply autobiographical' and the metaphor of depth is one way of marking an

important difference. Abbs (1974) explores the metaphor of depth in terms of time, suggesting that autobiography 'perches in the present', gazes 'backwards into the past while poised ready for flight into the future' (p7). Abbs connects depth further with the effort of 'individuation' and a tradition of spiritual and secular 'inwardness', which he traces back through a long literary tradition to Augustine, involving a searching of the past origins of 'the true self' to assist present understanding and future orientation. Such ideas of the self may however tend to the individualist end of the spectrum whilst others are more social. McRobbie (1994) for example reviews postmodern developments which unmask the 'real me' (p115), leading away from essentialist versions of the 'true self' stressing stable being, toward images of a 'layered, mysterious, unresolved' or 'social self' (p116) stressing the dynamics of becoming. The social self appears here as constituted by 'an amalgam of fragmented identities, formed in discourse and history' (p127), which are thus recoverable through discursive deconstruction. Carr and Kemmis (1986 p138) also adapt 'ideology critique' to unite both the inward and the outward search (Winter, 1991). Bruner (1986) comments that under such influences psychoanalysis has begun to move from 'archaeologically' (p9) determined projects to ones that employ 'generative' narratives and, for many, psychology takes a generally discursive postmodern turn (Bruner, 1995; Kvale, 1992; Griffiths; 1992, Hall, 1992). In these senses the older binaries are dissolved and the search inward for the self also becomes the search outward for the social. In the present work this means that changes in the times are related to changes in the researcher. Thus Nias (1989) refers to the existence of 'multiple selves' (p20) pursuing different options over time. However, Squires (1993 p12) also takes the 'modest' postmodern position adopted for the present work, to argue that 'The self is

not simply fictive, it is social, differentiated, embodied and historical', pointing out that this leaves us political and cultural options emanating from our different selves which are both critical and creative in responding to change. In this respect Adler (1991 p77) identifies 'imaginative literature' and Greene (1993 p10/11) the phenomenological and existential 'way of seeing' found in such literature as valuable resources in exploring self and social issues, within the cultural context (Buchman and Flodden, 1993). In sum, reading and writing the researching self in the autoethnographic account selected and developed here is taken not so much as an exclusively inward or outward journey, but rather as the interaction of the two mediated reflexively over time involving both cultural critique and creativity, related to a wide literature.

Wright Mills' (1970) suggestions about the craftsmanship of keeping a reflective journal to release the sociological imagination which 'consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another' (p232) in order 'to grasp the interplay...of biography and history, of self and world' were valuable at this point. Wright Mills advises against the 'hollowness' (p216) of splitting life and work and recommends the researcher 'to use your life experience in your intellectual work: continually to examine and interpret it' pointing out that 'your past plays into and affects your present' and 'defines your capacity for future experience'. It is clear then that the presentation of any autoethnographic account will be highly selective and episodic, offering a bricolage of life history and cultural fragments emerging from the reflective, existential processes of the kind described by Mills and abstracted, drafted and redrafted from field notes, logs and the research journals kept. In the present

text the resulting autoethnographic account is to be found in appendix one. More generally some of the content of autoethnographic writing has been suggested by others' accounts. Zeichner's (1993) description of what was portrayed as his 'double-life' as an action researcher in relation to academic life points toward the importance of a reflexive account of the researcher's professional background (Trumbell, 1990). McNiff's (1989) offers recognition of the importance of life-cycle in relation to cultural factors. Another example is given by Goodson and Walker (1991 xi-xiv) who review the educational changes of the 1960s, associated for them with key figures such as Basil Bernstein, Lawrence Stenhouse, Stuart Hall and Harold Silver. Thus Goodson and Walker offer fragments from 'deep autobiography' related to the experience of their 'lost generation' in the political and cultural context of the 1980s and 1990s. Autobiographical self-searching and the inward tradition is thus connected to an outward generational search. The present account shares both this generational background and concern to keep alive the spirit of social and cultural reconstruction within postmodernity, employing the general methodology of cultural studies rooted in everyday experience (Williams, 1958b; Inglis, 1993). The autoethnographic appendix thus reflects on the personal, professional and political factors in which the present study originated. It reviews the underlying assumptions 'attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and values' with which I approached the present research which were 'to be brought into question' as Griffiths suggests (1994 p72), as the research process unwound against the changing cultural context of the early 1990s. Part one of the autoethnography considers the early origins and background to the research and supplements the present chapter. Parts two and three accompany chapter three and offers reflexive insight into the action

research conducted. Part four of the autoethnography lends the ethnographic focus of chapter four rigour and balance. Finally the account of the self offered gives underpinning to the portraits of student teachers and new teachers developed in chapters three and four.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter one considered the situation of primary teachers and identified the uncertain predicament of new teachers in postmodernity. This was the first stage in the Whitehead/McNiff action research framework employed in this study in which the research problem is identified. The second stage of this framework was to imagine a solution and this was undertaken by considering postmodern reflective practice and teachers as intellectuals. This chapter considers the third stage of the investigation which was to implement and evaluate the imagined solution. The focus here is on a BEd Education Studies course developed first in 1990/91 and then 1991/2 to develop student teachers as intellectuals. The chapter is divided into three main sections which consider the institutional context and then key issues in the development and evolution of the course. It draws on the different views of tutors, students and my own changing perspectives. The attempt to develop a course that would support teachers as intellectuals is thus explored here through an investigation of the institution, the course and the students triangulating the views of tutors and students supplemented by autoethnographic reflection.

1 THE CHANGING INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT AND THE INHERITANCE OF THE NEW TUTOR

The institutional context which I inherited and within which I attempted to develop a course to support teachers as intellectuals, was one that reflected many changes. These were both professional and political, but beyond these the more general cultural shift from the 1960s to the 1990s was also evident.

Wilkin (1993) suggests that changes in initial teacher education from the 1960s onwards reflected postmodern cultural conditions. Hartley (1994b p83) typifies teacher education as 'caught between the ages of modernity and postmodernity', recognisable in the 'epistemological' 'confusion' created by the waning of the modernist 'grand narratives' (p84) of foundation disciplines and the rise of the postmodern 'niche narratives of the reflective practitioner'. Thus the present work was located within these professional, political and cultural changes. This section considers the interaction of these factors in creating the institutional context of opportunity and constraint for the type of course I wished to develop as a new tutor.

A wave of appointments to the Faculty from 1989 onwards followed a number of early retirements and this movement marked a turning point. The survival of the institution and structural questions seemed to be settled by the merger with a local Polytechnic in the same year, so that the institution had ceased to be a College of Education in which it had been under the 'tutelage' of the local university (Whitty, Barton and Pollard, 1987 p163). This older dependent relation of the Area Training Organisation (ATO) continued formally however for the courses under consideration here, which came under the 'old' degree which was later phased out and overtaken by the 'new' BEd validated by the Council for National Curriculum Awards (CNAA) in 1988/9. More generally the Faculty also went through two further periods of reorganisation, accompanied by the process of modularisation and semesterisation and the doubling of the staff student teacher ratio between 1989 and 1995. The immediate institutional context of the present work was thus complex and continually changing through the early 1990s. Wider policy

changes also took place in the same period with Circular 14/93 (DES, 1993) superseding previous governing regulations from the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE), (DES 1984, DES 1989). It is not the purpose to explore the history of these multiple changes here in their own right, but more to note the deep effects on tutors and students through the culture of the institution. This inheritance exerted a strong influence on the courses that I tried to develop as a new tutor. These cultural patterns had a history emerging first from the impact of earlier threatened closure of the institution in the 1970s when it was in the ATO; secondly from the changes introduced by CATE and by CNAA; and thirdly from varied individual tutor responses, creating an uncertain inheritance. The following outline of this is organised polyphonically and draws both from documentary evidence and the perceptions of 21 tutors gathered in interviews conducted from July 1993 through to December 1995, further details of which follow.

Tutors were for the most part co-operative and keen to be interviewed, after I had explained that my interest lay in considering my own transition from school into teacher education. Most of the sample volunteered to go on tape to follow-up conversations started elsewhere, such as in the staff-room, the refectory, following Faculty meetings and so forth. In the first set of interviews I expressed interest in three factors: the influence of 'baggage' new tutors brought with them; how this baggage influenced the courses that were developed; and how such attempts fared within the institutional context and inheritance. I invited tutors to tell me about these factors and found that tutors were fluent in tracing what MacLure (1996) calls their 'tales of transition' into teacher education. The initial patterns emerging from analysis

of the first interviews indicated that there were some commonly recurring factors perceived to inhibit the development of reflective courses. Invitations to tell me more about CATE, the CNAA and the institution in relation to their own hopes and expectations of themselves and the students, revealed a tenacious idealism amongst tutors, despite perceptions that there were many factors inimical to such aspirations. Analysis of the first round of interviews in 1993 led to a second round, lasting into 1995, in which I followed the perceptions through more closely, feeding back anonymously views I had heard from the first round and asking for further responses. In both rounds I approached tutors at all institutional levels for their views. Drafts relating to the institutional context were checked and discussed with the Head of School and Dean of Faculty, leading to some chronological corrections to the complex sequence of events considered in this section.

1.1 1977 and After - An Insecure Institutional Inheritance

The original Teacher Training College came into existence in 1947 and expansion and the addition of new buildings took place in the 1960s. Some of the forward looking hopes of that period are embodied in the modernist architecture dating from that time, set in the pleasant environmental situation of the institution, which formed a supportive inheritance for tutors and students. Equally however there was a less positive inheritance involving first different views tutors have taken of students; second structural insecurities about the future of the institution; third further uncertainty about the aims of the BEd; and last constraints resulting from the dependent relationship with the university in the ATO organisation, which are now

considered.

Silver (1993) identifies different views taken of students and is critical of the prevailing 'pre-1968' view of 'students as children' (p5). Silver offers an alternative view of students as adult 'partners' (p8) in the 'community in higher education' (p9) a view which underpins the present work. The implication of this is a democratisation of power/knowledge relations between tutors and students so that, as Silver indicates 'student's views' are properly respected and regarded. This has implications for teaching and learning as much as, for example, rights of representation on academic bodies. These implications were previously considered in chapter one (3.2) as part of postmodern development in teacher education, where the views of reflective practitioners acquire new status and power. However, what Alexander (1984) identifies as the primary child-centred 'cocoon' (p19) has had persistent influence on the relations of tutors and student teachers in initial teacher education, producing a problematic inheritance (Taylor 1969).

The second inherited insecurity was structural and dated back to 1976, when in response to downward demographic forecasts the College was proposed for closure. Documents from that time illustrate the successful unified campaign mounted to resist closure. The unity of this time however was eroded by a continuing sense of tutor insecurity in the early 1980s, as the allowed student intake was lowered and teacher education began to reflect postmodern development. Divisions opened between tutors teaching the BEd reflecting the shift from the older foundation disciplines approach. One tutor recalled:

The college at that time I feel led initiatives in rejecting the 'theory to practice model' for 'practice to theory' that was at the heart of it ... This met with a natural resistance from those whose teaching interests were not served who were in Education Theory. (Tutor 18, Field notes 14. 12. 95)

These conflicts were reflected in there being 'no articulation' of the over-all aims of the BEd which addressed:

What is this animal, the person we are trying to create who could do the cross-over between practical theory and theoretical practice? (ibid)

The lack of articulation of over-all aims and general uncertainty about purpose continued throughout the accelerating changes of the 1980s.

Also many tutors felt that the dependent relationship with the university in the ATO organisation was not helpful here and that the university tutors were:

the dominant group...The university had a very strong examination culture of formal exams, no course work...the examination culture was very strong and the external examiners were used as a big stick to wield against us and that was quite difficult at times as well. (Tutor 21. Tape transcript 5.12.95)

Thus external threats were perceived by tutors on both political and professional fronts. The political threat was resisted but continued to threaten tutor job security through the reduction in student numbers, which exacerbated internal divisions opened by movement toward the reflective practitioner. Simultaneously external professional controls operated through academic assessment requirements, which dictated a culture of formal examination. To some extent perceptions of a division of professional labour between those concerned with academic 'theory' and those with professional 'practice' underlay both the external and internal divisions, reflecting

postmodern epistemological uncertainty. These professional divisions were fuelled by further external political intervention in the form of CATE and Circular 3/84 (DES 1984).

1.2 1984- 1989 CATE and CNAAs- Further Insecurity and Intensification

Whitty, Barton and Pollard (1987) argue that the thrust of CATE was to produce a particular type of teacher and schooling linked to a political 'vision of a desirable social order' (p167). Thus CATE can be seen as a harbinger of the cultural restorationist project identified in chapter one, which emerged more fully in the 1990s (Gilroy, 1992). However the institutional culture I inherited was formed by mixed and contradictory responses to the problem of CATE. The first rewrite of the BEd submitted to CATE in fact failed because of the resistance of the small group of tutors doing the rewrite:

CATE had requirements that they really didn't want to meet so it didn't get through...it hadn't got 50% subject studies....There were a lot of people here who had the wish for a professional BEd, a very strong primary bias and also a very strong education bias and the subject studies at 50% had to knock some of that out and people felt an enormous sense of loss...Subject people had the upper hand, CATE was playing into their hands. (Tutor 21 ibid).

The first CATE requirements thus refuelled former campus struggles and divisions. Barton, Pollard and Whitty (1992) researched the effects of CATE on institutions and found that responses to the pressure of CATE varied from sophisticated 'creative accountancy' through to responses in which tutors:

almost tried to 'out- cate' CATE; to take the underlying ideology, apply and even extrapolate it, in an attempt to pre-empt the difficulties which they feared they might face...The power of ideology thus provided a second form of control. (p55)

This second ideological form of control affected the institutional context considered here, as one tutor explained:

It wasn't CATE so much it was fear of outside influence that's what, ie people just jumped it seemed to do as they were told. We lost, as a staff, lost our own knowledge of curriculum development....I would typically argue at that time 'yes but this won't happen' or, you know 'If that's what we've got to do there are other ways of doing it. Let's think about this and put forward what kind of teacher we want them to be.' I wouldn't have minded any framework so long as there was one. But what I saw was an over-willingness to have the job done on the day that it was needed or before! And actually if we could actually see that there was a national curriculum coming RIGHT let's second guess what they want and we'll do it for them first! It was nothing to do with CATE as such, but more the power that went with it that people were afraid of. (Tutor 22 tape transcript 5.12.95)

The move to CNAA validation might in its turn have provided what Whitty et al (1987 p164) identify as 'a liberation from rather archaic and over-academic orientation', but it was made against a background of multiple change and reinforced defensive responses following previous insecurities. Thus the CNAA validation was perceived as another outside threat rather than as an opportunity:

Largely it was because CNAA wanted everything made more explicit, that wasn't the culture we were in,...that was just a change of culture. It was just a matter of being made to be more explicit over things we just took for granted. Just a hell of a lot more paper work. (ibid)

The transition was difficult and one consequence was to cause the wave of seventeen early retirements in 1988/89 during the period when the new degree was in the process of validation. Most of the tutors in key senior posts retired, leaving management problems accompanied by an intensified demand for leadership and new paper work which articulated the over-all purposes of the degree for CNAA validation, the very thing that had always been difficult because of the postmodern transitions affecting teacher education:

We had to go through CNA A validation and that was a real culture shock because the CNA A required a quality assurance mechanism which we didn't have, required us to be able to speak for our own programme, which we'd never had to do. We didn't know what our own programme really was. People knew what their own bit was, nobody really knew, there was no rationale. (Tutor 21 ibid).

Simultaneously with these local challenges revised CATE requirements were announced in Circular 14/89. This situation of multiple change and crisis seem to have confirmed the defensive retreat into formal assessment points in the degree:

Don't forget we had the baggage of our assessment driven degree from the university...and because that was what we knew we built that into our new CNA A degree. And with hindsight we shouldn't have done, we should have been more adventurous...(ibid).

Another tutor commented:

I think there has been a kind of, almost like, a rhythm in this place, where depending upon pressures from outside ...Now when there was pressure on the place in terms of things like CATE coming in, there was a tendency for people to think: 'Oh we've got to do that' and 'We've got to do this...And then students stopped being students because the timetable became so packed, assessment points became so numerous that they had to become pupils. There wasn't time to study or reflect. (Tutor 12. Tape transcript 15. 7.93)

The danger of reducing students to pupils through over-assessment thus added to long standing tendencies to infantilise students previously noted.

One newer tutor commented:

My perception since I have been here is that I have been battling against an assessment driven course/culture - if it's not assessed it's not important. As there is so much that is assessed and often at a very shallow level, there is a contradiction of reflective practice/ no culture of risk taking and genuine enquiry. (Tutor 17. Written communication, 8. 12. 95)

However other tutors, whilst agreeing that there was a problem in encouraging student reflectiveness, located its causes more with students and identified:

an anti-reading culture that pervades the Faculty ...there is an anti-intellectual feeling as well. (Tutor 6 ibid)

Some tutors saw the 'anti-reading' 'anti-intellectual' culture as reflecting the general materialism of the 1980s, taking a view of students as 'Thatcher's Children'. Others however connected anti-intellectualism with tutors:

we were anti-intellectual and the whole institution before the merger was anti-intellectual, to be honest we didn't ever read about these things. We did no research. (Tutor 21 ibid).

Others emphasised the need for reflective tutoring, for example:

The 'anti-intellectualism of students' argument is in danger of combining the mistakes of taking symptom for cause and of blaming rather than understanding. I think we still get a high proportion of students on the BEd who have defined themselves, probably supported by their schools, as not having the ability and/or the type of personality for 'real' academic study. They want to do something useful, practical and person related, and so at some level they see teaching as about being and doing, not about reading. So their constant first impulse is toward practical competence and what obviously supports that. They have always needed induction into the excitement and powerful relevance of theory in this, and, as a further step, into the power of reading as a way of accessing this excitement and relevance...I have never found the overwhelming majority of students to be anti-reading, any more than the overwhelming majority of pupils- but both groups need support, encouragement and good teaching. (Tutor 22, 18. 12. 95, written communication)

In summary tutor's perceptions of the multiple changes and pressures on the institution throughout the 1980s indicated that insecurity and uncertainty

were prevalent. Early crude resistance to CATE collapsed into later extreme compliance. Merger with the Polytechnic in 1989 initially confirmed defensive practice in an assessment driven culture. Assessment and academic concerns threatened to occupy the vacuum left by the absence of a proactive rationale articulating wider professional purposes. Difficulties in articulating an overall rationale for the BEd and the type of teachers the institution aimed to produce continued. In this situation tutors' views and expectations of students in the 1990s varied. However all positions acknowledged the dangers of the de-intellectualization of the BEd (Hill, 1992). My proposal in the early 1990s to design a course aimed at developing teachers as intellectuals could therefore be seen to be deliberately countering such tendencies. But questions about such a project arose immediately, bluntly put was it realistic? Was it possible to develop reflective courses under the kind of local and national contextual constraints outlined above? In fact Menter and Pollard (1989) had noted the 'surprising paucity' (p38) of reflective courses and Hartley (1994 p86) concluded that their existence was more in 'rhetoric' than reality. Whitty, Pollard and Barton's (1987) analysis of the strategic possibilities for developing reflective courses in initial teacher education after CATE was influential at this point.

1.3 Contradiction and Opportunities for Reflective Courses

Whitty, Barton and Pollard (1987) argued that in some ways CATE brought 'contradictions and opportunities' (p173) to initial teacher education. Whilst recognising that 'it is far from easy' (p173) they felt that: 'It is still possible (even, we suspect within CATE guidelines) to foster a spirit of critical

reflection amongst student teachers' (p174). They argued that 'traditionalists' in teacher education in some ways were forced out of their inertia by CATE and that such 'vested interests' (p175) might be more easily challenged under the new order, creating new opportunities for reflective courses. Within the institution under consideration here it appeared that the outgoing wave of retirements and the incoming wave of new appointments had altered the institutional climate, perhaps creating more opportunities than was previously the case. The local signs were very mixed however as one tutor summarised:

I think your teachers as intellectuals, as I said at the time, was a course before its time. Now or even two years ago, but five years ago we weren't ready for it...because everyone was still in that state of shock. So you came into an education studies section in a state of shock, diminished by the new degree, changed by being part of the Polytechnic...(Tutor 21 ibid)

A 'state of shock' amongst colleagues was familiar to me however, since my own 'recent and relevant' experience had been one of coping with the incoming national curriculum. Also the energising effect of the changes associated with 1989 have previously been noted in the autoethnographic appendix. I was therefore already attuned to receive Whitty et al's more general argument. I felt that if the controls of communism could be challenged at one level and the national curriculum domesticated at another, that there was no inevitable need to be demoralised by CATE or the CNAA. Although the signs were mixed, there were opportunities to be taken and Menter and Pollard's (1989) suggestion that 'creative' research on 'innovations in the processes and practices of teacher education' (p38) was needed, encouraged the emergence of the present work.

2 CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE

This section explores the first of two successive action research cycles first developing and then evolving the Education Studies course under consideration in 1990/1 and 1991/2. The first version of the course was called Children of the Future (COTF), the second Teachers and Children of the Future (TCOTF), it was the latter that was followed through into the first year of teaching.

In all 73 students took these courses over the two year period. In this period I used mixed research techniques, such as field notes, data gathered from student files, taped and untaped individual and small group interviews and questionnaires following the flexible approach of action research (McNiff 1993, Cohen and Manion 1985). Details of these are offered at the appropriate places in what follows. However, there were central ethical and perceptual concerns running through this, which have been considered previously in chapter two (1.2, 1.3). I was constantly aware of the need to seek ways of gathering data in which students could express their views freely, despite the closeness of our encounter. In conducting interviews and research conversations, for example, I constantly fed back and checked my perceptions of student views seeking 'respondent validation' (Woods 1985 p86). Technically, I found anonymous evaluative questionnaires very useful here and I used these extensively to supplement other technical means employed. Where it was possible I involved other tutors in gathering data. Retrospective views and data gathered after students had graduated were another useful way of checking research perceptions. I gathered valuable retrospective accounts

through telephone exchange, some of which were taped when respondents, as for all aspects of data collection, gave permission. I constantly contrasted and attempted to triangulate tutor and student viewpoints throughout the research process.

2.1 Children of the Future - The Design of a New Course 1990/1

An initial outline of the design of Children of the Future (COTF) is followed by an exploration of the dilemmas arising during its development (Calderhead and Gates, 1993). The opportunity to introduce the course came immediately on my appointment to the Faculty in addition to the elective education courses in the third and fourth years of the BEd where students studied a particular theme in education. Themes courses were well regarded by students and tutors because of the element of choice and the opportunity to work at greater depth. However, from the beginning there were obvious limits to what one elective course, in relation to the totality of the BEd, could achieve. Nevertheless, since Themes courses began in the summer term of the third year and were resumed in the spring term of the fourth year, following final school practice in the autumn, there was some scope for experimentation. There were two immediate constraints the first being that the summative assessment for the course, which was by unsighted examination, was regulated by the local university in the ATO structure, as described previously. Secondly another tutor was also interested and my cultural interests needed to be matched with his philosophical and psychoanalytic interests. The following general proposal emerged:

This course takes a post-progressive, post-Piagetian, Post-Plowden radical perspective... Alternative images of teaching and learning and schooling will be considered in relation to possible cultural futures. (Extract from a memorandum December 1989)

This was accepted and cleared the way forward, a student trailer was written (in appendix 2.1) and two groups totalling 42 students recruited. The title of the course emerged during this period as 'Children of the Future' (COTF) to clarify the idealistic concerns of the course for students. The sub-title 'Educating Ourselves Beyond the ERA' was intended to indicate a realistic and practical focus. The tension between idealism and realism was thus present from the beginning of the course. At this point I perceived the central concern of COTF would be to support students teachers as intellectuals in developing a personal philosophy of education that was both practical and person-centred in order to offer students a broad sense of priorities and direction despite general educational, political and cultural uncertainty. The emphasis on person-centredness rather than child-centredness was drawn from my Oxfordshire experience (see appendix 1) and allowed the partnership of teachers, children and parents to be considered. I hoped to nurture both the interpersonal and 'personal qualities' Claxton (1989 p92) identifies in teaching which involve both idealism and realism. Claxton reviews 'pejorative' meanings attributed to idealism and defines it positively in the sense intended here in terms of practical vision and values. He comments: 'Vision is the source of purposeful action, not an escape from it' (p108), whilst realism implies more strategic and tactical concerns involving 'judicious' (p96) qualities. Claxton argues further that the relationship between idealism and realism becomes dialectical through 'the power of reflection' (p108). In the early period of designing COTF supporting students in balancing realism and idealism was a central aim.

However I was unsure what I could expect of myself and the students within the institutional context. From the outset the dialectic of idealism and realism applied both to my aspirations for new teachers and to my own dilemmas as a new tutor.

2.2 Dilemmas of the Tutor

In this early period I struggled with the design dilemmas posed by the need to balance the various constraints and the aspirations I had for the course. Calderhead and Gates (1993) identify eight main dilemmas in designing reflective courses. I have adapted and grouped these for present purposes into two broad sets, one more to do with realities, the second more to do with ideals. The first set involved dilemmas arising from institutional context and expectations of students; the second involved dilemmas involving the content and the process of the course.

Context and Expectations

In designing COTF there was an immediate need to engage with the issue of the formal examination culture of the institution and the dangers of de-intellectualization previously considered. Calderhead and Gates (1993 p2) identify dilemmas here in the need 'to reconcile concerns with assessment with concerns for reflection' and the role of the tutor as 'gatekeeper' as opposed to 'facilitator'. I resisted lowering my expectations of tutors, the course and the students, but the dilemma this posed is identified by Calderhead and Gates as the possibility of 'aiming too high' (p3).

What emerged from considering dilemmas involving context and expectations was the need to set out a clearly documented common programme for both groups taking the COTF course which would address comparability and assessment issues. The institutional precedent here was to use common documentation and handouts for students. I decided therefore to define the course principally around a core of clearly specified basic reading extracted from key texts, giving the course comparable content for all students involved. This content would be explored in a common process of seminars and lectures for which students would be required to prepare by reading. Examination questions would be based on these readings. In order to counter student difficulties with the availability of texts, I also decided to give each student a personal copy of the set of extracted readings. Thus I was preoccupied during the preparation period with finding appropriate extracted readings. Dilemmas now focused on content and process.

Content and Process

The first problem in this phase was to clarify the content of the course in a way that would reasonably meet the expectations of all now involved, which proved to be challenging. Calderhead and Gates (1993 p2/3) indicate that 'there is a great deal of agreement' amongst teacher educators on 'the difficulty of putting ideas about reflective teaching into practice'. Confusion surrounding the content of such courses emanates from postmodern epistemological confusion in teacher education. The tendency to polarise content and process and to move away from content because of its association with foundation disciplines and 'theory', to process because of its association

with reflective 'practice' was noted in chapter one. However, it was argued that such opposition is false and that a more balanced position might be found. Following what Hirst (1992) typifies as the breaking of the hard 'spell' of rationalism it was argued that the social, moral and cultural purposes of teacher education might be considered further now (Zeichner, 1995; Fullan, 1993). New content and theory based on a cultural reconstructionist 'ethic of the person and the planet' and teachers acting as intellectuals was proposed. Thus the search for content for COTF was in part guided by the idealistic ethic of the person and the planet. But this needed to be grounded within the realistic perspectives of the situation of British primary teachers following the ERA, which was considered in chapter one in relation to teacher professionalism and the development of postmodern social constructivism and social constructionism. However these complex professional, political and cultural developments were not much represented in accessible texts for students at that time. The ethic of the person and the planet had been set out by writers such as Roszak (1979) and Capra (1982) in everyday language and these became the central required readings initiating COTF. Other readings on the realities of teachers were extracted from Clarkson (1988) and Blythe (1987) which followed the more familiar professional literature on primary education. Unfortunately I was not yet aware of Pollard and Tann's (1987) valuable synthesis of such elements. Meanwhile I included alternative readings for balance, but this lengthened the reading list inordinately (see appendix 2.2).

The dilemma emerging from this was related to process concerns. Calderhead and Gates (1993 p3) identify this by asking how far *reflective*

courses should have 'predefined content' or be 'negotiable', which involves 'the relationship between 'personal' and 'public' knowledge'. This issue was explored in chapter one (3.2) where the balanced solution proposed by Griffith and Tann (1992) in terms of a spiralling interchange between the domains of personal and public theory was noted. But this implies changes in the role of the tutor which Wilkin (1993) claims produces a postmodern levelling of hierarchy between tutors and students in which relations and perspectives are democratised. Also Agger (1991) points out that aspirations to democratise 'expert cultures' (p138) like that of teacher educators is of necessity a democratisation of discourse (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). However there is a tension here between democratic aspirations and ideals and the realities of power relations between students and tutors embodied in particular institutional contexts. This tension produced my dilemmas as the tutor in dealing with the context and expectations of students in the design period and then in developing the content and process of COTF and its successor, which are investigated in the rest of this chapter.

2.3 The Development of the Content of Children of the Future

The development of the content of COTF will be considered in relation to the first term of the course. The two groups met together in the first session for a common introduction through course documentation (in appendix 2.3 and 2.4). It can be seen from this that a balance of early tutor inputs with later student led seminars had been attempted. Also a number of possibilities for a reflective writing file (Walker, 1985) were discussed and expectations of the course explored. I invited either written or oral feedback on the course from

the first, emphasising that this could take anonymous form and that its confidentiality would be respected. I also sought permission in all cases, where use of any such communication has been made in the present text. The mixed motivations for students' choice of the course became apparent and were connected to student concerns with coping with change which had been referred to in the student trailer:

Basically the initial paragraph summed up how I felt about teaching and learning - that I wanted to be a good teacher but that I was worried that I was not well enough equipped to be so in a world of change. I hoped the course would update me on certain issues and new ideas that were emerging in the teaching profession. Also I think that we as teachers need to know more about children's feelings and how they affect their learning capacities. The course sounded interesting too with the mention of modern novels, film and media. On the whole the course seemed different to anything we had done before and therefore I thought it would be beneficial. (Student written communication April 1990)

The themes of personal idealism tempered with doubt and questions about the national curriculum and the wider future were wide spread, as another student expressed it:

Will we only be teaching for employment or are our children allowed to find pleasure and enjoyment in learning? From a more personal point of view I hoped this course may help me to decide if my future is 'in' education. Having lost much enthusiasm about a career in teaching, although not my enthusiasm for working with children, I wondered whether an awareness of the future may help me decide. (Extract from student written communication April 1990)

This group of students had begun their degree in 1987, before the introduction of the national curriculum so their anxieties were understandable. Also the local institutional context had been subjected to the multiple changes and pressures previously described. Doubt about going on into teaching was

evident at that time amongst some students, because of the changing climate. I was increasingly aware of the effects of the politicisation of primary education and initial teacher education. The students opting for COTF were troubled by the predicament that responding to policy placed them in. COTF seemed to have attracted students in doubt as much as those with ideals and the two conditions were often linked. Given the increasingly interventionist nature of policy throughout the 1980s and 1990s this indicates an emerging dilemma omitted from Calderhead and Gates' (1993) analysis. This dilemma concerned the priority accorded to personal and professional response to political intervention on the one hand, and to longer term cultural perspectives on the other. Consideration of immediate policy changes and strategic professional response needed to be balanced with longer professional and cultural perspectives. In practice we attempted to balance wider idealistic considerations with strategic and tactical realism in relation to policy, drawing examples from practice. We resisted the binary opposition of professional compliance or resistance, for more creative interpretative possibilities. We presented this as a central feature of the new professionalism of teachers acting as intellectuals in changing times (Pollard, 1990; Giroux, 1988). A brief example of this can be drawn from session two.

In session two Roszak's (1979) *Manifesto of the Person*, which offers an existential exploration of democracy as a way of life expressed in everyday language, was introduced with a brief lecture to the combined groups (see appendix 2.6 for outline). Whilst many students had found the Roszak reading 'inspiring', others had found it difficult and were ashamed of the fact that they had had to read it more than once and felt 'stupid'. Some found the

idea of sharing alternative readings a new idea. Circle-time in my own group thus brought mixed responses. Connections were being made, for example:

I can feel the lights going on! These are things I've been wondering about since I was little myself...I want to be a caring teacher, better than mine were. It's the kids that matter at the end of the day. (Field note, April 1990)

Others had picked up the issue of strategic professional response to the mediation of national curriculum:

The teachers are still holding the reins.

Strong personal feelings were expressed:

It's a relief to get back to what matters! I've lost myself in this place, it's the college system.

My schooling didn't leave me feeling I was special. Nor college!

One student commented retrospectively:

This lecture, if I'm honest, made me feel depressed. This is because I feel that I have not 'found myself' yet, even though I have experienced, as Roszak says 'the longing to know our authentic vocation in the world, to find the work and the way that belong uniquely to each of us' (p29). If I have not yet found myself, how can I, as a teacher, enable children to find themselves?'....I can remember, even as a child wondering what my specific role in life was, and how I fitted into the universe...However there is no set way to find oneself, as we are all so different. (Extract from student reflective file May 1990)

Some common patterns of difficulty raised by Roszak's proposition 'I matter.

'I'm special' were evident in the session. Smaller group discussion revealed a variety of questions which were listed on the flip chart:

After biology, family, school and history what's left of me? Why be yourself? How can you not be yourself? What is the real me? Humans as 'souls' or genes? Are we human pin-ball machines? Self in or against society? School for or against society? Who are schools for? What is school for? (Field notes April 1990)

This allowed me point out that the course focused on questioning approaches to education which expressed ethical concern for the selves of teachers and children in relation to school and society. A framework linking selves, schools and society emerged and was used from this point on.

The relative success of this session was however tempered by its ending when students collected the readings. Many felt overwhelmed, one said: 'Do we have to read all this?'. I indicated that the intention was to offer choices and that we would be selective. However the discomfiting recognition that, although the extracted readings were intended as a supportive structure, their real effect might be otherwise, returned me to earlier doubts. COTF had been designed to help emerging teachers resist the swamping effects of multiple change, but there was the danger that COTF itself could swamp the students.

2.4 Tutor View of Term One of Children of the Future - From Content to Process

Future sessions in the term one programme followed the patterns set up at its beginning. In my own group student led seminars based on the readings were balanced with my help with various activities to facilitate participative group

work such as circle-time, buzz groups, pyramiding and horseshoe groups (Jaques, 1984). Sessions often involved games, simulations, posters and videotaped television programmes. I used extracts from my own notebooks to illustrate the uses of writing for reflection rather than assessment, but this was a hard transfer for students to make in the examination culture of the institution and the quality of their reflective files varied widely. The process of COTF seemed healthy, sessions were purposeful, attendance and participation in discussion was good. The issues and questions raised at the beginning permeated and deepened exchanges. It was also clear that students were reading the extracts and the most common feature of their files were notes on the readings. The cultural perspective offered through the readings gathered force over the first five sessions and real continuity between one session and the next developed. This experience was similar in the other group and as the groups bonded and greater trust grew, so reflection and enquiry deepened. Tutor dilemmas now increasingly centred on understanding and tutoring students through various difficulties.

Calderhead and Gates (1993) identify the dilemma of responding to 'individual differences' (p4). This was particularly the case with COTF in terms of student difficulties. For example the concept of developing a 'personal philosophy of education' caused some students difficulty, because they felt that they did not possess a personal philosophy. I became aware of a common difficulty in understanding that we were referring to an existential 'lived experience' (Ozman and Craver 1995, p243) rather than formal philosophic system, and that such a philosophy was one of contingent process rather than one of perfect possession. However some students found it

difficult to overcome rigid polarisations of thought. For example some were more inclined to discuss idealistic perspectives, whilst others habitually wanted to ground issues that seemed more abstract, rather than to treat such concerns as producing dilemmas susceptible to personal and professional action. I encouraged the flexible dialectic of idealism and realism but whilst this was intellectually accessible, it seemed the weight of a habitual mind set defined by polarisation, fixation and adversarialism constantly returned some students to an either/or stance. My notebook in May 1990 records:

The power of wrong polarisations! Chasing them, we lose ourselves.

This was an important insight in which I recognised more consciously the need to introduce students to the flexible existential thinking required to live with and to resolve the dilemmas of reflective practice (Pollard and Tann 1987).

It also highlights the theoretical contribution postmodernist thought might make to developing reflective teaching discussed in chapter one (see section 3.1). Generally I found many students had difficulty in tolerating speculation in group discourse. It was difficult for some to tolerate the anxiety of alternatives and to free their thought processes sufficiently for open enquiry to emerge. Consequently many students seemed stuck fast with first thoughts, too anxious to let go sufficiently in order to study alternatives and to deepen their thinking. The comparison of their own first thoughts with the more advanced discourse of the literature, or the more articulate group members seemed to confirm feelings of personal inadequacy and low self-esteem. This

led to a variety of unhelpful responses, for example to self doubt and self denigration on the one hand or to rejection of 'theoretical' views on the other with retreat to 'common sense' not far behind. The rigid fixations represented by the cruder binary oppositions and early and simplistic closures left little room for what Smart (1993) identifies as the 'postmodern imagination'(p103) needed to live '*without* securities, guarantees and order, and *with* contingency and ambivalence' (p102). However the existential arts of reflective teaching cannot be advanced without a measure of what Rorty (1989) identifies as postmodern 'contingency, irony and solidarity'. As tutors we found ourselves therefore engaged in attempts to free up individual thinking through group processes.

One example of this can be drawn from my May field notes on the fourth session. In session four my group had considered Capra's (1982) proposition that cultural transformation is at a 'turning point'. The group polarised between eco-enthusiasts and those inclined to eco-doom. This was a useful 'turning point' for the group itself however in that real difference of opinion began to be tolerated. The group moved beyond silence, automatic consensus or aggressive adversarialism to a more reflective and respectful perspectivist approach. An emerging understanding of the greater complexity of the co-existence of cultural change and continuity and hegemony and counter-hegemony now became possible (Williams, 1977). Further connections with the green advice to 'Think globally act locally' and the teacherly adage 'Do what you can, where you can, when you can' were made. I gave examples of tackling gender issues in school to illustrate hegemony and counter-hegemony. Clearly for some students this was empowering, in that it offered

some prospect of agency, without necessarily having to maintain utopian grand schemes. I was surprised by the strength of feelings of relief this engendered which seemed to be based on the realisation that something *could* be done, even if the forces to be countered seemed all powerful. The trap of thinking that action had to be all or it must be nothing had obviously troubled many and had led to feelings of disempowerment typical of more doom laden responses to postmodernity. The lack of hope highlighted my awareness of the generational difference of being a student in the 1960s or the 1990s.

Also I noted the translations of discourse required to connect with such issues. One student for example summarised aspects of this discussion in which a more hopeful prospect had emerged with 'After all Rome wasn't built in a day'. After a thoughtful pause another added 'Sufficient unto the day' and there was sudden laughter engendered by recognition and relief. I introduced Winnicott's (1974) notion of 'good enough' care, pointing out that this meant that parents and teachers did not have to be perfect, but did have to do enough to enable the children to do the rest. Such exchanges and connections drew deeply on my own resources and I began to sense the shape and size of the tutoring required of me and to feel professional challenge. This example provides some illustration of the complex risky possibilities of the 'spiralling' interchanges between public and private theory posed by Griffiths and Tann (1992) and the postmodern democratisation of discourse described by Agger (1991). The role of the tutor here would appear to be what Agger refers to as being a 'postmodern intellectual' (p128), creating a forum in which movement and connections between the domains of public and private theories can be facilitated. The tutor's role appears further to be one of

orchestrating and conducting a mixture of discourses which takes the dialogue of the forum beyond the binary of high or popular culture, rather it is at the 'border' where worlds meet (Giroux, 1992). The tutor must therefore be ready to cross the borders and to move between different worlds and to act as a translator and guide. Bauman (1988) indicates the general shift for postmodern intellectuals from 'legislators to interpreters' involved in such complex cultural work. Also because theory and practice is dialectical it can be seen that professional perspectivist discourse of this type has even greater complexity. The contrast with the relative simplicity of didactic and more 'traditional' academic discourse is marked, where the relationship of 'master' and 'novitiate' is defined through institutional hierarchical settlements of power/knowledge.

However sometimes when discussion ranged widely along these lines a few students expressed other concerns. This usually came in the form 'What does this mean for the exam?'. I tried to help individual students to reach out past the anxieties to other personal and professional realities. I used such moments to suggest that teachers need to collaborate on the journey of continuing personal and professional development, where risks taken and fears overcome might lead to new freedoms. Given the institutional examination constraints involved, I thought that we had begun to approach the type of course I had hoped to design and develop. But it was also increasingly evident that the course programme was overambitious. The weight of the readings and issues raised propelled the course uncompromisingly. Discussion in both groups often veered off the 'official' reading for the particular session, developing a valuable agenda of its own in

the way outlined above. This raised the dilemma of which was more valuable, getting through the content defined by the reading or the process of developing responses? We were back to the dilemma between how far reflective courses should be predefined or democratically negotiated. At this point the institutional context intervened again. The demands of other programmes on the students was increasing as we neared examination points, and attendance dropped. I was learning at first hand the realities of the institutional assessment overload and the way it eroded reflection. Stenhouse (1975 p157) held that no classroom should be an island and I had found that this applied equally to BEd courses.

Discussion of Tutor View of Term One of Children of the Future

At this stage in following the Whitehead/ McNiff action research framework set out in chapter two I took stock. I had hypothesised that the political and cultural change associated with postmodernity had produced an uncertain situation for all primary teachers which was therefore a particularly confusing inheritance for new teachers. I had imagined that a solution to this situation might be to prepare teachers as intellectuals. I had begun to implement this solution within the constraints of a particular institutional context by designing and developing COTF. At this stage an interim evaluation was needed. I had encountered a number of tutor dilemmas involving the context and expectations of students on one hand and the content and process on the other. The problematics of the context and expectations had led to the content being defined around the readings, but both the other tutor and I found ourselves increasingly concentrating on developing student responses

and teaching opportunistically, rather than staying with the official programme in its entirety. It was possible to see therefore that the emphasis that had been placed on content had swung to centre on the students and the process of tutoring, supporting their thinking and the development of their views. It was also possible to see that the degree of student centredness and democratic learning was in fact constrained as well as supported by the readings. The claim that COTF was a more democratically orientated course therefore rested more on its process rather than its content. The shared leadership of sessions and attempts by tutors to support and develop student responses formed the substance of the claim. Substantively, if students were in Nias' (1989) terms to 'feel like a teacher' (p181) and learn to live with 'tension, dilemma and contradiction' (p191) and 'paradox' (p195) and develop the 'artistry' (p197) of reflective teaching, they would need to develop holistic flexibility rather than becoming rigidly fixed on polarisations. The task of supporting the development of an existential feel for life beyond the binaries as reflective teachers, therefore, gave definition to the role of the tutor. As tutors we had attempted to act as postmodern intellectuals crossing borders and mixing and translating discourse and facilitating, guiding and supporting student development. We had attempted to support students existentially in feeling and thinking like a reflective teacher at the levels of self, school and society, encouraging a more flexible and creative approach. Introducing students to the holistic mental processes of reflective teaching was thus not to be equated simply with a critical deconstruction of binary oppositions. The involvement was a much more existentially engaged process, embracing the self of the teacher (Nias 1989), introducing creative reconstructions beyond the binaries (Woods 1995), and expressing postmodern imagination (Smart 1993).

The value of Giroux's (1988) formulation of a process of critique, possibility and pedagogy discussed in chapter one can be understood in this light, because it offered hope and idealism grounded in realism. There were some disturbing indications of just how deep student need for such support in understanding and adjusting personally to the existential demands of reflective teaching really was. There were already signs in the students of the perfectionism, self denigration and the other guilt ridden 'emotions of teaching' Hargreaves (1994 p141) identifies in the pressures of postmodernity on professionals. Nias (1989 p181) notes that such emotions are 'potentially dangerous' (p203). Campbell and Neill (1994) connect them with the 'burn-out' (p80) of primary teachers under current demands (Claxton 1989). There were also signs of the lack of hope and pessimism associated with the general uncertainties of postmodernity. In summary I felt I was beginning to come to grips with the multiple uncertainty I had hypothesised, and to explore some of the 'undertheorised' aspects of teachers as intellectuals Usher and Edwards (1994) had identified, previously considered in chapter one (see section 3.3). However I had much to consider in balancing content and process and relating to the role of the tutor before the course resumed in December. I had tutor dilemmas, but what would students think about the course in relation to their personal and professional development after their final teaching practice? I decided to seek student views in the reorientation session after final teaching practice.

2.5 Students' Views of Term One of Children of the Future

Student views of the course were gathered by anonymous questionnaire, the relevant questions from which are given below, in December 1990, following final teaching practice. I hoped to gain an understanding of how students perceived the course. A number of students were ill or absent and out of a possible forty two returns there were thirty responses. An analysis of results for question one, two and three follows in a polyphnic form.

Q1 What, for you, has COTF been about so far?

Only one out of the thirty responses indicated the effect I had feared:

The content has been pretty high powered intellectual stuff, some of which has been way above me. I don't feel confident about what I'm doing. (Response 23).

However the rest of the responses were positive. Some focused on their own development for example:

The course has meant for me a break away from the norm of college expectations, It has proved a challenge, not only of our study skills but also of ourselves. It has heightened the awareness of us being thinking beings and also showing others - and more importantly ourselves-we do have a voice that will be listened to. During the talking, a growing awareness/realisation that we possess a coherent view or philosophy of education and the world. (Response 1).

COTF has been about 'me' . What I believe and how this affects my approach to the education of children. I have had to look hard at myself...(Response 22)

Many responses focused on the connections the course was attempting, for

example:

COTF has been a way of putting school into the context of society and the world as a whole. A realisation that every small unit of a school, classroom, teacher is a part of a much bigger unit. What goes on in my classroom does directly affect what happens in the world. Therefore I am important my values matter and so do the children's and we must do together what we think is right. (Response 10)

Q2 Do you see COTF as relevant to your work in school during TP? If so in what way? If not why not?

The twenty five responses to this focused on issues relating to self confidence and respectful relations, for example:

...It helped me to see the children more like individuals than I have in previous practices and made me see the need to treat them as people rather than as children. (Response 18)

Q3 Do you think COTF will be relevant to your future as a professional person?

All twenty six responses were positive. An engagement with wider issues emerged:

Yes-if COTF continues to make me think and question the role of education-what should it strive to achieve? What do I need to do? (Response 25)

Yes. But I'll be affected by immediate approaches to problems and tasks when I'm teaching. It's a question of what I will hold onto, and how strong I am as a person. I often do that which will get me by, rather than what I think is right. I want to hold onto that probing, questioning search for truth. (Response 22)

Discussion of Students' Views

These responses indicated generally that the person-centred concerns of the COTF programme continued to engage course member and that they perceived the course to be empowering. Responses to questions one and two also made it clear that the connection between their own development and that of the children had been made: 'Therefore I am important my values matter and so do the children's and we must do together what we think is right'. The increased confidence here in asserting a more idealistic approach was clear. However what such assertions also revealed by inference is that some students may have felt uncertain about whether their values *did* matter previously. There is some evidence that COTF was seen as a break from the 'norm of college expectations' in these respects, perhaps the course had encouraged nascent or buried person-centred concerns to re-emerge. The attempt to set out person-centred concerns, coupled to dialogue about the existential aspects of reflective teaching and a dialectical view of idealism and realism, seemed to have given students hopes of making a difference. However this was tempered with the realism of 'how strong I am as a person' in rising to such challenges. This existential doubt about the personal strength to pursue idealistic aims was common and needed to be taken seriously.

In the early 1980s Burns (1982 p 270) had noted:

More student teachers than one ever suspected, apparently, are burdened with low psychological morale.

Claxton (1989) had also noted the increasing stresses in the 1980s of 'being a

teacher'. However, the more negative 'emotions of teaching' previously identified had increased in the early 1990s as postmodernity advanced (Hargreaves 1994). COTF had offered the guidance of a broad ethic of person and planet which seemed to have clarified priorities both in the group forum and in school. But once the first doubts and confusion had been lifted and something better had been imagined, there was often another doubt expressed. This was student existential uncertainty about whether they had adequate personal strength to tread what was perceived as an idealistic path. This doubt was often accompanied by a polarisation of idealism and realism leading to an all or nothing approach in the ways previously described. I had become aware that the polarisation of idealism and realism was also accompanied very often by perfectionism and feelings of guilt and stupidity and these would seem to constitute an important part of the more negative emotions of the student teacher also noted above. Often there was another polarisation at work here, between an imagined steady state of perfection in 'experienced' teachers, contrasted with students' own sense of inadequacy leading to guilt, secrecy and further low self-esteem. These negative emotions of student teachers had some correspondence to the negative emotions of serving teachers. Unlike many serving teachers however, student teachers were not versed in the flexible arts of reflective teaching, life beyond the binaries was less developed. However some of these doubts and blockages had been ameliorated in part it seemed through trust and democratised dialogue in the COTF forum. A dialectical approach to idealism and realism seems to have raised self-esteem. Understanding for example that 'Rome wasn't built in a day' and that teachers could only do 'sufficient unto the day' and that this was a general rather than private condition seemed to have supported some students through the final

teaching practice. At this stage it appeared therefore that the dialectical rather than oppositional relation of idealism and realism could now emerge more meaningfully and be connected further to the journey of continuing personal and professional development aimed at improvement and raised expectations. These concerns were to become the substance of much of the second term of COTF. There was enthusiasm for young teachers engaged in person-centred approaches to visit the groups. Students needed relevant role models near to their own age who could demonstrate that it was possible to pursue person-centred professionalism in the 1990s.

2.6 Tutor Views of Term 2 of Children of the Future

From the tutor viewpoint it had been agreed that the course might benefit from further democratisation in term two along the lines suggested by Meighan and Harber (1986). We began the second term by offering democratic learning options for the groups as an experience of a person-centred approach at students' own level. We hoped to connect this to developed professionalism and that the teachers' visits would offer insight into continuing professional development. Further study materials covering the focus on developing and extending professionalism were needed. I pushed aside my misgivings and prepared further readings bound in the form of a course booklet (discussed further in appendix 2.6). These factors may now be briefly taken in turn.

COTF Democratic Learning Options

In the mid 1980s Meighan and Harber (1986) contrasted three different approaches that can be taken by teacher educators as authoritarian, consultative and democratic. They claimed that most ITE courses were authoritarian and pointed out that official documents such as *Teaching in Schools: the content of initial training* (DES 1983) had called for courses to 'foster a spirit of enquiry' (p12/13). COTF in fact seemed to be following this kind of pathway. Meighan and Harber offered a further outline of learning options and a 'specimen learning contract for a democratic learning co-operative' (p165). This contract and options was presented to both COTF groups in the first session of term two. Neither group opted for the purer democratic form. The groups did not see the need for the specimen contract and my field notes indicate that my group found it 'too complicated' and a bureaucratic 'waste of time'. The other group also expressed similar frustration, but then opted for students to chair every session. Their tutor felt that this balanced power better in the sessions and attributed the decision to the larger number of men in his group. I resolved to explore this further in the second version of the course. Both groups opted to follow on with the unfinished programme from term one, based on students presenting the extracted readings not covered previously.

Visiting Teachers and Continuing Professional Development

Two ex-students of the Faculty now teaching in local schools had agreed to visit, the first to run a workshop on promoting children's self-esteem, circle-

time and developmental group work; the second to describe her curriculum leadership and involvement in democratic whole school development. The early years teacher reported his personal change in the first year of teaching in a flash of ethical insight into the effects of the system on his actions with children in what has been termed a road to Damascus style of experience (Razzel 1968) . This young teacher spoke of his dramatic sudden 'conversion' to a person-centred approach and took the group through activities he used to promote this. COTF students thought this teacher 'special' and found his example 'inspiring' and empowering. However the second session, which looked at the added responsibilities of consultancy and collaborative planning, were 'frightening' to the students and they felt inadequate in comparison.

2.7 Students' Final Views of Children of the Future

The following draws on student anonymous final evaluations of the course gathered from both groups in the final sessions of COTF; from students' written communications and reflective files; and from informal individual and small group interviews conducted after sessions throughout term two recorded in field notes. The data gathered here were all collected before the revision and examination period. It might be argued therefore that the views expressed are influenced by this. However the views emerging complement the developments described from the beginning of the course and this would seem to suggest that these final student perceptions of their development in relation to the course are genuine. On the other hand I had developed warm relationships with both groups and it is quite possible that students may have softened or omitted negative factors in order to spare my feelings. Equally it is

possible that they 'played up' to my expectations. Nevertheless there is an authentic ring to these accounts and the pattern and dynamic of development that they reveal. Given that generally students at the beginning of COTF had appeared to feel a mixture of idealism and doubt, where were they now at the end of the course? How had the rigidities of thought and existential self-doubt and emotions I had encountered amongst students as they journeyed through various uncertainties developed? I had come to understand some of the existential problems students had with being more flexible and adaptive and thinking like a reflective teacher beyond the rigid fixation on binary oppositions. Where were students with these issues now and how did they relate them to COTF? I used a final anonymous open-ended questionnaire to find out more.

Children of the Future Final Questionnaire

Thirty two of a possible forty two students completed the questionnaire and gave very full responses which are summarised below.

Q1 Has COTF supported the development of a personal philosophy of education/critical reflectiveness/ teachers as intellectuals?

All 32 returns were very positive in their responses to this general question.

Three main patterns are detectable:

a) There was general evidence in all returns of the growth of understanding that reflective development is continuous rather than closed or finished. For

example:

...it has made me think about different philosophies. There are so many different ideas thrown around on the course that it's made me think about them- but I haven't developed a solid philosophy it's constantly developing with experience (response 11).

b) This emphasis on development was connected to the perspectivist process of the course by many responses. For example:

we alter and develop our thinking from sharing with others. Your viewpoint is only one perspective, thinking and discussing throws in new ideas individually we would not have thought about. Most important aspect of the course is hearing what others have to say. We like the fact that we've never felt pressured; there's been a balance between us guiding the course and Rod guiding the course ...Key : SUPPORT (response 5).

c) Just under a third indicated that the readings had been important part of this process, for example :

The course I feel has helped me develop as a professional and intellectual. I have read and found out about things I didn't know existed and would have run a mile from (at the thought it all being above my head) (response 1).

These responses seemed to indicate the formation of more open reflective thinking contrasted with the more rigid polarisations and rigid fixities that had typified earlier positions. The movement here seems to have been supported by both the process and the content of the course and readings.

Q2 Has COTF been empowering and counter-acted feelings of being swamped by change and control from elsewhere?

Again all responses gave positive to very positive affirmations of

empowerment, but there was one over-riding qualification. Responses to this question were as revealing of my own assumptions as of student thinking, 'change and control' from 'elsewhere' for me indicated the incoming legislation and political control. However, only one response mentioned legislation, for the COTF students in 1990 'control' meant something quite different. Just under two thirds of the responses indicated that the controls they saw being imposed from elsewhere were not from politicians but from other professionals and *figures of Authority* (response 7). Another summarised a common feeling:

Change within the school will be harder than within myself, bearing in mind that others have been there longer, and could resent someone younger coming in and telling them what to do (response 12).

About a third linked their perceptions of greater personal and professional 'strength' and 'confidence' to becoming more articulate through the group process of COTF, for example:

Through talking to other people (students on course) gives you confidence to try to talk through with staff next year (response 10);

I would now feel more confident to talk about and to justify my actions to anyone from colleagues to parents to students themselves. The course has really shown me how important communication between people is, and the importance of expressing feelings in an appropriate manner (response 1).

However there was doubt expressed about losing the support of the COTF group;

But we have a fear that when these people go out singularly we may be swallowed up and influenced by what is happening in the school that we are working in. (response 3).

These responses seemed to indicate that students were troubled as new teachers by their perceived relation to colleagues, rather than feeling swamped by legislation.

Q3 Has COTF supported members in becoming the kind of teachers they want to be?

COTF was perceived to have encouraged self-development for example:

The only course that has given relevance to give confidence to be the type of teacher you want to be-through discussion and reflection (response 11)

The course has allowed room to consider your position as a self-determining individual and professional. It's OK to have a personal belief about education-not just accepting what is (response 30).

These responses seemed to indicate a lack of previous support for an emerging critically reflective personal position.

Q4 How realistic is a person-centred approach? Is it too idealistic?

Responses here again overlapped much of the preceding. However the overwhelming pattern in the thirty who responded to this question was to avoid an either/or response. It is not therefore possible to classify these responses into 'realists', 'idealists' or those for or against person-centredness. Students spoke instead for example of a 'blend of realism and idealism' (response 7). Responses indicated a strong adherence to person-centred ideals whilst weighing up the difficulties in an individual way, as was seen in the perceptions of relations with other teachers above, for example:

It's a tall task, but the course has given me the confidence to have a go in practice and sustain the ideals (response 11).

There is a sense of hope and possibility here that many had lacked at the beginning of the course. It is tempered however with a realistic outlook:

It is important for people to have ideals and also priorities as long as you realise that you cannot always change everything completely (response 12).

The last two responses indicated the different individual perspectives COTF students developed within the broad framework. Over-all these responses suggested that the person-centred perspective had provided a broad guide as intended. These responses offered further evidence of movement away from previous tendencies to polarise and fixate, toward a dialectical rather than oppositional view of realism and idealism.

Q5 Has COTF supported living with change at the levels of self, school, society?

A very general pattern emerged from responses in which it seemed that whilst students generally recognised that the course had set out to look at the connections between the micro and macro levels, individual students sometimes placed more emphasis at one level or another. For example the emphasis on more personal issues to do with the self could be found in some responses:

I am more able to cope with change because I don't find it as threatening- I am more secure in myself and my values (response 28).

Other responses however focused on school:

We've been made to realise the importance of reflection on society in the classroom (response 4).

Other responses stressed wider social connections:

I am beginning to see how what we teach and how we teach can help to change the world for the better through future generations (response 18).

Discussion of Final Questionnaire

In summary, it seems that COTF students perceived that the course had supported their development as critically reflective intellectuals. This had been advanced through the content of the course connected to the readings. It had also been advanced through the process of the course in terms of group and tutor support. Students perceived the course had supported them in withstanding swamping influences, but saw such influences as emanating from other professionals rather than from politicians. They felt that the process of the COTF forum had supported them in 'standing up for themselves' and participating in professional discourse, but feared that without the supports of the group they might be 'swallowed up' under the influence of 'figures of authority' in school. Equally, it seems that there was a perception amongst some of the students that they had not been sufficiently supported previously in developing into the type of teacher that they wanted to be. It was perceived that there had been too little opportunity previously on the BEd for 'discussion and reflection' and for 'self-determination' as a

critically reflective teacher. The person-centred ideals COTF offered were perceived to be supportive in developing in these directions. Some movement toward a more flexible understanding of the dialectical rather than oppositional relation of idealism and realism seemed to have occurred. Lastly it seemed that students' perceptions of change recognised the connections between selves, school and society, but placed different individual emphasis on these spheres.

What had emerged from considering these final student views suggested a need for further investigation. There was evidently an uncertainty about whether there would be space and support for them from experienced teachers in the school system. This seemed to connect with a perception of a similar lack of space and support on the BEd to be a 'self-determining' and questioning teacher. Also the variety of student response suggested by the different emphases placed on change in selves, school and society needed further investigation. Beyond these concerns it seemed that COTF was clearly meeting a need not sufficiently addressed elsewhere for some students and that offering the person-centred ideal and the dialectic of idealism and realism had given sufficient broad guidance and support without dictating too much. The research focus emerging was the need to consider first students' views of their development through COTF more closely. Second, there was a need to consider what support students perceived they needed further in developing as a teacher. These two concerns are taken in turn, drawing on data from student self-profiles and interviews.

2.8 Students' Self-Profiles and Children of the Future

Students' written communications, reflective files and interviews provided insights into students' views of their development through COTF. The main theme emerging could be broadly typified as a journey through the course, in which a stronger sense of personal, professional and sometimes political direction emerged over time. This theme can be illustrated initially with reference to an account by one student who really struggled with the course and came through relatively late. The extracts given under my headings below are taken from a long written communication offering a synoptic self-profile that I received mid-way through the second term.

Term One Summer 1990

On our first meeting I felt nervous due to the group being people I didn't really know or feel confident with (which has changed now). Your opening speech left me feeling inadequate and bordering on stupid. I left the lecture feeling out of my depth and questioning my choice. I think the second part of the session was with the other tutor and again I left feeling too slow to cope with the ideas and concepts and discussions that went on. The more I listened the more I realised that I don't think or function on a higher plain. I know this sounds quite negative towards myself and the lecture but I feel it does accurately represent my emotions and thoughts at the time. Children of the Future was not a lecture to take lightly...Throughout the first term of the course I felt very out of my depth and ignorant.

Final Teaching Practice Autumn 1990

I went into teaching practice trying to think about, remember and practice some of the values, activities, and policies we had discussed. Then I became very disillusioned about what type of teacher I had become. I know my school situation didn't help but I felt I had forgotten and betrayed everything we had talked about on the course. I came back with this negative attitude at the end of last term. I remember feeling the course was above my head and that I wasn't getting there fast.

Term Two Spring 1991

At this point I felt the bond in our group begin to formulate and gel. I do now feel secure, happy and safe within our group, always more so by the end of the session than at the beginning. I think this kinship has been built up by you asking, accepting and respecting our honesty...This term I feel has been so very different...I feel much more involved and I actually understand most of what we are talking about. I don't regard myself as an academic. I'm a practical plodder, but I find myself getting excited about being a teacher/ researcher, not being happy with how teachers are treated and wanting to change it, wanting to be involved with planning organising and doing things.... I think this change has happened due to this course. I now feel enthusiasm and affiliation towards teaching... More things seem to be coming together which is a nice feeling...

(Extracts from student written communication, February 1991)

This self-profile confirms some of the previous research insights and offers a much greater sense of the existential personal journey undertaken. This student's ability to tolerate the open continuous nature of the reflective process and through this to begin to engage in sustained questioning, reading and thinking had clearly increased. This it seems had opened discursive space and allowed her to make connections and so to develop herself both personally and professionally.

Another student's account, drawn from extracts from her file, also vividly illustrates the interactive connections between personal and professional concerns in developing into the kind of teacher she wishes to be.

I am still at the stage of keeping my mouth shut and my head down about the things I think are wrong. The strength to fight the system using action has not yet come to me . I think the motivation to do this will come from being with the children. I will act as soon as it really matters to someone else. I found /find it hard to believe the notion that I'm special and I matter. I'm not blaming my parents but in fear maybe of me becoming arrogant it has always been impressed on me that I am nothing special or important. These thoughts are inbuilt in me and I believe my hardest battle at the moment is to be a

confident person. (Extract from student file June 1990)

Reflecting on teaching practice she weaves together professional and personal concerns:

On my recent and final teaching practice I discovered how deeply the messages of not putting children down and using positive statements with the children had penetrated my way of thinking and my over-all approach to teaching. Discussions during the course had heightened my awareness of my own and others' use of language with the children....my own feelings particularly at secondary school was that I was just another indistinguishable face in the crowd...was I a person or just another number? We all deserve respect as a person... (December 1990).

On teaching practice however she expressed respect for the children:

My tutor and my teacher both noted this as a strong point of mine which I partly credit to the input of this course...I also felt it was important to be interested in what the children have to say, making time for their opinions ... I felt my own confidence develop greatly during this practice. The children were confident and a happy working relationship developed over the seven weeks. My own philosophy that the children come first was shared by the staff making this almost a general feeling in the whole school. The staff worked very well as a team, helping each other to cope with the pressure they all felt with the impact of the national curriculum. It was very reassuring to see a staff work this way and it also made me realise that by giving and receiving support when teaching, the job becomes less stressful.

Later she commented:

Show respect and care for the feelings of others and others will show more respect and care for you..This fundamental ideal is one I aim to live by in my life as far as I can but it's not always easy. Nothing worth doing ever is. The course for me is becoming more of a success as each page unfolds and I discover more about myself... (February 1991)

Again it is striking that 'the fundamental ideal' of reciprocity and respect is seen as what she aims 'to live by'. The totality of engagement recalls the teachers Nias (1989 p32) identified as 'secular idealists'. Squaring up to the

challenge of being the type of teacher she wishes to be is here powerfully supported because both COTF and her teaching practice school espouse similar person-centred approaches. The maturation process involved seems to be one of converting and professionalizing the emotions attendant on insights into her own schooling. These energies are redirected into idealism accompanied by the realistic recognition that it will not be easy to live by her ideals. Conversions of this kind are gradual and grounded, as opposed to more dramatic experiences. Nias (1989 p62) indicates that such development may often have 'glacial slowness'. However the common factor is one of deep personal experience and belief informing professional orientation and aspiration. What also seems clear again is that this traffic was two way, professional growth also promoted personal maturation. This student's idealism had been nurtured by both college and her teaching practice school, empowering here to redirect energies previously tied to her own past toward a professional perspective orientated to the children's future.

For many students this professional link between their own development and the children's development was what made the course valuable. It also seems to have supported many in making meaningful wider and further connections between the personal, the professional and the political as a third example illustrates:

I had never really considered self-development in any depth before this course began. With the amount of work required by the college and the limitations of time which this inevitably meant, I never really gave priority to my personal development as a person. However through the reading that this course entailed I began to be aware of the importance of self development not only by myself but by all people...This to me as a teacher seems to be saying two things. First if every person is important then all children need to be given the encouragement and the opportunity to acquire self-worth and self-confidence.

Secondly if this is to take place then it is the responsibility of all teachers to have first done the same and gained self-confidence and self-worth... Right from the start we must instil in our children that they do matter, that they do have rights and the ability to change things. All too often we simply accept our assumed positions in society, remaining within divisions of class or race, failing to rise to the challenge, to look further...(Extracts from student file, March 1990)

This student's views can be distinguished from the previous two in that she goes further in integrating the personal and professional with the political. This student, despite the lack of time for personal development, had reached an analysis that moved from the self, through school to society and was beginning to develop wider social and cultural perspectives. However her perception that 'priority' had not be given to 'development as a person' reveals the serious omission in the preparation of these student teachers also identified in the final questionnaire responses to question 3, leading to the relative neglect of the personal existential factors involved in reflective teaching. It was clear that the overloaded assessment driven culture of the institution seriously eroded time for reflective personal development.

Discussion

The process of maturation being described in these three self-profiles seems to have both similarities and differences. The common theme for the student teachers involved can be typified generally in terms of supporting an interconnected personal and professional existential journey involved with becoming a primary teacher. Alexander (1987p 161) similarly identifies 'professional development as personal journey' in serving teachers and emphasises the individual nature of this journey. Investigation of individual

differences between COTF members on the common journey suggests that these were in part related to the focus of attention within the self, school, society framework. Thus, although the existential journey was a common experience for COTF members, the individuality of responses was also very powerful. However beyond individual differences what seemed to emerge from these students' accounts of their experience is the common need to support the person who is becoming the professional. It also appears to be the case that such support was offered by COTF in assisting students to make existential connections between the personal and the professional. This may have been assisted by the political and cultural orientation offered by the course, but how far students took that orientation remained thoroughly individual.

I had been increasingly aware of student perceptions of COTF as a different type of course in offering priority to support for personal development. This constituted, as students had put it, 'a break away from the norm of college expectations', 'that has given relevance to give confidence to be the type of teacher you want to be-through discussion and reflection'. The informal group interviews I conducted with students from my own group who stayed to talk after sessions added to this picture. Woods' (1985) description of research 'conversations' captures the feel of such exchanges, for the most part I listened and immediately following made field notes, in the students' own words where possible. Three short selections from my field notes recording the views of three students following the session with the visiting teachers are relevant here:

1) *We've not had the chance to sort out what we're doing in teaching. No-one's told us....*

2) *There's been no time to look back, to reformulate ourselves, to make our own way...*

3) *No-one has helped us to make sense of being a teacher.*

(February 1991 Fieldnotes)

Individual differences were evident again here, the first student was more anxious to be 'told' than the other two, but the general need being expressed was related to the existential themes previously identified. This seemed to link at one level with the theme of being 'lost' in the education system raised by some students at the beginning of COTF in relation to both school and college. However the language employed in these three statements: 'sort out', 'reformulate ourselves', 'make sense', indicates that these students were expressing the need to make personal meaning of being a teacher. Also the lack of 'chance', 'time' and 'help' reported echoes the point made about the lack of priority accorded to such personal development in the third student self-profile above. The lack of time, space and support for personal development amounts to a similar lack for general professional development because of the intimate connections between the two which were evident in all three student self-profiles. Students perceived the COTF forum as offering one of the few official opportunities to engage in open dialogue and discussion in group about what it is existentially to be a teacher in such a time of change. In the conversations that ran through the course many students indicated that their courses were of value in specific aspects of primary teaching but pointed out that there was no course, other than COTF, that gave time, space and support to the personal and holistic integration of the parts of the BEd. There

was no common course as such which offered an opportunity to develop existential insights into the holistic challenge of becoming a primary teacher during a period of educational, political and cultural uncertainty. Some reported individual support in making sense of being a teacher from tutors and class teachers that they got on well with and trusted, but this experience was variable rather than common and as Burns (1982) indicates such help often arrives 'too late' (p271). One student in fact claimed that she found tutors 'don't want to talk about politics and the national curriculum', but others saw tutors as 'selling' the national curriculum to students. Some saw teaching practice as the time when integration might take place, but there was general agreement that teachers and schools seemed to be increasingly preoccupied with legislative demands and that time for wider discussion was very limited. Others also pointed out that for them teaching practice had been mainly about surviving. Some research indicates that the survival of the self is a main concern of early practice (Fuller 1969, Nias 1989). Also Burns (1982) indicates that student experience is one of 'marginality' (p277) in school practice, which is not conducive to free discussion. COTF therefore would seem to have begun to address this need for those students opting to take the course. However the question as to whether COTF students were in some way different to other students in these respects was still open. Whether COTF students were more uncertain than most was unclear. I resolved to try to follow this comparative line of research enquiry through on the second action research cycle.

2.9 Summary and Conclusions

In summary, a number of initial factors have been identified in the design and development of COTF. The course was shaped by a mixture of institutional constraints which were met initially through a set of common readings defining the content, comparability and examination of the course. The content expressed cultural reconstructionist concerns and a critical and creative approach to professionalism and educational partnership. However the development of COTF revealed a number of tutor dilemmas involving the content and process of the course and the mixture of public and private theory. This changed the role of the tutor to that of a postmodern intellectual mediating different theories in search of a more democratic discourse. Students seemed prey to negative emotions connected to lowered self-esteem and morale, which were countered by a mixture of idealism and realism. Student views indicated the development of a more flexible dialectical understanding of idealism and realism linked to personal, professional and political concerns. They also indicated that they were unsure of their relation to other teachers. Different individual emphasis was placed on these interlinked factors. Over-all many students perceived that COTF had responded to an existential need to make sense of becoming a teacher in a time of general uncertainty and multiple change in ways relatively neglected previously in their institutional preparation for teaching.

Two broad conclusions could be drawn at this point. First, it was possible within the institutional context, despite CATE, to develop reflective courses like COTF. The course had its problems, yet it had been introduced

successfully. The examination results indicated that students did on average slightly better than on other comparable courses and the formal examination culture of the institution had therefore been successfully negotiated. Second, there seemed to be a real need for such courses both for the sake of the emerging teachers and for the children that they would teach. The limitations of the course were also clear and were summarised by the other tutor involved as 'too little, too late'. COTF students seemed to have been prey to a number of uncertainties which they perceived had not been well addressed previously on the BEd. This problem had been identified by Burns (1982 p 270) in the 1980s:

More emphasis is required in teacher training and on in-service courses on the psychological morale of the student teacher and qualified teacher. Emphasis has been placed in studies of teacher training and teacher effectiveness on intelligence and academic knowledge; less emphasis has been placed on such factors as self-esteem and mental health.

Arguably the need for such consideration intensified in the 1990s. For COTF students existential uncertainties and troubles cohered around making sense of being a primary teacher in a time of change. BEd professional courses addressed a number of components needed for primary teaching. However few courses offered official space and support for students to integrate these components into a coherent personal approach to teaching in a time of change. Preparation for the holistic and existential concerns of generalist classteaching were little represented in the structure of the degree as a whole, despite the fact that this would be central. These concerns had sharpened in fact because of political and cultural change, particularly in relation to the type of teacher students wished to become. Thus the uncertainty COTF students felt in making sense of being a teacher could be connected to the institutional

response to political and cultural changes. In this view student uncertainties might in part reflect the postmodern political and epistemological confusions affecting teacher education in general and the institutional context in particular. A persistent difficulty and uncertainty in articulating the over-all purposes and rationale of the BEd and the type of teacher the institution wished to promote throughout the 1980s was identified in the first section of this chapter. It was not surprising therefore to find similar uncertainties reflected in some students. Taken in conjunction with the assessment overload, which gave little opportunity for reflection and personal development, the prolongation of uncertainty and angst was clearly a possible outcome.

However, although it seemed I had found such uncertainty amongst COTF students, it was not clear whether they were typical of the student cohort as a whole. Alternatively, it was not clear whether COTF students simply reflected the wider general uncertainty of human selves in the cultural confusions of postmodernity. Nias (1989) posits the existence of a 'substantial' self in her sample of teachers in the 1980s, but how substantial any self feels in the present uncertain cultural conditions is debatable (Hall, 1996). MacLure (1993) questions the substantiality of teachers' selves in her sample under the pressures of the 1990s. Hargreaves (1994 p71) also notes that the 'fragile self' of teachers in postmodernity in the 1990s needs constantly to be 'remade and reaffirmed', which places 'an emphasis on the teacher as person' (p73). This renewed emphasis on the person that is the teacher in fact would seem to follow inexorably from the general problematics of power/knowledge in postmodernity. The more, for example, the niche narratives of reflective

practioners take over from the metanarratives of foundation disciplines, the more intellectual responsibility devolves, increasing the pressure on emerging teachers to think for themselves and to make existential sense of being a teacher. Equally, the more the controls of the state press regressive modernity and threaten the de-intellectualization of teaching, the more complex and difficult this personal engagement becomes. Thus the conflict between self-determination and domination becomes a professional issue that requires personal response. The relative neglect of personal development on the BEd seemed to mean that there were potential disintegrative effects on the selves of some student teachers caught up in this cultural struggle. The general view of the self taken in this study is set out in chapter two and appendix one. In this view although the term 'substantial' may not fit exactly (Nias, 1989), nor does the self disappear either (Squires, 1993). Instead the existence of a multiple, layered social self suggests different possibilities, bringing the need to reflectively construct an existential position through which agency may be achieved (McRobbie, 1994; Hall, 1996). The attempt to support COTF students in doing this in order to make sense of being a teacher in such times may explain why the course was valued. One student expressed the feeling that I have heard many times since:

It's a shame that I couldn't have had this type of input at the start of the degree, because I think that it would have helped greatly in developing my thoughts and sorting out any fears, particularly teaching practices. It would have given me a much clearer idea about what teaching should be about. I think it is really good the way in which it has enabled us to think through our own beliefs and not be told what to think. The thoughts I've sorted out during this course will start with my teaching career and develop with it. (Final COTF questionnaire response 1)

3 TEACHERS AND CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE: THE EVOLUTION OF COURSE PROCESS 1991/92

A change to the title of the course was now made to 'Teachers and Children of the Future' (TCOTF), reflecting the emphasis on teachers as much as children that had emerged on COTF. Two new groups totalling 31 students had been recruited and I was to teach both. However time constraints were again severe and constrained radical revision of the course. The content of the course programme continued therefore to be defined around a revised set of readings. Since the *content* of the course had been clarified by COTF, I hoped in this second version to develop the *process* of the course further following through from previous movement in these directions. Now as I entered the second action research cycle, there seemed to be two main lines of enquiry in relation to process concerns that had arisen, one involving the students the other the tutor. The first of these lay in following through previous questions about how students opting for the course compared with other students and what they expected from TCOTF. Second, there were the questions about the role of the tutor in improving the course. Given that institutional space had been won for the course, what further tutor support could be offered now? It was not hard to see that tutor 'support' might be in tension with student 'space'. My dilemmas now centred therefore on the question of what the balance between student and tutor perspectives should be. This question was raised in chapter one: Griffiths and Tann (1992) had proposed a 'spiralling' mixture of private and public theory; Wilkin (1993) had suggested a postmodern equalisation of perspectives; and Meighan and Harber (1986) had called for the democratisation of teacher education. But what did such

balanced practice actually look like? This was a pedagogical question about the degree of democracy offered on reflective courses which highlighted the 'undertheorised' nature of teachers as intellectuals detected by Edwards and Mercer (1994). This question had been approached on COTF rendering the role of the tutor that of a 'postmodern intellectual'. The question remained however as to how the new TCOTF groups would respond and how tutoring might be improved. This section therefore offers first an account of TCOTF students and their expectations and then considers the course process in relation to the role of the tutor.

3.1 Students and their Expectations of Teachers and Children of the Future

Some of the questions suggested by previous lines of enquiry indicated the need to compare TCOTF students with other students in the year cohort. I decided to investigate this initially with a questionnaire given to the whole year (copy in appendix 3.1). This was administered anonymously through the Themes groups. There was a 74% return rate, with 100 out of a possible total of 135 students responding. Analysis of the questionnaire results indicated some clear differences between the 31 students opting for the TCOTF groups and those opting for the other Themes courses in terms of age, gender and expectations.

TCOTF students attracted a high proportion of the students aged 22 or older in the whole sample. There were 51 such older students in the 100 responding, 22 of whom opted for TCOTF. This represented 43% of the older students. The remainder of the older students were distributed fairly evenly

between the other five Themes groups, meaning that there were proportionally lower numbers of older students in those groups. Similarly, TCOTF attracted a high proportion of the male students in the whole sample. There were 21 men in the whole sample, 13 of whom opted for TCOTF. This represented 61% of men in the whole sample. Again the remainder of male students were distributed fairly evenly between the other five Themes groups, so that there were lower numbers of men in the other groups. In summary TCOTF tended to attract higher numbers of mature and male students than other Themes courses.

Further differences emerged in the responses to the last part of the questionnaire, which asked about the reasons for the choice of Theme. TCOTF students tended to respond more fully to this than other students, perhaps because they knew it was my questionnaire. However the most striking difference between TCOTF responses and those of students opting for other Themes was that only one response out of a possible 69 from the other groups referred to personal, professional, political or cultural change. In contrast 27 of the 31 TCOTF students cited change at one or more of these levels as the reason for choosing the course. The patterns associated with COTF students re-emerged insistently:

I chose this Theme because I hoped it would help me to establish in my own mind my own ideals and what part teachers have to play in schools which are constantly changing with the introduction of ERA. I feel that teaching today is very different in outward approach than when I started this course. (TCOTF 1, response 2).

Other returns indicated that the 'social and political context' (TCOTF 1,

response 1) had not been 'adequately covered elsewhere' on the BEd. Some students were generally critical of the BEd and hoped TCOTF might be different:

The course seemed to say something about helping each other to develop as individuals instead of a 'made to measure' graduate...It's refreshing to see that there just might be a breathing space to be 'me'. (TCOTF 2, response 11)

Thus the TCOTF students appeared to be more aware of and concerned about personal, professional and political changes when compared to other students in their year cohort.

The expectations TCOTF students had of the course emerged further in a small group brain-storm exercise in the first session. One group summarised a common concern: 'The Future...what does it hold for us and education?' and another expressed 'Great Expectations' of the course. It seemed, therefore, that the degree of uncertainty about the future conditioned the dauntingly high expectations of TCOTF, bringing questions about my role as a tutor in meeting such expectations.

3.2 Tutor View of Term One of Teachers and Children of the Future

The first two seminars of TCOTF resembled aspects of the COTF introduction, giving basic orientation through a rewritten introduction (see appendix 3.2) accompanied by consideration of Roszak's (1979) *Manifesto of the Person*. The provisional programme for the first term that I had prepared was based on an exploration of the new extracted readings in the first course booklet (see

appendix 3.3). Students paired, selected a reading and took turns in leading a seminar based on the reading. The first booklet provided set reading for the first term, a second booklet (3.4) provided resources rather than set readings for the second term. This was intended to provide a more structured first term based on the readings, followed by more choice of student options in the second term. The first term may now be considered from the tutor and then the student viewpoint in order to continue the comparison and triangulation of perspectives.

At the beginning of the course I remained uneasy about the heavy emphasis on set readings. Tracing this unease further involved a sometimes illuminating sometimes uncomfortable process in relation to the assumed value of set reading in which the question identified in the autoethnographic appendix surfaced continually: 'Well you would think that wouldn't you?'. This question was one I put to myself during the research period from this point on, as an estrangement device designed to gain greater distance and balance than I might otherwise have been able to maintain given how 'close-in' I was working in the action research period. When I considered the approach I had taken to COTF and TCOTF, it seemed that in many respects I had replicated my own teacher education, in which a basic set of readings had been accompanied by discussion. Now I questioned whether I was not simply repeating my own higher education, much as student teachers may revert to their own experience of schooling. My notebook at this time records that I was anxious not to be 'captured' by 'academic' concern. MacLure's (1996) analysis of 'stories of transition' (p273) of teachers involved with action research who move into the academy indicates that such divisions of allegiance within the

self in transition often occur. My notebook records one outcome of this division, I felt that I had not 'dared' enough with TCOTF and that I should offer a greater degree of democracy. I decided at this point that I would encourage a more creative style of student led seminars, at least broadening the form and range of responses to the set readings in the first term. Thus it can be seen that the students' high expectations of the course and my own desire to dare more, energised the start of the course and gave it a feeling of promise. However the loosening of the structure of the first term carried further implications for the role of the tutor which were soon revealed.

In practice the first six sessions sustained the early promise to a great extent. Differences between the two groups also emerged however. Discussions of the Roszak (1979) and Capra (1982) extracts, revealed some tendency to polarise and fixate, for example on the binary of the individual and the social. However I was able to move the groups on as group cohesion and trust developed over the first sessions and free flowing debate emerged. By the sixth session, for example, exploring the question 'What kind of teacher do I want to be?' based on the Pollard and Tann (1987) reading, difficulties caused by entrenched mental habits of polarisation, fixation and adversarialism were beginning to be overcome. It was now possible to suggest that reflective teaching was defined by living with on-going dilemmas rather than by ideological polarisation and closure and that 'reflectiveness' was not, by definition, a fixed state of perfection but rather a response to the unattainable nature of such a state. Detaching characteristics of reflective teaching such as 'open-mindedness' and 'wholeheartedness' from imagined perfection, in order to relate them to more flexible existential processes was evidently as

liberating as it had been for COTF students.

However, group two's transition in these respects were more troubled. The beginning of the first session was confused, as my field notes record:

Room context-chairs, tables all over the place, dominant raucous males! I asked for a circle of chairs to be made to loud groans and cries of 'Do we have to?' (Field notes April 1991)

This was clearly not a cohesive group and I noted:

A group of well formed individuals, strong in the desire to make sense of things...Expectations strongly personalized. As with group one expectations of course by now so high, it's a bit scary! (Field notes April 91)

Ten of the fourteen students in the group were male and were predominantly older, only three of the group fell into the younger cohort norm. In addition three were overseas BEd students, who were only to attend for part of the first term. Despite the dangers of balkanisation and individualism in the group however the introduction to the course went well, propelled by high expectations and the encouragement of a more creative response to the readings. In the third session with group 2 for example, two of the younger students who were members of a rock band performed songs written for the course, accompanied by guitar, to lead the seminar. The songs had been written in response to the extracted reading for the session which was from Postman and Weingartner's (1974) version of ideology critique as 'crap detecting', which became the title of the lead song (in appendix 3.5). Response to the changing national context, in which the attacks on both primary education and initial teacher education which were to lead to the Three Wise Men Report and the 1992 General Election, was evident here and indicated

how much the cultural restorationist 'back-to-basics' was impacting on student perceptions. The session was very much focused on the students' perception of the national curriculum and the ERA as an overwhelming and all consuming force. I attempted to tutor both groups beyond a polarised fixed negative perception of their predicament under the legislation. However the language of strategic professional response was as difficult for some TCOTF students in its attempts to go beyond the binaries of compliance/resistance, idealism/realism and consequent emotions of hope/despair as it had been for some COTF students initially. In addition, outright rejection and resistance of the national curriculum had more attractions for many TCOTF students at this point than strategies of accommodation, domestication and interpretation. This raised the dilemma over the role of the tutor in these respects that had been encountered on COTF. It would have been possible to support either compliance or resistance to the legislation. In fact, as I had done on COTF, I ventured beyond these binaries drawing from my teaching experience in Oxfordshire to identify further critical and creative responses associated with the concept of teachers as intellectuals. However, when student responses polarised and fixated on more negative responses, a further dilemma was how far I should intervene to press students to think both more realistically and more creatively. There were difficulties in knowing how far intervention should go. These uncertainties were typical of the wider problematics of postmodernity discussed in chapter one, where the flattening of power/knowledge hierarchies inevitably unseats secure judgements on the balance to be maintained (Usher and Edwards, 1994). The balance between leaving space for the students' views and offering supportive structures and encouraging development with reference to alternative perspectives was

delicate. Given the balkanised and individualized nature of group 2 this balance was very much more difficult to achieve than for group 1, although I found the problematics surrounding the role of the tutor testing and challenging in both groups. Thus in TCOTF sessions I was deeply conscious of the need to limit, control and discipline my interventions in order to leave the students space to develop their own views in dialogue. Various publications over the years from the Society for Research into Higher Education acknowledge and address this need (eg Rudduck, 1978; Bligh, 1986; Weil and McGill, 1990). In this experiment in initial teacher education in the context of the early 1990s however the dilemma of balancing space and support within the institutional context was intensified by the effect of the wider context. The rate of political and educational change associated with cultural restorationism was accelerating and increasingly affected TCOTF students. In 1991/2 the increasingly restorationist climate pressed TCOTF students adding to my own dilemmas over the role of the tutor as a postmodern intellectual mediating personal, professional, political and cultural worlds. Although, however, there was much to make sense of, it was for the students rather than myself to undertake this. But as the restorationist campaign increased through 1991/2, this was difficult sometimes to keep in clear focus.

Despite these problematics, as has been indicated the first six sessions were characterised by cohesion and trust in both groups; good attendance, participation and engagement; and a wide ranging rich exploration of the different issues raised by the extracted readings that provided the basic structure of the programme. However the last sessions of the programme in both groups were subject to the general examination pressures previously

described on COTF. Attendance fell and the course became less cohesive. I was conscious of trying to hold the course together and protect its coherence. However my attempts to counter the swamping effects of the institutional context led me at points into a more didactic role, reinforced by attempts to counter the swamping effects of the more general cultural restorationist campaign. Ironically my role as a tutor thus became much more 'traditional' under these micro and macro pressures. In summary, I had met further tutor dilemmas on TCOTF, involving the balance between tutor and student viewpoints in the group forum. This was seen in the tension between giving the students support on the one hand and offering creative space on the other. The adoption of the cultural reconstructionist stance involving an ethic of the person and the planet was thus in tension with the space for student responses to educational, political and cultural concerns. I concluded that the tutor should offer alternative perspectives for the group to discuss, rather than succumbing to the temptation to lecture. Students' views of this were similar.

3.3 Students' Views of Term One of Teachers and Children of the Future

'Great expectations' had typified student hopes of the course, had these been met by the first term? What could be learned about student concerns emerging from the term? I approached questions like this in July in the final session of term one, where I asked students to offer a written personal development profile. I also asked for further anonymous comment on the course. I received seventeen such anonymous responses, out of a possible twenty eight. The three overseas students had returned home at this point, so from this point on the numbers in my sample were reduced.

Generally students were very positive in their perceptions, although they had many useful critical insights to offer also. The anonymous format was more useful for the latter and is drawn on here. A few students had found the course and the readings had started on difficult and 'shaky ground' (Group 1, response 5) and felt initially 'overwhelmed' (Group 1 response 7). However these students echoed the development of students on COTF in finding that as the group 'gelled' it produced support to go 'beyond my usual reading repertoire' (Group 1, response 4), so that:

As the course progressed the readings have come together ...For me the 'reflective teaching reading helped to bring the course together ...I find the supportive nature of the group extremely positive...I don't feel that I am having to compete and that my contributions are worthwhile. This is something that I do not always feel at College....Three months ago I would not have even been able to start on writing such as this. I feel as if I have now recaptured my reasons for wanting to be a teacher (Group 1, response 7)

Such responses were familiar from COTF and there was further confirmation of earlier patterns. Some students had for example developed further insight into the flexibility needed:

my personal philosophy of education is still developing....The readings and discussion time has made me realise that one's philosophy may have to be a mixture or compromise drawn from aspects of differing ideologies and that flexibility of thought is important, especially in working relationships. An open mind and freedom to rethink ideas is therefore vital for my further development.(Group 1, response 6)

Others had recovered their hopes of teaching:

The course thus far has given me hope in that I can see possible ways of putting what could loosely be called 'idealistic' beliefs into action in the classroom. (Group 2, response 4).

Again this had allowed some students to reconnect with their vocation:

I came into this term reasonably convinced that I would not complete the course and would never step in a classroom again. Most of the college experience up to that time seemed muddled and ill-thought out, lacking in intellectual rigour, practical application or purpose. What I feel I have identified this term is the scope for self expression within education that I did not previously perceive. I felt restricted by pages of national curriculum..and all the other paraphernalia of schools to the point that teaching no longer appeared to be a human activity, requiring my interest, mental application or identity.... I am now more confident...I now want to be good in the classroom again, I want to develop my position, to examine what I do and constantly rethink my frameworks...I have been made to THINK again, rather than feeling constantly dulled by the banality and boredom of endless tutor delivery. (Group 1, response 4)

These perceptions of an existential journey constructing a personal and professional position though the course were thus strongly reminiscent of the accounts given by COTF students. The journey was once again very often perceived as from feeling existentially 'lost', to recovering a sense of personal, professional and wider political and cultural orientation. TCOTF students however tended to be much more outspoken about their perception of not having had the opportunity previously to develop their position and consequent feelings of being lost. The emotions attached to this were strong and reflected a common underlying theme of uncertainty and having lost their way, before 'recapturing' their reasons for 'wanting to be a teacher' on the course. Again this recalled the perceptions of COTF students. In summary so far, students had begun the course with 'great expectations' and had learnt to be more flexible in their thinking, valuing the freedom to think beyond the binaries which brought both hope and a sense of recovering or finding themselves after a period of doubt and feeling lost.

Other students thought that the course 'began in a very positive way' (Group 1 response 3) but had 'suffered' 'an unfortunate slide in attendance' due to the 'pressures of other work' (Group 2, response 4). TCOTF student perceptions of the swamping effects of the examination driven institutional culture were even more extreme than for the previous groups. One response also connected this to 'student apathy' however and then indicated the problematics of my tutoring:

It was frustrating for me to see members of the group, including myself, bringing in our 'attitude baggage' from other parts of the course. Some people appeared cynical, others remained distant, not allowing the necessary dynamic to flow. Whether it's because you have identified this, or because you are so enthused by the topics under discussion, knowing that you have so much to share that could be of use, you do tend to dominate and lead the discussion, leaving the group, in the main, less responsive than they might otherwise be (tending to let the lecturer do the work is an easy cop out!). (Group 1, response 4)

Another student indicated however that:

there is still a respectful restraint which does create a feeling that you are more of a colleague than a legislative lecturer. (Group 2, response 2)

Another balanced this up:

the contributions of yourself are invaluable as and when deemed appropriate, as long as responsibility is not removed from some members of the group to participate in discussions. (Group 1, response 9)

In summary it seemed that although there were a variety of perceptions about the role of the tutor, it did appear that I had begun the term better perhaps than I had ended it. Under the pressure of the institutional context I had allowed myself to lower my expectations of students and to 'break

silences' (Rudduck, 1978 p76), retreating to the traditional lecturing role. All this seemed to illustrate that under pressure there was a tendency to retreat not so much to my own experience of higher education as I had thought, but more into a stereotypic 'lecturer' response.

However beyond the institutional context the gathering force of curriculum and cultural restorationism was reflected in TCOTF students experience of final teaching practice in the autumn of 1991, which is now considered.

3.4 Students' Views of Teachers and Children of the Future in Relation to Final Teaching Practice in 1991

I did not meet TCOTF students as a group until the reorientation sessions in December of 1991. Once more I wanted to find out about their thoughts and feelings in relation to the course in order to plan for the second term. In 1990, the year following the ERA, COTF students had appeared to have had their anxieties about the legislation allayed by the period of final practice. However in 1991 change had accelerated leading up to the general election. TCOTF students were concerned about the changing curriculum and cultural climate. This led me into attempts to respond by updating course members in the following week and by gathering their feelings about the course. I decided to do this with an anonymous short questionnaire asking a single question: 'At present do the perspectives of TCOTF relate to your teaching?' I received twenty six of a possible twenty eight returns to this, comprising thirty pages of A4, which are drawn on below. I also spent considerable time in the informal conversations previously described listening to what White (1991) typifies as

'war stories' from teaching practice.

What was striking about the TCOTF members responses at this point was their sense of being beleaguered. There was little comfort for students it seemed in either the worlds of policy or practice. Many students had felt teaching practice had required a 'reversal' (response 5) or 'mockery' (response 6) of ideals following the legislation. One student researched her peers' perceptions and summarised:

At its worst, there are schools who seem to have the philosophy that they exist merely to deliver a set curriculum in a prescribed manner. For the student operating in this atmosphere, there are considerable difficulties in applying one's own ideas. There are reports of teachers prescribing methodology, discipline and subject matter...In this atmosphere the student becomes a technician, a mere classroom helper...In the best situations, of course the school accepts the curriculum as a guideline...the student is able to explore and test philosophies developed in the theoretical incubator of College. Firm and wise support allows expansion. I find it worrying that there are many more reports of the former type rather than the latter...We are in the game of 'What does teacher/college want?' (Response 7)

The variety of professional response to the legislation in schools discussed in chapter one thus appears to have had deep knock on effects constraining the space for many student teachers on final practice. There was a clear comparison to be made between the intensification of teachers' work and the intensification of demands on student teachers as perceived by TCOTF students. Many students thus saw their predicament as emerging teachers as being disempowered and trapped between worlds, their 'voices lost' (response 1). Others who had very successful practices also identified the problem of balancing the demands of tutor, teacher and legislation. However, this perception of their predicament seems to have contributed to positive

expectations of TCOTF. Responses thus repeated the by now familiar patterns of valuing the group process as a 'coaching mechanism' (response 22), offering 'neutral ground' (response 16), 'time to think' (response 13) and to 'evolve' (response 14) a personal philosophy of education free from 'indoctrination' (response 10). What was being valued it seems was the opportunity for relatively free self and social reflection and expectations of the second term were again high.

3.5 Tutor View of Term Two of Teachers and Children of the Future and the Role of the Tutor

The announcement of the Three Wise Men inquiry in December 1991 added to the uncertain climate affecting the development of TCOTF. I felt that the disorganised ending to the first term of the course, accompanied by the difficulties of final teaching practice, followed by the forceful effects of curriculum and cultural restorationism created a difficult context for the course that needed further response. Also the beginning of the second term was going to be as difficult institutionally as the ending of the first term of the course, the timetable indicated that group one would lose the first session. I decided therefore to avoid this loss by amalgamating the two groups for a first common reorientation session to begin the new term, in order to address some of the wider contextual problematics with a lecture. I planned to separate groups for the second session of the term in which the Meighan and Harber (1986) options would be offered and then to negotiate the term programme. I reserved two sessions, the first for the visiting teachers, since broad enthusiasm for this had already been expressed; the second for an

evaluation session for the course in which I hoped to involve other tutors. However some of this proved to be more of a problem than was foreseen.

Retrospectively it is not difficult to see the difficulties and contradictions at work in the opening sessions of the term. These soon surfaced in the issues connected to the role of the tutor previously raised. The first term had ended with a more didactic attempt to hold the course together against local and national pressures. The second term began with a lecture that was similarly motivated. I hoped in my lecture to role model the teacher as intellectual and to hold the course together. I also hoped to empower and support student voice in 'talking back' to powerful political voices. In practice however the form of the session may simply have recalled the traditional power/knowledge relations of students and tutors and contradicted the attempt to create a more balanced democratic forum. Questions and discussion following the lecture was good, but only about a third of the students spoke. Retrospectively the decision to lecture, which was taken because of local and contextual factors, may have added to student perceptions of being swamped and dominated by powerful others which final teaching practice had left them with. Intended tutor 'support' thus contradicted desires for student 'space', domination rather than democracy resulted. These contradictions emerged in the subsequent session of TCOTF.

In the second session the TCOTF groups were presented with the Meighan and Harber (1986) options for the term. My field notes indicate that both TCOTF groups were puzzled by what was being asked of them. There were two non-optional elements built in, one for visiting teachers and the other for

open forum evaluations to assist the research. The use of the term 'evaluation' for this proved to be unfortunate. What this seemed to indicate for some students was another confirmation of the traditional power/knowledge relations between students and tutors, which had been revived by the lecture format of the previous week. Perceptions of the gatekeeper role of the tutor re-emerged and so 'evaluation' was perceived to mean tutor assessment of students. My efforts to indicate the connection of the 'evaluation' to the action research element of TCOTF, rather than to assessment of students, was accepted in group one who went on to take a form of the democratic group option and to set a programme for the term (see appendix 3.6). However it was unsuccessful in the second group, who now needed reassurance about my intentions and were unable to take group decisions about the way forward. In the end I was forced to intervene and propose a similar programme of student presentations for the term as had been agreed by group 1 (see appendix 3.7).

Both groups went on to complete their term programmes well. However further differences between the two groups were also plain. The first group settled into a developed 'performing' mode, in which independence and interdependence were balanced (Tuckman, 1965). They devised and organised an open forum to include other tutors and showed great cohesion. My March 1992 fieldnotes indicate that the feeling of later sessions was 'deeply satisfying'. The second group however did not reach the same harmony or performance levels. The presentations were good, but discussion never really 'stormed' or 'normed' out (Tucker, 1965). The strongly individualised expectations, balkanised groupings and polarised views were never properly overcome.

Politeness and silence became devices to avoid conflict. Further student perspectives on term two may now be considered relation to the role of the tutor.

3.6 Students' Views of Term Two of Teachers and Children of the Future and the Role of the Tutor

These perceptions were gathered through the interim evaluation open forum exercise referred to above; final written course evaluations collected in the final sessions; and personal development profiles given in at the end of the course. I have focused first on perceptions of course content and then on process and the role of the tutor, in order to outline what seemed to be at stake on TCOTF.

The groups had agreed on different formats for the open forum evaluation, which allowed for different perspectives to be gathered through six other tutors, following very general starter questions (see appendix 3.8). Tutors also used a 'devil's advocate approach' to supplement the exchange. Group one organised a whole group event involving four tutors. I subsequently taped interviews with three of these tutors and took field notes in the fourth case. Group two preferred a small group approach and involved four tutors, one of whom taped the conversation with the students; whilst another reported perspectives through written communication. I interviewed and took field notes with the other two tutors involved. In general what emerges from this exercise is a positive picture, but some clear reservations were also expressed.

The content of the course was articulated clearly by all students involved in terms of what it had been about for them. Some group one students reported this as:

Ying and yang, crap detecting, reflective thinking and paradigm shift.

(Tutor 1, TCOTF group 1, taped interview, March 1992).

Some group two students perceptions were as follows:

- 1) *It was about exploring and establishing a personal philosophy.*
- 2) *It was about considering themselves as reflective classroom practioners.*
- 3) *It was a course designed to explore where their own philosophy was in relation to the wide reading offered in the first part of the course.*
- 4) *It was about considering themselves serious intellectuals with a point of view.*
- 5) *It was about reflecting on the values and attitudes they took to all situations.*

(Tutor 4, written communication. TCOTF group 2, March 1992).

Most groups discussed idealism and realism. One tutor used a devil's advocate approach with some students from group one. He suggested to the students that TCOTF had prepared 'idealists' whereas schools wanted 'pragmatists', whereas 'experienced' teachers would teach 'new teachers to unlearn the ideals.' He reported student response as follows:

Joanne thought that was a false way of putting things because she reckoned what the course had done for them was not so much indoctrinate them into ideals, as to help them to become more reflective, and more aware and to think things through. These were the sorts of skills they had acquired and that

reflectiveness isn't something that they could ever lose. They couldn't be talked out of that way of seeing. Now they'd personally acquired those ideals, they were something that they owned, not something they'd learnt. Nevertheless it was appreciated by Kim that it would be difficult to go against the system in the school. (Tutor 3a, TCOTF 1, taped interview, March 1992).

Clearly the cultural content of the course and the role of teachers as intellectuals had been challenging. Some group 1 students too felt that TCOTF should have 'happened much earlier', but perceived it to be a 'model' (tutor 3a *ibid*) for other BEd courses. Discussing this point further one tutor commented:

*I think TCOTF is an example for us all, it demonstrates the extent to which students can take charge of their own learning and how they can take responsibility for their own learning. I like the way students took responsibility for the evaluation session. There is a high level of discussion and reflectiveness, it's doing the sort of things hoped of the course. So I think other tutors have got quite a lot to learn from it. (Tutor 3a *ibid*)*

However, since TCOTF students were self-selecting, the type of tutoring required was challenging. The role of the tutor might have been difficult for students to discuss, given the close relationships I had formed. One tutor involved in the group one evaluation pointed out that this relationship may have also have conditioned the response of the students he talked to:

*Students saw that you were putting yourself on the line, so they felt a commitment from them was required. A sense of fairness, a feeling that Rod's done it so we've got to. A personal thing that went above syllabus. (Tutor 1, *ibid*)*

However this general relationship could be too easily unbalanced and lost. Group 2 students particularly made this point, albeit with great tact, indicating that whilst I was perceived as 'a good speaker' with a 'a lot to offer', this meant

that I had often 'side-tracked' discussions from student concerns (Tutor 3b
ibid). Other group 2 students were:

Challenged but still rather insecure in their own philosophies...they felt intimidated by the strength of your own philosophy and ability to justify your own identity as a professional. (Tutor 4, ibid).

This recalled an earlier related course discussion about the role of the tutor in group 2, when one student suggested that students should speak first in the forum and that the tutor should then comment on their views. But another student had objected:

I don't think that would be right, it would be like waiting for God to speak!
(Field note, January 1992)

Evidently the balance between tutor and students was not at all easy to find! In the end of course evaluations the point was again firmly made by four group 1 students. In a joint evaluation of course process they first indicated that 'Talking really helps!', but then made it clear what they saw as the balance of talk on a continuum between students and tutor, seen in terms of seminars and lectures:

*Seminar<---1-----2----->Lectures (NB lecturing has been included
in seminars through Rod's
input)*

These students indicated that they had had position two on the continuum on TCOTF, but that they would have liked position one. My intention had been to role model critique and creativity and to lend experience to emerging teachers, but this was not to be achieved by overtalking students. In all it was clear that at points I had been too dominant a presence and voice and that this

could be intimidating. This was reinforced, as I found in a number of later informal interviews, by the fact that the 'gatekeeper' role of the tutor was much more intrusive for both groups than I had realised. In the following year several retrospective comments on this were made, for example:

It was always there in the background: you're a lecturer you'll be marking my paper...It didn't really bother me that other people were there for the presentations, it was because you were there taking notes. I was always wondering how much of this was going into the PhD! But I don't know how many of the others felt that way..not that I minded you were doing your research, but it was just the feeling of being watched. (Jane, tape 4 September 1993)

Thus in various research conversations it became clear that the powerful gaze of the tutor, most evident in the gatekeeper function of course assessment, could not easily be circumnavigated. This made power sharing difficult. When asked after graduation what he had found difficult and different about TCOTF one group two mature student told me:

No-one had ever offered me that freedom before, to think for myself. I did not know what you meant at first, then I found I didn't know how to do it. (Field note, July 1992)

I found that the attempt I had made to negotiate greater trust between tutor and students constrained by deep and long established individual and institutional patterns. The hierarchies and controls that some students had been used to in their institutional lives were too deep to be dissolved by the relatively brief contact of TCOTF. This seemed to be at its most acute amongst some of the mature students in group 2. On the other hand, I too was prone it seemed to retreat into the habits of power/knowledge of the academy, despite the fact that my own experience and history had been of a more democratised

approach. Any attempt to balance power/knowledge relations between tutor and students was thus revealed as something that was complex and not open to simple assumptions that the old hierarchies could be easily shifted. Despite these difficulties however what was at stake in achieving the balance successfully may now be illustrated further through the self-profiles many TCOTF students completed.

3.7 Students' Self-Profiles

These profiles were extracted from the files student kept through the course. Individual response varied considerably, some students stayed with a conventional note-taking format in their files, others ventured into expressive forms such as polemic or poetry. I asked for extracts with a linking commentary, or for a newly written retrospective piece at the end of the course. I received twelve profiles and a number of further invitations to take extracts from files. The patterns evident previously in the COTF profiles re-emerged here, with different emphases being placed on concerns with self, school and society. This will be illustrated by selections from two profiles which also indicate how much was at stake for many students taking TCOTF.

Rachel's Self-Profile

Rachel reported that she had:

always wanted to be a teacher ...why I was drawn there was because I know how I was treated at school and I perceived it should be different so it's wonderful to go and make that change. (Rachel, tape 1, November 1992)

However, by the time of reaching the third year of the BEd, the feeling of being lost that was common to many TCOTF students, had overtaken her. In Rachel's perception this was linked to the fact that the BEd set out idealised prescriptions of 'good practice in each subject in abstract' which differed from the school realities where more 'formal teaching' predominated. Rachel felt that:

There was a major gap between the college input and the school experience, who was failing me or college, or the schools?

This illustrates the existential predicament of many students of being lost between the worlds of college and school. In relation to opting for TCOTF she recalls:

I started the course at a very low point, I had given up both personally and professionally- you couldn't really get much lower!...Completely disillusioned I think would sum up how I felt about teaching at this time. I didn't feel I could be as good as I should be, I couldn't inflict bad teaching on children, also involved with this was low self-esteem and lack of confidence, fear, therefore I convinced myself I wasn't cut out to be a teacher, even if I wanted to be.

In term one of TCOTF her profile indicates she had found 'rays of hope' in the course content focused on being 'good enough', meaning the shared struggle to 'do the best you can', seeking out 'collegial support' rather than succumbing to guilty secrecy, and understanding that the 'journey of continuous development' rather than an 'ultimate state' of perfection defined reflective professional life. Rachel also recorded that she had felt empowered by understanding that the binary opposition between idealism and realism could be refused. This illustrates the importance of *support* for such personal and professional development. A great deal of this developing understanding

seems to have been reinforced by her very successful final teaching practice in which she learnt to take risks and to steer herself through the overload by clarifying priorities. Her profile gave an account of her struggle with the dilemmas of reflective teaching and indicates that she was gradually moving beyond the binary of formal/informal teaching. The priority in her own development and her interlinked emerging developmental approach to primary education became self-esteem.

In term two of TCOTF promoting self-esteem in children was her chosen presentation topic. Rachel's account of this in her profile illustrated the power of what she called 'self-motivated' study, in which the quest for existential and personal meaning could take over from a more academic concerns. Again in the terms previously employed this illustrated the importance of the *space* given over to students to develop themselves. Rachel's account indicated just how much may be gained in giving both support and space over to personal development focused within group structures. Rachel indicated that finding her 'voice' and 'taking the risk of really speaking' in group had been dependent on an inner 'struggle' to overcome a long standing tendency since 'schooldays' to be more passive in groups. Key factors in helping her to do this were the fact that now she had something that she 'genuinely' wanted to say and that the mutual 'commitment' of the group had 'pulled at the urge within me to want to take part'. She perceived the group experience had been central since 'other parts of the BEd didn't reach me in this way'. She identified the importance of the 'ethos' of the group, in which 'the valuing of people's opinions', 'honest communication, and sharing of feelings, particularly fears' created a 'supportive feel to the group'.

Finally, she reported: 'I left college with real vision, and gained a strength in my philosophy'. Thus the mixture of personal and professional concerns identified by Rachel were perceived as being 'inseparably locked together' breaking the 'barriers' between the two through the focus TCOTF initiated:

Every step I have made in my personal development, was a step in developing as a teacher ...taking me to the heart of teaching, and to the heart of myself as a person.

In sum this reinforced many of the themes and findings from both COTF and TCOTF. What seemed to be at stake in achieving a balance between support and space on TCOTF was thus empowerment and personal development which was perceived to be inextricably linked to professional development. Alex's self-profile widened these perspectives.

Alex's Self-Profile

Alex was a mature student and his approach to the profile showed his concern with the broader social and cultural dimensions addressed by TCOTF. Alex's presentation in term two was based on a series of poems he had written especially to express these concerns, contained in the profile, four of which were later published in a refereed journal (see appendix 3.9). In a later conversation I learned that he had never written poetry before and had felt 'enormous risk' (Alex tape 1, March 1993) in doing so for his presentation. Alex's cultural analysis prompted reflections on the complex themes of ideology, vision, representation and reality throughout the course:

The invisible society-the society that I think many of us have in our heads- is a story, or glimpses of a story. The invisible society is not the internalised image

of our society 'as it is' but another society, articulated partially or hardly at all, lost in a fog of barely knowing, the society we posit as an alternative to the one we actually live in. (Alex, Self-Profile March 1992)

This critical reflection on the ideological factors was related to education in Alex's poems, which offer a critique of curriculum and cultural restorationism. What is at stake is clearly envisioned as the human potential of the children on the receiving end. Poems such as *Lesson, Lines* and *World as Streaming* deconstruct the divisions perceived to diminish children. The poem *Conflict* articulates a sense of the loss of human potential under the 'competencies from the consortium'. *All I Learned in School Was to Keep a Low Profile* indicates the final loss of identity and agency perceived in impoverished expectations of children. In *Teachers* professional agency is weighed up and given a central place. Taken together Rachel and Alex both offered powerful illustrations of what was perceived by many students on TCOTF to be at stake in personal, professional, political and cultural terms.

3.8 Summary and Conclusions

Following on from the earlier version of the course TCOTF attempted to assist students existentially in making sense of becoming a primary teacher in a time of change. Students opting for the course were different to their peers in a number of respects, most notably in their concern with educational, political and cultural change. This seemed to have caused doubt and uncertainty, expressed existentially in feelings of having lost their personal and professional sense of direction. Students had high expectations that TCOTF would assist them in making sense of being a primary teacher. I too hoped to

be more adventurous and to dare more in offering students space and support. At first these mutually high expectations led to an explosive and creative start to the course. However, this also highlighted a tutor dilemma that had emerged on COTF, involving what professional strategic response tutors might encourage to the political legislation. A range of possible options from compliance through resistance to the more creative were identified. On TCOTF the more creative option was offered where possible, refusing the compliance/resistance binary and presenting this as on COTF, as a part of the new professionalism of reflective practice in the 1990s, associated with the dialectic of idealism and realism and reflective practice beyond the binaries. Another dilemma for the tutor here was in how far to press the cultural ethic of the person and the planet, or how far the democratic space of the course should be left to students' critical expression. Again the more creative aspects of cultural critique and possibility were offered as a counter to the potential domination of a more negative and angst ridden postmodern mood.

The strong beginning to the course was overtaken by contextual factors in three forms. First, the institutional context and assessment overload eroded the coherence of the course; second, on final teaching practice the combined effects of legislation and ideology on schools led to new constraints on students; third the threat of further political intervention and cultural restorationist tendencies was an increasing influence. This raised a further dilemma in tutoring the course and retaining its coherence. This proved to be resolved better by renewing the democratic space offered to students and encouraging student voice, rather than being tempted to perform that intellectual function for them. Didactic 'rescue' of the course proved to be

counter-productive, in some respects simply invading student space. This revealed the delicacy of the balance between tutor and student input and the need to recreate and renew that balance afresh with groups and individuals. The role of the tutor as postmodern intellectual and facilitator was thus constantly in tension with that of gatekeeper and 'lecturer'. Lapses into the latter were as strong a temptation for the tutor as for some students. The difficulty of dissolving the hegemony of long established hierarchical habits based on didactic institutional forms of power/knowledge in the relations of tutors and students was clear. Thus the complexities of the attempt to follow Meighan and Harber's (1986) more democratic approach, the postmodern equalisations posited by Wilkin (1993) and the spiralling interchanges proposed by Griffiths and Tann (1992), were revealed.

In many respects TCOTF students replicated the perceptions of COTF students. Both perceived their development through the course as an existential journey from being lost to recovering or reconstructing themselves. The personal and professional aspects of such development were not distinguishable. Like their predecessors TCOTF students had repeatedly indicated that the space for personal development underlying professional development was relatively neglected on the BEd. In addition space for students seemed to be diminishing in school also. The existential and holistic integration of the elements in the BEd into a personal and professional stance was thus again perceived to be a vital need that was overlooked by official preparation for teaching.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter an attempt to design, develop and evolve a reflective course offering space and support to developing teachers as intellectuals has been considered. Selected issues arising from the institutional context and the developing content and evolving process of the course have been considered. Students' perception of their predicament and the role of the tutor have been explored and some general conclusions may now be drawn out.

The institutional context may be taken as a particular case of the general postmodern confusion of teacher education identified by Wilkin (1993) and Hartley (1994b). Research conducted by the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) team (Miles et al, 1993) on institutions found about 'three-quarters' (p277) of course leaders reported that course followed the model of the reflective practitioner. In the particular institution, after the first breaches in the foundation disciplines approach to teacher education, an early form of the reflective teaching model struggled to emerge. However, the attempt at a simple reversal of the theory to practice model, for a practice to theory model was itself always flawed because it perpetuated the theory/practice binary (Alexander, 1984). It was also overtaken by national political intervention emanating from the New Right (Gilroy, 1992), mixed with local multiple institutional changes. There is thus a deep irony in the political attacks on 'theory' in teacher education because the attempt to ditch 'theory' was both well advanced already and deeply misguided. The problem, therefore, was not so much too much theory informing teacher education, but precisely the lack of reconstructed theory to succeed the demise of the foundations model (Reid,

1978). The MOTE researchers (Furlong et al, 1995) found that the reflective practitioner was 'undefined' (p286) and often meant no more than 'personal reflection'. They asked whether the general 'flight from theory' (p287) was 'leaving students adrift in a sea of post-modernism?'. In the institution considered here students had to construct their own 'niche narratives', but this could become pragmatic muddling through, rather than a more professional reflective approach. What the loss of public theory in effect meant institutionally was an inability to offer an overall rationale for the BEd and to indicate the type of teacher the institution aimed to promote. It appears to be the case, therefore, that teacher education in general and the institution in particular shared the common cultural fate and lost its sense of direction in the 1980s.

It was not surprising, therefore, to find some of the students in the institution who elected to take the COTF and TCOTF course also felt they had lost their way. Their account of their predicament was often existentially charged with some of the negative 'emotions of teaching', comparable to those of serving teachers in an embryonic form (Nias, 1989). The emotional charge is understandable when the personal/professional binary is deconstructed, for many of the students being lost in one realm meant a corresponding loss in the other. As the controls of regressive modernity were advanced by the restorationist climate, so the uncertainty of students and the threat to the self appears to have increased. The previous muddling through was increasingly problematic as intensification advanced, space and support for students at an informal level seems to have suffered. The BEd was slow to adapt to the need to offer official space and support which might counter the negative emotions

of teaching in postmodernity. This cultural lag, which Hargreaves (1994) identifies in education in postmodernity generally, seems to have contributed to the feelings of personal and professional lostness forming the existential predicament of many of the COTF and TCOTF students. More widely this condition also seemed to be connected to the general pessimism and uncertainty associated with postmodernity. However the COTF and TCOTF courses indicated that something could be done to address the predicament of students on the BEd, despite local and national constraints and the general cultural climate. These courses attempted to develop students as critical and creative intellectuals in order to facilitate both their individual and collaborative efforts and to support them in making existential sense of their predicament, beyond the older binary oppositions and cultural confusions. In practice however these attempts raised many tutor dilemmas.

Substantive dilemmas surrounded both the theoretical content and reflective process of the courses. Finding the balance between content and process, between 'public' theory mediated by the tutor and the 'private' theory developed by students was difficult. The role of the tutor became that of postmodern interpretative intellectual mediating a broad ethic of person and planet. This seemed to provide students with sufficient cultural orientation to allow self-directed professionalism to emerge. The comparison and contrast with foundation disciplines is worth making here. If the disciplines once imposed modernist foundation theory on teacher education as Hartley (1994b) and Wilkin (1993) suggest, then cultural studies would appear to be worth exploring further for its postmodernist theoretical contributions to teacher education on a perspectivist and democratised model. However it is precisely

here that some of the most challenging dilemmas concerning the balance of public and private theory and tutor and student contributions were encountered in the present work. Such balance cannot be found in a simplistic reversal of theory/practice or modernist/postmodernist models of teacher education, the older paradigm cannot be so easily shifted, nor the new achieved. I had tried to create a balanced position but found that balance is dynamic and particular to the people in the forum. This theoretical truism was experienced as the problematic of practice with each different group, individual and session. The balance between tutor and students on COTF and TCOTF thus varied, but some regression under pressure to modernist power/knowledge settlements was evident. The weight of personal habit and educational biography in tutors and students formed in the educational traditions of formal structures of modernist educational institutions had to be reckoned with (Hargreaves 1994). The mixed experience of COTF and TCOTF confirmed that the historic power/knowledge settlements of educational institutions are not easily dissolved or changed.

The difficulties in democratising teacher education courses are thus formidable and the effort to win through the postmodern confusions of initial teacher education needs much more general support than has been evident in the early to mid 1990s. More generally the prospects for such attempts within the continuing tendency of government in the late 1990s to take 'back-to-basics' initiatives and to regulate teacher preparation programmes in terms of performance competencies, may further discourage attempts at democratisation. However this returns discussion to the contradictions and opportunities of such reforms, considered earlier in this chapter (see 1.1).

Where individual tutors take the opportunities their immediate institutional context and personal and professional biographies allow, it seems that the dilemmas explored in the present work would reappear. Also if the general social, cultural and political climate should turn to democratic renewal in the future then a revised rationale for teacher education in promoting such aspirations might draw on work such as that undertaken here. The question of a cultural rationale for teacher education will be considered further in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

Previously, in chapter one, the predicament of the new teacher in changing times was considered in relation to the conjuncture of professional and political forces in postmodernity. It was proposed that new teachers needed to be prepared as intellectuals in order to meet this inherited challenge. The next stage methodologically was to employ action research in an attempt to implement and to evaluate the proposal in initial teacher education, which was considered in chapter three. The second cohort of students involved in this, who took the Teachers and Children of the Future course, were followed through into their first year in teaching. This chapter investigates the resulting views of the newly qualified teachers of their predicament. The intention was to contrast my original view of that predicament, with the new teachers' perspectives and to evaluate and reconsider my proposal that new teachers act as intellectuals. This approach to studying new teachers in the first year of teaching had both similarities and differences to previous research approaches in the field in terms of focus and method, which are now considered.

The focus in the present work was on the predicament of new teachers caught up in the ideological conflicts accompanying change in educational policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s which reflected the problematics of postmodernity. Methodologically it was hoped that the employment of a critical ethnography would allow policy critique to be mixed with concern to raise the voices of new teachers otherwise lost in the current climate (see chapter 2.3). Nias (1989) indicates that in research there have been few

attempts to portray 'the reality of teaching from the standpoint of, or in the words of, teachers themselves' (p19), and Cortazzi (1991) notes the same lack. This seems to be even more the case for the voices of new teachers which this chapter therefore attempts to recover. This approach built on some previous work on the first year of teaching. Both Nias (1989) and Bullough et al (1991) offer useful overviews and extensions of previous work, but this research predates the impact of the ideological and policy changes of the 1990s in both the UK and the USA. These previous accounts are mostly focused on the personal and professional dimensions of primary teaching, although both indicate awareness of wider concerns. Nias, for example, speculates about the impact of the ERA and media misrepresentations on teachers in her conclusions. The present study attempts to work on from her speculations in relation to new teachers. However, this is a complex and difficult task as other accounts of emerging teachers demonstrate. Some studies after Nias' do not appear to achieve the same depth or penetration on the personal and professional dimensions, in addition they do not confront the problematics of policy adequately. Although Tickle's (1994) account of the first year does offer a critique of some aspects of policy, particularly the abolition of the probationary year (DES 1991), it does not include a specific focus on either the impact of the national curriculum overload, or the 'back to basics' initiatives following the Three Wise Men report (Alexander et al 1992). Bennett and Carré (1993) take an 'academic' and 'social efficiency' (p12) approach, and acknowledge a 'crisis' (p12) in teacher education connected with subject knowledge and the overload identified by Alexander et al (1992). But there is little reference to the new teacher's need to deal with similar overload on the primary curriculum. Consequently, of the accounts so far identified Nias and

Bullough et al remain the most useful reference points for present purposes in considering, as Bullough et al (1991) put it, new teachers acting as 'centres of meaning-making' (p190).

Other studies from the USA of a more critical and 'social reconstructionist' (Tabachnick and Zeichner 1991 p9) orientation also identify areas explored in the present study. Goodman (1985) looked at strategies employed by emerging student teachers negotiating 'space' for themselves and their ideas of teaching within the system. Goodman observed strategies of 'passive' or 'active acceptance' (p36/7), in which emerging teachers attempted to 'fit into' schools with a lesser or greater degree engagement of belief. Goodman also identified degrees of 'latent' or 'overt resistance' to more routine practices. Similarly Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) also studied new teachers' social strategies on entering school communities. These researchers drew on Lacey's (1977) work on teacher socialisation and identified new teachers fitting in through 'strategic compliance' to existing school norms; 'internalised adjustment' in which new teachers identified themselves with school norms; and 'strategic redefinition' where attempts to change the norms were made with varying degrees of success. Zeichner and Tabachnick identify a division between those research studies that claim that the 'reality shock' of the first year causes a loss of idealism, and other studies like their own that claim that this is not 'inevitable' (p19). However these researchers indicate a need for more 'specific' insight into these processes, and again this offered a useful reference and departure point for the present work in the UK context in the 1990s.

In summary, there is a need to build on previous work in this field by

studying the impact of the wider political and cultural context on new teachers in the 1990s in the UK. The present study therefore attempted to move onward from previous symbolic interactionist accounts such as those given by Nias and Bullough et al, which focused on the personal and the professional, by paying further attention to political and cultural change. Denzin (1995) traces such research paradigm shifts, which involve extensions of earlier symbolic interactionist stances under postmodern influences, and parallel the growth of a cultural psychology, emphasising contextual and cultural interpretation (Much, 1995; Kvale, 1992; Bruner, 1990). Smith et al (1995 p7) also note that 'the new paradigm involves giving space to previously unheard or marginalised voices', particularly as in this case where political rhetoric and the discourse of policy overrides the voices of new teachers. The rate of linked educational, political and cultural change in the 1990s in fact renews Wright Mills' (1970 p207) emphasis on the micro/macro links between 'personal' and 'public' troubles. This chapter explores the interchange between the personal, professional and political dimensions in order to reapproach the cultural in the concluding chapter. However one general feature of the connection between these spheres emerging from the present work is worth immediate mention. Previously Nias (1989 p67) noted the 'consistent and depressing' nature of the accounts given by her teachers of the first year of teaching in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s the accelerating impact of the educational, political and cultural changes associated with postmodernity seem, in fact, to have further darkened the perceptions of the new teachers followed here. On the evidence of this study, the predicament of new teachers has intensified and become more extreme than that of their predecessors.

The chapter draws on data gathered from former TCOTF students in their first year of teaching in 1992/3 working in the UK. Just under two thirds of the former TCOTF students took up first teaching posts in this year, whilst the others were either unable to find a post and/or decided not to teach immediately. This produced a sample comparable in size to both Carré's (1993) and Bullough et al's (1991). Of the nineteen new teachers in post, six were on short term contracts. All TCOTF members opted for staying in touch. However it was not possible for me to visit those working further away and contacts were maintained through written and telephone communications, which were taped following Carré (1993), or were written up from field notes afterwards. I also used school vacations to meet individually and collectively with seven of the further flung group to conduct interviews. However the main group followed through were six working within the region, who formed a self-selected core opting for regular closer contact involving interviews each term in different venues in and out of school. Also I gave support when requested and gained insight into the 'massive doubts' about personal adequacy noted by Nias (1989 p67). Similarly I also kept in touch with three others in the region not in post but living in close proximity. Individual interviews conducted in this way, ranged from thirty minutes to two hours each and were either taped or written up from field notes. The interviews and research conversations followed the same format developed on TCOTF, with general invitations to 'tell me' about aspects of school life, being freely focused by the individual interests and concerns of the new teachers. In general I found that the new teachers talked about themselves; other teachers; their mentor or head especially when this was the same person; parents; their difficulties with teaching children particularly in terms of 'basics'; and the

national curriculum and associated assessment, recording and reporting. References back to the TCOTF course and their BEd courses ran through these research conversations and provided valuable retrospective insight. The general themes emerging from the individual accounts were followed through in the form of a qualitative questionnaire in the summer term which was sent to the whole group, and also to teachers in a large local primary school for comparison. Lastly two lengthy group interviews were conducted in the summer term and acted as summative end of year meetings involving four of the farther flung group from outside the region, and three from the regional core group, which were both taped and written up from field notes immediately afterwards. Throughout this process I continued to feed back the emerging narratives and views of the new teachers in order to gain 'respondent validation' where possible (Woods 1986 p86).

As Nias noted some aspects of the emerging narratives made depressing listening. Over the year I found that as I sought to understand the situation of new teachers from the inside by exploring their perceptions of their predicament my own perspective as an ex-primary teacher and headteacher shifted uncomfortably. Eighteen years of primary teaching in Oxfordshire had given me a particular view of primary teachers and education referred to in the autoethnography (appendix 1). Despite my critical orientation my memory of the deep difficulty and existential struggle of my own probationary year proved to have been blunted by the passage of time. My views had thus become those of an insider. Now, in effect, the new teachers' perceptions acted as a type of research alienation device, making strange the profession that had been familiar to me. This was particularly the case in the later stages of the

field work and the beginning of what proved to be a protracted writing-up period where both time and further autoethnographic enquiry were needed to distance and to clarify my own new perspectives. These developing perspectives are presented here in chronological order drawing, with a few exceptions, first on the data gathered from the individual interviews, second the questionnaire, and third the group interviews.

1 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

The welter of data generated from individual interviews posed problems both of analysis and presentation. Nias (1989 p8) indicates that analysing her own data base posed 'formidable' problems in that her approach had used 'broad questions' which are subsequently difficult to process and to handle. Nias reports that she sifted information in order to allow general themes and categories to emerge following Glaser and Strauss' (1967) notions of grounded theory, and then sought for 'saturation' defined as the point 'when new evidence contributed nothing further to my understanding' (p9). There are both similarities and differences in the approach adopted here. After a considerable period of immersion in the data I found that the general emerging themes in fact followed on from the action research approach adapted from McNiff (1988), around the general categories of personal, professional, political and cultural concerns referred to above.

Some clear patterns also emerged, in relation to in-school reference groups (Nias p51) involved in the micro-political aspects of school life (Ball 1987). The new teachers in my sample had real concerns about the self in relation to

other teachers, headteachers, and parents. This linked to common concerns first over their difficulties with controlling and teaching children 'basics' competently in the eyes of other professionals and parents; and secondly in coping with the context of changing national policy. In summary, I had found my themes and categories and their contents were susceptible to the 'saturation' of meanings Nias describes. However MacLure (1993) warns that such meanings are indeterminate and not ultimately subject to final analytic closure, and is critical of Nias' use of category analysis on the grounds that categories like 'community' or 'idealism' (p314), for example, have very different meanings depending on school context and individual usage and are hard therefore to compare. On the whole these problematics did not appear to apply so much to the less ambiguous nature of the categories of the school reference groups such as 'headteachers', 'teachers' or 'parents' used here. However the main themes were much more ambiguous to handle. MacLure's speculation that 'teachers may be undergoing a particularly acute crisis of identity' (p311) under current political changes underpins these personal and professional problematics which this chapter attempts to explore in relation to new teachers.

The second problem emerging from the welter of the data collected from the individual interviews is one of space to report findings, a difficulty which has affected much in the presentation of this thesis, particularly in relation to the aspiration to attempt a many voiced or polyphonic form. I decided therefore to follow aspects of Carré (1993) and Bullough et al's (1991) approach to the presentation of findings and to offer profiles of four of the new teachers in more detail, which summarise and typify some important aspects of the

general predicament of the new teachers in the sample. Carré (1993) offered three brief 'summary sketch profiles' (p208) of new teachers in schools where staff were friendly and helpful', whilst Bullough et al (1991) offered six more extended accounts and separated their sample following Huberman's (1989) distinction between 'painful' and 'easy' beginnings. In the present sample all beginnings were hard, but some were more extreme than others. Jane's story which is considered ahead for example was at an extreme, but its very starkness identified with great clarity some common concerns of the new teachers in the sample as they met personal troubles in attempting to cope with the conjuncture of local professional expectations and national political policy. Jane's story is thus offered initially at greater length, followed by profiles of Pat, John and Alex which illuminate the main personal, professional and political themes emerging which are subsequently considered further in the questionnaire and the group interviews.

1.1 Jane's Story: Holding onto Ideals or Ideals on Hold?

An outline of Jane's background and the school and staff she joined will give the context for her evolving perceptions of her predicament through the first year of teaching. Jane had previously worked as a secretary and was in her early thirties by the time she graduated with good grades and reports from her teaching practice schools where her commitment and excellent relationships with children, teachers and parents had been recognised. She had developed specialisms in science and games and environmental education. She had also explored progressive ideas critically in relation to alternative schooling for her school linked study and had offered a further reflective critique of educational

ideology in her presentation on the Three Wise Men report in term two of TCOTF.

The post to which Jane was appointed was in a three teacher school set in its own traditions in a deeply rural community where some of the social movement of the 1980s and early 1990s was evident in the changing mixture of farming families and in-coming groups served by the school. The headteacher of the school was newly appointed, and had been a mature entrant to the profession from a business background and was himself only in the fifth year of teaching. The third teacher on the other hand had been seventeen years in the school, during which time she had only taught the infants. Budgetary uncertainties meant that Jane was appointed to this staff on a two year contract. She was to team teach the juniors with the headteacher in the open middle area of the school. She was also to take responsibility for science, physical education and had additional responsibilities for developing environmental education and special educational needs. From the outset it was thus clear that this first post carried heavy specialist demands generated by local response to the demands of the national curriculum and policy. At the time of Jane's appointment there was little by way of school policies and schemes of work in place and the headteacher was anxious to remedy this, so Jane had a full part to play in both writing and introducing such policies to both staff and parents, and the pressure was increased since a small number of the latter were also teachers. However the headteacher indicated that the reason for Jane's appointment had been the perception that as a mature student with an excellent record and references she would be able to rise to such challenges with the professional support of her new colleagues. Jane was

excited by the professional prospects and pleased to be involved so fully and responsibly from the outset. She looked forward to working with the headteacher who was to be her mentor. She took up the post in September 1992 with characteristic enthusiasm and launched into her new class by setting the middle area up for group work. However, this immediately proved to be the beginning of a number of perceived problems with controlling and teaching the children basic skills, leading to unrest amongst some parents who were concerned because she was new to teaching. These initial problems also served to mask an underlying clash of both teaching style and values between Jane as the new teacher, with the headteacher and the infant teacher which was to emerge more clearly throughout the year.

Jane's early perceptions of her predicament were affected by the constant tiredness all the new teachers I followed reported. Four broad phases of development were distinguishable across the year. The first phase of the year can be typified as a period preoccupied with 'back to basics', the second as a period of switching to subjects, the third as a period of crisis, and the last was a period of retrospective reflection. These phases are now considered in turn, drawing from the interviews conducted across the year, marking a general development in Jane from a tender to a tougher attitude to her situation and her colleagues, in which she perceived that she was not so much holding onto her ideals, as forced to place her ideals on hold.

Back to Basics

In the first period it became evident that the fact that Jane was based in the open middle area of the school, through which the headteacher had to pass to reach his teaching area meant:

I'm visible all the time. I haven't been able to shut myself off and make my own mistakes like I did on teaching practice. (Telephone tape two, 18 October 1992)

The children were not used to group work, and some problems with both control and teaching emerged. Jane later explained:

It wasn't working. They needed more structure, different seating and discipline. It just seemed to go against my principles. But it has improved, they are producing and finishing work better. It just seems to be a constant battle though, and its gone too much the other way to chalk and talk. (Tape 2 February 1993)

The new seating and structure had been imposed by the headteacher however and so Jane reported: 'I didn't feel I had a class of my own'. The difficulty of being visible all the time was compounded by the fact that there were elements of team teaching with the headteacher involved. Since the headteacher was also Jane's official mentor the asymmetric nature of the power balance was unavoidable, and this led to painful dilemmas over differences in teaching 'style'. Jane perceived the headteacher's teaching style to be more 'traditional' than her own:

He believes the parents want subject teaching. He says we should not be child-centred, we should be teaching skills and subjects. He's very ambitious, this is his second career and he's starting late.

During this first period some parents had approached the headteacher to complain that they felt that their children who were in Jane's group were not being 'stretched enough'. Jane now began to 'feel very threatened' and attempted to reappraise her teaching, particularly in relation to 'basics'. She had previously felt that a more extended process and content to the curriculum should be aimed for. Now she felt that: 'It might be easier if I didn't have those principles!'. She decided for the sake of survival: 'Right if that's what they want I'll give it to them'.

But the problems she now encountered with this survival strategy were twofold. First, she could not simply comply and follow the school's schemes of work and policies because they were not yet in place. She became frustrated with what she saw as the headteacher's 'chopping and changing' at school policy level, as he attempted to steer the school through the legislation and the changes of that period. Her second problem related to the attempt to comply and to teach 'basics':

I haven't had to teach like this before so I haven't had the grounding. I didn't get it at college and I didn't get it on teaching practice.

She felt that she could not turn to her headteacher as her mentor at this point. Despite these problems Jane felt that she had 'evolved' her principles rather than betraying them. She saw this adaptation as a part of the reflective teaching explored on the TCOTF course which she saw as 'relevant' and offering 'a way out' of her predicament. However, the second period was to bring the further challenge of the school switching from a topic based approach to a subject based approach.

Switching to Subjects

Some further clarification of the context of the switch to subjects is needed first. Jane's perception of the national curriculum in this second period reflected the general growing awareness of both its dominance and overload:

The national curriculum is not a 'basis' for the curriculum, it's the thing itself. And there's so much of it. (Tape 3, April 1993)

Before Jane's appointment a two year topic based approach was used across the school. However the headteacher was concerned about national curriculum coverage. Meanwhile local accountability remained an issue, as the demands of the legislation began to conflict with some established aspects of the school's life and the headteacher sought to balance local and national pressures. There was for example conflict with some parents over changes in the arrangements for swimming, which involved bussing and were expensive on teaching time. Jane led the presentation of the new physical education policy to parents in which the proposal for less time on swimming and more on other aspects of physical education required by the national curriculum was successfully carried through. Jane perceived this as 'using the national curriculum on parents'. Jane also introduced environmental education into the school with reference to national curriculum guidance and requirements.

However, in other respects the relationship with parents was differently resolved. There was now a growing problem for Jane in that whilst she was responding to the 'basics' agenda from the first period, some parents continued to express their dissatisfaction to the headteacher, although still not

directly to Jane herself. Mentoring conferences had been few and brief, but now the head took Jane aside and said:

You know not quite pull your socks up, but saying : You've got to change! So Monday I changed! It was ideals versus practicalities, what the parents want basically.

The head had advised her:

You've got to put on more of an act and not be so young,

Jane felt that the head:

...saw me as trying to be a student, as holding onto ideals. That's his interpretation.

She felt that the head and the infant teacher had been discussing this privately and now the headteacher became increasingly strong in his directions to her:

Basically the head said: Well forget about all that progressive crap you've had from college...He told me that in the whole five years he had been teaching, he'd found that that approach hadn't given the parents what they wanted, and therefore we've been cheating the parents. So now we give them what they want.

This was a critical moment for Jane, in which she did in fact feel 'homesick for college'. She felt that she must put her 'values on temporary hold for survival' and she began to see 'idealism and survival' as opposites. Now there was a shift from her previous perception of reflective teaching as the way out, and she was prone to polarisations. One example of this was in the teaching of handwriting, in which I offered support, demonstrating how

'basics' could be taught through processes that expressed the kind of wider aims and values she espoused. She found this 'reassuring', recovering a sense of possibility and commenting:

It's common sense! If I was still at college I would have cottoned onto it. But as I'm there day to day thinking: O God what am I going to teach tomorrow? How am I going to do this? It has gone, there's not enough room for it.

The perception that there was not 'room' for her 'common sense' was compounded by doubts at a deeper level:

I'm not sure what my values are anymore.

The threat of depersonalization strengthened and she became increasingly depressed and speculated that she might have been more flexible and less 'stuck in my ways' had she been younger, rather than being a mature student. She reported 'I just felt like resigning all the time' and was suffering from phobic feelings about school.

This was compounded by the proposed switch from topics to subjects. During this period the headteacher, having attended meetings where the NCC (1993) and OFSTED (1993) follow up reports to the Three Wise Men report were considered, proposed that the school should change from a topic based approach to a subject based approach. Jane recalled the staff meeting to discuss the proposal on a number of occasions. The headteacher had been for the proposal because it would simplify the delivery of the national curriculum, and the infant teacher felt it would make no difference to her. Jane had argued

for a 'compromise' following the position she had taken on the Three Wise Men report for her TCOTF presentation, but found herself out-manoeuvred at the school staff meeting:

He gave us a copy of the OFSTED report and I made notes and prepared discussion points. When he saw the notes he said: Forget it you're not at college any more. It all came out then, that's when he changed it. He said: This is the way it's going. This is the way the Government wants us to do it. This is what we're going to do. We're going to be the first school in the area to change to subjects.
(Tape 4 September 1993)

Jane felt that the infant teacher supported the change to subjects because it suited her approach to teaching:

She'd always done subjects. She's always done phonics. She's always done handwriting. She said: I don't mind I'll just carry on the way I've always done.

The infant teacher indicated that she never followed the changes recommended by Plowden, but had stayed with 'basics' and that she felt vindicated by the return to 'traditional' approaches. On the other hand Jane's feelings were in fact quite different, although equally strongly held:

I hated subjects...I was wavering about the top end of primary, and still am, but I didn't like the idea and concept of changing primary into subjects like I'd hated at secondary school.

The proposal was carried through the staff meeting on the basis of a trial period where a subject based curriculum would be tried out. Jane was becoming disillusioned however:

And of course it was: 'See how it goes.' But it was cut and dried.

Her depression and distress during the summer term signalled a real sense of personal and professional crisis.

Personal and Professional Crisis

Instead of being a period of consolidation following the initial difficulties Jane had experienced in settling in, the summer term brought the upheaval of the switch to subjects. None of the on-going problems were resolved and the clash of values and personalities at the local level, driven on by ideology and legislation at the national level, increased the intensified conditions in the school. The teacher's unions test boycott bypassed the school with Jane recalling that the headteacher had rhetorically stated 'we're not doing anything here, are we?' The infant teacher agreed, being a member of the Professional Association of Teachers and arguing that the boycott was 'unprofessional'. Nationally the unexpected power of the boycott led to the Dearing review, but Jane was by now barely able to see beyond her local school situation. Her perceptions were bounded by the dominance of the headteacher and the infant teacher and the national curriculum documents and by personal exhaustion and difficulty. My field notes following a long telephone conversation in July record:

Jane still suffering, tears at the back of the voice, her family suffering too. She says: 'I wish I'd never gone to a small school'. She says yet again there is a feeling of 'being watched', I'm being tested out all the time', she feels 'people are trying to catch me out.' The head has told her she has 'poor communication with parents', and with him. She says that means she has her own views, and that they are different to his. She says several times: 'I

don't feel myself (Telephone field notes July 1993)

The crisis Jane was experiencing was encapsulated by the expression 'I don't feel myself'. The sense of attack and threat to the self recalls Nias' (1989) account of the need teachers in her sample had to 'be yourself' (p182) and to feel 'whole' and 'natural' (p185). The crisis for Jane was deep, because of the inextricable links of the personal and the professional, her personhood itself felt under threat.

However, before the start of the new school year, a different response was increasingly evident since the vacation had allowed her to distance the first year through retrospective reflection and so to recover herself.

Retrospective Reflection

As the summer vacation drew to an end, Jane recovered her energy and her sense of humour. Now it seemed that the reconstruction of her self-esteem depended to a degree on the retrospective reappraisal of her situation in the school. One trigger for the reconstruction of this narrative was her recall of an explanation offered to her by the headteacher in July about why the school had switched to subjects:

He said: We changed to subjects because we thought you would find it easier.

In retrospect Jane was clear that this had not been the case, and this clarity supported a more critical appraisal. She now developed quite a different

explanation for the switch, in which irony and other new emotions and judgements gradually appeared:

He asked us what we thought but I didn't get much of a chance, what an odd thing! He basically set out what he had decided to do, he was making out that it wasn't his decision. This is what he's done all year! He'd already made up his mind, he says: 'Right we must discuss this. What do you think?' And then there's no discussion really.

It was evident that Jane was feeling her way forward, aware that the lack of discussion was also due to her own lack of confidence and assertiveness, and beginning to reappraise her relationship with the headteacher:

...in my first year I suppose I didn't want...I suppose I haven't... When he said I want you to argue with me, I don't want you just to agree with me all of the time. But when I have toward the end of the year, he's said: 'Don't be like that with me'

This statement released laughter, and a mixture of emotions were evident. Both her voice tone and manner were more energetic than they had been, and she seemed increasingly decisive.

In our research conversations Jane had always maintained a professional tone in describing her relations with her colleagues, even when deeply distressed. Previously she had never allowed herself to express very direct personal criticism of the headteacher, this changed as she reappraised the year retrospectively and her reflections became more critical. Her own self-esteem rose through this more critical reflection, she blamed herself less and the headteacher more. However her emerging perceptions of the headteacher as managerial and manipulative were ameliorated still by her perception of his

confusion and difficulties in surviving as a new headteacher. Scorn was thus mixed with sorrow and a further recognition of the common difficulties of coping with the multiple changes of the time. Learning to be more assertive without being less understanding remained a difficult balance to achieve however given the fundamental difference of values. Jane was now unequivocal in her decision to seek another position in another school, without waiting to see whether the governors would renew her two year contract. Increasingly there was a hardening in her feelings toward her colleagues, and the humour with which these emotions were often expressed could not disguise the iron that had entered her tempering her attitudes and judgements. The original appeal of the headteacher had completely faded, and Jane's new outlook was tougher as a consequence, contrasting sharply with the deferential approach with which she had begun the year. However the movement from tender to tougher attitudes was not to be confused with general cynicism. Jane's new realism related to her specific school situation rather than to perceptions of the children, teaching or the profession in general. She hoped to find a position in a larger school where she thought that there would be more space for her to develop her own pedagogy and philosophy. Jane hoped she would no longer have to put herself and her ideals 'on hold' in a new post, which she perceived finally to have been her predicament as a new teacher in her first year.

Discussion

Jane's story illustrates aspects of the predicament of the new teacher in the conjuncture of the personal, professional and political changes in 1992/3.

Discussion of these changes in relation to Jane's story, will be followed by a consideration of how typical these perceptions were in comparison with the other new teachers in the sample. Three main aspects of Jane's predicament as a new teacher will be discussed here initially: the first considers professional strategic response to political policy; the second considers power relations and social strategies between professionals; the third considers the personal dimension and inner strategies.

Jane's story featured multiple change and transition. The appointment of two new staff in a three teacher establishment, was itself a major upheaval even before the imposition of the national curriculum is considered. Beyond these changes of staff and curriculum, pedagogical practice was also under ideological pressure in the period following the Three Wise Men report. The scope and scale of these changes must be taken into account when questions of agency are considered. However, grave as the problems posed by such changes and forces were, it would be mistaken to assume professional agency and response was of necessity foreclosed by political pressure, for the reasons discussed in chapter one. There a variety of professional responses made by teachers to the policy of the early 1990s was identified following Pollard et al's (1994) typifications of the options of 'compliance, mediation, and resistance' (p234) to legislative and ideological change. Pollard et al also found however that under the pressure 'some headteachers used their power in more managerial ways'. In Jane's story it seems that the responses of the headteacher might be typified as managerial commitment to compliance with both the legislation and the cultural restorationist climate: 'We're going to be the first school in the area to change to subjects'. The position is encapsulated

by the discourse of 'back to basics' mixing mandated skills and subjects with 'traditional' practice. The rationale offered was that of the ideology of the market ^{because} this is what 'parents want', and the consequent view of teachers as state technicians because this is what 'government wants'. These developments are what Brown (1991) identified as an 'ideology of parentocracy', which Ball (1994) concluded was creating a 'new headship' (p101). However the infant teacher also came out in agreement, after years of deep resistance to changes associated with Plowden, she now felt vindicated. Her position was therefore not so much a managerial commitment to compliance, as compliance through conviction. Jane's position as the newcomer on the other hand was relatively weak and it was hard for her to argue for a more mediated approach. Her response thus became one of reluctant compliance under intense professional and political pressure. However within herself she did not really believe in this position and this inner dissent was thus in some ways comparable to the strategies described by Goodman's as 'latent resistance'. Goodman refers to a statement from one of her sample, Vicki, whose position exemplified this:

Right now I'm trying to figure out what's important to teach. Not just the academics, but teaching children about life, and how to live it fully....If I got in a school that imposed 'back to basics' on me, I would just have to use my creativity to come up with ways of sneaking other subjects in. (p 38)

Jane however could not smuggle her own ideas in easily because she was physically constantly visible and overlooked. Jane's latent resistance was thus driven inwards as she put her ideals and 'values on temporary hold': she could not express ideals overtly, but covertly she would not let them go.

In summary so far, therefore, Jane's case seemed to suggest that previous typifications of new teachers as being preoccupied with survival and strategically complying with school norms had application but the complexity of the situation had increased. For Jane there were three interlocking strategic levels to consider: the first lay in whole school strategic response to political change; the second in finding overt social strategies in fitting into that changing school context; the third in developing covert personal strategies in holding onto her ideals. If the three teachers are considered together it can be seen that the overall compliant strategic response the school adopted had here sub-categories of compliance with commitment, compliance with conviction and compliance with reluctance; and these responses were shaded in each case by personal factors relating to biography and belief. However this analysis highlights the nature of Jane's personal predicament as the newcomer: her colleagues chose compliance, but Jane felt forced to it under their gaze. This brings into focus the power relations between Jane as the new teacher and her colleagues.

Jane's initial perceptions that reflective teaching offered her a mediated 'way out' foundered under the pressure for compliance to the 'back to basics' agenda set by the headteacher, supported by the infant teacher and open to their constant surveillance. A group of three is prone to such two to one divisions, this one was constructed by discourse employing a binary opposition between youth and experience to achieve control. Representation of youthful student idealism on the one hand, forged in the headteacher's reported allegations of the theoretical 'progressive crap' of ITE, was contrasted with experienced practicality and realism on the other, forged by the market

demands of parents and politicians with which teachers must comply. The discourse employed by the head in this case constructed idealism as childish, something to be grown out of as experience of the 'real world' brought maturity, which was equated with compliance. Cast as maintaining the progressivist stance 'cheating' parents out of basics for their children, Jane's ability to maintain her previous reflective position and to refuse the binary oppositions diminished. As has been noted her ensuing preoccupation with survival subsequently showed some of the typical concerns of new teachers noted by previous researchers (Nias, 1989; Bullough et al, 1991; Fuller, 1969; Ryan 1986). Her high visibility and constant connection with the head removed the possibilities of employing strategies like the 'isolation', withdrawal or 'passive resistance' noted by Nias (1989 p56). She fell into the 'impression management' described by Shipman (1967), and found the strategic 'bypassing' described by Pollard (1985 p137) as unattainable as probationary teachers found it in the 1980s.

However, in the 1990s Jane had the additional burdens created by legislation which led to the increased managerialism of the parentocracy. Jane's emerging strategic solution was to place her ideals on hold and to attempt to give them 'what they want'. In time however, such survival strategies exact their own personal price (Woods 1977). She tried to fit in and to do it their way, to model herself on her colleagues to comply with their compliance and achieve closure. However two factors troubled this attempted settlement since neither the underlying binary opposition nor the attempt to relinquish ideals could be sustained. There were, for example, obvious problems with the initial youth/experience opposition, both because Jane had been explicitly

appointed as a mature person and because the headteacher had little experience of teaching himself. The overall strategy of compliance to the demands of parents and politicians also masked potential contradictions between the two, the problems over swimming was one example of this where Jane had experienced 'using the national curriculum on parents', as a controlling device. Compliance was also difficult because of the absence of clear school policies and schemes of work facilitating this. In addition the impossibility of the national curriculum because of the overload provides a sense of Jane's all round difficulty with compliance. But the most disempowering aspect of her predicament in attempting compliance, seemed to lie in the perception that this meant relinquishing ideals.

In Jane's case giving them 'what they want' created confusions which led to her declaration: 'I'm not sure what my values are anymore'. Thus putting her ideals on hold had become confused with giving up her ideals, and this in turn did not so much help the survival of the self but threatened it. Nias' (1989) study indicates the connections here, for teachers who are 'secular idealists' (p33) the identification of ideals with self is strong, the investment of the self in teaching is thus risky: if some more idealistic action cannot be maintained the potential threat to the self is clear. Within the school 'idealism' was used as a pejorative term equated with progressive theory and immaturity. For Jane, however, idealism was identified more with her intellectual agency and identity expressed in reflective teaching. The inseparability of personal and professional concerns meant that giving up her ideals was tantamount to giving herself up and being infantilised. In Nias' (1989) terms the situated self threatened to compromise the substantial self. In

this sense Jane's repeated perceptions that there was no 'room' for her 'common sense', her fear that 'I don't know what my values are anymore', and most clearly 'I don't feel myself' were sombre recognitions of the threat to her personhood.

However, this severe threat to her sense of self was resisted as she held onto her ideals inside herself covertly. Also retrospective reflection allowed her to deconstruct the contradictions of the controlling discourse, demystifying her predicament. Further inner work allowed her to consider her alternatives, to find a more appropriate self for the situation. In short she reconstructed her personal strategic response and then her social strategic response. New metal, assertiveness and the distance provided by humour entered her outlook. Jane now became less deferential and more questioning, perceiving that the headteacher masked his own personal and professional interests behind statements of what parents or politicians wanted. Jane's harder attitude enabled her to sustain her sense of self into her second year in the school, and then to develop professionally, when she moved onto a larger school. In general summary here, however, it can be concluded that as a new teacher Jane perceived little personal or professional space for herself in this first school. Her predicament was comparable to that of previous beginning teachers, but she had the additional burdens of legislation and the ideology of parentocracy and cultural restorationism to cope with. Thus her perception of enforced compliance within a depersonalizing system, controlled both by discourse and by surveillance, was experienced as disempowering. Personal and social strategies needed to be developed to hold onto her ideals and selfhood.

Conclusion

Jane's story seemed to indicate that where the national political force of cultural restorationism meets with the type of local compliant professional response described above, the fate of the new teacher may resemble that of earlier times. In the most extreme aspects of Jane's case the constant surveillance recalls Benthamite systems of 'panopticon technology' (Jones 1990, p58). Foucault's (1977, 1980) analysis has relevance here, and has been applied to education in the UK by Ball et al (1990). The politics of regressive modernity of the 1980s and early 1990s coupled with the reduction of professional response to a compliant delivery technology has a formidable power in recalling aspects of the elementary tradition. Bauman's (1992) analysis of the systems of modernity indicates that they employ panopticon technologies of both 'control and seduction' (p15). These controls were represented in Jane's case by the mixture of surveillance and discourse. Bauman claims that the characteristic institution of modernity was 'prison' (pxvii), a postmodern critique which echoes Weber's earlier identification of the iron cage of bureaucracy.

The depersonalizing effects of such systems can be existentially grasped by following Bucharest and Schuyler (1993) advocacy of literary sources for such purposes. D.H. Lawrence's (1968) portrayal of the predicament of the new teacher in the elementary school offers an illuminating metaphor here. This is given in the character of Ursula Brangwen in *The Rainbow*, who is described as beginning teaching in 'the prison of a school' (p373). Ursula feels 'the invincible iron' (p384) of the school system closing on her as she struggles

with her headmaster, other teachers, and an angry parent, and learns painfully to control the children. In this process controlling the children is in turn to subject herself to the mechanistic controls of the system so that 'her personal self was shut in prison' and her consciousness becomes 'black and tangled' (p384). In the 1990s as the macro controls of regressive modernity and cultural restorationism were once more advanced, Jane's story indicates that some parallels with the earlier predicament of new teachers can be drawn. Any such comparison must be measured carefully however since there are real differences in both school and society across the century. What is to be gained by comparison is therefore a more general insight into the predicament of new teachers under the intensified mixture of national political and local professional controls within the confusions of postmodernity. Perhaps the most telling parallel lies in Jane's perceptions of the depersonalizing effects of what becomes 'the prison of a school', where she felt the self to be under threat. Two further points arise here. First, Jane was increasingly able to harden herself and defend against this threat, and this suggests that the more deeply pessimistic interpretation of Foucault's analysis of such matters is misplaced. The fact that Jane was able increasingly to deconstruct the dominant discourse and to return the gaze of her colleagues and to assert herself indicates that, even in this case of extreme difficulty, a Gramscian analysis of counter-struggle and intellectual functioning is more appropriate. Although, therefore, the elementary tradition was nascent, hegemony was incomplete, bringing a reminder that the hybrid nature of primary practice is too complex for ideological closure, as both Pollard et al (1994) and Alexander (1995) note. Thus, if there was little space for Jane initially in this school, this was not a fixed, inevitable or absolute condition. Movement out of this

condition depended on a reflective professional position and the kind of personal, professional and political strategic work which form aspects of teachers working as intellectuals. Jane's story indicates that as her capacity to think about her predicament within the complex conjuncture of local professional response to legislation and ideology increased, so assertiveness and agency increased, compliance was not absolute. There is a parallel here with Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985) study of the socialisation of four new teachers in which they note that beginning teachers can have 'creative impact' (p14) on their schools. This was true in Jane's case, for example in the physical education and environmental policies. The second point in advancing this thesis arises here and concerns the question of how typical Jane's predicament was and how it compares with the perceptions of other new teachers in the sample.

Jane's perceptions of her predicament can be encapsulated in the metaphor of school as a 'prison'. The question arising is how much was this a shared perception amongst the new teachers in my sample? Jane's was an extreme case created in part by the smallness of the school, team teaching with the head who was her mentor, her constant visibility and enforced compliance to the compliant responses to legislation and ideology of her colleagues. There was literally little room or space for her own covert mediation or resistance which have been employed as survival strategies by others in this predicament. At first sight therefore it appeared that Jane had been unfortunate, and could not be taken as a typical case. However, analysis of the discourse and metaphors employed by the other new teachers revealed that whilst Jane's story was an extreme variation of 'the prison of a school' theme, it did in fact clearly state

and summarise a disturbingly common set of darker perceptions. In fact the 'prison' metaphor was first employed by Alex who perceived part of his predicament as attempting to counter the feeling that 'the prison is closing in' by holding onto his 'vision' (Tape 2 December 1992). The variations on the theme seemed to be the outcome of the combination of the new teacher being socialised and going through a process of 'fitting into' (Bullough et al 1991, p179) particular school normative communities on the one hand, and the professional response in that school to the legislative and ideological pressures of the period on the other (Pollard et al 1994). Some further exploration and examples of these variations in the form of summary sketch profiles will advance this general theme. First however the use of metaphors in relation to teacher development is considered.

Drawing on Provenso et al (1989), Bullough et al (1991) describe how they encourage emerging teachers 'to identify and explore their personal metaphors for teaching' (p 197), as a way of supporting reflective development. Since each person has multiple selves, metaphors for teaching are often also multiple and conflicting. In their sample for example teachers opposed desired metaphors of teaching such as teaching as parenting, with those demanded of the situated self such as teaching as policing. Bullough et al indicate that the identification of a coherent 'root' (p6) metaphor is a lengthy process of professional development, which has been complicated by the contemporary 'confusion over the institutionalized teaching role' (p8). Provenzo et al (1989) suggested that such general confusions account for the specific difficulties teachers have in 'finding a clear role or a place in the system' (p8). Metaphors of teaching therefore seemed to provide an

appropriate analytic device, but difficulty was experienced in providing summarising metaphors, as Bullough et al also found in two of their cases. Jane for example came as close to summary as she could with the statement 'I don't feel myself', which has been related here to the metaphor of 'the prison of a school' . An exploration of two further examples of this darker aspect in summary profile sketches of Pat and John offers a portrait of what can be typified as 'hard beginnings' adapting Bullough et al's (1992 p16) classifications. Bullough et al (1992 p9) indicate that it is important to register that the use of profiles and metaphors inevitably involves 'simplification' so that much else is left in 'shadows'. However what is selected here had an insistent presence.

1.2 Pat's Story- Losing Herself in the First Two Weeks

Pat had worked in the library service previously, had a large family, and was in her late thirties by the time she graduated with specialities in Expressive Arts. Her presentation on critical thinking in the second term of TCOTF expressed her interest in freedom of enquiry in teaching and learning. She was disappointed not to find a teaching post at first, although her feelings about teaching were mixed as the following extract from her final entries in her TCOTF personal development profile indicate:

At this stage ... I'm standing at the edge of the pool... For me its going to be extremely difficult to relinquish the freedom of the BEd for the day to day intensity of the classroom. (PDP 24 June 1992).

However, supply work through the autumn of 1992, helped her to pick up

experience, which helped her confidence although she often said this was only 'skin- deep' and that this lack of confidence was something 'I've struggled with all my life' (Telephone field notes 1993). Pat was also very concerned about the changes that had overtaken the profession since she began her BEd in 1988, and often needed to discuss the political and cultural context, perceiving generally that controls were overtaking previous freedoms.

In January 1993 Pat was appointed to teach a class of middle juniors in a large town school on a short-term contract for two terms. Here again the receiving school itself was in a deep transition. Pat was one of three newly qualified teachers appointed on short-term contracts by an outgoing headteacher. The school had just come through inspection and adjustments to ensure national curriculum coverage were planned. There was also a new deputy headteacher, promoted internally, and it was the vacancy this created that Pat filled, inheriting the deputy's class. The new deputy, who had no previous experience of mentoring, was now given this responsibility for Pat. Thus neither head nor deputy were on familiar ground. Pat was deeply conscious of the challenge of taking a class over from an experienced teacher, who was also to be her mentor. The headteacher warned Pat that some boys in her class were difficult and that some parents were disturbed about the situation. Pat felt immediately that it was difficult to live up to her mentor's organisation and management which she felt were 'superb' (Tape two April 1993). She felt deeply inexperienced in school routines 'I didn't even know things like dinner money' .

Trouble came immediately in the form of two misbehaving boys, whom she

sent to the headteacher twice in the first week, the first time because they were misbehaving in the way that head had warned and she felt that he should know. The second time they were sent with good work to share because Pat felt remorseful about sending the boys for negative rather than positive reasons. However these reasons were never shared with the head. The head responded to this situation at the end of the first week by taking the two boys out of the class and sitting them in a general area. Here however they caused general trouble. Pat recalled:

By lunchtime there were complaints from everybody about these naughty boys. I felt guilty, guilty, guilty, it's my response to these boys that's led to this situation! People were saying whose class are they in? I felt tongues were wagging.

The boys were returned to Pat's class in the following week, but rumours had spread to parents and the damage to her reputation and her confidence had been done:

The head asked to see me. He told me 'You're a nice person'.

Pat felt that:

This was saying you're just some woolly person that can't control the class.

It was decided that Pat's mentor would sit in on what had been her old class for a day. Pat attempted to take this positively:

I tried to think, well...let me get what I can get out of it. Don't see it as the end of the world, she is my newly qualified teacher mentor. I either stayed away or

I had to do it.

She prepared the children:

I said: 'When I came here I thought what nice children! But teachers are complaining about your behaviour, parents are complaining about your behaviour, I wouldn't be surprised if people walking down the street weren't complaining about your behaviour! Now your old teacher is coming to watch your behaviour!' (I thought: I'm not having this put back on me!). I said to them: 'Look, you have to show that this is wrong: you are not a badly behaved class. You do work well! I'm going to be in here, your old teacher is going to be in here, you prove what you can do. And they were excellent!

In fact Pat now felt threatened by the whole situation:

Basically I was on trial. It was worse than any TP, all of my practice was under scrutiny.

Three problems were targeted: 'management and organisation', 'dealing with unruly children' and 'addressing the national curriculum'. But Pat saw that the head saw 'control as the crux of it' and that this was linked to ensuring there was 'no trouble with parents' on the one hand, and the teaching of the national curriculum that the school was gearing up to after inspection on the other. Pat found national curriculum coverage hard when taken as a 'recipe' that had to be complied with literally, rather than interpreted as a general 'resource', which she felt converted it into something useful.

Pat now heard a rumour that she was to be replaced by a supply teacher and moved to be a helper in another class, which proved to be false. Her situation was difficult for her to bear and school phobia threatened:

I felt as if I couldn't possibly ever be a teacher. Ill, I felt ill! If I'd had a day off,

then I wouldn't have gone back.

However at the end of her first term Pat's class performed an improvised piece of drama very successfully in the school's arts week, and their picture appeared in the local paper. This and the vacation seemed to pick her up. In the second term things went much better, and a week-end course inspired and lifted her. Following a visit to another school, she began to recover her own teaching beliefs in 'independent learning' (Telephone field notes, 7 July 1993). Pat felt this school 'put education at the heart' and commented:

The teachers there were willing to talk about children with low self-esteem. This made me realise that in my panic I had gone wrong. What I thought about teaching wasn't wrong. It's not a question of either/or. I was beginning to accept that I had to be an instructor rather than a teacher.

Pat had previously identified her propensity to blame herself when things did not go smoothly, but now she regained her self-confidence and her assertiveness grew:

I went back and had the courage to do activity based learning. Now I can play a bit with what I'm doing...My class tell me about things I didn't realise, my class are really great!

During the summer term Pat moved into strategies of withdrawing and to some extent bypassing the attempt within the school to gear up to national curriculum coverage. Since she was on a temporary contract and it was not renewed, she only had ten weeks left and this coupled with her need to defend and to reassert herself influenced this course of action. Also she had found a friend on the staff who saw the school situation similarly. She now developed the confidence to return to her original approach of planning her teaching

based on her perceptions of the children's needs and then mapping national curriculum targets onto her plans, rather than vice versa. She also felt less constrained to teach 'traditional basics' and the fact that she would soon be 'Free from the rat in a pipe syndrome' liberated her teaching in the school context.

Retrospectively she felt: 'There wasn't a place for me there' and summarised the experience as Jane had:

I didn't feel myself...There was a feeling of being watched.

Pat finally perceived that the threatened loss of self in the first term was linked to her attempt to survive by complying with being an 'instructor', rather than holding onto her own ideals and belief in teaching for 'independent learning'. Later Pat was incredulous as she looked back that she had 'given up' her own teaching beliefs and connected this with giving up on herself and began to weigh up what had happened:

I didn't even know who I was...I mean towards the end when it was obvious that it was either a case of sticking out that job for ten weeks to the end of term or not going on, I mean that's when I started to do it my own way and I was fine. The last ten weeks were great.... (Group interview 2, 28 July 1993)

Discussion

There are parallels between Pat and Jane's stories in that both had the kind of problems with 'fitting in' noted by Bullough et al (1991 p179), and to some extent by Carré (1993 p 210). In both cases their first period led to perceptions of

problems with control and then teaching. In both cases headteachers were involved expressing their concerns with local and national accountability, in which perceptions of parentocracy were mixed with compliance with the national curriculum. In each case the discourse used to correct the new teacher employed binary oppositions: in Jane's case youth/experience, in Pat's nice/nasty. The presence of other teachers, including mentors, was thus perceived to be more to do with panopticon 'scrutiny' than support. The latter perception indicates the nature of the variable models of mentoring also found by Carré (1993) in his sample. Pat felt in essence that her mentoring process was not supportive, scrutiny apart it became more the 'sink or swim' situation found by some new teachers in Tickle's (1994 p104) sample. He describes this as involving 'hierarchical "social-stranger" power relationships', which were 'exacerbated by the lack of code of practice', which left 'support agents' and new teachers alike 'to make it up on the hoof'. Like Jane Pat felt the same intense professional pressure to comply with the pre-set ways of the school, which she perceived as conflicting with her own views of teaching. This led to a crisis of identity, which has been previously summarised here in the 'prison of a school' metaphor. The crisis was experienced in both cases as a conflict between personal ideals and beliefs about teaching with the ways of the school set by the head and other teachers. The survival strategy attempted by both new teachers was to submit to the professional pressure and to comply with the perceived norms of the school. However this strategy led to an intensification of the crisis of identity, with both teachers experiencing lowered self-esteem and confidence. In turn this did not support confident teaching and a negative cycle therefore operated. A deeper sense of loss of self also threatened. Bullough et al (1991) comment on the similar situation of the

teachers in their sample:

What they found was that fitting in is not always easy, especially when coupled with the desire to be themselves and to personalize the context. Sometimes as Blase concludes from his study of teacher socialization, "playing the game" and survival at work...' require unhappy compromises (1988: 130)...Fitting in means, for the beginner, appropriating and then conforming to some institutionally acceptable meanings of the culture. The process of fitting in is, therefore, inherently conservative and conformist in nature, although there is always a degree of wiggle room...but beginners may not be aware of this. (p179)

Pat, like Jane, used retrospective reflection to re-evaluate her predicament, and to find 'wiggle room', employing personal and social strategies. Once again Pat's attitudes to her colleagues toughened up in this process. She felt in the end that there had simply been little room in the school for her and her ideas of teaching, and this was confirmed for her by the fact that her contract was not renewed. Later Pat seemed however to acknowledge two further factors and to reconstruct the story further. First she acknowledged biographical factors in the personal context in her long standing lack of confidence which had contributed to the extremity of the first period. Second she acknowledged the political context, and weighed and compared her experience as a student in the years 1988-1992, with the changes affecting primary education during that period. She contrasted the TCOTF course, where 'the spirit of freedom' prevailed in discussion, with the growing controls on schools:

The Education Reform Act became law in the same year that we began our BEd...Teachers, working in the classrooms, were having to cope not only with the implementation of National Curriculum, but also the wider implications of the ERA, eg inspection, assessment and accountability....In 1992...we students were looking forward to starting our new careers. Class teachers, heads and deputies were, I suggest, adopting coping strategies: doing their best despite the circumstances. The 'spirit of freedom' , in order to survive, lay

dormant. (Letter, January 1994)

Pat's feelings had moved on after her hard beginning, like Jane an element of understanding and forgiveness was evident. Further supply work had increased her experience and she identified herself with the 'coping strategies' of other teachers. After a hard beginning although tested to her personal limits and still only able to find supply teaching, she now saw herself as a teacher.

In both Jane and Pat's stories the early perception in the school of problems with controlling the children led in turn to perceptions of socialising constraints being placed on them. Constraint was not an end in itself however, in both cases it was linked to effective teaching and learning as defined by the school norms. Jane and Pat accepted the need for both control and teaching, their predicament was formed by perceptions that their beliefs about the *type* of control and teaching that were desirable differed from the school norms. They perceived an opposition between socialising controls seen as 'what the school wants from me and the children', and teaching seen as 'what I want for myself and the children', which troubled them. This is reminiscent of DH Lawrence's account of Ursula Brangwen's emotions of teaching. Some further problems for new teachers around the binary opposition of control and teaching were illuminated by John's story of hard beginnings.

1.3 John's Story: Controlling or Teaching?

John had previously worked in mechanical engineering and was in his mid-thirties when he graduated, with specialist expertise in science. He also had a strong commitment to voluntary youth work and to countering social and educational disadvantage. His final reflections in his personal development profile at the end of TCOTF were identified as the 'hardest' (PDP July 1992) thing he'd ever had to write. This seemed to be because it involved writing and reflecting on himself. John still viewed 'self-discovery' with strong 'reservations', because he saw the danger of 'introspective paralysis'. Nevertheless he had begun to work on his own story and to relate it definitively to his new career in teaching:

To all intents and purposes I failed at school. I suppose I developed a bit of a chip on my shoulder because of it. I felt like I guess thousands of other children felt, feel and will continue to feel somewhat resentful towards the teachers for a) not recognising that I had a little more potential b) sending me out into the world without the necessary 'tickets to success' ie 'O' levels. I was and still am ashamed of my educational achievements, I feel I wasted my time at school and since...

... It doesn't matter so much-although of course it is still important - that the teacher has done all manner of other wonderful things with the children, and they have been happy and fulfilled etc etc - if at the end of the day they don't have those pieces of paper... The trick of course is to do both! Make school 'a nice place to be' and through that an educationally successful place to be. But if you can only manage one make sure of at least the latter....

*If I have come out of this course every bit as pragmatic (maybe even as philistine) as I entered it...it is probably due to the continuation of other experiences not least TP. My overriding goal now is the same as it was when I began, if you really want to help kids, get them qualified.
(PDP July 1992)*

John thus felt that the teaching of basic skills and subjects took priority over self and social education.

John was appointed to a large inner-city middle-school in a disadvantaged area, to teach 10-11 year olds. The school was organised on a mixture of class teaching, and a substantial component of separate subject teaching. It was formally timetabled like a secondary school, and was in the process of adapting its schemes of work to the national curriculum requirements. From the first John felt that he had support in the school and that the other teachers were 'Really nice' (Telephone field notes September 1992). A month later he reported he found people 'warm and friendly' and stated: 'I'm really happy there' (Telephone field notes October 1992). Similarly in the first period he was positive about his mentoring support, although the headteacher was a remote figure. As a parent himself John got on well with parents and enjoyed his contacts with families in and out of school. He was sympathetic to and identified with parental hopes and fears for their children. However although all of this eased his entry into the school and he had little problem initially in fitting in, he had a hard beginning nevertheless.

This was due to his problems with control leading to difficulties in teaching and causing painful inner conflicts over his teaching beliefs and priorities. In fact John had identified control as a concern previously, and his presentation in the second term of TCOTF was about relationships and discipline. In the first period of teaching he found that he was able to make good relationships with the children generally, particularly outside of the classroom at lunch times and in after school activities. But he was not able to transfer this into good classroom control, which could keep the children on task. John found that the children behaved badly toward each other and had relationships problems he attributed to their 'disturbed backgrounds', although he did not

hold with deficit views of these, being more inclined to question his own teaching and self-blame. Now he felt:

I've gone in right from the outset with fairly high expectations of the children being able to be sort of autonomous and I'm finding its not working very well. ..I would like to feel that they could at this age get on as a class gel as a class, and you feed in a bit of stimulus and you say right now take over. But it always seems to blow up in my face when ever I try anything like that so, I seem to revert back to the more prescriptive which I don't want to rely on all the time. I'm not able to break out of this. (Tape 1 November 1992)

John tried to follow his mentor's advice in rewarding better behaviour and more independent learning but found this threatened to create a sub-cultural 'goody-goody' group which led back to behaviour problems. One girl in particular with a troubled foster-home, was deeply uncooperative in class. John found keeping an overview of the class difficult and connected this to his problems in arbitrating disputes between the children because he had not seen the incidents involved. In summary, John had diagnosed many of the common problems of beginning teachers, but did not know how to move forward with them. He felt now that it was 'sink or swim', that the support he needed was not forthcoming, and worried about his reputation within the school.

Although an NQT support group meeting had considered the use of the voice and assertiveness in relation to achieving control, John had found this 'false' and unrelated to his situation, because somehow 'children know how you feel about things even when you're *saying* something different'. Therefore he had decided to risk looking inward and embarked on a period of 'self-psychiatry and analysis'. He explained some of the insights resulting

from this:

I really loved school, I really enjoyed school but I don't think the teachers enjoyed being there so much! I suppose I had a fairly strict background at home, I never misbehaved at home. I took it all out at school. I didn't have a lot of freedom at home so I made up for it at school.

John wondered if his present difficulties in asserting control lay in remembering his own childhood and schooling and 'making allowances' that he 'shouldn't' as a teacher and concluded: 'I've got to work on being a credible teacher'. This seemed to resolve some of his inner divisions and lead to better results:

They are still not as on task as I would like them to be, and would be best for their own good, but we do have better lessons. (Tape 2 March 1992)

The girl with foster home problems had made startling improvement and although John was shy of taking credit, he was also proud in playing his part in her 'rescue'. 'Rescue' was the most positive metaphor he produced for his teaching. These first feelings of success had energised him and encouraged him to look back. He began to reconstruct his teaching story by remembering his feelings in the earlier period. Guilt, depression and the fear of failure were high in the emotions of teaching he described:

You wonder why you're doing it. Someone else could do it better. You shouldn't be there. I was getting to the stage where I was dreading facing the class, it was like a battle I wasn't winning. I'm not a depressive person but I was feeling very depressed about it...You feel trapped. You've got to do it. You can't run away from it. You've got to go and face it every day. You feel a sense of failure, inadequate, very low esteem.

However, the extremity of this personal crisis seemed to have settled down in

the second term and he reported: 'Now I look forward to seeing the children'.

Further insight had been gained:

I always excuse their behaviour because my lesson isn't as good as it should be. I think that's always on my mind. If I was to really analyse things I think that's at the heart of it. I excuse a lot of what I shouldn't excuse.

But now a new concern arose. During this period John began to express deeper doubts about teaching in general. He began to go beyond concerns with his own performance, relating this to broader questions that were troubling him. He had become aware of the self and social needs of the children and began to question the 'suitability of state education for some children' in the light of experience. He contrasted the individual needs of the disadvantaged children he was teaching with the set formal curriculum and organisation of the school:

These children mean well, they want to do it. It's just it's against their 'nature', whatever the word is, they just don't suit. Especially when you've got this schedule you've got to meet you are all working to time-tables and plans, schemes of work, national curriculum and things. They don't fit into this nice neat time-table.

This raised a central ethical problem:

Even if I believe, and I'm certainly going that way, that some children are not made for this work, I'm still having to give them that, because it's what I'm told to do by all sorts of people. What do I do about it?

It troubled him that he was questioning the priorities of skills and subjects that he had previously held. However he now felt concern about how 'painful' some of the children found school, connecting this to John Holt's (1964) book

How Children Fail. He identified the controls of the official curriculum as the problem, and saw his own teaching as 'prescriptive' and 'controlling'. He expressed 'empathy' with the children who had reading difficulties, and felt that developing the children's powers of 'reflection' could support reading, more than redoubling routine approaches. He felt however his BEd course had not prepared him sufficiently for either reflective or routine pedagogy. In summary he was attracted by reflective teaching but thought it rare, and was repelled by routine teaching but found it difficult to avoid. This seemed to be a restatement of the impasse of 'prescriptive' teaching that he had identified in the first period from which he could not 'break out'.

John was trapped in this same impasse from this point onward, and felt torn between the children and the curriculum and the attendant dilemmas and polarities. He felt increasingly isolated within the school and was withdrawn. Mounting bureaucracy in the school associated with assessment, recording and reporting in the summer term further drained his energies and strained his beliefs. He felt that many of these requirements were 'management covering its back' (Field notes June 1993), he felt that he no longer fitted in to the school. John's resulting predicament was painful and the emotions of teaching continued to sap him personally and professionally as the first year of teaching ended. Retrospective reflection deepened rather than resolved this condition which remained with him into the following year, when he resigned his post and left teaching.

Discussion

There are both differences and similarities between John's experience and Jane and Pat's. Unlike the others John did not have the same degree of pressure from other professionals and parents who were on the whole much more supportive than was the case elsewhere. The other main difference however is that Jane and Pat were able to assert themselves increasingly and to gain personal and professional control and to see themselves as teachers. This places them alongside those teachers in Nias' (1989) sample, who expressed personal belief or idealism and then also attached it to being 'committed to teaching' (p32). However, others in Nias' sample took much longer to see themselves in any sense as a teacher, with many expressing 'reluctance' (p39) to identify themselves as teachers for a number of different reasons. In contrast to Jane and Pat, John did not see himself as a teacher by the end of the first year. In some respects this seemed to result from a personal difficulty in differentiating himself from the children.

This difficulty is not uncommon amongst emerging teachers, Nias (1989) describes teachers' not liking the 'policeman' (p188) aspect of the work and sometimes indicating that they felt like 'Billy Liar or Peter Pan'. However John also had some difficulty it seems in differentiating teaching from parenting. Many parents project their own experience and attempt to protect their children from feared future economic exclusions. Populist policy in education in the 1970s and 1980s had played rhetorically on such fears, expressed in the overriding economist priority of skills and subjects and qualifications and creating the parentocracy noted by Brown (1990). In this

sense John's initial position was not simply 'personal', but a repeat of the dominant public discourse and his perceptions as a parent. However teachers, unlike others, are directly at the interface of policy and practice where rhetoric collides with reality, and often come to see matters differently to those more distant from school. John's direct experience of teaching thus brought inner doubts about his priorities, and he found himself torn between a number of related oppositions: controlling or teaching, personal or vocational education, children or the curriculum, routine or reflective teaching and so forth. He perceived that these inner divisions and conflicts undermined his attempts to develop credibility and competent practice, and the negative emotions of teaching attended this. Outwardly John also felt increasingly alienated from the prescriptive force of the mandated curriculum combined with the school system which he perceived left little space for him or the children.

Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985 p15/16) note these forms of 'bureaucratic' and 'technical' control which obviate the need for more 'personal' or 'direct' control such as Jane experienced. Ball (1994) noted the gap opening between the perspectives of teachers and school management as 'new headship' (p84) developed under the pressures associated with the ERA. The effect of the ensuing bureaucratic managerialism response further alienated John. Many of his inward and outward problems were similar to Jane and Pat's perceptions particularly in relation to problems surrounding controlling and teaching: the inner doubts and emotions of teaching, the temptation to fall into binary oppositions, the feeling that there was insufficient space in the school system for the self, the pressure of the incoming national curriculum intensifying the latter, and so forth. Finally, however, the overriding difference was that Jane

and Pat were able to construct a working position beyond the oscillations created by binary oppositions, allowing them to develop the competencies required to pursue it, and to assert and defend the self discursively. John was not able to do this.

Bullough et al (1991) found similar hard beginnings in three of their new teachers who remained stuck in the survival period until the end of the first year. Bullough et al comment that for them:

the central challenge was associated with gaining and maintaining classroom control and proved to be nearly overwhelming, driving them to consider seriously whether or not they should remain in teaching. (p77)

The case of Larry reported by Bullough et al reveals some similarities and differences with John's problems. Larry also did not see himself as a teacher, and lamented that: "I am doing what I don't believe" (p83), and found it hard to overcome inner division and confusion. He framed his problem with a teacher as 'policeman' (p84) metaphor. But here the similarities with John stop. First it is clear from Bullough's account that Larry did not have the good general relationships with the children that John had. A number of other important differences are illuminating. Unable to achieve control in other ways Larry reacted finally by becoming 'authoritarian' which Bullough et al claim is common 'for beginning teachers whose ideals are threatened' referring to Veenman (1984) who observed from his studies:

The more discrepancies the young teachers experienced between school reality and their teacher training ideals, the more their attitudes changed in a conservative direction, and the more they were inclined to use authoritarian behaviour. (p146)

Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985) also refer to studies that claim that new teachers move away from idealism to a survival perspective. In contrast to these typifications John increasingly showed deeper concerns with the impact and influence of his teaching on the children. He also questioned the schooling system more widely, reading John Holt (1961) and experiencing something of a change of heart, moving in other words in the opposite direction to Larry. In fact much of this movement is not associated with the survival concerns researchers identify with beginning teaching, but with stages of development expressing value concerns often held to come later (Nias 1989). This raises some important questions about theories of the personal and professional development of teachers which will be considered in the conclusion of this section. Here it is sufficient to note that John's response to control problems was not to become authoritarian.

In fact, John found it harder to reach the kind of firm and friendly combination that Nias (1989 p188) and Carré (1993 p195) describe their teachers developing. John polarised here, he was *either* going to be the children's friend *or* their controlling teacher, this was the binary opposition at the centre of the impasse from which he could not break out. The problem was as much moral and ethical as practical and pragmatic, it was to do with beliefs as much as behaviours. John's problems also resulted from his identification with children suffering similar disadvantage to the kind he had experienced, so deep self and social concerns emerged creating deep ambivalence over the 'hard' face of schooling and its accelerating bureaucracy. Facing the multiplicity of inner selves he was unable to balance the different resulting imperatives. This problem was intensified by the particular school context,

where rigid time-tabling and subject organisation accompanied by other administrative requirements designed to produce compliance to the legislation left John little space for manoeuvre. In summary, in some respects therefore John could be typified as blocked in the survival stage, in other ways not. His predicament certainly did not lead him to give up his principles. The problem was rather that his principles were multiple and not easily prioritised or translated into practical curricular form and produced contradictions he could not reconcile. He was not assisted in the latter task either by his own biographical background, the school context or the national curriculum context. In the 1980s Nias (1989 p191-195) concluded that learning to live with the existential 'tension, dilemma and contradiction' and the further 'paradoxes' raised by the controls and constraints of the ERA would bring the risk that teachers would reconsider the investment and identification of self with being a primary teacher. In the 1990s the reconciliation of personal and professional contexts has been rendered even more complex by the political and cultural context. In John's case finally he could not gain sufficient resolution of the complexity of being a primary teacher, it was more than he could make sense of and conscience dictated resignation.

Taken together Jane, Pat and John illustrate some of the harder aspects of the predicament of the new teacher that have been summarised with the metaphor of 'the prison of a school'. The darker aspects of the experience involved threats to the self, and survival was not achieved without considerable sacrifice, although in each case neither self, ideals or principles were relinquished finally. The experience was shot through as Nias (1989 p67) notes with the culturally induced fear of 'failure'. The last profile considered

here is of Alex and shared some similar difficulties, but differed in responding by deconstructing such fears.

1.4 Alex's Story: Deconstructing 'The Invisible Society in the Head'

Alex had been a musician and writer and was in his late forties when he graduated with a first and specialism in the Expressive Arts. Extracts from his personal development profile were considered in the previous chapter. In this profile he set out aspects of his developing educational philosophy, which involved the deconstruction of the 'invisible society' in the 'head' (PDP July 1992), which he linked to a critique of curriculum and cultural restorationism. Alex took a cultural reconstructionist outlook, believing that 'living is an art' that could be taught through a creative approach to the curriculum which however he felt existed rarely in the primary school and even less so in the secondary. He suggested some elements of an alternative definition of 'basics':

education as pursuit of truth and self, as a humane and loving response to the world with all our faculties and senses. Care, respect, responsibility, interest, thought, insight. The basics.

He related such beliefs to his life experience within the context of the political and cultural changes from the 1960s to the 1990s. He felt that the 1960s had offered a shift in terms of cultural 'opportunity' and 'diversity' for 'somebody like me from a lower-middle/working class background' with a 'poor education' (Tape 2 December 1992). Alex felt these opportunities were diminishing in the 1990s and that cultural restorationism was narrowing the life chances of his own teenage children and their generation. He saw cultural

potential in primary education but feared that legislation was constraining this. In his personal development profile he had analysed compliant professional response to political intervention operating these constraints:

*'I wish they would make up their minds. I wish they would tell us what to do. So we can get on with it'. (Experienced teacher on changes in education).
The devil of conformity. The longing to be told what to do. The darker side of individuation is insecurity. (PDP July 1992)*

In September 1992 Alex took up his full term contract to teach a class of mixed juniors in a medium sized town school that was new and growing. The first period was hard as he worked an intensive seven day week, including the autumn half-term, to establish his reputation in the school. During this period besides teaching his own class he also voluntarily undertook arts based work in collaboration with other teachers. All this was successful in establishing good relationships with his colleagues, demonstrating his willingness to take responsibility and allowing him to present himself to his colleagues through his teaching strengths. Later he indicated that this had been an entry strategy: 'I took on everything I could' (Tape 2 December 1992). Much was achieved by this, and at a whole school children's assembly in the fifth week the work he had done throughout the school was richly evident. Alex now felt he had established himself with his colleagues. However under the workload his health suffered and during the first term and later he worked on through throat infections, back trouble and 'flu. On one occasion he had a nose bleed that lasted for four days. This took its toll and his headteacher intervened, insisting that teachers should not be 'workaholics' (Letter, November 1992). Alex felt that there was 'tangible support for me as a newcomer' from his headteacher and colleagues and began to take stock. He

identified the need for daily and weekly 'pragmatic reflection' on the one hand and for 'overview reflection' on the other. He connected the collaborative reflective ethos of the school with the open debate of TCOTF, identifying the personalities of the headteacher and deputy as central to this and asked: 'But does it mean that the ethos is then dependent upon this leadership?' Also whilst he could see how elements of existing practice might tie up with the national curriculum, leading to the 'we're doing that anyway' response, he was concerned that this left out more 'radical' ideas. He felt:

Without attention to principles, the practice might easily become absurd, without purpose or meaning beyond itself.

More generally he was critical of the national curriculum and testing, identifying a 'moral climate' in which he feared teachers would 'take the rap' for any subsequent legislative failure. These personal, professional and political concerns ran through the term, were the subject of retrospective reflection in December and strengthened throughout the rest of the year.

Looking back on the first term Alex perceived that as a newcomer his entry strategy to the school came from being 'very wary, even in a terrifically sympathetic and supportive school like this' of being 'categorised' (Tape 2 December 1992). He felt that he must actively evade unhelpful stereotypes. Thus the intense output of work within the school had been to establish his credentials as a practical teacher working successfully through the process of the arts, rather than being typed as an 'airy-fairy' artist or 'theorist'. Alex felt that his radical views made it the more imperative that he prove himself to his headteacher and colleagues, before any misunderstandings arose. In the

restorationist climate as newcomer to the school, with his biography and interests he felt that his place in the school could not be left to chance and that he must take a proactive stance. At the end of the first term he felt he had been successful in this, and that he did not have to be so wary of being typed in the pejorative sense as an 'intellectual' or 'idealist', on the contrary he felt that in the school:

if you are reflective, it is recognised and valued, and as the head said to me: 'You fit in here'.

This encouraged him to review and to restate his concerns over political interventions, his own view of teaching and the profession, and lastly in the light of the experience of the first term to evaluate the personal costs to himself.

Alex's review of the political situation referred back to the disappointment that 1989 did not seem to have brought a similar cultural shift to that of the 1960s. The 1992 General Election result had confirmed this disappointment. Now he perceived that the times were 'bleak' and felt a 'sense of corruption' in government. He thought that this would lead to teachers being 'fall guys' for politician's failed policies in education. In this situation he saw the need for teachers to reflect clarified the 'reason' for reflection as follows:

We're making up the future moment by moment. We inherit a lot of stuff from the past that has to be dealt with. But if we are thinking, then that's stopping the past from defining what you are and what you're doing, particularly in an institution... 'Radical' reflection for me would be at least trying to make some sense of the situation in social and political terms... As well as saying 'Well I'm a reflective teacher, I do think about the kids a lot and I'm trying to improve my practice in the classroom, it's that other way of saying 'Well what am I delivering for whom?'

Alex felt that his own opportunities had helped him to develop 'vision' and that as a teacher he should create educational opportunities for the children to develop their vision. However he identified some potential problems in undertaking this professional task.

First, his entry strategy into the school would have to be both maintained and extended to include:

the first parent's evening in February...even if it's not heavy stuff pretend that it is to see: How would you face it? What are you going to have to be seen to be delivering? What you're going to have to do with it then? You know, you're own personal sense of 'the basics' as perceived by people like you and then by people like them. Cope with that, see what its like to live with that...because I am worried about that, the numeracy, the literacy, the amount of work they're doing, and the confidence to keep the parents happy so that you've got room for manoeuvre.

Secondly, he perceived that this potentially raised the pedagogical prospect of reconciling three competing priorities and alternative versions of basics: his own, that of parents and the subject requirements of the national curriculum. In fact, at this point, his own preferred curriculum organisation was for the separate subject teaching that had prevailed in both his own schooling and his final teaching practice school, with which he felt 'secure'. The potential clash of priorities was therefore perceived in a basic skills/higher subjects polarisation. He felt that topic work might lack rigour, and degenerate into 'busy work'. On the other hand he perceived that:

the general run of school life militates against subjects. We are so interrupted so many times. You are trying to catch up when you're in different discrete areas.

Also he had been 'uneasy' since the Three Wise Men report about subjects

explaining 'I don't want to be persuaded by a climate that's pushing that way for the wrong reasons'. In the meanwhile therefore he used a mixed approach. This returned him to concerns of reconciling competing priorities and raised the third problem of pacing himself through the resulting overload.

Reviewing his strategy in terms of pacing himself he felt this to be the least successful aspect of his first period, although he took this with self-tolerance and humour:

I think I would veer between, as I have done in this first term, between total immersion, total energy, trying to do everything, and pulling some of it off too, with good results..and then you know hitting the 'flu and everything and knowing, thank God, I'm old enough to know what was happening to me and knowing that I'm going to hit the pit soon and know that (laughs) I'm going to be teaching Thatcherism for a while if I'm not careful! Yes we've got to go back to the basics , because you know 'What can you do?' It's not the kids fault, its not my fault- its the institution!and I veer between those two for a while....

On a personal level Alex did in fact did have further serious concerns about 'institutional inertia' and set routine ways to which teachers even in such a new school might become 'servants' or 'slaves'. In this respect he feared 'entrapment' in the 'mundane' and could sometimes feel the 'prison closing in'. He connected this with potential shifts in his sense of self:

What I'm finding is a sense of dissolving at times. Where am I? I'm beginning to dissolve! I still feel quite sane and I don't feel deeply threatened by it. But I could see under stress if I didn't face up to it over a period of time that what I call 'vision' inside of myself, irony, keeping it in focus...if that became too separate from how I feel getting up in the morning and going to school, then I know in the long term I could be in fairly deep trouble psychologically. Or if I'm not the family around me will suffer...or probably the kids.

But Alex felt 'optimistic' asserting that:

I can deal with it. I'm not going to be swamped. I'm determined not to be swamped.

In the following term Alex had mixed success with not being swamped. In relation to parents he later reported that it was the fear of parents, rather than the parents themselves that had been the problem. He described the ways such fears 'chip-away' (Telephone Field notes March 1993) confidence, and dull teaching. He reported that he had felt 'tension' and had asked questions like: 'How much work should there be in the books? Should I have a quick blitz?'. However in a similar process to his proactive entry strategy with other teachers, he dispelled what he felt were 'irrational' representations in his own 'head' by seeking informal direct contact with parents where possible. He also worked hard in early February interviewing the children and reviewing their work with them and preparing meticulously for the formal meeting with parents. Later he reflected that it was too easy to give way to 'invisible institutional pressure' (Group tape 2 July 1993) explaining that he had said to himself:

Now hang on! I'm perceiving parental pressure, but is there parental pressure? Where's that coming from? It's trying to sort out how much self-editing, how much self-censorship goes on in me and in the rest of the teachers. It's very easy for us to collude in things when there's no need. That's fear.

This important deconstruction of the complex interactions between personal, professional and political forces creating parentocracy supported Alex in developing an appropriate practical professional strategic response. In the event he was rewarded with the warm support he had from parents. He was

also aware how much some children had benefited both from the increased home/school contacts, and by being involved in reviewing and reflecting on their own learning. The only concern expressed by parents was the fact that there were thirty-five children in a classroom that would have more comfortably held twenty five. Thus although Alex perceived no problem with controlling children, the classroom context produced feelings of confinement. Alex's felt that this led to his controlling role being 'the me I don't like' (Group tape 2 July 1993) for which he used the metaphor of 'policeman'. Similarly he reported a dream in which he was dressed 'like the manager of a supermarket' and announced to shoppers 'I'm a trainee classroom manager'.

In some other respects however the second term did not go as well as the first, as increasing administration and the overload of the national curriculum pressured him and obscured his own purpose. But he continued his work in the arts and both his classroom displays and the quality of the children's work drew admiration and respect from colleagues. However by the beginning of the summer term when the national boycott of testing was beginning to get under way, Alex perceived a general problem not just with the national curriculum, but with the school's response which he felt was in turn putting pressure on him to conform to a curriculum he was unhappy with. This became a matter of 'conscience' (Tape 3 May 1993) causing him anxiety and loss of sleep. The precipitating factors here were the response to national curriculum subject documents, and the brevity of staff meetings focused mostly on administration, rather than discussion of school policy. In particular there had been no discussion of the school's coordinated response to the whole national curriculum, although subject coordinators were working

with staff sub-groups. Alex felt the head teacher's leadership to be central here. Whilst he still felt that his head was person-centred and that the ethos of the school reflected this, Alex was worried by a piece-meal 'technocratic' (Tape 3 May 1993) response to the national curriculum:

My worry is that if we got battered enough, that would become the character mark of him and the school, and a lot of teachers. This is a thing of defence because we feel under seige and if we are not careful cynicism and tiredness will take over.

The issue came to the fore when the head bought a commercial geography scheme he had been offered cheaply, without consulting the staff over the question: 'Shall we go for schemes or not?'. Alex felt confident enough now to raise the issue with the head and, encouraged by the mutual 'respect' in the school, brought the issue to a special staff meeting. A second series of staff meetings targeted on school policy and response emerged from this. The danger that Alex had foreseen was that ad hoc response to the overload coming in would 'shape up a school philosophy and policy that no-one had formulated' and that would be both unmanageable and unwanted. For a time he felt that the danger of the curriculum being 'swamped' might be averted by collaborative reflection. But as the term went on the administrative load in terms of record-keeping and reports mounted and he feared that he might be driven to 'paying lip-service to yourself' meaning to his own principles and priorities. Pacing the demands on him was increasingly difficult. However he once again sought collaborative strategic response to the problem and turned back on the issue of record-keeping perceiving that:

Everybody feels that they have to struggle to simplify it without asking that question. It's a key question: What's the precise legal requirement for record keeping? I'll raise it at the next meeting!

Similarly he was troubled by a growing tendency within the school to over-emphasise testing in response to the cultural restorationist climate, and that this was also increasing the administrative load on staff. He raised the issue at another of the new staff meetings on policy with the question:

What is our legal obligation on assessment? It was an empowering moment: the air cleared...it was like one of those ionizers. Bing! And we thought it through.

(Group Tape 2 July 1993)

During this period Alex had identified and was reflecting on and appraising the issue of appropriate professional response to the legislation, an issue he raised again at the group interview in July. However this individual profile of Alex can be brought to a close here by noting that a sense of Alex's movement across the first year can be gained through the multiple metaphors he employed in that process: perceptions of 'vision' were always in tension with the 'dissolving self' mixed with metaphors of 'prison' 'policemen' and 'manager'. By the end of his first year Alex was clear that the possibility of retreating into an individualistic response to his predicament, as teachers had done before, was 'no longer tenable' (Telephone field note July 1993). For better or for worse he perceived that the effects of the ERA meant that there was no real possibility of retreating behind individual classroom doors anymore. Any future for his own views, therefore, lay in his chances of arguing against either piece-meal or managerialist responses in collaboration with his colleagues. Alex thus perceived that he would have to reach his aims for the children, to a large extent, by working through his fellow professionals and the parents. In summary, by the end of the first year of teaching Alex's professional development had accelerated and he had begun to consider his

career options.

Discussion

Various interpretations of Alex's story can be made, here it has been typified as one of 'accelerated' development. The initial work with children, teachers and parents and then with whole school policy and strategic response to the legislative and ideological pressures substantiate this claim. Also the grounds for this judgement can be established in relation to the typifications other researchers offer of teachers in different phases of their careers. A short exposition of these will allow Alex's development to be located.

Many researchers have subscribed to some form of stage theory in relation to phases of teachers' careers. Bullough et al (1991) for example adapted Ryan's (1986) categories to establish a movement from 'fantasy', to 'survival' to 'mastery' (p76) in the early development of teachers. However Bullough et al indicate that the identification of such stages is neither invariant nor clear cut, and that they are easily 'blurred' in practice. Similarly Nias (1989) expressed general reservations about life-stage theory, because it is hard to distinguish and to compare stages and to see what 'causes movement' (p64) between them. However Nias found Fuller's (1969) more 'holistic' (p66) framework plausible in the light of references to empirical work by Veenman (1984) and Taylor (1975), and adapted it for her own usage. Nias (1989 p65) sets out three broad phases of teacher development in which omnipresent 'personal concern' (p66) is 'directed in turn and under different circumstances to self, task, and impact'. Thus Nias suggests that the initial career concern of new teachers, which is

held to be with the survival of the self, may be followed by concerns with the mastery of task. This may in turn be followed with further career concerns about the impact and influence of their work on children and other professionals. The third phase comes usually after some years of teaching, Nias typifies those teachers who have 'impact' concerns as wishing to pursue their 'educational ideals' (p72) often with reference to wider educational considerations and through seeking positions of institutional influence and power in relation to children and other teachers. Nias (1989) indicates however that movement between these phases is not 'normative' (p155) and is highly personal and complex. If Alex's development is matched against this framework the elements of survival, mastery of task in his case particularly in relation to the arts, and wider impact concerns are clearly evident. It is also the case that his 'vision' or idealism was present throughout and was inextricable from the survival of the self. In a real sense his development was accelerated under the driving pressure of not allowing his idealism to be overwhelmed through lack of a considered whole school response to the legislation.

A second approach to interpreting Alex's development can be taken through the research on teacher socialisation and the different 'social strategies' adopted in the present sample. Jane and Pat's entry strategies for example contrast with Alex's proactive social strategy. In Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985) terms Alex's movement from his 'internalised adjustment' where the new teacher shares the values of the school, to 'strategic redefinition' when the new teacher acts as a change agent even though they do not carry formal power, is clearly a creative response. Sikes et al (1985) similarly distinguish between 'private' coping strategies and 'public' strategies where teachers work

together for change (Hargreaves and Fullan 1992). The difference between Alex and the others can be understood broadly in these terms. Given a more open school context Alex's proactive entry strategy could be developed into a proactive public strategic response to policy. Thus the interlocking levels of personal and social strategies could be combined in the public redefinition of the school's response to legislative change. One central feature of this development was the work of deconstructing the 'invisible' ideologically induced fears that troubled both him and his colleagues. A second feature was learning to translate private vision into public policy within the school, without succumbing to defensive strategies characterised by managerial bureaucracy.

As with Jane it is tempting to take Alex as a-typical, but this could be said of Pat and John too. However that is the value of understanding their development in relation to research on teacher development and socialisation. Alex, like the others in this sample can be located in relation to research conducted before the ERA such as Nias' (1989). On this evidence Nias' fear that the controls of ERA would reduce teacher's pleasure in their work has resonance. However, her speculation that this might reduce teachers' motivation and cause them to cease investing their selves in their work was not the general outcome in these cases. Bullough et al (1991) note that it was 'commitment' that kept the new teachers in their sample coming back, and that thereafter it was the support they received in the 'negotiation of a place within the school and wider professional community' (p190) that was crucial. All the new teachers considered here showed personal commitment and idealism, but their school support varied, as Carré (1993) and Tickle (1994)

also found. The section may now be summarised and concluded.

1.5 Discussion and Conclusion: The Predicament of New Teachers, Between a Rock and a Hard Place.

General consideration of these case studies seemed to indicate that new teachers were caught somewhere between the national demands of the state through the government of the day and the local demands of schools. This 'in-between' condition reflecting the general cultural conditions was on the whole a confirmation of my conjectures regarding the complex inheritance of new teachers. But the predicament of new teachers caught up in the conflicting currents of postmodernity was much darker than I had expected. I had not, for example, predicted the degree of threat to the self that could be involved in the fitting in process. Although I had foreseen the need for public strategic professional response to the ERA, I had not predicted the increase in need for new teachers' personal and social strategies within this. Looking back I could see that COTF students in their final evaluations had foreseen that working with older more experienced teachers might be difficult. I had not, however, sufficiently recognised how much the national curriculum overload and the ideological climate had compressed both the space and support in the system for new teachers. Again, looking back I could see that the final teaching practice for the TCOTF students had perhaps been a harbinger of the intensified conditions that now seemed to prevail. This was not to say that primary teachers had withdrawn from the widespread historic commitment to the 'ethic of caring' noted by Bullough et al (1991 p191) and Nias (1989). Pollard et al (1994) found teachers still struggling to fulfil this ethic despite all.

It was rather that the extension of the ethic to the new teacher entering the school community was called into question. Intensification brings out priorities, children rather than new teachers come first in the primary tradition. The professional attempt to respond to the legislation and ideological pressure, without losing the original ethical commitment to the children's development, left little time for the needs of new teachers. On this evidence some schools had become harder places for student teachers and new teachers to enter in the early 1990s, as general professional adaptation to the political and cultural climate took place. Thus, it seemed to me at that point that new teachers were caught somewhere between the rock of the state and the hard place of the school.

Further insights and understandings elaborating this predicament could be drawn out. Generally Jane and Pat's cases seemed to illustrate how the legislative pressure of the ERA and the ideological forces of the parentocracy and cultural restorationism left little space in the system for new teachers. Headteachers seemed to be pivotal figures in the emerging school regimes, and the socialisation of new teachers seemed to be achieved through both discourse and surveillance in the 'direct', 'bureaucratic' and 'technical' forms of control noted by Tabachnick and Zeichner (1985). The newcomers' own strategic responses however indicated the personal costs and ill-effects of extremes of compliance. Attempts to survive by fitting in through extremes of compliance ended by threatening the self, which was only finally warded off by the reassertion of the beliefs and ideals identified with the self. The process of recovering from this seemed to require a number of factors such as deconstruction of the discursive controls at both local and national levels,

followed by reconstruction of the teacher's own story in relation to the school context. Reconsideration of beliefs and ideals was involved in this process and finally a new strategic self and social assertion was needed, in order to create the space or 'wobble room' Bullough et al identify. In John's case this process seemed to be thwarted by confusions over his beliefs and ideals leading to an inability to find himself and then to assert himself. This was compounded by difficulties of translating beliefs and ideals into curricular and pedagogical practice within such strategic space as the school system allowed. Alex illustrated however what could be achieved if space was occupied early, and beliefs and ideals were both clear and defended with proactive strategy geared to the school context. Alex created sufficient space for the collective deconstruction and reconstruction of the aims, policy and practice of the school to become a possibility. This corresponded to the 'public' strategies identified by Sikes et al (1985 p95). However, although there were similarities and differences between these cases, what stood out as common ground was the continuation of the historic ethic of care and some indications that the extension I had proposed in an ethic of the person and the planet was not completely lost. In the cases considered here each new teacher had, it seemed, attempted their own version and mixture of such ethics, with varying degrees of expertise and success. However beyond individual variations the common struggle was for self and ideals in the system in each case, despite lack of space and support making beginnings hard as schools felt the pressure of legislation and ideology. I found that this predicament and school situation common across the whole sample, and the next sections drawing on the questionnaire and the group interviews explore selected aspects of the predicament further.

2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

'It reminded me of reading the Canterbury Tales - all those stories'

The context of the questionnaire was important because it influenced the form it took. In March 1993 the conflict between political and professional forces had become more publicly visible in the run up to the teacher boycott of the national tests. Wider consultation with teachers might have prevented such dramatic confrontation, but that was not the nature of the forceful regressive modernity of policy. In chapter one this context was considered and it was noted that the voices of teachers had been marginalised (Ball 1994). Thus debate about policy and practice was conducted over teachers' heads. This led me to reflect on how I might seek the views of the new teachers in my sample. Mixed with this was my concern about the potential divisions opening between new and experienced teachers and headteachers and school management, under the pressures of the parentocracy and defensive bureaucracy previously noted. Following themes raised by the individual cases, I wondered what differences there might be in how new and experienced teachers now viewed the national curriculum, teaching and the self. Individual interviews had revealed personal, professional and political dimensions to the predicament of new teachers. I decided now to use a questionnaire to go further in an attempt to extend my understanding of these interlinked factors.

The attempt to raise teachers' voices and create a more polyphonic account, indicated the need for a research technique matching the perspectivist

approach attempted in the TCOTF forum. This methodology was considered in chapter 2 and I developed this employing a qualitative questionnaire. The questionnaire was formed of selected statements giving views about the state of education. Two responses to the statements were asked for from participating teachers, the first was on the scale: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree, which could be analysed numerically. The second was for views and comments to be expressed in the spaces provided. The last part of the questionnaire asked for comment only. In this way I hoped to create a polyphonic framework which would weave together different voices and perspectives. I trialled the questionnaire before dispatch with two teachers who advised me about changes. The questionnaire was sent to both the NQT sample and to a large primary school, to form an experienced primary teacher sample (EPT) and allow for comparison in terms of similarities or differences of view between the two groups. The covering letter read:

Dear Colleague,

The following sheets are intended to promote professional reflection on the situation of primary teachers now. We often hear the views of people who are not teachers telling us about teaching. My purpose is to contrast those views in the air with the views of teachers on the ground... I ask for your help then in building a picture of teaching now from the inside. (March 1993)

Thirteen returns were received from the NQTs and twelve from the EPTs. The contact teacher in the co-operating school for the latter reported that participating teachers:

enjoyed the chance to express their views. They enjoyed venting their feelings, particularly within the supporting structure of the questionnaire and they hoped that something would come of it that might help teachers and children. (Field notes April 1993).

One commented: 'It reminded me of reading the Canterbury Tales, all those stories'. (Field note April 1993). It seemed therefore that participants did take the opportunity to raise their voices and the Canterbury Tales comparison offers a useful encapsulation of the ethnographic methodology. An analysis of what those voices had to say follows under the heading used by the questionnaire giving first views of the national curriculum, then of teachers and practice and finally of the self in relation to teaching.

2.1 Views of the National Curriculum

The questionnaire is reproduced below for ease of reference. This first section of the questionnaire (items A-D) indicated that there was substantial agreement between the newly qualified teachers (NQT) and experienced primary teacher (EPT) groups about the national curriculum. The teachers were asked to use the agree/disagree scale to indicate their views and to comment further in the space provided:

A) Michael Armstrong (headteacher and writer, TES, Platform, October 9 1992): 'The National Curriculum, like the national economy, is in crisis. It is time to look harder at the ways in which children appropriate knowledge. In its present form the National Curriculum is unsuited to this task... Its orthodoxy resists the novel, the personal and the unexpected.'

Responses to this statement were as follows:

NQT group: 4 strongly agree 6 agree 1 neutral 2 disagree

EPT group : 4 strongly agree 5 agree 2 neutral 1 disagree

Combined: 8 strongly agree 11 agree 3 neutral 3 disagree

Thus the strength of critique of the national curriculum was clear in both groups. This was given further emphasis responses to the second item B, to which two questions were attached:

B) Chris Woodhead (National Curriculum Council Executive and Ex-Wise Man, TES Jan 22 1993):

'...there is every reason to be optimistic about the development of the National Curriculum. The principle is agreed by the vast majority of teachers...'

B1) Are you optimistic about the National Curriculum?

In reply to this question responses were as follows:

NQTgroup: 2 yes 8 no 3 don't know

EPT group: 3 yes 7 no 2 don't know

Combined: 5 yes 15 no 5 don't know

Thus little optimism about the national curriculum was evident in either group. However, the apparent lack of optimism disguises an ambivalence which emerges with the question asked at B2).

B2) Do you agree with the 'principle' of the National Curriculum?

Reponses to this were:

NQT group: 10 yes 3 no 0 don't know

EPT group: 11 yes 0 no 1 don't know

Combined: 21 yes 3 no 1 don't know

The previous criticism of the national curriculum and the lack of optimism about it was here countermanded with equally strong endorsement of its principle although more dissent amongst the NQT group emerged. The unanimity of view in support of the *principle* of the national curriculum was clearly as strong as the criticism of the *form* of the national curriculum at that time. This criticism emerges again at item C):

C) *The Office for Standards in Education (1993, p 15) in their follow-up report to the discussion paper from the Three Wise Men, give the following account of feedback from primary headteachers and others:*

"There was a commonly held view that problems of managing the National Curriculum were very largely to do with the 'curriculum overload' in that the sum of the subject parts constituted an unmanageable whole for the typical primary teacher."..."Some ... spoke of the 'near impossibility' of teaching the full range of the National Curriculum If schools were overstretched to provide the National Curriculum, depth was likely to be sacrificed in pursuit of breadth."

Responses were:

NQT group: 9 strongly agree 1 agree, 1 neutral 2 disagree

EPT group: 9 strongly agree 3 agree 0 neutral 0 disagree

Combined: 18 strongly agree 4 agree 1 neutral 2 disagree

Once again it can be seen strong criticism emerged, despite the endorsement of the principle of the national curriculum given earlier. This ambivalence was illuminated by the further comments invited at item D) from both groups:

.. agree with the principle of a NC for continuity over the whole country- but not as is at present! (EPT 4)

I agree with the idea of the NC but not this NC..workload for teachers unbelievable (NQT 6)

A clear majority of the total sample were not optimistic about the then current form of the national curriculum although, at the same time, there were high levels of support for the principle of a national curriculum. However doubts about the subject base were expressed:

...the subject overload is having an adverse effect on the basic work which should be done with children at this age, eg in maths and English. (EPT 6)

The problem of bureaucratic overload is seen in both groups as diminishing a valued spontaneity:

One of the most beneficial and important roles of primary teaching in the past was the freedom to home in on an issue that arose spontaneously and investigate it in some depth. This is what made our classes alive and exciting places to work in. (EPT 3).

NC too prescriptive...many teachers now teach only to the SATs, schools more worried about their results and the league tables, everyone watches themselves..records and assessment are a top priority, so in all this where do the children fit in? (NQT 4)

There were further signs of uneasiness over the principle of the national curriculum:

Before this NC I was in favour of agreed Programmes of Study for the nation but my experience since 1988 has made me wary of any prescription. ..Are all children in need of the same curriculum? (EPT 8)

NQTs also expressed deeper doubts:

The NC is vast and often pedantic.....it speaks of the need to order and control life, to translate life into a comprehensible and measurable system...which has nothing in it of the inner lives of teachers and children. (NQT 10)

In summary, it can be seen that both groups felt similarly about the national curriculum: whilst the principle carried wide support, the overloaded subject form did not. Worries were expressed that the introduction of the market leading to bureaucratic overload on the subject base would constrict the space to respond to the needs of children and 'basic work'. Some deeper dissent from the principle of the national curriculum emerged in a minority.

2.2 Views on Teachers and Practice

This section of the questionnaire (items E-H) produced some different responses within each group and between the two groups.

E) Professor Duncan Graham (Ex-Chief Executive of the National Curriculum Council, A Lesson for Us All - the Making of the National Curriculum, 1993):

"Delivery of the curriculum is for the professionals not the politicians, and must remain so."

Professor Brian Cox (Ex-Chair of the National Curriculum English Working Group) on the English rewrite (The Times March 1 1993):

"We need to encourage teachers, to respect their expertise, and to leave the teaching of English in their hands."

Professor Black (Ex- Chair of the group reporting on testing, TES August 28 1992):

"If the teaching profession's practices and judgements are no longer to be trusted, the fault cannot be corrected simply by giving them new orders. They are not robots."

NQT group: 7 strongly agree 4 agree 2 disagree

EPT group: 8 strongly agree 3 agree 1 disagree

Combined: 15 strongly agree 7 agree 3 disagree

The teachers in both groups were thus clearly registering strong agreement with the professors' views and each other. The effect of political intervention on teachers was a major concern amongst the EPT group:

There is much research evidence concerning the concept of change. Pressure from above is not likely to bring about lasting improvement. I would contest 'delivery of the curriculum is for professionals'. Deciding upon the curriculum as well as teaching would be part of the professional task. Delivery of a prescribed curriculum deprofessionalizes the work/activity. (EPT 8)

One NQT summarised the situation of the profession as follows:

The profession has been successfully undermined by government policy - resulting in low morale, and constantly being told what to teach will not remedy this! Without ...the enthusiasm and commitment that many of the profession still have, we can only go further down-hill. Unfortunately the government will then be able to cite teachers as the cause of educational low standards, rather than the true cause which is persistent government interference which has worn teachers down. (NQT 13)

However, beyond political critique there were signs of other problems:

Although new to teaching, you need only attend a few staff meetings to start feeling walked all over by the Government.....it is all...PAPERWORK. As a new teacher I worry so much about all of this everytime I want to do something new or different, I have to justify it in case of HMI inspection, the comment I usually get from other staff is that it's better just to stick to the PoS in order to meet the ATs. (NQT 4)

I find that teaching and planning...take most of the time I put aside to teaching. Record keeping (and)assessment take up more time than I have available and so get put aside. The feeling in my school is that aspects of teaching must be 'seen to be done' but are not seen as of any great (value) by teachers, parents or governors, rather they are seen as measures the DFE has put in place to keep teachers in check...(NQT 7)

There were signs here that the defensive bureaucracy many schools reinforced during that period was felt by the NQTs as an additional restriction, as has

been noted previously in the individual studies. Whilst both the EPT and NQT groups blamed government for their predicament, the latter were inclined, as newcomers, to view school defensive bureaucracy as part of the problem also. Experienced professionals' attempts to induct the newcomers into this scene seems to have been regarded with hostility by the NQTs.

The rest of the questionnaire from this point on (items G-N) did not employ the rating scale and asked for comments only in response to the quotations given. Item G focused on views of practice and 'back to basics'.

G) Professor Robin Alexander (Ex-Wise Man, TES, Platform, February 5 1993):
" ... the long overdue chance of burying the inanities of 'traditional' versus 'progressive' and replacing them by an inclusive, eclectic and research based approach to primary teaching is frustrated by the outdated rhetoric of 'back to the basics' " .

The EPT group were in agreement with Alexander, stressing 'balance' (EPT 5):

In the twenty years of my teaching service I have never lost sight of the need to teach 'basic concepts'. The only difference has been the approach to these and variety of delivery. (EPT 10)

The NQT group also expressed broad agreement, but were much fuller and more elaborated in their responses:

I agree entirely. What are these magic basics? Does this suggest that to know your tables is to be a well adjusted child? Surely we are oversimplifying the argument.

I do feel that literacy and numeracy are the basic building blocks of education, but the current 'back to basics' attitude has grown out of ignorance sustained by fear. There must be art and music and love of learning, and most of all love of others. Without the richness of these qualities reading and writing and number become pointless and barren. (NQT 3)

Again there were signs of defensive practice:

...schemes of English and maths are being used in my school. 'Safe' maths schemes- pages of sums have been brought out of the school museum and are much used .(NQT 7)

In summary both groups of teachers expressed resistance to basics in a reductionist sense in either curriculum or cultural terms. However the NQT expression of this was more passionately elaborated and articulated and disenchantment with defensive practice was expressed.

H) Alexander (TES 11. 9. 92):

"First, good practice is a plural rather than a singular concept: there are many versions of good practice, not just one or two. Second, good practice is something created by the actions of teachers and children, rather than handed down as a recipe from above. Third, good practice requires us to understand and reconcile values, evidence, and classroom research. Fourth, good practice is dynamic and provisional rather than fixed or absolute..."

All EPT responses expressed strong agreement with Alexander's position.

However, a more cautious outlook pervaded the NQT responses:

It sounds correct. However as a first year teacher it is hard for me to say. This year certainly I have responded very much to the individual needs of my class. My planning has largely been provisional as part of a personal response in a dynamic partnership with them. It will be interesting to see how next year my new class will 'demand' to be taught. Will it be a matter of churning out last year's worksheets? I suspect not. I suspect that the process will start all over again and that the main difference will be that I will have one year of experience behind me to support me through this. I think Alexander will be proved right. (NQT 2)

Reservations about the effect of legislative controls were expressed:

This, quite rightly, seems to recognise and account for the fact that the children themselves, and their range of abilities, will be unpredictable. They will learn at different speeds, and no amount of instruction from the 'top' will change this or render them homogeneous - yet this appears to be what NC and rigorous testing is trying to achieve. (NQT 6)

Thus, some contrast between the two groups responses was evident. Subsequent dialogue with teachers in both groups led me to the conclusion that for the EPTs Alexander's statement was recognised as a valuable encapsulation of hard won insights over the years into the nature of 'good' practice. In some respects it is an articulation of aspects of the concept of postmodern reflective practice considered in chapter one. However, the main point that needs to be made here is obvious but important: the EPT group recognised the statement in the light of past practice in the school where most had been long serving, and where a more mediated approach to legislative demands was being successfully constructed. The NQTs on the other hand were in their first school and were still unsure what they could expect of themselves in relation to the legislative controls. The last section of the questionnaire showed the marks of intensification in both groups.

2.3 Views on the Self in Teaching

In this part of the questionnaire (items I-N) comments 'in the light of your recent experience as a teacher' were asked for.

I) John Lennon: *"How can I go forward when I don't know which way I'm facing ?"*

Two of the EPT group did not respond. Both groups reflected the confused conditions of the time, with the effects of the national curriculum rewrites and overload dominating responses. One commented:

There has been such an incredible avalanche of directives, which certainly don't make up a well-balanced coherent whole, that it's a wonder that anyone has any sense of what is the right direction left (EPT 12)

The emotions of teaching were evident:

The excessive demands on my time and energies in trying to grasp the complexities of the NC mean that I constantly feel 'petrified' in that I cannot think clearly in any direction. (EPT 10)

Similarly the NQTs explained:

This sums up teaching and NC today. The NC is unstable and constantly being altered, ideas come and go, you never know what you're supposed to be doing. (NQT 4)

Clearly intensification had brought a sense of loss of direction in both groups.

J) Nias 1989 Primary Teachers Talking p 40/1:

"I can't feel committed to being a primary teacher as long as I can't feel that I'm myself while I'm doing it."

" I always thought I was a teacher, and still think I am, but it hasn't come out in this school...I'm still the same person inside but somehow it isn't finding its way out."

Three of the EPT group and two of the NQTs did not respond. Although there were problems expressed by the EPT group relating to perceptions of an increase in 'unnecessary meetings' (EPT 1), less 'rewards, genuine pleasure' (EPT 5), others noted:

I still try to keep things in perspective, and occasionally deliberately 'forget' the NC for my sake and that of my pupils. (EPT 6)

I feel although there are obvious limitations now, I can still be myself. (EPT 7)

The NQT responses on the other hand were much less settled. One wrote:

New situation, lack of confidence, lack of experience...'homesick' for the familiarity of college....(NQT 12)

Another complained:

I feel many new teachers do not get a chance to show their own style and character, these days it seems to be a matter of conformity. (NQT 4)

Other responses seemed to show a gradual sense of feeling more like a teacher with more personal and social strategies needed:

To some extent I feel this way. Perhaps its a question of time to become familiar and happy in the teaching of the 'basics' so that I may get on with teaching the rest. (NQT 11)

Not surprisingly the EPTs felt much more themselves and 'at home', despite the changes, than most of the NQTs. There was graduated response in the NQTs reflecting perhaps the degree of hardness of the beginning experienced. The degree of alienation or settlement experienced seems to have reflected the degree of success in terms of the personal and social strategic adjustment to the school context.

K) Professor R J Campbell et al, 1991, Workloads, Achievement and Stress : a Study of Teacher Time, para 4. 10:

"We think that many teachers... spend so much time on work...that the virtue of their conscientiousness must be called into question. They saw it as damaging their personal lives, their health and, ironically, the quality of their pupils' learning and relationships with them. Conscientiousness had become, in a literal sense counter-productive."

Both groups expressed strong agreement. An EPT explained the problem:

Yes personal life is very restricted during term time, and therefore health must suffer - weekends are spent catching up with domestic chores (and school work). With 34 children in my class I usually arrive home exhausted and almost incapable of doing ANYTHING until about 8pm - if then. This can easily lead to resentment towards pupils, and obviously, a less patient attitude. (EPT 4)

Others commented on the human costs involved:

I've seen too many colleagues having to retire/ give -up because of nervous breakdowns. Therefore I try to keep a fair proportion of non-school time for myself. (EPT 6)

There was another strategy being contemplated:

100% true- but even worms turn ! (EPT 4)

The NQTs made similar points but hoped it would get better:

Yes- I think that this can be true. This year I have said to myself that things will change after the first year and that I won't need to work as hard next year...The secret I suppose is to " find the balance". (EPT 2)

One commented that:

..there is no doubt that trying to satisfy 'everyone else's needs external to the classroom has meant that teachers are overworking themselves....(NQT 13)

Another strategy was also being contemplated in this group, and was expressed strikingly with the same metaphor:

The worm needs to turn. (EPT 12)

Thus both groups of teachers were in agreement that their workload was punishing. However there was a recognition that casualties were partly self-inflicted: in trying to please 'everyone else' the relationships all valued with the children and their own health might be lost. The 'worm turning' strategy

may have referred to the union action that was building during that period. The same metaphor was used by a NAS/UWT delegate at the subsequent Easter conference. What might also be recognised in this metaphor in which anger and humour are mixed however is the low self-image of some primary teachers at that time.

L) Claxton, G (1989) Being a Teacher, p 107/8:

"There is nothing so practical as a good theory'...Vision is the source of purposeful action, not an escape from it. Whatever people do their values are revealed."

Only four of the EPTs responded to this, with one commenting:

There is little place or time for personal vision in today's teaching. We must conform to the 'law' in order to produce acceptable results and respond to the vision and theories of the legislators whether we agree or not. (EPT 10)

Four of the NQTs did not respond. But the rest expressed their views were with confidence as the following examples illustrate:

Through theory I learnt what my values could be. Through practice I have learnt what my values are. (EPT 3)

And nothing so theoretical as good practice...(EPT 8)

Vision is necessary, otherwise your practice becomes stagnant. However this cannot be one that is preached within a 'theory' from somewhere else. I would want to try it out, but through the idiosyncrasies of my philosophy first. There is no formula that applies equally to all...you have to develop your own philosophy and develop your teaching from that, to suit the context. (NQT 13)

On the whole the NQT responses refused oppositional views of theory and practice, constructing instead a sense of their dialectical relation.

M) BEd student : *Teaching is about surviving not about idealism.*

Three EPTs and 2 NQT did not respond. The EPT group were inclined to agree with the statement, with the word 'sad' recurring several times and the stress being put on survival:

Teachers now survive each day. Where is the 'joy of a job well done' gone ?

(EPT 2)

The NQT group on the other hand tended to stress the need for idealism, whilst refusing the binary for example:

without my ideals I couldn't survive. I couldn't believe in myself. (NQT 2)

without idealism how can you teach, how can you strive to encourage learning and discovery? I would say that teaching is about compromising on idealism to survive. (NQT 7)

Thus, there was some division on the issue of idealism or survival, with the EPT group tending to settle on the latter whilst expressing sadness that this should have come about. However the distinction needs to be made with care because these terms are so often constructed as a binary opposition. Clearly it would not be surprising if new entrants to the profession were more idealistic. However since many studies indicate that the first year is about survival, these perceptions of the complex relation rather than opposition of idealism and survival has research implications which will be returned to in the conclusion of this chapter. The last item on the questionnaire was open-ended.

N) Please add any other comments you have about issues relating to your recent experience of being a teacher.

Seven EPTs and five NQTs did not respond. There was a final contrast between the two groups in these last responses. Both groups concentrated on the situation and predicament of teachers and expressed strong emotion. One EPT, for example, commented:

Tremendous damage has been done and millions of pounds have been wasted over the last decade. It should have been a time for rational steady improvement...Can the damage be repaired or has everything gone too far? (EPT 12)

However the NQTs perceptions indicated a division between newcomers and their more experienced colleagues, as one expressed it:

Most depressing possibility is that it would seem - by mix of temperament, character, background and workload - that teachers as a group tend strongly to be reactive and long suffering. It's one thing to know this 'from the outside', another to feel it in action. (NQT 10)

Another also felt alienated from colleagues:

Teaching is hard enough, it really is but what makes it worse is when teachers themselves endeavour to make it harder still for their colleagues. They seem filled with petty prides and jealousies. I've never come across so many people so full of their tiny sense of importance and so ready to use it to put others down as in my current staffroom. Teachers are not helping themselves or their profession, if they are going to spend their time creating little sanctums for their curriculum responsibilities, hoarding resources and hiding them, holding aloof the seven secret principles that are so important to the teaching of Art/ IT/ History etc that makes them so good but that no-one else could possibly have because then everyone would be good and I wouldn't be so special anymore. If they are going to treat every extra penny in their wallet as another rung up the power ladder entitling them to shit on people from greater heights I don't really want to be a part of it. (NQT 8)

In summary the experienced teachers tended to refer to damage done by politicians and the consequent problem that teachers might be losing their commitment. The perception of the NQTs however was depression at joining such a 'reactive and long suffering' group of teachers, with some anger expressed at 'petty' professional divisions. Respect for experienced professionals seemed to have diminished in some of the newcomers, bringing doubts about being 'part of it'.

2.4 Summary and Discussion

What could be learned from the questionnaire results about similarities and differences between new and experienced teachers? Comparison of political, professional and personal dimensions had been sought in terms of views of the national curriculum, views of teachers and practice and finally views of the self under pressure and these may be considered now in turn.

There were no significant differences between new and experienced teachers in the sample in relation to their views of the national curriculum. The teachers agreed with Armstrong (1992) that the national curriculum was in crisis. They disagreed with Woodhead's (1993) optimism about the national curriculum. However Woodhead's statement that the 'vast majority' of teachers agreed with the *principle* of the national curriculum was strongly confirmed. Nevertheless both groups were critical of the *form* of the national curriculum. The teachers found it over prescriptive and overloaded with subjects. They felt it was killing spontaneous response to the individual needs of children. There were signs of deeper dissent emerging in relation to skills

and individual needs. Some of these findings were not surprising, others were. After the experience of overload and over prescription it seemed remarkable that there was not more dissent from the principle of the national curriculum. However there were signs of deeper unease in the second section on teachers, and some difference between the two groups also began to show.

Both groups were aware of the potential deprofessionalization and deadening effects on practice attendant on political intervention. However whilst both groups blamed government for their ensuing predicament, the newcomers also indicated other problems. The defensive bureaucracy erected by schools in response to legislative bureaucracy was viewed unfavourably by the newcomers. The induction of new teachers into this defensive system seemed troubled. In the other items on views of practice both groups indicated a similar resistance to reduction to 'basics', but the newcomers were more passionate and critical of retreat into defensive practice. Both groups accepted Alexander's (1992) summary of good reflective practice, but the new teachers were more inclined to doubts about their capacity to maintain this in the face of the legislative controls and pressures. There was evidence of intensification and loss of a sense of direction in both groups. The more experienced were evidently still secure in 'feeling like a teacher', whilst the new teachers were less settled. In relation to Campbell et al's (1991) findings both groups agreed that the workload was now punishing, and that whilst a balanced response was necessary, 'even worms turn'.

The questionnaire results from this point on in items L, M and N, suggest some differences between the experienced and the new teachers emerging that seem to have been connected to career phase. The difference begins in the

lack of response to Claxton's (1989) formulation of theory, practice and vision in the experienced group. It seems that the experienced group may have been happier approaching issues with terms like 'good practice' used by Alexander (1992) at item H, rather than terms like 'theory' or 'vision'. In contrast the new teachers were more cautious about 'good practice' since they did not have much experience to go on, but offered a lively account of 'theory' and 'vision'. The tendency to take a relational rather than oppositional view of theory and practice might also suggest the influence of paradigm shift in teacher preparation programmes, since the experienced group's induction may have been through the older theory to practice model. Similar differences opened over idealism and survival. Again it is not surprising in the context of the 1990s that the experienced group stressed survival, and the newcomers were more prone to stress idealism. However since this finding seems to reverse some previous research findings about the phases of teachers' careers (Nias 1989, Bullough et al 1991) if not others (Zeichner and Tabachnick 1985) this issue will be returned to in the chapter conclusions. However it is important to recognise here that the new teachers stress on idealism was not at the expense of survival. Once again the position was relational rather than oppositional, bringing the personal and social strategies of the new teacher forward. It also returns the focus to the last marked division between experienced and new teachers suggested by the questionnaire. This can be typified as some perception of difference emerging from beleaguered insiders coming under the cool gaze of the newcomers. In this perspective the panopticon scrutiny was sometimes reversed, and the judgement was, it seems, equally hard. Some of the respect often felt by inexperienced teachers for their more experienced colleagues had disappeared. It was replaced by the

more negative emotions of anger and depression, a feeling of not wanting 'to be part of' this 'long suffering' group.

In summary, the findings of the questionnaire had revealed both similarities and differences of view between new and experienced teachers of their predicament. Both groups were unified in feeling beleaguered by political intervention, and in feeling that there was too little space for teachers and children in the new system. However there were signs that in some other respects the two groups were divided, perhaps in the areas of defensive bureaucracy and practice which newcomers were more inclined to perceive as professional rather than political controls. Once again I was concerned by these hints of potential divisions between some new teachers and their experienced colleagues. I hoped to find out more by using group interviews.

3 THE GROUP INTERVIEWS

In May 1992 I was concerned to pursue the idea of a polyphonic account of beginning teaching further, and to find a forum for new teachers enabling them to portray their predicament in a collaborative form. Diamond (1992) comments:

Polyphony may supply a crucial aim also for educational research and for teacher education so that full due may be given to as many voices and points of view as possible. (p 71)

Lather (1991) advocates the use of group interviews for such research because:

Group interviews provide tremendous potential for deeper probing and reciprocally educative encounter. (p77)

I hoped that the perspectivist forum created in the TCOTF seminars could be recreated in group interviews and provide an opportunity for continuing dialogue between the NQTs. I hoped to provide an enabling forum to facilitate their group enquiry, allowing me to 'retire to the edge of the picture' (Bakhtin 1986, p149). In research terms there were some attractive possibilities which were in fact realised in both group interviews. Both yielded rich insights into the themes raised through the case studies and questionnaires. The first group was formed of four younger men in the sample and brought further insights into the power relations between new and experienced teachers and defensive bureaucracy. The second group was formed of two older men and one woman and yielded further understanding of the newcomers' perspectives of professional response to political intervention. The predominance of male perspectives may account for a certain forcefulness of expression, but this allows the view of the new teachers' predicament to emerge more clearly. Although there are difficulties with finding sufficient space, I have attempted to present data from both forums in a polyphonic form where possible, to allow the feeling of the teachers' collective voices to emerge.

3.1 The First NQT Forum, June 1993-Steve, George, Len, Max

This meeting lasted four hours, including a coffee break and took place in my tutorial room in the Summer half-term when these new teachers returned to the Faculty for the week. Three of them were the rock group referred to in TCOTF group 2, and were in their early twenties. All were teaching in large schools. George was in a school in the East End of London where he had himself been a pupil. Steve was also in London, Len and Max were in schools

in provincial towns. They agreed to the meeting being taped and all references here are to the three hours of tape made. From the moment I switched the tape on and asked 'What do you want to talk about as NQTs nearing the end of your first year?' their need to talk to each other was evident. This left me free to listen in to their concerns as I had hoped, giving me insights into the questions the questionnaire had left me with.

All four objected to being called 'NQTs' and this opened one recurring theme of the meeting which was the status of the new teacher:

Max: Schools immediately patronise you. They see you as lower class.

None were satisfied with their mentoring and the issues of power relations and the support/scrutiny tension previously identified was strong. George summarised one set of difficulties with his mentor who was the headteacher:

George: When you have to go and ask for advice it is taken as a sign of weakness.

Also he felt that the advice he received was not what he needed:

George: I get it but I get it from the head, and that's no use is it? This is it you see ... she's never taught the national curriculum. She doesn't know the problems we classteachers face.

Len: She's calling the shots though isn't she ?

George: She's calling the shots, but she doesn't know what shots to call.

Later however he explained that his head directed his approach to teaching:

George: In my school the head wants things done in a certain way and if she says that, that's the law...and that immediately rips out any individuality that teachers have for doing things a different way.

Len asked him for an example of this and he spoke at length:

George: When I started I had my classroom set out so there was a spare chair set out on every table or group and I went round to children who had problems, sat with them, talked to them, worked with them. And I was told by the head that that wasn't the way to do it. The way to do it was to sit at my desk and to call children out rather than waste my time wandering around the classroom. Because when I was crouching down seeing one child something would be going on on the other side. So I needed to keep them all in my visual view, from my sort of position of authority and power at the desk there. And my desk had to be tidy, neat and set a good example to the children: have a pencil sharpener, pens the right way up. Whereas my desk is a pile of crap, like Rod's is here! (Laughter)

Steve: My desk expanded: it's three desks now.

George: But my head also advised that I didn't do group work in science, instead I should give them sheets of information.

Len: You're head sounds iffy.

The headteacher was a powerful figure in all cases. However, they operated differently, with Max saying that his head tended to stay in the office. Max felt that he was just 'left to get on with it', he felt that this 'knocked' his confidence because no one was 'checking' his work:

Max: I worry every single day: Am I teaching it right?..It scares me, am I doing what I should be doing?

Len felt quite the opposite, his headteacher roamed the school, coming in and

out of his classroom at will. Len reported that he was subject to multiple observations and explained his emerging strategy:

I've had the deputy head, the head, my mentor, an LEA inspector, an LEA general inspector, a professional tutor...It got to the situation once last term where I had three lots of three hour observation where I had to bring the class in, I'd have to register them, teach the whole session, tidy them away. Every single tiny part of the teaching day was observed. But I found that though that was threatening initially, once you actually go through it that gives you a position of power. Because they observe you, they've said you're OK so it gives you the power to move on and say: Well if you think I'm OK. this is the way I'm going to do it. You've given me your say so...So now I say to all the other teachers: Come in! The door's always open!....If they come and observe you have the power to go on.

Steve's school was also hierarchical, but his direct dealings were more with the year leader and deputy than the head who was a more remote figure. Steve felt there was a lack of 'practical' advice and distinguished this from:

Steve: The advice of the sort I get all the time which is a lot of crap you get from top management all the time. It comes down through the deputy head to the year leader and it's not practical advice because it's advice that you should be doing such and such, not necessarily practical advice at all.

This was related to the curriculum overload:

Len: It comes from the government all that kind of rubbish comes from the government. But then we are also all involved in the sort of intermediary rubbish that is actually prepared to put it into place in order for management to keep their heads above water.

Steve: National curriculum from dream to nightmare!

Steve attributed some of the overload to the fact that it was:

Steve: Management covering it's back...you've got to understand the mechanism of the school really. There's these pointless things planned at every stage of the day, but people don't adhere to it. It's just planned there so that the head can say: 'Oh I've done this: 'I put out these pieces of paper and

I've got the secretaries to do it'. A waste of time.

The connections with defensive bureaucracy were also made later in another run of speech turns which built on each other:

Len: Records on transfer are a waste of time and energy....

Steve: That's not just the government is it, that's the school that's gone through all that process.

George: Crazy! Waste of time!

Len: I refuse to be party to this system...

George: Parents are not going to read it. The child's not going to read it. The head can't read it all. So why are we doing it? There's so much stuff that we do that you just ask yourself: Why? You want to ask that question and your head tells you: Do this. Do that.

Compliance with this system in each school had caused disenchantment.

Their collective experience of staff meetings was poor with Steve reporting:

Steve: I got shot down, just shot down

The others also kept a low profile in staff meetings:

Len: I know they'll do that to me too so I don't say anything.

Len talked about other new teachers floundering or failing in his school. He protected himself by being seen to 'toe the line' through meticulous record keeping. He felt this bought him space to teach more in the way that he wanted, so that the children were not 'homogenized'. He compared this strategy with the approach of other new teachers in the school who were

experiencing difficulty and explained:

Len: Some people acquiesce. You get these kind of people who do take these diktats from on high..You know: 'You have to manage your class this way. You have to teach these things' (even if its impossible). They have the system to hide behind: 'You told me to do it this way. I've tried. I can't do it, it's your responsibility. You told me do it that way, if I can't, its your fault'. But this is selling your self short. The more you sell yourself short, the more you take another step along the road to purgatory.

However different strategies were hard to maintain and the others agreed with

Len's summary:

Len:The individuality we bring to the profession is something being beaten out of us...

Discussion and Conclusion

Evidently the view of these new teachers of their position in relation to their colleagues was both troubled and troubling. This first forum seemed to confirm a number of conjectures that had emerged from the individual studies and the questionnaire. Further insights into perceptions of power relations, forms of control and socialisation in relation to defensive bureaucracy and the personal and social strategies of new teachers emerged and are now considered in turn.

The relatively low status of the newcomer is conveyed in Max's formulation of 'lower class' and the feeling it evoked of being 'patronised'. The 'prison' theme earlier identified is clear in George's story where the headteacher's

control 'rips out individuality', advises against group work, and enforces the panopticon control of the children. Thus the persistence of the elementary school tradition can be detected here, the head controls the new teacher, the new teacher controls the children. In turn, however, new controls are placed on the headteacher through the national curriculum leading to a double bind: 'she's calling the shots but she doesn't know what shots to call'. The headteacher's lack of expertise in the national curriculum means that she is detached from the task of the new teacher which is to teach the national curriculum. This illustration of the predicament of being between the rock of the state and the hard place of the school indicates that the isolation experienced by probationary teachers previously has now intensified. Max's worry and fear about whether he is doing what he 'should' was widely shared. Seeking and taking 'advice' also became complex in this situation for a number of reasons. First, there is the long standing perception that seeking advice is a sign of 'weakness', meaning that there is the problem that the new teacher might be perceived as 'failing'. Since however the aggregate of demands are overwhelming this appears to leave the new teacher with little option but to live in isolation with the fear of failure. Secondly, if the advice came from the headteacher other problems arose: '...she's never taught the national curriculum. She doesn't know the problems we classteachers face'. Third Steve indicates that 'advice' actually means control, which takes a number of forms.

Zeichner and Tabachnich's (1985) identification of forms of control has already been considered, here the 'direct' (p 15) controls of other teachers and the head through forms of panopticon surveillance are supplemented by the

'bureaucratic' and the 'technical' (p16). Steve's perception of controlling advice filtering down from 'top management', however indicates further problematics because 'people don't adhere to it' and all become involved in the 'overt' and 'covert' social strategies identified by Goodman (1985). Under the pressure of the national curriculum overload survival strategies become the common requirement. 'Top management' are perceived to keep their heads above water' and as 'covering their back' by the use of 'pieces of paper'. However managerial defensive bureaucracy, particularly in the form of record keeping has the effect of overloading the new teacher. The records are perceived not to support teaching and learning, but the question as to why records should be done is met with the headteacher's direct command: 'Do this'. Thus the perspectives of the new teacher and headteachers and deputies diverge, and direct, bureaucratic and technical forms of control are instituted. Pollard et al (1994) indicate however that the problematics of the 'tick box' regime that had grown up in response to national curriculum pressures were also troubling experienced teachers who expressed:

resentment and frustration at the amount of time they were having to spend on procedures for which they did not see the value. (p196)

Campbell and Neill (1994) also indicate that there was no legal need for such a 'proliferation' (p42) of detailed records, but perceptions of 'market accountability' took the profession down a road that was not '*necessary*'. For the new teacher caught up in this defensive regime however options narrow. Questioning the regime is dangerous, doing so at staff meetings even more so. Since such public strategies are perceived as impossible, compliant social strategies take over in George and Steve's cases.

Max had the greatest strategic space, but ideological forms of control are evident in his fears. Len 's strategic response was perhaps the most complex. It had a number of components the first of which resembles one metaphor Tickle (1994) identified in his sample: that of 'going through it' (p208). However in Len's case this might be better summarised as 'baptism by fire', the more he was observed and got through the more he perceived that a 'position of power' was attained to teach in his own way and to his own beliefs. However, he responded to bureaucratic controls by keeping meticulous records and saw this as a fail-safe 'back up' strategy. A great deal of his time and energy were thus taken up in coping with the direct controls of surveillance and the indirect ones of bureaucracy. He felt however he could stand off the seige to the self in these ways. He also saw much greater problems in 'selling your self short' in compliant collusion. There was however a sense that the struggle for the self within the system would be 'beaten out of us' unless fought hard.

This first forum had, I felt, clarified aspects of the predicament of the new teacher for both the new teachers involved and myself. It could be argued that the predominance of men in this group interview determine the views expressed. However, in this case I believe that gender and age coloured the form of expression of views, rather than determining their substance. The perceptions of being in a relatively powerless position in relation to headteachers and experienced teachers were common in the sample and reinforced earlier indications of this amongst COTF and TCOTF students. Also the view of defensive bureaucracy and the frustration it causes teachers is now widely recognised. What, therefore, seemed to be distinctive here was not so

much the gendered nature of these new teachers' perspectives, but their fresh and raw nature. This rawness added to some of the research difficulties I was now experiencing with listening to these 'emotions of teaching' (Nias 1989). These might be termed similarly the 'emotions of research' arising from my perceptions of both the predicament of new teachers and of the profession with which I continued to identify and invest myself. This led me toward further reflexive exploration an account of which is to be found in the third part of the autoethnography in appendix 1. The outcome of this was to wash through my research perceptions and subtly but tellingly adjust first my reading of the data from the second forum and then of the data gathered over the research period. This process in fact served to precipitate the evolution of the personal, professional and political themes used in this study and subsequently to the formulation of the thesis. The second forum may now be considered, before returning to this discussion.

3.2 The Second NOT Forum, JULY 1993 - Alex, Pat and Mark

It can be seen from the autoethnographic account given in appendix 1 that in considering the predicament of the new teacher I was inclined, by reasons of personal biography and profession and political and cultural outlook, to be critical of the effects of ERA. This was particularly the case in the complex collision of political and professional force that took place in 1993, at the time of the teachers' test boycott. This did not mean that I had altered my own long standing critical stance in relation to the profession, but more that my focus blurred under the personal, professional and political events of 1993 described in the autoethnographic account. This resulted in a propensity to be critical of

politicians and policy and not to add to the renewed attacks on teachers that proliferated during the early 1990s. Also, my perspectives of primary education were very much those of an insider, I knew the difficulties and the pressure from long experience of the inside. However, the perception of the new teachers of other professionals, were those of the newcomer. I set out to gather the views of new teachers of their predicament with the intention of using their perceptions as an estrangement device to reconsider, test and reformulate my original proposal of preparing teachers as intellectuals. But this proved to involve some estrangement from the profession itself also, bringing as Golby (1993 p12) noted 'results which are personally and professionally discomfiting', and which I was reluctant at first to accept. In other words, I was inclined to focus on political critique rather than professional critique in attempting to understand the predicament of new teachers. In the light of preceding sections this itself now seems strange in turn, but that is one reason for understanding the shaping influence of context on research perceptions and their evolution in the research process, often only seen with the informed hindsight conferred by research. It also illustrates multiple readings of data in the perspectivist or postmodern research stance adopted for this study. The perspectives that came to underpin this thesis went through a lengthy process in which nothing was immune from interrogation. The process was assisted by reflexive autoethnographic enquiry and led to a central turning point which developed during my analysis of the data gathered in the forum formed in the second NQT group interview. This offered insights on public strategies adopted by schools in responding to the ERA through staff meetings. In the first forum new teachers fell mute in staff meetings, but this was not necessarily always the case as Alex's story

illustrated. In the second forum Alex Pat and Mark built a common perception of the staff meetings in their respective schools determining professional response to the ERA which illuminated the conjuncture of the political and the professional. The following presents their view of the public strategy of their fellow professionals in adapting to the ERA. This account is used first to illustrate the research process in which political critique was balanced with professional critique in this thesis. Second, it is considered for the typifications offered of professional response to political intervention. Both uses were developed and checked in collaboration with the three teachers in the following months.

The second forum also took place in my tutorial room in the first week of the summer holidays on July 28 1993, lasted for four hours and was taped. Alex and Pat need no further introduction, since their situation was considered in the first section of this chapter. Mark had had a short term contract in the first term in a large town school, before being appointed to a medium size primary school in a rural area on another short term contract which was subsequently made permanent. He had a successful entry strategy into the school similar to Alex's in its proactive style. By the end of the summer term he had won an award for work in the arts with his children which was worth £2,000 for the school. He socialised with the headteacher, governors and parents. He used the metaphor of 'playing the chameleon' (Telephone field note May 1993) to describe his view of himself as a teacher during this period. He explained that there was a tension between 'selling out' and 'survival'. However whilst he felt that 'some values have to be left at home', his 'base values' were not negotiable. Alex, Pat and Mark all expressed how much they looked forward

to meeting for the forum. Once again although I had prepared questions the new teachers need to talk to each other took over. After my opening prompt I found that the forum had its own impetus and rhythm which it seemed best to follow. My hope of pulling back and listening as the others talked was realised. The views expressed are presented polyphonically, my presence remains in the selections of authoring as discussed in chapter two. However, the value of the group interview form lies in the relative muting of the researcher's presence. I take two speech turns in the 31 given here, which allows the new teachers' voices to emerge strongly and cleanly. The session began by looking back on TCOTF, and I asked how communication and discussion in their schools compared to the TCOTF forum.

.....

no. of speech turn/ speaker

1 Mark: *Communication in our school is reasonably good because there's only five of us and there doesn't seem to be too much room for falling out... although the headteacher's a bit of a ruffler.*

2 Pat: *I found in the school I was at that it was admitted by one and all that communication systems were very poor. It was part of the regime that school has built up, communication is poor. There were often attempts to improve it but there was a general acceptance that it would be poor and eventually you would find out what you were supposed to do.*

3 Mark: *Trickle down.*

4 Pat: *Yes. But it wasn't up to you really to do anything about it until it did trickle down because if you sort of asked the wrong question, hierarchically at the wrong time you'd quite likely find yourself in a lot of trouble. (General laughter) I found it very difficult to understand the system, very difficult. This was one of my biggest difficulties in adjusting. In our group in college, OK there were the characters but I found it quite easy to accept that people had different points of view, I think generally most people in the group had very high expectations of what they wanted out of education. That made it easier in some ways, it was OK to differ and not actually have to come up with common ideas.*

5 Rod: *While in school you have to?*

6 Pat: *I didn't find a common chord. I couldn't find it amongst the teachers.*

7 Mark: *No sort of unifying factor.*

8 Pat: *No. But then on another level I don't think I was really in a position to, because most of the time I was living on my individual level anyway just getting through a situation that was actually giving me a lot of problems. So it was very difficult for me to then come out, so maybe if my perspective had been different I'd be feeling differently about what was going on in there.*

9 Alex: *I'm in this interesting situation in a new school where the staff are working through things slowly, literally making them up as they go along so there's ample opportunity for serious reflective discussion.*

10 Mark: *So you're setting up policies?*

11 Alex: *That's right, the head is very democratic, the staff-meetings he runs are short and finish at 4.30pm because he thinks people switch off by 4.30pm after a hard day. He's excellent at organising those to whip through a basic agenda of what I call banalities.*

12 Mark: *Dates and playground duties.*

13 Alex: *Yes, getting that stuff out of the way. None-the less there is a limited amount of time for what I would call serious reflection, there just is and that's really frustrating.*

14 Mark: *Same here, exactly.*

15 Alex: *And there is no mechanism to organise us. I'm aware of the fact that we were very primed by self-selecting for the TCOTF group, there was a certain attitude. In school you've got to create that if you want it to work. You've got to set up staff -meetings where people are coming in prepared to reflect and theorise and idealise if you want more out of it. It won't happen of its own accord, that's what I've found and there are times when people will get impatient with abstraction.*

16 Mark: *We're finding this. We've had a shift around this year I'm going to do infants. So I'm meant to have loads of big planning sessions with the others because I'm team teaching with the infant teachers..and its: Right! We'll do that Wednesday evening after school, (something else happens Wednesday evening). Right! Next Monday... it still doesn't happen. We're doing it in the holidays now. I'm going to have to go around to her house or she's coming round to me. It ends up grabbing these little half-hours for staff meetings all the time. Your sitting there and it's not long enough and you go alright we'll do that, that and that. Right, OK? Everyone agreed with that? Right, off we go! Later you say: Did I agree with that? I did at the time! (General laughter).*

17 Alex: *That's it! Events can get passed at a staff meeting and you think nobody is thinking this through. There is a potential huge shift in our school from topic based to subject based teaching if we're not bloody careful.*

18 Mark: *Drifting that way.*

19 Alex: *It's a drift that's falling into place. I feel I've got to speak out about it. The primary curriculum is so broad that I've found getting to grips with it when planning was better for me on a subject basis. I began to get very uneasy with the quick topic web approach. You get an idea and somebody will suddenly draw little clouds and words will appear and you're thinking: Hang on! (General laughter) I'm wanting them to slow down and ask what is really in there educationally. It may be there with the experienced teacher, I know that now. What I've got after the first year now is this experience of being with the whole class, dealing with them, of how suitable topic based approach is to the children I was teaching and how they would push everything that way. I can now see the value of it. But I've gone into the school to a certain extent identifying myself with a subject approach. There's another level, that maybe the head thinks the NC is easier to cover on a subject based approach. But those are things you've really got to talk about deeply on: Who's going to check up on us anyway How much do we have to cover? We haven't discussed this properly and there's a sort of 'toppling-over' to a subject based curriculum and even a timetable if you're not careful. That frightens me.*

20 Mark: *There's a similar thing happening with us. We have a change that I can see happening, well it's being 'aired', without much discussion! There's been talk a couple of times of teaching whatever your specialist subject is perceived to be. (Laughs) Because I got my kids making some nice technological things I've been labelled the technology person 'Ooo he's good at technology !' (General laughter) I've heard it said: 'Oh yes and we might have specialist teaching.' I've thought with surprise: 'Oh! Are we ? Right who's going to take my class? And what's the actual deal here?' Although there is reasonably good communication these things are sort of mentioned, and then they happen and then it's happening. Nobody has actually sat down and said: 'Should we do this right round the school and we'll just become specialist teachers'. I don't know if it's just time or inclination.*

21 Alex: *That's right, that's right.*

22 Pat: *I don't think people really know do they? The NC arrived, now it's law.*

23 Mark: *Before anyone really saw it coming.*

24 Pat: *Teachers are trying to do something about it. They've realised it is quite impossible to tick every box in the year, or you might tick them (General laughter). I think teachers are just exploring ways of doing what they've been asked to do. It can't be concrete at the moment, can it? I think there's nothing wrong with exploring, giving something an airing.*

25 Alex: *Yes. But I think what Mark is saying is that there are undercurrents and things that, given the sheer pace and pressure of school life, are mentioned and then suddenly get set in concrete.*

26 Mark: *It's not because of a dictator or anything.*

27 Alex: *It's very difficult to unravel it seems to me, not being there long enough to find out yet. But it's very difficult to say OK let's go back and try a different way, because you're not going to discuss that as well.*

28 Mark: *Because then it's become 'The way that we do it here'.*

29 Pat: *Teachers will explore, they're not hard and fast people, they're willing to take things on board whether it be HMI 'raspberry-ripples' or NC. But at the end of the day the question is what am I doing, what do I want? And you're going to teach it in your style regardless of how its written down. I think in some ways that there's panic in teachers but that the panic will die down. I hope. If it doesn't there will be real problems.*

30 Mark: *There's been legislation about content. I wonder whether more legislation is on its way about process?*

31 Pat: *I'd like to see anybody tell somebody how they should teach things!*

32 Mark: *Yes, because that would just fall apart!*

33 Alex: *I'd like to see them police it as well!*

34 Mark: *Yes, how do you police it? What were you doing at 11.30 am, and were you doing it in this style?*

35 Alex: *But what that would do in fact is create another whole level of administrative detail, because the head would have to police it. He'd have the stress, given our school we'd all feel well we've got to take that stress off him to a certain extent. So we do our little bit towards telling our white lies or whatever. It's another whole layer of totally irrelevant business, that's what's really got me down this year. The amount of time I've spent looking at things, reading things, ticking things that are totally irrelevant, totally irrelevant to anything I feel is real; and this is borne out by the other teachers on the staff. Teaching seems to attract masochists! Another thing is the danger of the drift that becomes set is interpreting it in terms of being 'out-there'. It's what they want, it's being dumped on us again. The danger of teachers being what I would call 'passively subversive': 'OK, our aim is we'll all be out of school by 4 o' clock. We'll tick what we've got to. We'll deliver what we've got to and bugger everything else'. And that also means bugger any idealism, bugger any real radical thought....*

36 Rod: *It seems to me you have been discussing varieties of professional response to impossible bureaucratic demands.*

.....

Discussion

Initial analysis of this brought out a critique of the effects of the national curriculum on primary schools. However this first reading gave way to a second reading which was critical of professional response. These are now considered in turn, beginning with my initial interpretation at the time.

Reading One - Political Critique

Rod: It seems to me you have been discussing varieties of professional response to impossible bureaucratic demands.

What I meant by 'impossible bureaucratic demands' in July 1993 can be most vividly recovered from the following extract from my field notebook:

Where now? This is the end of the school year where the teacher unions appear to have risen from the dead, against all expectation, and have turned the initial boycott of national curriculum testing into the most general questioning of the national curriculum ever. Now we await the Dearing review. I'm amazed by the government achieving what left-wing activism failed to do, that is uniting and radicalizing the profession. (July 15 1993)

Given such a mind set what I expected to hear in the forum, was some echo of all this, especially since these were the kind of issues we'd raised and discussed in the TCOTF forum. Listening to the teachers in the second NQT forum I thought I had heard such a position being set forward, and I responded with the initial reading of 'impossible bureaucratic demands'. But could such an initial reading actually be sustained after close and rigorous analysis of the data I had collected? After saturating myself in the data my initial reading suggesting political critique had to be supplemented by a second reading featuring professional critique. This process will now be illustrated using the

transcript given above as a working example of these evolving readings.

Analysis reveals that nine speech turns offer support to the first reading offering political critique. These occur in two clusters, at turns 22-24; and then at 29-35. In each cluster it is interesting to note that Pat initiated the passages expressing wider concern with the impact of the national curriculum orders. She had only 8 speaking turns, but these are used to initiate these clusters the first of which related to the curriculum and records:

22 Pat: *I don't think people really know do they ? The national curriculum arrived, now it's law.*

.....

24 Pat: *Teachers are trying to do something about it. They've realised it is quite impossible to tick every box in the year, or you might tick them. (General mirth and comment).*

She picked up pedagogical concern at turn 29: '... at the end of the day...you're going to teach it in your style regardless of how it's written down' and led into the second cluster:

31 Pat: *I'd like to see anybody tell somebody how they should teach things!*

32 Mark: *Yes, because that would just fall apart!*

33 Alex: *I'd like to see them police it as well!*

The impact of these clustered comments was dramatic and so it is not surprising that they stood out at the time, particularly as my expectations and 'mind-set' were prepared for some such expressions. These concerns therefore stayed fresh in my memory and, as my analysis of the data began, acted like a compass, steering me through the swamping effect of saturating myself in the

data. Gradually however, through autoethnographic reflection and writing, I began to see that I was seeing my own concerns as much as the concerns of my subjects.

The problem with my initial reading emerges very plainly if the sample script is looked at in simple numerical terms. Whilst it is true then that 10 of the speech turns can sustain the initial reading, what of the remaining 26? These need a second reading and are to be found at 1- 21 , 25- 28. The common theme of the second set of statements is a concern with the quality and appropriateness of professional response to the legislation. Put simply, I had been looking for evidence that swamping legislation was the problem, and I had found clear signs of that. But my own identification with teachers and the profession had caused me to play down the problems with professional response to that legislation. It is not the case then that there was a tendency in the NQTs to critique *either* politicians *or* professionals: they were critical of both. The second reading can now be considered.

Reading Two - Professional Critique

It was noted above that Pat initiated the clusters of political critique. She actually also used four of her speech-turns to talk about professional responses critically. Mark used no less than twelve of his fifteen turns for professional critique and Alex used nine of his eleven turns for professional critique. Alex was particularly concerned to focus this critically:

25 Alex: *Yes. But I think what Mark is saying is that there are undercurrents and things that, given the sheer pace and pressure of school life, are mentioned and then suddenly get set in concrete.*

Alex was attempting to unearth less rational or visible or conscious 'undercurrents', a theme he picked up later (35). Mark emphasised the random, undirected nature of these undercurrents. Both stressed the problem of the 'limited amount of time...for serious reflection' (13), time for teachers talking and reflecting critically together was not given the priority it should carry (16, 25). It seems that the consequence of the lack of such talking time was that 'undercurrents' took over practice as conditions of professional 'drift' (18,19) emerged. Important decisions, for example, about teaching through subjects or topics or the mix of specialist or generalist teaching, were drifted into and taken by professional default. Practice was determined by 'toppling-over' (19) into the undercurrents: '...things are sort of mentioned, and then they happen and then it's happening. Nobody has actually sat down and said 'Should we do this...?'" (20). Decisions taken in this way become part of routine, 'set in concrete' (25, 28, 35). The 'undercurrents' that move this process are complex and involve both political prescription and professional response. Alex (35) concludes by bringing political and professional critique together, identifying and synthesising themes of teacher time, state and school bureaucracy and political and professional power that make up the 'undercurrents' as follows:

1. If political prescriptive power were extended further into the school by converting the headteacher into the 'policeman' for the system, a new regime would result. This would be the regime of 'white lies' created by collusion between headteacher and teachers. A great deal of teacher time would be taken up by such defensive practice. This regime would not be completely new because it already existed in the amount teacher time spent in '...ticking things

that are totally irrelevant'. Thus if heads were tempted to be managerialists, teachers were also tempted to be 'masochists' (35).

2. In part the defensive regime of 'white lies' is also already visible in the professional drift that then becomes set into concrete routine. There is a danger that overly-defensive professional responses might fix on political critique, in the manner of my own first reading of my data, evading professional responsibility. Critique of the forces 'out there' might be used to evade the existence of the professional power to determine practice: 'It's what *they* want, it's being *dumped* on us again'. Therefore teachers might declare that they are not to blame, they are not responsible and blame government for the situation. This, it is feared, will both confirm and increase professional drift into a condition of 'passive subversion':

...out of school by 4 o' clock. We'll tick what we've got to. We'll deliver what we've got to and bugger anything else...bugger any idealism, bugger any real radical thought.

Thus professional drift in this view would be accompanied by factors identified by researchers. Rosenholtz (1989 p246), for example, identified 'negative teacher talk' where beliefs that 'teaching success or failure are attributable to outside sources over which they have very little control' multiply. Rosenholtz indicates that this leads to the further belief that given the 'overwhelming odds, no one can be reasonable expected to succeed'. Bullough et al (1991) comment that this makes it 'acceptable to fail' (p89), licensing less professional behaviours and responses in a culture dominated by complaint. An alternative to professional drift and a culture of complaint had

been explored earlier by Alex: 'You've got to set up staff meetings where people are coming in prepared to reflect and theorise and idealise...' (15) These meetings would discuss the political prescriptions from outside and what professional responses should be, and ask questions like: 'Who's going to check on us anyway? How much do we have to cover?' (19) The conditions for asking such questions will depend on the headteacher and teachers creating such open discursive regimes between them. However Alex points out sombrely from experience: 'It won't happen of its own accord, that's what I've found out' (15). Another blockage he'd found is also referred to here: '..there are times when people will get impatient with abstraction'. There is a perception that whether teachers will create more open discursive regimes is moot, with the forces for and against finely balanced and this adds to drift.

Finally it seems that the perception of these new teachers was one of professional drift in the face of political pressures. In his case study of the effects of rapid change on one primary school in the 1990s Hayes (1994) found similar teacher perceptions of repeated 'indecision' (p220) in staff meetings and school management. In the perceptions of the newly qualified teachers considered here school is seen as a 'site of struggle' between political and professional forces but the struggle is not mediated by conditions of open professional discourse and the public professional strategy needed to halt the drift. The drift is accompanied by a negative culture of complaint, which itself diminishes professionalism. The drift is created therefore by *both* political controlling bureaucracy *and* professional response. In terms of the research process I now saw that I had been in danger of falling into a binary opposition, and third reading at least was needed. A more balanced position emerged

from this to constitute this thesis. This position will be set out in the concluding chapter where it is related to the cultural drift of postmodernity. First, conclusions to this section and chapter are offered.

3.3 Summary

The group interviews had offered some valuable insights into potential divisions between new teachers and their more experienced colleagues and headteachers. The first forum highlighted the forms of socialising controls operating on new teachers and their response in terms of coping strategies. In this forum controls referred to were in the form of both direct surveillance and indirect bureaucracy. Coping strategies varied between reluctant compliance and compliance with a hope of 'baptism through fire'. The second forum extended this understanding to incorporate the lack of social or public strategies at school level in coping with change. Here a condition of professional drift in the face of political pressure was identified. A general summary and conclusion to this chapter follows.

CONCLUSION

A summary of findings will be followed by a comparison with other studies in the field, in order to conclude the chapter. In this chapter the perceptions of new teachers of their predicament has been investigated. It has been found that these new teachers seemed to be caught between the rock of the state and the hard place of the school. Intensified conditions in schools following the ERA and the ideological pressures of the parentocracy and cultural restorationism had compressed the space and support for new teachers. In this situation new teachers' relations with experienced teachers and headteachers were often troubled and strategies were adopted by the former in coping with the socialising controls of the latter. The forms of managerial control involved direct surveillance and discourse and the more indirect forms of bureaucratic and technical control noted by Zeichner and Tabachnick (1985). Coping strategies employed by new teachers were both at a personal level of inner adjustment, and outer social or public adjustment noted by a number of previous researchers (Sikes et al 1985, Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1985; Goodman, 1985; Lacey, 1977; Nias, 1989; Bullough et al 1991). Coping was supported by deconstruction of both legislative and ideological controls within the local context of the school and the reconstruction of personal and professional alternatives, carried forward strategically. In general the new teachers identification of the self with idealism and then investment of the self in teaching led to risk and threat to the self. There was thus a struggle for the self and ideals in the school system, under the perceived controls of experienced teachers and headteachers. Finding space in the system and achieving what Bullough et al term 'wiggle room' was difficult also under the

demands of legislation and consequent proliferation of bureaucracy at state and school levels. Some unities as well as divisions were noted between the new teachers and the experienced teachers. Both groups were united in rejecting the form of the national curriculum and feeling that space for the needs of children and teachers had diminished under its controls. However both groups agreed with the principle of the national curriculum and expressed resistance to a reductionist view of 'basics'. They perceived their work to have been intensified and reported stress, loss of direction and overwhelming work loads. However, the two groups were divided in responding to this situation with experienced teachers tending to feel more themselves and at home in school. The experienced teachers tended to identify with practice rather than theory, and survival rather than idealism. In contrast the new teachers tended to be less secure with perspectives on practice and to respond to theory, taking a relational rather than oppositional view of theory and practice. Similarly the new teachers perceived the centrality of idealism, but refused the binary, stressing the relation between idealism and survival. New teachers thus tended to perceive that idealism was needed in order for the self to survive in the school system.

Divisions between new and experienced teachers were most marked in relation to the socialising controls of headteachers and school managers. New teachers tended to perceive that they were of a lower status than their colleagues, and that they must comply with the direct controls achieved through both discourse and surveillance. Although this was sometimes difficult, it was accepted as an inevitable *rite of passage* by the new teachers. However, indirect bureaucratic control was perceived as much more

problematic. Pollard et al (1994) and Campbell and Neill (1994) noted that the widespread managerial response in schools to the bureaucratic controls of the state and the LEA had been to erect further defensive bureaucracy. Ball (1994) noted further the professional divisions this was opening and this seemed to be the case in the present work. New teachers regarded the proliferation of bureaucratic controls in the schools with loathing. Once it was understood that such systems were local rather than legal requirements the culpability of colleagues was considered and division opened. However, staff meetings were difficult forums for the newcomers to raise such problems. Also the hope that a more public strategy and more considered whole school policy to the bureaucratic overload and the other pressures of legislation and ideology was hard to maintain because conditions of open discourse were hard to achieve. Increasingly therefore the newcomers viewed experienced teachers with a cool gaze, reversing the scrutiny they had experienced themselves. There was some perception amongst these new teachers of being implicated in a condition of professional drift in the face of political pressures.

This view of new teachers can now be compared with some other views in the research previously referred to in the general introduction to the chapter. There, Zeichner and Tabachnick's (1985) identification of the difference between studies that claim that the 'reality shock' of the first year causes new teachers to relinquish their ideals and others that do not was cited. Zeichner and Tabachnick are critical of studies where new teachers are taken to be 'prisoners of the past' (p3) of for example their initial teacher preparation, or as 'prisoners of the present (institutional pressures emanating from their workplace)' (p4), and where their 'contributions to the quality or strength of

their own induction into teaching' are overlooked. Zeichner and Tabachnick's own study researched the latter through social strategies adopted and in their sample of four new teachers found that whilst one 'conformed to the commonly accepted scenario of a loss of idealism' (p19) the others did not. Similarly, in the present sample the conclusion has been that the new teachers did not lose their idealism, but in fact identified that idealism with the self. Thus survival of the self was associated with retaining values and ideals that would offer a sense of steerage and direction, and allow sense and meaning to be made of their predicament. It has been suggested therefore that many of these new teachers' concerns were not associated with a more simplistic view of survival concerns sometimes attributed to beginning teaching, but with stages of development expressing value concerns often held to come later (Nias 1989). There are further contrasts to be made with other recent findings in the UK. Thus, although Carré (1993) in his follow through of the first year notes that: 'For some fitting in with the norms of the school necessitated compromise and this caused tension and anxiety' (p210), he concludes that 'most' fitted in well. Also whilst Tickle (1994) found rich evidence that the new teachers in his study were reflective, he indicates that discussion of 'values and beliefs were rare' (p210). It is possible that such contrasts might be explained by the fact that the sample in this study were different to their peers in some respects. This was identified in chapter three in terms of age, gender and general concern with educational, political and cultural change. Also the individual and group experience of the TCOTF course may have exerted some influence, despite its relatively minor place in the BEd. Perhaps there were more cases of accelerated critical understanding and idealism, if not all round professional development, in the present sample.

However, this raises some important questions about existing theories of the personal and professional career development of teachers, and suggests an agenda for further research. It also indicates what may be at stake. Given that much of these new teachers' experience can be typified as a personal and public strategic struggle to hold onto idealism, in sometimes very unpropitious circumstances, four questions are insistent. First, it can be asked how long such struggles for the self and idealism that have typified career entry in the new teachers followed here can be maintained? Second, under the conditions prevailing, will idealism continue to emerge more fully later in the forms traced by Nias (1989), previous to the introduction of the ERA, or will it extinguish? The third question is raised by Nias (1989 p214) when she asks 'Can we afford to take that risk?' The last question therefore is: What support might be offered to new teacher in coping with the mixed personal, professional, political and cultural challenges of postmodernity? The final chapter considers such questions in the light of the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This study has investigated the predicament of the new primary teacher in changing times in three main ways. I began by taking stock of aspects of the uncertain inheritance of new teachers. I proposed that new teachers would need to be prepared as intellectuals in making sense of and dealing with this inherited predicament in the 1990s and beyond. Next my attempt as a new tutor to support student teachers as intellectuals in initial teacher education was considered. Last new teachers' own views and perspectives on their predicament in the early 1990s were investigated. This final chapter reviews and revises the original proposal to arrive at recommendations and complete the McNiff (1993) research framework employed in this study. The chapter is in two main sections. The first summarises and reviews findings to reach general conclusions, revisions and recommendations. The implications of the study and its theoretical contribution to current debates in initial teacher education are considered. The second section looks forward to consider teacher education in relation to the political and cultural context and proposes a common rationale for teacher professionalism in postmodernity.

1 TEACHERS AS INTELLECTUALS

A brief summary and review of findings will allow two general conclusions to emerge. First, on the evidence of this study professional vocation and orientation have been relatively neglected elements in the preparation of new teachers. Second, this neglect indicates the need for a general rationale for teacher professionalism in postmodernity.

1.1 Summary, Review and General Conclusions.

The study began by considering the problematic inheritance of new primary teachers. This was found to be one of mixed ideological traditions forming a historical hybrid, mediated by a professional ethic of care. After the Plowden Report from the 1960s onwards political and media rhetoric misrepresented primary teachers as progressive, but in reality most teachers continued to practice more traditionally. In the 1970s and 1980s a more eclectic reflective approach to the primary hybrid evolved, but this was postmodern rather than progressive. However, the rhetoric of reform had prepared the ground for the central controls of the ERA, which threatened deprofessionalization. Although the justification for political intervention and 'back to basics' was initially conveyed in economic terms, this also acted as a Trojan horse for attempted cultural and curriculum restoration. These confused conditions in primary education were typified as reflecting the more general uncertain cultural condition of postmodernity in society. Having identified the problematic inheritance of emerging teachers I sought a way forward and proposed that new teachers were entitled to support in making sense of primary teaching in such conditions through an introduction to reflective teaching. However epistemological confusions concerning the nature of reflective teaching indicated that clarification was needed if I was to tutor students effectively. The process of reflection was clarified in terms of the democratisation of the perspectives of tutor and students. Further clarification of the content and focus of reflection was sought in the concept of teachers as intellectuals, which offered a cultural reconstructionist outlook and widened the historic professional ethic of care to incorporate an ethic of the person and

the planet. However whilst the concept of teachers as intellectuals was conceptually rich, its practice was under-theorised and case studies of its implementation were lacking.

Chapter three offered such a case study within one relatively small Education Studies course component of a BEd course in an institution that placed much greater emphasis on other elements in teacher preparation. The Education Studies course was only open to a self-selecting minority of students and was experimental and innovative within the institutional context. The institution reflected the more general postmodern transitional state of teacher education, and had suffered a loss of a proactive overall rationale for the BEd in the 1980s in the political and epistemological confusions of postmodernity. However, there were opportunities to support some student teachers as intellectuals. Three main concerns emerged from this involving the needs of student teachers, tutors and the institution. Students participating clearly needed support in developing personal and professional response to the changing political and cultural context in which their work as teachers would be conducted. Recovering a sense of idealism was in many cases to reconstruct a sense of self as a teacher, or, as Golby (1992) indicates, to reconnect with 'that old word vocation' (p32). However, a significant number of students perceived opportunities for the self and social development implied by this to be neglected elements in their preparation. The institution was suffering from the rapid rate of change in the 1980s and lacked an updated institutional view of teacher professionalism, it was not surprising therefore that this disorientation was reflected in some student teachers. Similar transitional dilemmas for tutors were also evident in the balance between the tutor

support offered and the student space allowed; between content and process; between public and personal theory; between tutor as a postmodern intellectual and facilitator, or 'gatekeeper' and assessor. The dilemmas associated with democratising the perspectives and relations between students and tutor were difficult but not impossible to navigate. Taken together the focus on student existential concerns, the idealism of participants, the democratised course process and the ethic of the person and the planet illustrated some creative possibilities. Yet all such developments were dependent nevertheless on negotiating the institutional context in which a shared rationale for teacher professionalism was lacking. This problem was felt widely as initial teacher education came under legislative and ideological pressure following policy changes in the 1990s. However it can be concluded from the present work that teacher education ought to develop a considered professional approach to policy, particularly when it is prone to the failures evident in the 1990s. Beyond compliance to changing government regulations longer term proactive professional principles need to be articulated. In their absence reactive crisis management and professional drift under political pressure may take over, threatening the loss of professional vocation and orientation found here.

In chapter four the perspectives of new teachers of their predicament were considered through ethnography and autoethnography, in order to investigate and to evaluate my earlier diagnosis and proposed solution further. It was found here too that vocational space and support for new teachers had been compressed under the pressures of legislation and ideology. Thus in both the preparing institution and the receiving schools a comparable professional

defensive culture of compliance mixed with complaint operated on emerging teachers. In both a condition of professional drift under political pressure reflected the wider uncertainties of postmodernity. The first year of teaching brought acute challenges of 'fitting in' to the schools, which were suffering the first national curriculum overload and increasing defensive bureaucracy and practice. This alienated many of the new teachers from both policy and existing professional responses. In this situation the various socialising controls operated by schools were matched by coping strategies amongst new teachers attempting to find 'wiggle room' in the system. Finally the predicament of new teachers, caught somewhere between the rock of the state and the hard place of the school, was that of struggling to maintain a sense of professional vocation and orientation which it seemed only idealism could provide as an alternative to political pressure and professional drift. However, whether idealism took overt or covert forms its survival was precarious.

In general conclusion, on the evidence of this study, neither the preparing institution nor the receiving schools had offered sufficient support and space for new entrants to the profession to develop professional vocation and orientation. These concerns seem to be neglected elements in the preparation and induction of new teachers contributing to their predicament in changing times. The bureaucratic strictures of what Ball (1994 p1) typifies as the new 'economy of power', seem to have compressed the space and support for newcomers to the field. The general professional preoccupation with the new power regime led to defensive practice displacing considerations of professional principles and purpose supportive to new teachers. However this displacement and neglect also reflected the general confusions of

postmodernity. This leads to the second main conclusion to this study that a general rationale for teacher professionalism is now urgently required. The more general uncertainties of postmodernity had been reflected in professional inability to rearticulate professionalism in changing times, other than to hold to the historic commitment to an ethic of care. Pollard et al (1994) found a continuation of this commitment in their study of the effects of policy on practice in the early years, whilst noting the pressures also found by Campbell and Neill (1994). In the present study there were some worrying signs that the ethic of care too might be vulnerable, eroding in some cases under the pressures of the parentocracy and intensification. The extension of care required for the induction of new teachers was certainly problematic under such pressures. MacLure's (1993 p311) findings that teachers were suffering an 'acute crisis of identity' in postmodernity as 'the old models and exemplars of teacherhood disintegrate under contemporary social and economic pressures' are relevant here. The depressing picture of a stressed and beleaguered profession emerges in which defensive practice dominates. It is not surprising that many of the newcomers found it alienating and increasingly turned a cool gaze on both politicians and policy on the one hand, and professional response and practice on the other.

But this darker perspective is too partial to be left there. The struggle over diminishing or increasing teacher professionalism is not susceptible to such simple resolution. The emerging teachers in this study also provided more positive perspectives which might contribute to the construction of the 'new professionalism' Pollard (1990) indicated would be needed in the 1990s. I had set out to investigate this through the proposal that new teachers would need

to act as intellectuals in coping and dealing with changing times and some of the modifications, revisions and recommendations emerging from this search can now be considered.

1.2 Revisions and Recommendations

Generally I found that the concept of teachers as intellectuals had provided a useful focus to follow throughout the period of the study, but that it was in need of the revision and reformulation. The original proposal of the need to support new teachers as intellectuals clearly requires a great deal more elaboration. First, therefore, it is important to register again that this study indicated that the emerging teachers in this study could operate as intellectuals. This should challenge the easy assumptions and deficit theories that sometimes cloud debate and reinforce the long standing tendencies to infantilise preparing teachers. Secondly, however, whilst it is clear that emerging teachers have the capacity to function as intellectuals, it is also evident that this carries limited professional support, and outright political opposition. The following revisions and recommendations concentrate on the implications for support, before returning to the theoretical contribution to the current politicised debate over the preparation of new teachers.

The general revisions and recommendations of how professional vocation and orientation might be supported can usefully be connected with previous work to illustrate both similarities and differences. The idealism implied by the concept of teachers as intellectuals has, for example, been explored by Claxton (1989). He indicates the need for searching and questioning in order to

gain the clarification supportive of principled professional vocation and orientation. Principles need translation into practice however, in order to be realistically grounded in the contexts of specific schools. Principles also need to be related to national policy and its vicissitudes and to the more general cultural context and its confusions. For many of the new teachers involved in this study this complex process involved the tension between 'fitting in' and finding 'wiggle room' and the development of strategies for the complex self and social deconstructions and reconstructions necessary. This process is touched on in Dunne's (1993) study of the beliefs of student teachers, where she draws on Ross (1979) who suggested four factors bearing on putting beliefs into practice, which are listed below:

- a) clarity of beliefs;
- b) the ability to perceive a connection between beliefs and practice previously identified as important;
- c) an awareness and thorough understanding of possible alternative practices;
- d) the teacher's perceptions of the beliefs of school system officials.

Similarities with present findings are evident: once beliefs have been clarified, they need to be translated into practice, and then carried forward strategically in the social world of the school. But although Ross' list, which was made in 1979, is useful in pointing to some neglected elements in teacher preparation, it omits the wider social, political and cultural factors. The list needs updating in a more critical and creative form if professional vocation and orientation are to be supported (Golby 1992, Blake and Hill 1995, Pring 1996). The following reworking of Ross' list is informed by the subsequent collision of political and professional forces within the cultural transitions of postmodernity. Neglected personal, professional, political and cultural

elements are recommended for further research, and five main points emerge:-

1) Promoting personal and professional orientation through Ross' clarification of beliefs remains central. Space and support for this within group processes would seem to be indicated if vocation is to be maintained and existentially matured. The possibilities for independent and interdependent student learning and for self and peer assessment need to be considered. Whilst a return to foundation disciplines is not desirable, the 'flight from theory' should certainly end. More work is needed on what would constitute a supportive introduction to public theory (Pring 1996).

2) Clarification of beliefs through group discourse would be assisted by an introduction to public theory relating to the 'alternative practices' identified by Ross. Alternative views of the curriculum and pedagogy, such as those associated with social constructivism for example, would seem to be indicated here, beyond the rudimentary beginnings made in the present work. What is required is a consideration of principles of teaching and learning with worked case study examples illustrating the problems and practices arising. Pollard and Tann (1987) and Fisher (1995) provide some illustration of the type of synthesising work needed here.

3) Support in relating such personal and professional concerns to policy is also needed. Some contextual study of the origins, trajectory, and outcomes of policy in education is essential. The strengths and weaknesses of policy, its failures, amendments, outcomes and fall-out effects on schools, teachers,

children and parents is indicated. Study of the range of possible professional responses to policy change, and the danger of deprofessionalization should be considered. Also the debate of alternatives is indicated if teachers are to be in a position to participate in such debate as government may invite in future.

4) A range of personal and social strategies in dealing with the existential complexities of primary teaching arising from these personal, professional and political perspectives need to be developed. One approach to this might follow the same underlying logic of Ross' suggestion so that clarification of beliefs and mediation of national curriculum requirements is followed by translation into pedagogy, and personal and social strategies adopted within the school to sustain it. Since working with other teachers, helpers and parents and governors in this context is now central, due weight and emphasis should be given to this in preparation programmes. This is a very complex area as findings in chapter four indicate. Whilst it would be very useful for preparation and induction programmes to consider specific foci such as parents evenings, writing reports, record keeping, working with other teachers and staff, staff meetings, and time and stress management, there is much more to consider. Explicit address to proactive entry strategies during the 'fitting in' period and establishing a local reputation would be valuable. Finding and using 'wiggle room' in the system to promote better practices would be beneficial. The dilemma of when to fit in and when to stand off troubled the new teachers in this study, and such ethical dilemmas are recurrent at many levels of human interaction (Buber 1974, Bauman 1993, Tillich 1974). The personal development of new teachers therefore needs to be thoroughly balanced with support for their social development.

Finally, as Carr and Hartnett (1996) point out, any account of education in a democracy that did not consider the relation of school and society would be incomplete, and could not offer proper perspectives for professional vocation and orientation to be formed and maintained. An awareness of long term historical, economic, political and cultural contextual issues bearing on education is needed to temper vocation and to lend it moral and ethical orientation and impetus. In these respects the COTF and TCOTF courses seemed to make some beginning in exploring a cultural reconstructionist approach through the ethic of the person and the planet. If foundation disciplines once contributed modernist theory to initial teacher education, postmodern cultural theory is worth further exploration for the future. Slaughter (1996) points out that just as it is a mistake not to connect education to society, so it is a mistake not to see that education connects to future possibilities, and the cultural choices and decisions implied by this. Thus the consideration of what type of social, economic, political and cultural future is to be promoted through education is central to professional vocation and orientation and this concern should be addressed in the preparation and induction of new teachers.

In summary what seems to emerge is the need to remedy the relative neglect of elements of personal and social development in relation to the worlds of policy and practice. In turn these elements need to be situated within a broad study of the social, political and cultural context (Beyer and Zeichner 1987). The relative neglect of personal, social, political and cultural elements in present preparation and induction programmes is damaging to professional orientation and vocation. Whilst other competencies, skills and subjects

should continue to receive emphasis therefore, these neglected elements should be addressed urgently. Finally, it is worth noting that any analysis of primary teaching in the 1990s that does not acknowledge the complex and overwhelming demands on new teachers and seek to match them by supporting self and social development in initial teacher education and then induction runs three risks. The first is of losing new teachers to the system. The second is the loss of idealism within the system. The third is that without idealism the democratic aspirations of school and society are also at risk of becoming pretensions. The theoretical contribution of this study to current debate of teacher preparation and induction can now be considered.

1.3 Teacher Education in the 1990s: A Contribution to the Debate

The debate on teacher education in the 1990s has suffered from politicisation, which has contributed to a loss of professional purpose. The present study contributes a cultural perspective to this debate which is now considered.

Blake and Hill (1995) indicate that in the 1990s government initiatives to increase school based training have been dominated by issues involving: 'locus, structure, control and financing' (p309). The Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) project researchers have thus investigated the attempt to shift the balance of power in teacher education away from teacher educators (Furlong et al 1996). Structural power shifts into schools were intended to bring an end to the alleged ideological progressivist preparation of new teachers, despite previous allegations of progressivism in the schools themselves. Golby (1992) considers however that these power struggles have

obscured prior questions of student entitlement and asks:

What does it matter how much teacher training goes on in schools, as opposed to colleges, unless we are clear what our students require? (p32)

This study underlines the costs of being distracted from entitlement, and since professional vocation and orientation were found to be neglected in *both* the preparing institution and the receiving schools Golby's argument is strong. The received wisdom had been that initial teacher education addressed such concerns. However, Reid (1986) noted that teacher educators in the 1980s had had a 'knee jerking' (p6) reaction to political controls and had allowed their own agenda to 'slip away'. Reid claims that schools had not addressed this slippage and taken over the lost agenda, seeing their vocation as lying with child development rather than new teachers. This view is confirmed by the findings of this study and by some of the MOTE findings. Thus Furlong et al (1995) also identified the potential loss of theory resulting, and asked whether new teachers were now left 'adrift in a postmodern sea of relativism?' (p287). Furlong et al (1996) observed that Higher Education Institutions had started 'to lose sight of what their distinctive contribution to initial teacher education actually was' (p2). In summary, the present study reinforces the view that the politicisation of the debate over initial teacher education has led to a preoccupation with the location of teacher preparation, adding to a loss of overall professional purpose in preparing institutions, schools and new teachers.

In some ways this simply adds further to the long standing study of the problematics of balancing 'theory' and 'practice' in initial teacher education

(Menter and Pollard 1989); and of the patchiness and paucity of support for the new teacher in school (Tickle 1994, DES 1982, 1988, OFSTED 1993, Blake and Hill 1995). The present study has identified neglected elements in preparation and induction, leaving the question raised by Furlong et al (1995) as to 'who is best placed to contribute what to student's professional development (p299). This remains a complex question, but in general terms if schools are more concerned with child development then the distinctive contribution of the university to teacher preparation lies with meeting the adult developmental needs of the student teacher (Smith 1996, Furlong 1996, Pring 1996). Once distractions about the location of initial teacher education are overcome and neglected elements identified, allocations of responsibility can be decided by reference to the relative space and support that can be provided by the partners. Further questions arise here which have also been too frequently obscured, and which can be recovered through a cultural perspective.

The present study has re-introduced a cultural perspective to the problems of teacher preparation and induction in order to recover the connection between curriculum and the cultural future (Wilkin 1993). This is urgently required if the reduction of teaching to what Pollard et al (1994) identify as 'barren' and technicist requirements ' (p238) is to be resisted and if the process of 'reasserting professionalism' (Wilkin 1996 p139) is to take place. Blake and Hill (1995 p336) in their study of the situation of new teachers indicate one question too easily overlooked in this technicist climate:

... it should be recognised that at the heart of any analysis of the new teacher in school lies the question 'What kind of teacher do we want?'

This links to a second question 'What kind of future do we want?'. However, given the confusions and uncertainties of postmodernity, it seems problematic that any general agreement could be reached on such questions. In the perspectives of this study this leaves students in the relativist 'postmodern sea' identified by Furlong et al. Yet there is nothing particularly new about this situation, Bennett and Carré (1993), for example, indicated there was no agreed 'common mission' (p214) amongst the teachers and tutors involved in their research, reflecting the diversity of practice. Retrospectively it is clear that the more individualistic forms of reflective practice were not conducive to a unified view of professionalism and were thus vulnerable to political intervention (Zeichner 1995). Taylor (1994) indicates that 'the debate on professionalization has moved on' (p58) in the 1990s. It can be concluded however, that if education professionals leave a vacuum here, there is nothing but the history made by powerful others to fill it. The absence of a professional rationale contributed to the predicament of the emerging teachers throughout this study, in both the preparing and receiving institutions. This indicates why there is a pressing need for education professionals to act as intellectuals and to articulate principles and purposes for teacher professionalism in postmodernity. Demaine (1995) reviews different ideas of a General Teacher's Council (GTC) that might agree and regulate such a rationale and rebalance political and professional relations, beyond the older oppositions of Left and Right. However, after the conflicts in education of the past period, achieving an agreed rationale for professional purpose will be difficult. The cultural perspective taken in this study has a further contribution to make to this problem which can now be considered.

2 TOWARDS A CULTURAL RATIONALE FOR TEACHER EDUCATION BASED ON EQUALITY, QUALITY, DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY.

Previously professional orientation and vocation were related to the consideration of the kind of future desired. The economic, political, social and cultural changes associated with postmodernity seem to have produced deep disagreement on this question. However, a brief overview of this context will be used here to identify three widespread concerns and principles which might carry some consensual weight: first with economic equality of opportunity, second with cultural quality and diversity, and third with the development of a more democratic society. A rationale for teacher education in promoting teacher professionalism orientated vocationally by the promotion of these principles is suggested. This rationale takes a longer political and cultural view in order to identify the common cultural legacies of modernity and postmodernity, but does not deny differences of perspective between teachers, politicians, parents and the public. However, after populist political rhetoric playing on such differences, it is easy to overlook some elements of potential underlying common concern. The loss of cultural direction in postmodernity means that such common concerns need to be cultivated. If broad social, cultural and educational partnership is to be reconstructed effectively, common principles and public expectations for education must be identified (Aronowitz and Giroux 1991).

2.1 Equality of Opportunity - The Legacy of Modernity

One way of identifying common principles and expectations is retrospectively. A long standing aspiration has been to use state schooling to promote educational and economic equity and equality of opportunity. This is part of the legacy of modernity, connected to the trajectory of the 'long revolution' Williams (1961) identified. The relationship between teachers in state schools and government has altered across the century as attempts to meet rising public expectations have been made. Donnison (1996) characterises the partnership with the professions posited by Labour reformers after the first world war thus:

The public service professions were to be the reformers' civilising force, made accountable through parliament and local councils. They would provide solutions for a wide range of social and economic problems...(p43)

In this account a political attempt was made to cast teachers and others as the agents of progressive modernity in the public service tradition. After the second world war optimism that primary schools could bring progress reached a height in the creativity and idealism encouraged by the Plowden Report in the 1960s. However the oil crises of the 1970s changed this and brought control and accountability from governments influenced by the New Right who intervened to fix what professionals had allegedly failed to deliver. There was an attempt now to recast teachers as the agents of regressive modernity. The Thatcher and Major governments of the 1980s and 1990s diverted attention from the resourcing of equity and equality of opportunity in education by substituting rhetoric using the professional scapegoat, and promising

consumer 'choice' (Hartley 1994a). The substitution of such potent and seductive rhetoric for real resourcing became long standing as the size and scope of the Welfare State was questioned (Peters and Marshall 1996). In the late 1990s the convergence of party politics on the low tax and spend policies believed to appeal to Middle England meant that the possibility of a change of government did not signal change in the substitution of rhetoric for resourcing. Thus Labour leader Tony Blair (1996) promised a 'society of opportunity' (p31) and vowed that 'Education will be the passion of my government' (p33), but gave no commitment to new resourcing, signalling that the tough approach to teachers would continue. Donnison evaluates the change from the earlier partnership:

Thatcherite governments did not roll back the state or privatise much of it. They ended up with a state as big as before, and far more centralised. The big change which they achieved was the dethronement of the public service professions. (p47)

Thus it can be seen that the encouragement of the creativity of teachers in the 1960s gave way to that of control in the early 1990s. This raises real questions about the future relations of politicians and professionals in meeting the rising aspirations of parents and the public in the late 1990s (Mackenzie 1997). If professionals have been dethroned, it can also be argued that politicians have suffered a similar fate as postmodernity advanced.

Growing disillusion with government throughout the 1990s was associated with the loss of the 'feel good' factor in the economy. Hutton's (1995) analysis indicates that the thirty percent of the population living in relative poverty, including a third of the child population, was increasingly accompanied by

insecurity of employment in the enlarged middle group. Problems with the Exchange Rate Mechanism, divisions over Europe, broken promises on tax rises, successive scandals and allegations of sleaze all increased doubts about the competence and morality of governing politicians. Meanwhile the growth of single issue protests and politics were fuelled by successive moral panics. Discontent spilled over into education increasingly questioning government rhetoric, which had previously diverted attention from under-resourcing. Parental and public perceptions and protest of the inadequate levels of schools' budgets, rising class sizes, the dilapidation of school buildings and problems with the curriculum and testing increased from 1993 onwards. The use of the professional scapegoat was continued, but after years of central control and legislation (Basini 1996), it was the competence and accountability of government rather than just teachers that came into question (Lawton 1995). Disenchantment increasingly spread to the whole political class. General patterns of this kind were evident in many countries in the early 1990s signalling the advance of the scepticism and pessimism of postmodernity in society (Kenny 1996). Thus it can be seen that any incoming government in Britain in the late 1990s will inherit the scepticism of the rhetoric of government that has succeeded earlier belief, trust and gullibility. In some ways the electorate may be coming of age (Mackenzie 1995). The long legacy of modernist aspirations, their frustration by successive governments from the 1970s onwards, and the increasingly wide spread public penetration of the substitution of rhetoric for real resourcing are a powerful and unpredictable mixture. It can be concluded that a new government in Britain in the late 1990s will thus inherit in education a demoralised profession, a dilapidated and divided schooling system, and a sceptical, but aspiring public. It is difficult

in these conditions to see any government surviving if it does not deliver on greater equity and equality of opportunity in both educational and economic terms.

Against this background it is evident that a future government must consider and resource a renewed partnership with the teaching profession and review carefully the balance of creativity and control, of autonomy and accountability. A professional teachers' council is urgently required to review and regulate the relations of the profession and government, as much as to formulate and maintain professional ethics. It is here that renewed partnership and professionalism would be assisted by agreed common principles and purposes for education, drawing on the legacy of modernity. Thus there are strong economic, social, political and cultural arguments for teacher professionalism and education to be based in part on a common ethical vocational mission to promote equality of opportunity in school and society in the future. But there is also the legacy of postmodernity to consider.

2.2 Quality and Diversity - The Legacy of Postmodernity

The legacy of postmodernity is mixed. Historical concerns with equity and equality in educational and economic terms have led to further concerns with quality as postmodernity has advanced. Neither politicians nor education professionals have been able to provide convincing responses to this. The following considers the implications of this legacy for professionals, politicians and the public if culture and curriculum are to be reconstructed. Earlier concerns with economic and educational equality have increasingly

overlapped with aspirations to a greater quality of life in the late twentieth century. Roszak (1979) claims this is a 'revolution of rising expectations' (p29) associated with the 'rights of the person' linked to the quality of curriculum and cultural diversity. Roszak (1993) argues that this development is the latest step in the 'democratic revolution' (p280) and that earlier modernist concerns with '*equality*' are thus now joined by further postmodernist concerns with the '*specialness*' and diversity of people. Educationally a number of polarisations can be overcome by accepting equity and equality on the one hand and quality and diversity on the other as central principles and connecting them inclusively to the contexts of work, leisure, and citizenship in the future (Ahier and Ross 1995). This allows the obscuring binary oppositions of liberal/vocational, work/pleasure, personal/social, traditional/progressive and so forth to be challenged by a more holistic approach to curriculum. In turn this might provide common principles commanding more general agreement between professionals, politicians and parents and the public. But there are blockages for all these groups to overcome if a way forward in postmodernity is to be found.

First, there are a number of severe professional problems, highlighted by this study. Hargreaves (1994) indicates that in the 1990s education and schooling on the whole lag far behind postmodern cultural developments affecting both society and the economy. However, the joint legacies considered here had a base in the long standing primary ethic of care for children, which also had some influence on teacher education. But it has been noted that this ethic may be under threat resulting from defensive practice following political intervention. Also this ethic of care needs extension to cultural concern, to

look out and forward in order to prepare for the future and to do this in partnership with parents and others. But this is more problematic now since, as Kennedy (1995) notes the net effect of legislation has been an ironic retrenchment and 'solidification' (p84) of the academic curriculum, making it 'uniform rather than diverse', accompanied by a professional preoccupation with compliance and inspection. Defensive practice and academic solidification thus pose formidable blocks to quality, increasing demoralisation and potentially dulling practice and threatening both achievement and the responsiveness of the curriculum to cultural development. However, ways of working through such blockages were found earlier in the century, and it may be that there are longer cycles of control and creativity at work. Where teachers do find ways, for example, of working in creative partnership with parents and local communities, they express what Ball (1994) calls the 'civic virtue' (p144) now urgently needed. There is the possibility that teachers could act as lead professionals in the localities securing equality and quality in education as never before. Much could be achieved in this way if government encouraged and supported civic partnership rather than division.

Secondly, therefore, government comes back into consideration, and it is worth reemphasising some of the key political elements leading both to public disillusionment and professional demoralisation in the 1990s. It is the contradictions of Thatcherism and its aftermath that need to be highlighted, the extreme espousal of the market and globalisation eroded the very fundamentalist nationalistic traditions from which the project arose (Giddens 1994). The project was therefore self destructive and thus failure was always inevitable. Promises to improve education, contained in the rhetoric of

'choice' and 'diversity', contradicted the reality of increased central control and under-resourcing, which the use of the professional scapegoat could not mask for ever. Hartley (1994a) speculates on some outcomes of public disillusionment with this:

Eventually, diversity, voice, and choice, may prove to be postmodern conditions, which the mandarins of modernity may find it difficult to contain (p243).

Meanwhile the ill-effects on teachers have increased over the period during which this study was conducted and written up. The hope that a change of government might alter the bureaucratic brutality and rhetoric of the period diminished as both rhetoric and policy converged in the run up to the general election in the late 1990s. Promises to improve education made by both major parties were not matched with new resourcing. Increasingly for teachers it seemed that if the strategy had been to wait for new government with new approaches, then the wait would be long. By the start of the school year 1996/7 the serious effects of the long politicisation of education on the profession were evident in one survey of 1,000 teachers conducted for the *Times Educational Supplement*, where expressions of demoralisation were mixed with disillusionment with the politicians and policies of both major parties (Young 1997, Gardiner 1997). The rush to early retirement, following proposed changes to pensions, also highlighted underlying problems of recruitment and retention (Dean and Rafferty 1997, Sutcliffe 1997).

The future of professional and political relations in meeting rising public expectations for quality in education would therefore seem to be gravely

troubled. If the substitution of rhetoric for resourcing that typified governments in the 1980s and 1990s is continued, then an incoming government in this mode might well suffer from a similar backlash as the outgoing one. In some ways it is easy to conceive what might be done about this in education by simple reversal: government should advance financial provision, but roll back state control of the curriculum and recreate partnership with education professionals. This would halt the deprofessionalization of teaching and allow professionalism to be maintained, developed and extended. In practice, however, on present evidence, it is hard to see politicians sharing control and recreating genuine partnership with teachers. Donnison (1996) takes the issue more broadly:

If we are to recreate a sense of shared citizenship and concern for our fellows, if we are to rebuild the credibility of public service and the professions responsible for it, if we are to help people who have been out of work for a long time to find a way back into the economy, if we are to help people in the precarious middle third of our social structure to feel a responsibility for those in the excluded lower third, that will mainly have to be achieved at urban and neighbourhood scales. This will call for more than rhetoric - and particularly for the creation of a local government financial system which gives civic-leaders more responsibility. The task is not impossible: other European countries have managed it. That question is not essentially technical but political: do Westminster politicians and their civil servants really want to give civic leaders more power? And are civic leaders and their citizens prepared to find ways of taking back the power which they have lost? (p 53/4)

What seems to be implied here is that a new maturity is required in which the relations of the centre and the localities, and ultimately of citizens and politicians is rebalanced and democratised. This also highlights the need for fundamental constitutional reform. In the meanwhile Wilkin (1996) identifies the underlying issue for education professionals as being 'how we as individuals and intellectuals relate to the State' (p148) echoing Hatcher's (1994) earlier similar conclusion.

For primary teachers, then, as for other individuals and groups in society in postmodernity the choices in the late 1990s begin to clarify, and resemble Pollard's (1990) forecast as the decade opened. Pollard pointed out that one option for teachers in changing times was to 'leave the profession' (p74), and many have. A second option was 'simply to comply' with legislation as 'easily as one can', but this has proved not to have been an easy option because of the overload. The third option, pursued in this study, is also not easy and involves creating a 'new level of professionalism' (p75). Pollard indicated that this would involve teachers in being 'active and creative in the process of change so that a degree of "control" is taken and maintained' (p75). He continued:

To 'survive' as a professional group then, teachers have to have the self-confidence to stand up for what they believe in and to develop actively into the future.

Pollard speculated whether educational partnership with parents and governors might not over time develop into 'alliance', in what Hartley (1994a) identifies as 'recalcitrant power blocs' (p243). To some extent this began to happen after the 1993 test boycott, in relation to schools' budgets and class sizes. This returns to Donnison's question concerning whether citizens, no less than teachers and other lead professionals, will take back lost power in the late 1990s under a new government. The situation is a typical of the unpredictable power balance of postmodernity where the polity is destabilized and pervasive uncertainty brings both contradictions and opportunities (Giddens 1994). Increasingly what seems to be at stake is the degree of democracy and this is the last principle suggested here, to support the

reassertion of professionalism so clearly needed (Wilkin 1996).

2.3 Teacher Education and Democracy

The final principle that might guide the new teacher professionalism is that of support for democracy, and a role for teacher education in promoting this in supporting teachers as intellectuals is suggested. In postmodernity, as before, different positions and priorities are taken on attempts to extend democracy. Carr and Hartnett (1996) and Kelly (1995) for example stress the danger to democracy posed by over-centralised controls which foreclose diversity. Hobsbawm (1996) however is critical of the postmodern 'cultural revolution' (p320) and the rise of 'identity politics' (p342) associated with the new social movements and sees diversity leading to the disintegration of the solidarity required for the 'long march' (Bauman 1991, pxvii) of modernity. Although this critique comes from the Left, Hobsbawm acknowledges its parallels with thinking on the Right such as that of Daniel Bell (1975). In this study New Right responses to cultural change have been typified as cultural restorationist, but it must be noted that there is another convergence between the Left and Right developing here, in which postmodern development becomes the new common enemy within. Roszak (1979) analysed such convergence in similar terms to Fromm's earlier identification of a 'fear of freedom', and postmodern critique of the fear of difference and diversity is well advanced by now academically if not more publicly (Usher and Edwards 1994).

In contrast to restorationist views the cultural position that has been taken in this study is reconstructionist, but the common fear of cultural disintegration

leading to cultural backlash as the older ideological certainties are challenged is widespread and must be reckoned with. Giddens (1994) suggests that the traditional political polarisations between Left and Right are increasingly inadequate in coping with current complexities. Giddens argues that this necessitates deeper allegiance to democratic processes needed both to contain diversity and to allow for cultural advance beyond the older ideologies. Laclau (1993) claims that 'Radical democracy is not an ideology. It is just a general principle' (p118) which allows for unity as well as diversity. In common with others Giddens thus argues that the way forward is through 'dialogical democracy', involving a radical perspective on democracy, conceived as Richard Peters (1979) argued earlier as a 'a way of life' (p 463) in which a 'revival of the almost forgotten ideal of fraternity' would be pursued (Held 1992). Daly (1996 p9) traces the extension of democratic ideals from the Enlightenment concern with 'equality before the law' in the eighteenth century, into a concern with economic equality and emancipation in the nineteenth century and thence into cultural emancipation in the twentieth century. Thus Daly traces a process of the radicalisation of democracy and suggests that the 'democratic imagination' is kept alive, rather than threatened, by radical postmodern development. Daly draws on work by Laclau (1993) and Mouffe (1993) which sets out the need to extend democracy radically as a way of life rather than simply of suffrage or economic goals, essential as these remain. Mouffe (1993) for example indicates that:

There is still enormous potential for democratisation within the framework of liberal democracy: this society has to be made accountable for its ideals. (p110)

Carr and Harnett (1996) trace the struggle to hold liberal democracy to

account for its professed ideals through education and schooling. Previously it has been suggested that the growing emphasis on the accountability of teachers and other professionals from the 1970s onwards in the UK as elsewhere has been joined, as postmodernity advances, by a growing public recognition of the need to hold politicians to account in the 1990s. In turn, however, this means that the electorate and society itself needs to be held to account, particularly in terms of resourcing and supporting education. Fullan (1993) argues that 'Society has failed its teachers' (p 104) in these respects. Carr and Hartnett (1996) claim that society needs to 'live up to' its 'self-avowed educational aims and ideals' (p184) and that this will require a process of 'double-democratisation' (p189) transforming both school and society, and extending to the family and the workplace as much as to the polity at large (Held 1992). Carr and Hartnett argue for the construction of a 'democratic theory of education' (p187) which would 'enable all future citizens to participate in the process of contestation' appropriate to a democratic way of life. Kelly (1995) also argues for an inclusive democratic citizenship to be a prime objective of 'personal, social and moral education' (p 170). Spiritual, ecological concerns should be added to form a cultural reconstructionist account of school and society fit for the future. This prospect thus brings this discussion to the final proposal that teacher education and teacher professionalism should be focused on supporting this increase and extension of democracy. Fullan (1993) indicates that the professional 'moral purpose' (p10) of teachers in bringing such social and cultural improvement has received too little attention under recent attempts in many countries to reduce teaching to the technical. Fullan argues that teacher education has been 'society's missed opportunity' (p104) in bringing about the kind of democratic social and cultural transformation

argued for by Carr and Hartnett and Kelly in the context of the UK. Against this it might be argued that government will be hostile to such democratisation and its accompanying principles. Even if this were the case however, it is difficult to contemplate a government elected by the democratic process easily getting away with declaring publicly against democracy. This is precisely the point at which government and society as a whole should be held to account for the democratic principles professed. Teacher education has a part to play in this effort and more to gain by promoting democracy rather than by reacting defensively.

CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the predicament of new primary teachers in changing times. Its origins lay in my own transition from primary headship into teacher education, and the attempt to bring both experience and research to bear on the task of preparing new teachers in changing times. In postmodernity the public service tradition which underpinned professional vocation and orientation has been eroded. It is too soon to say it has been destroyed, but the signs are grave. This poses questions about the levels of professionalism and commitment amongst both new and experienced teachers in the future. Primary teachers have been under constant legislative and rhetorical attack from government for over twenty years which has increased demoralisation and disillusionment (Young 1997). On the evidence of this study the entry of new teachers into this scene in the 1990s was troubled, and professional vocation and orientation were at risk during both preparation and induction periods. It can be seen therefore that the politicisation of

primary education has threatened deprofessionalization in new and experienced teachers alike. It might be concluded that this is how governments create conditions in which schools and teachers are more likely to fail through professional demoralisation and the consequent possible dulling of practice.

The gravity of this conclusion increases when the effect on the children and young people in the schooling system is considered. Demoralised teaching is not a new phenomenon, but simply the return of an old trouble. Smart (1993) points out that the alleged 'new times' (p11) of postmodernity in reality too often means the return of 'old troubles'. However if government must be held to account for creating conditions in which some schools and teachers fail, so too must teachers be held to account if some children fail. Thus, another symptom of the times may be the need for the return of the earlier critique exemplified by John Holt's (1964) study of how teachers cause children to fail. Alexander (1995) asks how far a 'progressive model' (p310) might now be a useful 'counter-balance', Galton (1995 p152) calls for the 'principles' of Plowden to be renewed, and Silcock (1993 p107) traces the contours of a 'new progressivism'. What may be suggested by this is a cycle of creativity and control over time. However, usage of the old ideological language is doubtful. One reason why postmodern discourse has value, is that it avoids further fruitless polarisations and supports both more critical and more creative approaches to describing and developing policy and practice (Usher and Edwards 1994). Woods (1995) thus uses the term 'creative' (p1) to indicate the type of teaching required in responding to the intensified conditions brought by politicisation, finding many teachers sustaining vocational commitment

(Woods and Jeffrey 1996). In their research into the effects of the ERA on primary teachers Pollard et al (1994) in fact found a 'significant minority' (p99) of teachers still alive to the possibilities of a new professionalism based on 'creative' ways of working, and found 'about one fifth' (p101) of their sample of teachers working in this way in the early 1990s. However pressures on teachers have increased since then with, for example, Jeffrey and Woods' (1996) case study of OFSTED inspection indicating that:

Professional uncertainty was induced, with teachers experiencing confusion, anomie, anxiety and doubt about their competence. They also suffered an assault on their personal selves, closely associated among primary teachers with their professional roles. This took the form of mortification, dehumanisation, the loss of pedagogic values and of harmony and changed and weakened commitment.

The question remains therefore how best to counter-act deprofessionalization and to support both experienced and new teachers in creative responses to changing times.

This study has taken a cultural approach to this question and has considered the support that might be offered to creative teaching in postmodernity by preparing teachers as intellectuals. In summary, the challenge for teachers is to increase rather than to diminish their professionalism by taking the opportunities created by political and cultural contradictions and operating, despite all, as what Bauman (1995) terms 'intellectuals of the postmodern' (p243). This challenge is daunting, however, and many will feel unequal to the task and develop alternative strategies that lead to deprofessionalization (Jeffrey and Woods 1996). These alternatives for teachers entering the profession are equally hard, as this study illustrates, because the loss of

professionalism carries personal costs. Bauman concludes generally that postmodern intellectuals have not so much the 'right' (p241) but the 'duty' and responsibility to 'express what otherwise would remain silent' (p242) in dealing with the 'virtual realities' of the times. However one major support for teachers in this task would be to end the political substitution of rhetoric for resourcing that has typified the last quarter of the twentieth century. Just as important as proper resourcing would be agreement on the work to be done by teachers, set out in a public agenda with clear general principles and purposes, allowing the renewal of both curriculum and culture. Movement in this direction implies overcoming the attempted reduction of education and teachers to a narrow technical base and the dominance of short-term political perspectives. In contrast a longer term cultural view of the kind advocated in this study indicates that the renewal of resourcing, purpose and partnership in education, and the preparation of teachers as intellectuals vocationally orientated by principles of equality, quality, diversity and democracy is worth further support, practice, research and investment.

APPENDIX ONE

AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC SELECTIONS

Introduction

Part One: Generational background - 1950s and 1960s, a Portrait of the Researcher as a Young Intellectual (General Context).

Part Two: 1970s and 1980s - Portrait of the Researcher as a Primary Teacher and Intellectual (Context for Chapter Three).

Part Three: Portrait of the Researcher as a Teacher Educator (Context for Chapter Three).

Part Four: 1993 - Reflexive Portrait of the Researcher (Context for Chapter Four).

Introduction

It was evident from the beginning that the origin of the present research was deeply connected to the background I brought with me into teacher education. This background had formed me intellectually and required reflexive consideration in both the action research and ethnographic stages of the study. Hall (1996) considers his own development in this sense as a 'diasporic intellectual' and claims that physical and mental 'migration' (p490) is by now paradigmatic of 'postcolonial' and 'postmodern' experience. The 'baggage' I brought with me into teacher education was complex and multi-layered. There were interwoven personal, professional and political themes which had to be set within the changing cultural context for their significance for the present work to emerge. MacIntyre (1981) considers that: 'The narrative of any one life is part of an interlocking set of narratives' (p203). Rushdie's (1981) narrator in *Midnight's Children* comments: 'To understand just one life, you have to swallow the world' (p108). Individual analysis of the kind attempted here must be set in generational cultural context. My own generation can be seen as being born into the austere but hopeful 1940s where, despite the beginning of the Cold War, they grew up through the dull but safe 1950s. They came of age through the seemingly more affluent and rebellious 1960s which were followed by the increasingly economically troubled 1970s. This generation matured through the individualistic and materialist 1980s to arrive in the sceptical and depressed 1990s at the end of the Cold War. Such periodizations need to be handled warily, but the main concern here is to unearth some of the influences this changing cultural context had on the 'baggage' I brought to the present work. Four main layers need consideration

here chronologically. The first has a personal and generational focus and is located in the 1950s and the 1960s. It offers a portrait of the researcher as a young intellectual, giving general background to the origins of the concept of teachers as intellectual considered in this study. The second has a professional focus and concerns primary teaching in the 1970s and 1980s in Oxfordshire and offers a portrait of the researcher as a teacher functioning as an intellectual. The third layer builds on the previous layers to offer a portrait of the researcher as teacher educator in the 1990s contextualised politically and culturally. This gives immediate background to chapter three, where an attempt to develop emerging teachers as intellectuals is considered. The fourth offers a reflexive commentary on the research interpretations, with reference to the previous layers which was necessary to arrive at a more balanced conclusions in chapter four and to this thesis generally. The following account thus briefly outlines some fragments and selections from my personal, professional, and political development contextualised within changing times, all of which I came to understand had influenced the present research.

Part One: General Background - 1950s and 1960s, A Portrait of the Researcher as a Young Intellectual

The 1950s and 1960s which I inhabited as a young person was connected to previous decades of 'the long revolution' as Raymond Williams, a key figure here, conceived it. First amongst some key figures to be considered here was my Scottish father, from whom I heard the 1945 hopes of the New Jerusalem. His lack of educational or economic opportunities threw him back on

self-directed study. This was the first image of being an intellectual presented to me. I was taught to read widely, think freely and to discuss ideas with intellectual engagement. In this dialogical relationship I gained at source some of his generation's concerns exemplified in John Osborne's (1956) *Look Back in Anger*; Colin Wilson's (1956) *The Outsider* and Richard Hoggart's (1957) *Uses of Literacy*. The titles and dates of these works themselves suggest what Raymond Williams summarised as the developing 'structure of feeling' of that time. Later, the working man's scholarship my father won to Ruskin College in Oxford brought further social influences and books like Raymond Williams' *Culture and Society* (1958) and *The Long Revolution* (1961). My father went on to become a school social worker in Oxfordshire and then, after psychoanalytic training, worked in psychiatric social work. His second marriage into a Welsh family many of whom were teachers meant that their narratives gave me deep generational perspectives on the profession, particularly in relation to changes in Oxfordshire primary schools. My Welsh grandfather had left the mines and turned methodist minister and missionary, only to lose his faith during the war. He had won a place at Balliol College, Oxford after the war, taught for some years and then became an educational psychologist and Adlerian therapist.

In summary, it can be seen that my background was deeply interwoven with the public service traditions developing after the war. The commitment to self and social improvement through education was strong. In the early 1960s the structure of feeling was modernist, exemplified in Harold Wilson's 1963 'white heat of technology' speech. It was thrustful, forward looking and hopeful - much had been overcome already, more could be expected, the times

were optimistic. These early dialogical, psychoanalytical and cultural influences re-emerged in the course of the present work, causing me to re-search, and to recover and to reflect on the radical autodidactic self and social reconstructive assumptions that contributed to the formation of the concept of teachers as intellectuals I tried to develop in the 1990s. But there were other generational influences at work also.

My own generation was coming of age through the 1960s. In my own case, previous influences encouraging my development as an intellectual, came into collision with my schooling as I reached the sixth form of my grammar school. The headteacher declared that I was an 'idealist' and an 'intellectual' and that I should conform. This confirmed my tendency to be critical and to question authoritarian teaching. Change and criticism of tradition and formal conventions were in the air. Living in Oxford at that time was to be part of a generational search associated with the new social and cultural movements, arising in part from the times Hall (1996) connects to his early Oxford days which 'spawned the New Left' (p492). Travelling in Greece I met many of my own generation from America escaping the Vietnam draft, which confirmed diasporic intellectual opposition to the establishment. Finally, however, beyond simple opposition, a personal cultural reorientation and reconstruction occurred and I considered where I might make my contribution. My own vocation formed as I realised that I could make a difference through 'informal' primary schooling of the kind I had witnessed in Oxfordshire.

In summary again, the origins of the concept of teachers as intellectuals

explored in the present study were deeply connected to my own personal development within the developing cultural context. I became increasingly aware of these connections in conducting the action research reported in chapter three. However the point of tracing such connections was not to indulge in wearing the personal on my sleeve, but to pursue the reflexive elements that make research of this kind rigorous. Since my research was very 'close-in', an attempt to gain distance and perspective was necessary. Three concerns can be drawn out here, involving ethics, relevance and resources:

1) Research ethics have been raised at the beginning of chapter one. What can be added here from autoethnographic study is the acknowledgement of the complex intertwined personal and public dimensions of the research. One implication of this was precisely the need to interrogate this mixture to ensure that it did not become self-indulgent or exploitative by being blind to its own origins and allegiances. This can be summarised as the need to pursue rigorous interest through autoethnography, rather than problematically assuming rigour through claims of disinterest masking neglect of the involvement of the researcher's self (Sparkes, 1996).

2) Given an acknowledgement of the origins of the research this led to questions about how relevant my past experiences were to emerging teachers facing future challenges. What was required therefore was rigorous analysis of those challenges in relation to what my past experience might offer. The focus on postmodern analysis in this study emerged from this. It also influenced the design of the study, leading to the dialogical testing of my perspectives against emerging teachers' views of their predicament, which are given in chapters

three and four. The latter were used to review and revise the original proposal in chapter five.

3) Lastly personal resources for seeing the research through were drawn out by autoethnographic study, which provided orientation when the challenges were overwhelming. This involved a process of retrospective deconstruction and then reconstruction of future possibilities. In this way I sustained a sense of idealism and realism deeply connected to my past, which provided staying power and pedagogical resources in facing the present and the future. Williams (1983) referred to the need for 'resources for a journey of hope' (p241). I found some of these resources through autoethnographic study.

Further professional background for chapter three is now considered.

Part Two: 1970s and 1980s- Portrait of the Researcher as a Primary Teacher and Intellectual (Context for Chapter Three).

In 1968 I began my initial preparation for teaching and entered a College of Education. I had not expected much of the course, fearing that it would be formal and irrelevant, my main concern was to begin teaching children beyond the formal structures that had dominated my grammar schooling. In reality my expectations were enormously exceeded, I was supported by my education lecturer to think freely and critically, unlike my grammar school teachers. Many College seminar groups used the group discussion methods advocated by Abercrombie (1960) to develop students intellectually, which influenced my own approach in turn. However amongst the lecturers a range

of attitudes to the approaches to primary education endorsed by Plowden were evident. College formal 'theory' had an uneasy relation to the 'informal' school practices championed by Plowden (Darling 1994). Some inspirational courses were countered by others which were insecurely related to developments in primary practice. I had to return to Oxfordshire schools to find examples of developed practice beyond the formal and routine teaching that seemed to predominate elsewhere.

Returning to Oxfordshire as a primary teacher in the early 1970s to join the attempts to develop practice was to encounter, once again, the key figure of Robin Tanner. Robin Tanner's influence as an artist and HMI on Plowden and on the advisory service in Oxfordshire and elsewhere and more directly on the schools and teachers, is well known in primary education. I was deeply influenced by Tanner's radical educational philosophy, derived from William Morris and rooted in his own practice as an artist and teacher (Mackenzie 1983). In-service provision in Oxfordshire at its best reflected his influence in being both inspirational and deeply practical. Popular week-end courses fostered a sense of general movement and change. At the same time I took two one year part time courses in Laban educational movement and educational drama, integrating such influences with developments in Oxfordshire practice, linking this back to inspirational courses in initial teacher education. Another key figure in this attempt to integrate theory and practice and to develop pedagogy was Jerome Bruner, then at Oxford. My headteacher at that time was also an external lecturer at the ~~Department~~ of Education in Oxford, so I was given leave to attend lectures that Bruner gave. I was also given a sympathetic hearing on how I thought this impinged on our practice

in the school, and recognition for the pedagogical developments I attempted in integrating Bruner's pedagogical approaches with dance and drama. Thus it can be seen that in this stage of my functioning as teacher as intellectual I was attempting to integrate the various elements of theory and practice that had influenced my general development. However the forces gathering through the 1970s were bearing down on primary education. By 1979 it was evident that major political and cultural change was overtaking us all.

In 1979 I was seconded for one year full time to The School of Education in Exeter to read curriculum studies. A cultural approach to curriculum was at that time being promoted by Lawton (1973, 1975) drawing on Raymond Williams' (1961) earlier analysis (Galton 1995). The teacher as researcher approach I was introduced to, coupled with cultural and situational analysis (Reynolds and Skilbeck 1976), supplied some missing links, leading me further into a cultural reconstructionist approach and further toward the practice of teacher as intellectual. After returning to Oxfordshire schools for the second time I completed a B.Phil with a case study orientation which reappraised the Oxfordshire experience (Mackenzie 1983). I concluded that although real change and improvement had been achieved this was neither so wide spread nor sufficient in its pedagogic development to warrant descriptions of 'progressive revolution', and that in fact more change was needed. I recommended greater emphasis on Brunerian structure and group work. My M.Phil also concluded that the rising insistence on a secondary school subject approach to the primary curriculum was both impractical and inappropriate. I proposed instead an extended programme of personal and social education focused on projects concerned with the story of the self, other

people and the world pursued dialectically through the processes of the arts, humanities and environmental study and science. In my first headship of an Oxfordshire two teacher village school, life darkened as expenditure cut backs brought the redeployment of the other teacher. I developed a new understanding of a community approach to primary education. I was forced in these years to challenge all kinds of orthodoxy again, particularly in terms of the expectations of young children. I concluded once more that children were 'ready' to function as intellectuals, but that it was teachers and parents on the whole who found this more difficult.

My second headship developed educational partnerships between children, teachers, parents and governors. Despite the divisions and difficulties, an extensive home and school learning partnership was created over these years. This was achieved through evolving a social constructivist approach to teaching and learning, which was built into a democratically managed school development plan. This proactive principled approach left the school well placed to interpret and to use the incoming national curriculum core elements at the end of the 1980s, rather than being used by it. The support of parents and governors in partnership with the teachers was central in achieving this.

However it was now 1989 and it was time to take stock. Beyond the ERA, I asked myself where real change for the better in education would come from. Once more, as when I entered teaching, I needed to consider if, how and where I could make a difference. My old College, now a newly created Faculty within a Polytechnic, advertised for seven new posts, I applied and was appointed. Three main points concerning social constructivism, partnership and alliance

and proactive professional strategic responses to policy need to be drawn out at this point because they offer important context to chapters three and four.

1) My own professional struggle to evolve a more powerful pedagogy beyond ideological subscription to 'traditional' or 'progressive' practice, was based in the dialectical relation of public and private theory, theory and practice and idealism and realism. What emerged from this is now recognisable as the post-ideological postmodern reflective practice associated with social constructivism identified in chapter one. Although such developments were taking place in primary education in the 1980s, coherent references in the general literature had to await accounts of reflective teaching such as that given by Pollard and Tann (1987). Thus it will be seen in chapter three that I was engaged in a struggle both to articulate and then to teach such new development. Again the process of autoethnographic study became central, because other resources and references were not yet developed.

2) Social constructivism highlights interactive teaching and learning and indicates that peer and parent support for learning is vital. The implications for teachers are profound in transforming their work as lead professionals managing educational partnerships at a number of levels. Again however I was to find understanding of this little represented in either the Faculty I had rejoined or the literature. This created deep dilemmas in my attempt to tutor student teachers which are described in chapter three.

3) One reason perpetuating this lack of representation of social constructivism and partnership in the Faculty, the literature and the schools was the

swamping effects of legislation. The general lack of proactive professional principles meant that the demands of policy could not be responded to strategically. The multiple outcomes of this are noted in chapters three, four and five.

Part Three: 1989 - Portrait of the Researcher as a Teacher Educator

(Context for Chapter Three).

I took up my new post as senior lecturer in education and language at the Faculty in the autumn of 1989. This was a year of simultaneous personal and professional change for me, set in the institutional context of new and forward looking developments within the Polytechnic. I had new and exciting work to do in teacher education, I was 'recent and relevant' and the times seemed, once more, to be changing. In 1989 I thought I could see that there was 'a yeast in the world' as my notebooks record my response to the revolutions sweeping through the communist regimes (Hobsbawm, 1994). There seemed to be some grounds to compare aspects of the idealism of the 1960s to the 1990s and it appeared that the time to look forward had come again. However, the idea that some rising cultural transformation for the better was inevitable was moot (Capra, 1982). Instead Gramsci's (1971) ideas of the need for active cultural struggle seemed more appropriate. My experience of creative teaching in Oxfordshire, in which idealism was grounded realistically in practice, seemed to indicate that a way forward was possible. Beyond the dual temptations to lapse into a too easily adopted optimism or pessimism which was widely evident in the 1990s, I thought a more balanced approach might be found. All this led me to believe that some of the new primary teachers I

would now be working with might wish to explore such perspectives and that much might be achieved. When the opportunity arose to add a new course to the Education Studies options in the third and fourth years of the BEd I developed a course first called 'Children of the Future' (COTF) in 1990/1 and then 'Teachers and Children of the Future' (TCOTF) in 1991/2. In the event something was touched in the students, because they opted for these courses in some numbers.

It was against this general background that the present research project was born. The encounter with postmodern theory and research methodology began immediately as I sought to update a cultural perspective on primary teachers' work and to locate it within the broader context, the results of which appear in chapter one of this study and elsewhere (Mackenzie 1997). Methodologically postmodern research allowed for the recognition of a multiple-voiced research account with multiple readings. This was first the idea of a 'polyphonic' account previously considered, but it was also what Diamond (1992) drawing on Connelly and Clandinin (1990) refers to as a 'plurivocal' approach. Plurivocality means that we all have more than one voice or 'self'. In this appendix so far, for example, three main layers of the 'self' have been portrayed, the first was more personal and to do with my life before teaching. The second layer indicates the interpenetration of the personal and the professional. The third layer or voice introduced here is that of the teacher educator, cast in this account back to 1989. Since the last years over which this research has taken place have been typified by accelerating change on all fronts, researching such times has proved, I have found, to be researching myself. I have found it constantly necessary to ask 'Why do I

privilege this pattern and explanation when that one is also very strong?' and to understand how as a researcher I tend to take on the colouring of the times which then colour my interpretations. Different readings have also allowed me to face the discomfoting question: 'Well you would think that wouldn't you?' and the autoethnographic method has assisted greatly in arriving at a 'cleaner' reading and more balanced conclusions. This was particularly evident in relation to the ethnographic exploration of the perceptions new teachers held of their situation, considered in chapter four. Further background to this concludes this autoethnographic outline.

Part Four: 1993- Reflexive Portrait of the Researcher

(Context for Chapter Four).

The context for my interpretations of data collected in the ethnographic part of this study conducted in 1992/3 and reported in chapter four was complex. This can be conveyed most vividly with some short selections drawn directly from my autoethnographic writing from August 1993, in which I took stock of the mixed pressures affecting my research perceptions:

In the last 12 months against the backdrop of the worst economic recession since the 1930s my own friends and family have been under fire. Professionally teachers have wilted under the Blitzkreig of ideology fuelled by the Right and delivered by the Government from the Prime Minister down. Impossible Government demands have delivered what the unions could not: solidarity between teachers, parents and governors in the test boycott. It is no wonder I have become preoccupied with the variety of professional response to legislation, reports and ideology - my family and friends are nearly all teachers and I work with teachers everyday. Those not teachers in my wife's family are nurses and they too have been in the firing line. Other friends have visibly suffered, not only do I see the stress in the faces around me but these become manifest in various family troubles: double redundancies, pending divorce and divisions.

...Also the early death of a very close friend and colleague, the bankruptcy of my oldest and closest friend, the early retirements of my contemporaries from the profession they can no longer bear. Meanwhile, despite recession we manage to sell our house but are unable to find somewhere else to settle. Other family matters intrude resulting in our moving house 9 times before we take up the present six month lease....This is no settled way to work on a PhD ! I remember such pressure when I did my MPhil when the early deaths of both my parents and the threatened closure of my first headship school was fought off and then I moved school into my second headship, walking unawares into a micropolitical storm, whilst on the national political stage the Conservatives went from victory to victory, shedding monetarism first and Thatcher second and triumphing for the fourth time in 1992, riding on claims of the green shoots of economic recovery which no-one seems to have seen, 'but I know a man who does.' I remembered through all this that the personal is the political. As I have read myself in these last years and so read the times, I have read the times and so read myself. The oscillation between self and society through cultural critique and study is all the more relevant and the vibration of this as it passes through the students, and the teachers and parents and children in school is also clearer too. It seems to me that there is a Gramscian cultural war of position going on....

The threat to my own work as teacher educator is of course another theme in the political assault on professionals. Lecturing in teacher education is looking like insecure employment at present! Also the Faculty, like some postmodern icon continues to reinvent itself in the depthless turn-over of the times. College/ polytechnic/ polyversity / university and on. Faculty reorganisation. Rewrites of the BEd.

In this autoethnographic process I gradually identified different personal, professional and political themes, which were then used in analysing data in the ways described in chapters three and four. Analysis for the latter was particularly affected by my realisation that because of these contextual pressures I was much more inclined to be critical of politicians than teachers. At a time when teachers were were subjected to unrelenting criticism based on myths and misrepresentations, I was reluctant to be critical of them too. Political attack produced defensive professional solidarity, muting my own critique of practice that had been so strong earlier, from my grammar schooling onward. However the perceptions of the new teachers I was working with were sharply critical, and their views gradually acted as an

alienation device estranging me from my own perspectives of the profession. In summary the process of autoethnographic consideration gradually, and sometimes painfully, led me to the more balanced conclusions of this thesis which are critical of both political interventions and professional responses to such changes.

APPENDIX TWO

CONTENTS

2.1 Student trailer for Children of the Future

2.2 Children of the Future Extracted Reading List

**2.3 Extract from Student Introductory Documentation to Children of the
Future**

2.4 Children of the Future Course Programme

2.5 Resume of Lecture on Culture and the Person

**2.6 Discussion of additional extracted readings for term two of Children of the
Future**

2.1 STUDENT TRAILER FOR CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE

CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE- EDUCATING OURSELVES BEYOND ERA

This course will be of interest to students who ask themselves:

'What do I have to do to be a good teacher in a world that is full of change?'

The course encourages critically reflective outlook on the role of teachers in improving schools by both responding to and creating change in school and society. Students will be given time to reflect and support in developing a personal philosophy of education.

Consideration will be given to how teachers can improve practice by making it more person-centred, and developing people as people. Educational myths and political controversial issues that can make improvement difficult will be explored.

Further consideration will be given to a selection from the following topics:

- * The capacities of children and adult expectations*
- * Creating self-esteem and confidence in teachers and children*
- * The impact of different ideologies and traditions on the primary school, particularly progressive ideas*
- * The analysis of social, cultural and technological change and how schools might respond and initiate such change*
- * Teachers acting as lead professionals and managers creating educational partnerships with children, other teachers, parents and governors*
- * Teachers acting as intellectuals and researchers*

The course is active and participatory in style. It will aim to build both personal and professional confidence and competence in participants by encouraging an open and reflective attitude to developing and changing ideas. There will be opportunities to negotiate and determine course style and content in a democratic way.

Contemporary cultural forms like TV documentaries (eg The Rock and Roll Years), advertisements, fictional and reflective writing and so forth will be encouraged.

2.2 CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE STUDENT EXTRACTED READING LIST

Extracted readings given to each student were taken from the following:

Bettleheim, B. (1989) Freud and Man's Soul, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Blenkin, G. (1988) Education and development: some implications for the curriculum and the early years, in Blythe, A. (1988) Informal Primary Education Today: Essays and Studies, London, Falmer.

Capra, F. (1982) The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture, London, Wildwood.

Desforges, C. et al (1986), in Cohen, A. and Cohen, L. (1986) Primary Education, London, Harper.

Doll, W. (1989) 'Foundations for a post-modern curriculum', The Journal of Curriculum Studies, 21, 3.

Kelly, V. (1988) 'The middle years of schooling', in Blythe, A. (1988) Informal Primary Education Today: Essays and Studies, London, Falmer.

Gammage, P. (1988) 'Primary school practice beyond Plowden', in Blythe, A. (1988) Informal Primary Education Today: Essays and Studies, London, Falmer.

Galton, P. (1988) 'The nature of learning in the primary classroom', in Blythe, A. (1988) Informal Primary Education Today: Essays and Studies, London, Falmer.

Greene, M. (1986) 'In search of a critical pedagogy', Harvard Educational Review, 56,4.

Giroux H, and McLaren, P. (1986) Teacher education and the politics of engagement: the case for democratic schooling', Harvard Educational Review, 56,4.

Lawton, D. (1989) Education, Culture, and the National Curriculum, London, Routledge.

Slaughter, R. (1989) 'Cultural reconstruction in the post-modern world', The Journal of Curriculum Studies, 21, 3.

Stonier, T. (1982) 'Changes in western society: educational implications', in Richards, C. (1982) New Directions in Primary Education, London, Falmer

Rose, S. Kamin, W. and Lewontin, R.C. (1984) Not In Our Genes- Biology, Ideology and Human Nature, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Roszak, T. (1979) Person/Planet, London, Granada.

Simon, B. (1981) 'The primary school revolution: myth or reality?', in Simon, B and Willcocks, J. (Eds) Research and Practice in the Primary Classroom, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Williams, R. (1976) Keywords-A Vocabulary of Culture and Society, Glasgow, Fontana/Croom Helm.

Winkley, D. (1987) 'Passion and purposes', in Lowe, R. (1987) The Changing Primary school, London, Falmer.

Wood, D. (1988) How Children Think and Learn, Oxford, Blackwell.

2.3 EXTRACT FROM STUDENT INTRODUCTORY DOCUMENTATION

This is a time of great cultural and educational change. Many people feel uncertain about how we should educate children in this time. Contrary images of teaching and learning, schooling, education, training, culture, society, and democracy leave people unsure of what to do. Primary teachers share this uncertainty and are particularly concerned with different ideologies of primary education following the ERA.

This course faces the uncertainty. We will consider how primary teachers can build the confidence in themselves and others to face and to make cultural change and to resolve inner struggles and tensions in the personal inner world and so establish self-esteem.

We will also consider how confidence can be built in establishing a place in the outer social world and so establish social esteem. The personal and the social are interwoven in actuality and so we will be considering how to socially empower ourselves and our children and their parents to face these challenges.

The first term will give consideration to the situation of people and cultural pluralism. Some factors in the analysis of culture and people will be explored. A critical look at some educational myths and controversies will follow. We will be concerned to establish more realistically where we are now culturally and educationally.

The second term will be concerned to find practical answers to some of the questions generated by the first term. The course will be taught by a mixture of lectures, videos, discussions and seminars. Some seminars will be led by students. Teachers support each other by acting as consultants, so this will mirror that process. It will also serve as an exploratory experience of empowering each other which is what the course as a whole considers. Everybody will pair up and take a turn at leading sessions based on a selection of extracted readings that will be given to the whole group.

The issues raised are complex and challenging. Reading is essential. The extracts you are provided with will offer a good basis. The books the extracts come from will be held on reference and it is hoped that you will follow up lines of interest and share those interests with others. The examination questions at the end of the course will be based on some of the extracted readings and issues arising, this should mean that revision is facilitated. The Faculty will supply you with copies of extracted readings: you are expected to supply yourself with a folder to keep them secure. You will also need to keep a reflective file.

2.4 CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE COURSE PROGRAMME

Children of the Future Provisional Course Programme 1990

Culture and the Person

Session

1 Combined groups introduction to the course.

Lecture: *Definitions and Keywords* (follow up extracted reading Williams (1976))

Groups separate for further discussion.

(Reading for following week extracted reading Roszak [1979]).

2 Combined groups lecture: *Culture and the Person*, by Rod Mackenzie drawing on Roszak (1979) *Manifesto of the Person* in order to look at person-centred primary education

Groups separate for further discussion

Extracted readings for the course handed out and student leaders established for future seminars.

Video: 'The Year of Revolution 1989'

3 Separate groups, student led seminar from extracted reading Lawton (1989) *Education, Culture, and the National Curriculum*

Cultural analysis in relation to the national curriculum

Video: *Rock and Roll Years 1960* .

Compare and contrast 1960-1990. What has/has not changed? What are the implications for primary education? (Follow up reading: Stonier [1982]).

4 Separate groups, student led seminar from extracted reading Capra (1982)

Is the paradigm shifting or stuck ?

Is there a 'rising culture'? If so how does it differ from 'traditional' culture?

What does cultural conflict mean for primary education and teachers?

Teachers as cultural analysts and intellectuals or government technicians?

5 Groups combine for two short lectures by both tutors on

a) *Freud, psychoanalysis and education* b) *After Freud, psychoanalysis or cultural analysis?*

Does psychoanalysis have a contribution to make to primary education in the future? (Extracted reading from Bettelheim [1989]).

Myths and Controversies in Education

6 Separate groups, student led seminar from extracted reading Rose et al (1984):

Burt and the Myth of IQ. An alternative: multiple intelligence.

Video. Small group tutorials

7 Separate groups, student led seminar from selected extracted reading

Desforges et al (1986), Simon (1981), Wood (1988):

The myth of the progressive primary school revolution and the critique of Piaget.

Small group tutorials

8 Separate groups, student led seminar from extracted reading selected from Roszak 1979, Dearden (1988), Gammage (1988), Blenkin (1988), Kelly (1988), Galton 1988:

A critique of progressivism

Post-Plowden perspectives for primary education.

Small group tutorials

9 Separate groups, student led seminar from extracted reading selected from Greene (1986), Slaughter (1989), Doll (1989):

Postmodern perspectives.

Small group tutorials.

10 Tutorials: thinking about teaching practice.

APPENDIX 2.5 RESUME OF LECTURE ON CULTURE AND THE PERSON

In this talk I explored the person-centred position Roszak sets out in which he argues on broad political and cultural grounds for the right of all people in a democratic society to develop self and social identity freely rather than to have exploitative social identities imposed upon them. Roszak indicates that the 'culture of the person' is something that must be developed through an existential journey involving self reflection and exploration. He suggests that this cultural creativity is for the majority of people rather than an elite, and that self-reflection can be supported by social and group reflection. I connected this first to the aims of COTF at student level in terms of the support group study could offer individual course members; and secondly to person centred aims for schooling. I argued that developing confidence through a reflective personal philosophy would lead to a sense of direction and could produce more confident teaching. I connected this to role modelling and developing similar confidence in the children offering the prospect of a benign cycle of confidence and self-esteem. I expressed the view that basic confidence in children underlay other achievements in schooling such as the academic, discussing Roszak's views that calls for traditional back to basics threaten to impoverish education. I suggested that teachers and schools have the power to develop or to diminish the child as a person and gave examples of how teachers can create positive school climates in partnership which support the specialness of each child. I argued that children should feel, in Roszak's words 'I matter. I'm special' and that, in answer to the question 'Is there space for me?', should know that there was a special place in the system for them. I argued that children should have practical demonstrations that they were

wanted and respected, and also come to understand that they had both rights and responsibilities. I connected this to the rights responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society and argued that such a society needed democratic schooling. Finally I turned to the ERA and set out the view that strategic professional response in primary education could domesticate the national curriculum and that it need not diminish person-centred pedagogy and democratic aims. I offered examples drawn from Oxfordshire of how the national curriculum English (this was the original Cox version) was in practice supportive of person-centred approaches involving partnerships between teachers and parents. I indicated that the key factor was how primary teachers decided to respond. I concluded that teachers could still make a difference in improving both children's lives and society if they chose to.

APPENDIX 2.6 DISCUSSION OF ADDITIONAL EXTRACTED READINGS FOR TERM TWO OF CHILDREN OF THE FUTURE

I had in fact found good readings on teacher professionalism for the new course book that directly addressed many of the student concerns discussed previously. First there was Pollard and Tann's (1987) valuable account of reflective teaching defining professionalism accessibly, linking it to classroom concerns and maintaining a balance between the different domains of public and private theory. Next there was Beck's (1990) overview of democratic education employing everyday language to describe 'What schools do to kids' (p27) and providing great philosophical and cultural clarity based on equality and respect for young people and deconstructions of racism, sexism, ageism and the promotion of moral, spiritual and ecological values in education. Beck's balanced view of teacher professionalism in making school 'a nice place to be' (p47) and exploring high but 'reasonable' expectations of teachers as intellectuals was valuable. These themes were picked up by Claxton (1989) on the need to balance idealism and realism dialectically in the holistic task of 'being a teacher'. Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) and Fisher (1990) updated the debate of teachers' and childrens' intellectual functioning and made connections out to cultural politics and ideology. Finally, prompted by my growing knowledge of the students' feelings, I had remembered Rogers' (1983) question: 'As a Teacher Can I Be Myself?', and his reminder that teachers 'can be human in the classroom' which synthesised the person-centred insights in ways that complemented Roszak's (1979) cultural perspectives. These readings seemed to me to address the personal and professional concerns COTF students had revealed very well. However I had deep misgivings about adding yet further readings to the course. I hoped that course members would see this as facilitating choice, corresponding to choice of questions in the exam.

APPENDIX THREE

CONTENTS

3.1 Year 4 BEd questionnaire.

3.2 Teachers and Children of the Future: Extract from Course Introductory Documentation.

3.3 Teachers and Children of the Future: Extracted Readings Forming First Term Programme.

3.4 Teachers and Children of the Future Further Extracted Readings in Second Term.

3.5 Group Two Songs Written for Teachers and Children of the Future.

3.6 Teachers and Children of the Future term two programme for group one.

3.7 Teachers and Children of the Future term two programme for group two.

3.8 Teachers and Children of the Future Open Forum Tutor Questions.

3.9 Poems by Alex Written for Teachers and Children of the Future.

3.1 Year 4 BEd Questionnaire.

THEMES IN EDUCATION: 1991/2, YEAR THREE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of an action research project. The information collected will be used to try to improve teaching and learning on the BEd. The questions are concerned to pick up possible reasons for opting for a particular Theme. It is hoped that you will help by completing the questionnaire and returning it to your Themes tutor.

ALL RETURNS SHOULD BE UNNAMED AND ANONYMOUS TO PROTECT YOUR CONFIDENTIALITY

Personal Background Information

These details might bring out some very general patterns.

Age:

Gender:

Marital Status:

Children:

Previous Occupation (s) if any:

Mother's main life-time occupation:

Father's main life-time information:

Themes Information

Theme chosen:

Reasons for choice

Please outline below and overleaf the main reasons for your choice of Theme. It would be very helpful if you could comment on whether your choice had any connection with the type of teacher you want to be in terms of your values and developing philosophy of education.

3.2 Teachers and Children of the Future: Extract from Course Introductory

Documentation.

Teachers and Children of the Future: Educating Ourselves Beyond the ERA

To: Course members

From: Rod Mackenzie

Welcome to this course which will offer you support in developing your personal philosophy of education in a practical way. We will reflect critically together on the changing times and consider some educational values and ideologies alongside the practical realities and dilemmas of everyday teaching. We will also look at the developing selves of teachers and children and more widely at developments in school and society.

The course does not pretend to be value free or neutral. It attempts to express person-centred values, reflecting my experience as a primary teacher and reaffirming the philosophy reflectively constructed in dialogue with others. This course is an invitation to join in that professional conversation and to develop your own position freely through it. This will be a dialogue of teachers acting as intellectuals, thinking their way through challenging practical problems, steered by principles established freely in mutually supportive dialogue. Educational partnerships lie at the heart of this process - whether we are in teacher education or in the primary school, we have the option of educating ourselves by helping each other.

The course will attempt to practice the person-centredness it preaches. The leadership of session will be shared between us. The styles of teaching and learning will be open and participatory and increasingly democratic as the course goes on, if the group chooses. Support is offered before and after final teaching practice. Also the options in the final term are varied. The extracted readings provided form the basis for the end of course examination we are obliged to have. If you can discuss the readings critically, then you are prepared for the exam.

You also have a portfolio of reflective writing to keep as the course proceeds - you will be given session time and support each week in keeping this. Towards the end of the course you will be required to offer a profile of the development of your thoughts and feelings building towards your personal philosophy, by selecting extracts from your portfolio with linking commentary.

I will be writing alongside you. The course is an invitation to involve yourself in the action research I will be carrying out through the course in order to improve both the course and my teaching of it.

I look forward to working with you.

3.3 Teachers and Children of the Future: Extracted Readings Forming First Term Programme.

Extracted readings given to each student were taken from the following:

Aronowitz, S. and Giroux, G. (1986) Education Under Siege- The Conservative, Liberal and Radical Debate over Education, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Beck, C. (1990) Better Schools-A Values Perspective, London, Falmer.

Capra, F. (1982) The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture, London, Wildwood.

Claxton, G. (1989) Being a Teacher-A Positive Approach to Change and Stress, London, Cassell.

Fisher, R. (1990) Teaching Children to Think, Oxford, Blackwell.

Pollard, A. and Tann S. (1987) Reflective Teaching in the Primary School, London, Cassell.

Postman, N. and Weingartner, C. (1973) Teaching as a Subversive Activity, Harmondsworth, Penguin.

Rogers, C. (1983) Freedom to Learn, New York, Macmillan.

Roszak, T. (1979) Person/Planet, London, Granada.

The term programme in both groups consisted of my leading the first two seminars introducing the course and person centred approaches. I drew on Roszak and the approach used previously for COTF (see appendix 2.6). For the rest of the term students paired to prepare leading a seminar each based on one of the extracted readings, with my support and advice.

3.4 Teachers and Children of the Future Further Extracted Readings To Support the Second Term.

Extracted readings given to each student were taken from the following:

Blenkin, G. and Kelly, V. (1987) Early Childhood Development-A Developmental Curriculum, London, Chapman.

Desforges et al (1986), in Cohen, A. and Cohen, L. (1986) Primary Education, Harper

Gammage, P. (1988) 'Primary school practice beyond Plowden', in Blythe, A. (1988) Informal Primary Education Today: Essays and Studies, London, Falmer.

Roszak, T. (1979) Person/Planet, London, Granada.

Simon, B. (1981) 'Why no pedagogy in England?', in Simon, B. and Taylor, W (eds) Primary Education in the Eighties, The Central Issues, London, Batsford.

Simon, B (1981) 'The primary School revolution: myth or reality?', in Simon, B and Willcocks, J. (Eds) Research and Practice in the Primary Classroom, London, Routledge and Keegan Paul.

3.5 Group Two Song Written for TCOTF

CRAP DETECTING

*Maggie said no U-turns in 1982,
Ronnie said the evil empire's after you,
Our lads did a great job fighting the Gulf War,
Privatising electricity means it won't cost anymore,
Someone said the poll tax will be fairer than the rates,
Branson said we'll smash AIDS if we wear his mates,
Opting out they tell us will save the NHS,
Lying dead in Spandau, suicide killed Rudolph Hess.*

CHORUS

*Who do you believe at the end of the day?
How can you trust the things that they say?
Who do you believe at the end of the day?
It's only us who are left, with the price to pay.*

*Children should be seen but they should not be heard,
Using real books is so clearly absurd,
Drama in the curriculum has no place in our schools,
Children really love to work to a set of rules.
We don't need multucultural education in our white classrooms,
Baker said a change is coming and it's coming soon!
Books and books of maths are good for you my son,
Topic teaching is out now with the national curriculum.*

CHORUS

3.6 Teachers and Children of the Future term two programme for group one.

Session

1. 8th January 1992 Introductory Lecture: Teachers and Children as Intellectuals in the Future.
 2. Group negotiates term programme.
 3. Student small group presentation: 'Problems of communication: a constructive approach.'
 4. Visiting teachers.
 5. Student small group presentation: 'Problems of communication: a constructive approach.'
 6. Student small group presentation: 'Education: the Individual and the System.'
 7. Student small group presentation: 'Implications of the Alexander Report and the Primary Inquiry for person centred education.'
 8. Open Forum Evaluation Meeting.
 9. Student small group presentation: 'Self Esteem and Confidence in Teachers and Children.'
 10. Student small group presentation: 'Leaders and Cannon Fodder: Private and Public Schools.'
 11. Student small group presentation: 'The Parents Charter: Working with Parents.'
- Course review and evaluation.

3.7 Teachers and Children of the Future term two programme for group two.

Session

1. 8th January 1992 Introductory Lecture: Teachers and Children as Intellectuals in the Future.
2. Group negotiates term programme.
3. Term programme decided.
4. Visiting teachers.
5. Tutorial support for preparing student small group presentations.
6. Student small group presentation: 'The Leeds Report'
7. Student small group presentation: 'Teaching Children to Think Critically.'
8. Open Forum separate small group meetings.
9. Student small group presentation: 'Muticultural Education.'
10. Student small group presentation: 'Discipline and Control.'
11. Course review and evaluation.

3.8 Teachers and Children of the Future Open Forum Tutor Questions.

The participating tutors were given given the extract from course document reproduced at 3.2 above, providing information about the intentions of the course. The open forum consisted of a brief introductory statement by students to all involved, followed by small group discussion chaired by the visiting tutors. These discussions were guided by a common format I had agreed with students, to guide evaluative discussion given to each participating tutor:

Tell me about the course...

Tell me what the course has meant for you...

Tell me, do you think the course will help you personally and professionally in the future? Tell me more about this...

How far has the course lived up to intentions and expectations?

Group two adopted the common format for use with the tutors that they approached

3.9 Poems by Alex Written for Teachers and Children of the Future.

LESSON

(found poem)

*Everybody stand up!
Everybody sit down!
Hands on heads!
Now fold your arms!
Is there anybody here who needs to talk about their work?
Is there anybody here who finds their work difficult
and needs to talk about it?
Is there anybody here who needs to talk to their neighbour
about their work?
Is there anybody here who needs to talk to their neighbour
about their world?*

*No one.
So there is no excuse for all this talking.
Get on with your work. Quietly.*

LINES

*The children line up in the morning playground.
They line up again outside the classroom.
Before assembly, the children line up
And again, each side of lunchtime
They line up.
The final line is drawn
Before they go home.*

*Teachers, taking into account
Neatness an accuracy
Colour in between the lines.*

*The colour they use is work.
Work which has to be done.
Work which has to be finished.
Work which has to be up to standard.
If it is not
Children may be given
Lines.*

*Look how everyone has a line around them.
look how everyone is separate from everyone else.
Look, Look. Look.*

WORLD AS STREAMING

*You're stupid.
Don't deny it.
You're stupid.*

*Everybody says so.
Those who don't say so
Think so.
It goes without saying.*

*If only you'd accept it!
It's for you're own good!
Why won't you just accept it?*

*The person in charge of me,
He thinks you're stupid,
he would tell you to your face
If he weren't so very busy.
If he knew your face.
He knows what he is saying.
He's not stupid.*

*But you are.
I hope you appreciate the fact
I'm being straight with you.*

You can sit down now.

Sit! Down! Now!

Stupid.

CONFLICT

*'Skills are stacked on the Unishelves,
in the resource cupboard
you will find all the process you need,
underneath the strategies.
We'll order more competencies
from the consortium.'*

*Such generosity!
Sometimes it is difficult to say
that you think life
is an art.*

'ALL I LEARNED IN SCHOOL WAS TO KEEP A LOW PROFILE'

*There is no edge to the world,
Do not go near it.
there is the sky.
Best not to reach for it.
There is the moon,
Never ask for it.
There is the sun,
Do not gaze at it.*

*Here is the earth,
Plant your feet firmly,
Keep your eyes open.
Watch your back.
Cover your tracks.*

*Then no one will ever know
You've been here.*

TEACHERS

1.

*the poor teacher
teaches fishes
to make a net
foxes
to set
a snare*

*the useful teacher
teaches the hunters
to let their quarry go*

2.

*the poor teacher
fills
the pupils
brimful*

*the useful teacher
shows
what
to pour
away.*

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