

**Between the Chalkface and the Ivory
Towers?**

**A study of the professionalism of teacher
educators working on primary Initial
Teacher Education courses in the
English University sector.**

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ABSTRACT

The central focus of this thesis is how teacher educators, involved in teaching primary Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses, construct their professionalism(s). The question is framed within a broadly sociological concern with the (re)production of social patterns and relations, particularly gendered relations, in and through ITE. Teacher educators are seen as agents involved in (re)producing the gendered discourses of primary schooling and primary teacher education. The theoretical framework draws on the work of Bourdieu to conceptualise primary ITE as a field which can be analysed at the levels of the macro (national), meso (institutional) and micro (the individual tutors).

The empirical work consists of interviews and questionnaires with teacher educators working in three English universities. Case studies of the three universities are presented to contextualise the findings. These elements of the thesis draw on an analysis or mapping of the field of English primary ITE at the macro level between approximately 1963 and 1996.

The first five chapters provide a discussion of relevant substantive, methodological and theoretical issues based on a review of relevant literature and research. The following five chapters present the empirical research and the institutional case studies. The final chapter summarises the contribution which this study makes to a number of fields. Amongst the achievements of the research is the development of a theoretical framework for analysing the professionalism of teacher educators and other professional educators working within Higher Education Institutions. A contribution is also made to the previously under-researched area of teacher educator professionalism, since the study indicates how and why certain constructions of professionalism come to be valorised within different university settings.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research problem

This thesis focuses on the professionalism of teacher educators. It is designed to address the general question ‘how do teacher educators working on Initial Teacher Education (ITE)¹ courses for intending primary teachers in the English university sector construct their professionalism(s)?’

This question is framed within a broadly sociological concern with the (re)production² of social patterns and relations, particularly gendered relations, in and through educational work. The study assumes that teacher educators are agents involved in (re)producing and legitimising the discourses of primary school teaching and primary teacher education within ITE programmes, which are based in Higher Education (HE) institutions.

Primary school teaching is seen in this research as a feminised occupation, usually undertaken by women, and inevitably influenced by gendered discourses and practices associated with the care and nurture of young children. Since primary ITE is an arena for the (re)production of primary schooling and is undertaken by predominantly female students³, the study starts from the premise that primary ITE is also influenced by gendered discourses and practices to some extent (see Skelton 1989). As section 4.2 shows, primary ITE had its origins in the poverty of the nineteenth century elementary school system, and has since shared an historically pervasive sense of low status in the academic world with primary schooling.

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the professionalism(s) of primary ITE tutors, aiming to find out how tutors construct their professionalism, and how and why such constructions were made within the temporal and social ‘spatial’⁴ contexts of English ITE in the mid 1990s. In undertaking this study I aim to contribute to knowledge about teacher educator professionalism. Through my findings, I hope to illuminate the contradictions and complexities inherent within the work of teacher educators in the English university sector.

More specifically, the study aims to investigate five sub questions:

- i) What are the repertoires of professional resources (defined broadly in this thesis as the knowledge, attitudes and values) which ITE tutors use in constructing their professionalism(s)?
- ii) How do these repertoires relate to the professional biographies of the tutors, and to their career experiences in both primary schooling and HE-based ITE work?
- iii) What do the professional resource repertoires and the ways in which they are deployed indicate about the professionalism(s) of ITE tutors?
- iv) How does professionalism relate to the institutional settings within which the tutors work?
- v) How does professionalism relate to the national context for ITE at the time of the empirical work, between 1994 and 1996?

Researching these questions has implications for the organisation of the study as a whole, for the research design, and particularly for the empirical research. An important factor here is that the study aims to consider not just individual constructions of professionalism, but also the institutional contexts within which the tutors work, and relevant aspects of the

macro contexts for ITE tutors, working within the university sector in England. This factor is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2 below.

In stating the research question, reference is made to the term *professionalism*. I define this term as the sets of professional knowledge, attitudes and values which define and articulate the quality and character of teacher educators' practices and actions. My definition incorporates some aspects of what other authors sometimes term *professionality*. This decision is justified in section 2.2.1. My definition sees professionalism as socially constructed and contested within and between individuals and collectivities of teacher educators, as well as by other groups which are stakeholders in ITE. Defining professionalism in this way assumes that it can be constructed, lived and understood at the level of the individual professional and exemplified in her/his practices (see section 3.5).

1.2 The study

1.2.1 The autobiography of the research question

This research has its origins in the start of my professional life as a teacher educator working in HE⁵. It was grounded in my uncertainty about what constituted professionalism for teacher educators, and essentially began with my search for a professional identity in my own ITE work. When I first became a teacher educator, it seemed to me that there were curious omissions and silences about the professionalism underlying the principles and practices which I encountered. I became intrigued by this situation, and began firstly, to critically evaluate my own experiences and practices and those of my colleagues, then to turn to the available research, and finally, to initiate the research presented in this thesis.

The long journey of this thesis therefore began in 1988 when I made the transition from primary school teaching to part-time teaching on a primary ITE course in an Institute of Higher Education (IHE). Like a number of other tutors recruited at this time, I had substantial experience of school teaching, but only a first degree and two professional diplomas. I had undertaken no research, beyond some limited action research for one of the diplomas. My more experienced colleagues clearly had considerable tacit knowledge and pedagogical expertise, yet were often unable to articulate the principles of the professionalism underlying their practices. The main criterion for entry to my own institution as a primary tutor in 1988 seemed to be 'recent and relevant experience' of primary schooling, as defined by Circular 3/84 (DES 1984). More detailed and explicit entry criteria were not specified. There was no induction into HE-based ITE work, and no explicit criteria for staff development and career progression⁶.

On turning to the available research on teacher educator professionalism, I found some illumination, but very little material of direct relevance. ITE in England and Wales has been high on the political agenda for educational change for over two decades. During this time its form and effectiveness have been the subject of much comment and analysis, both within the teacher education community and from political commentators. Accounts, analyses and polemics on ITE abound, but within this literature there is little explicit and sustained empirical research focused on teacher educators themselves. This situation in England and Wales is paralleled by that in other anglophone countries (see Maguire 1994; John 1996; Grundy and Hatton 1995; Reynolds 1995; Ducharme and Ducharme 1996; Acker 1996). Within the limited body of research on teacher educators, there are few studies which look at their professionalism or professional identity. There are very few

studies focusing specifically on the professionalism of tutors working on primary ITE courses. This thesis therefore addresses a decidedly under-researched area.

In undertaking the work for this thesis I have found this lack of studies on teacher educator professionalism puzzling. Within the school sector research studies into teacher thinking and teacher professionalism have been numerous. Such studies have helped to illustrate how teachers see their work and have made a definite contribution to understanding fundamental aspects of schooling. Despite this example, studies of teacher educator professionalism are still limited. It seems curious, and not a little ironic, that the form and content of ITE should be analysed at length without accompanying consideration of the professionalism of the people designing, teaching and evaluating the courses. As Furlong et al (2000:36) state

what student teachers learn during their initial training is as much influenced by *who* (my italics) is responsible for teaching them as it is by the content of the curriculum.

This thesis then assumes that teacher educators are a vital part of ITE. Furthermore it assumes that understanding teacher educator professionalism is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, teacher educators are an interesting and important occupational group in their own right, and analysing their professionalism offers insights into how this group sees their knowledge, responsibilities and autonomy. Secondly, studies of teacher educator professionalism offer the potential to inform and clarify understanding of teacher educators' roles in teacher preparation. Such studies in turn help in analysing and clarifying the conflicts and complexities in ITE work. In the context of recent, major changes to teacher education in England and Wales and the on-going challenges to the location of ITE programmes in Higher Education (HE), it seems to me that such analysis is badly needed.

Thirdly, teacher educators are involved in the (re)production of the educational discourses and professional practices of what it means to be a primary teacher. This, and other factors, discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2, mean that teacher educators operate as what I have termed *second order practitioners*⁷ within the HE sector. This term is used to refer to HE-based tutors who teach on professional education courses, and are thus involved in the (re)production of both academic discourses and professional practices from within HE settings. This thesis therefore addresses the question of how such practitioners construct and define their professionalism(s). Teacher educators are not the only second order practitioners in HE; in recent decades tutors educating nurses, social workers, librarians, physiotherapists and a wide range of other professionals have taken up their places in the HE sector. Focusing on teacher educators as a particular example of these second order practitioners, therefore offers the potential to enhance knowledge of the professional issues and dilemmas facing these other professional practitioners.

The time frame within which this empirical research was conducted - the mid 1990s - has been identified as a time of great change and tension for teacher education (see Furlong 1996; Barber 1996). This thesis then is a study of the professionalism of an under-researched occupational group involved in a contested area of education at an important time in their history.

1.2.2 Analysing Initial Teacher Education: some starting points

ITE has long been a site of contestation between diverse academic and professional interests and national and local governmental influences. These interests and influences are located in and derive from the historical, cultural, social, economic and political aspirations and assumptions of society, as translated into the general education system.

ITE has been a particularly contested area within the education system for a number of reasons. Firstly, teacher education is clearly a major context in which pedagogic discourses about what it means to be a primary teacher are transmitted and (re)produced. The place of ITE in the (re)production of the teaching profession means that it has had major importance in determining the types of teachers entering the school system. Control of ITE therefore potentially offers a measure of control over schooling. This potential for control has meant that, since the inception of organised systems of teacher training in the nineteenth century, the agencies of first the Church, and then national and local governments, have been major stakeholders in ITE. When the education system as a whole has been under scrutiny, ITE has been subject to changes, often radical and/or rapid.

Secondly, the principle of locating ITE in Higher Education institutions (HEIs) is a tradition based on over one hundred years of history (see Gardner 1996). This has meant that there has been a fundamental dualism in ITE, which Taylor (1983:41) has referred to as its 'Janus-faced' nature. Alexander, Craft and Lynch (1984:xv) conceptualise this as teacher education's suspension between the worlds of school and HE.

one provides its *raison d'être* and the occupational imperatives to which it is bound to respond, and the other, the framework within which such responses must be located, and which has its own cultural and academic imperatives

Those involved in ITE necessarily live in both these worlds, gaining their values and traditions from both sources, and playing out the resulting historical, social and political contestations in their practices, beliefs and values. They are involved in the (re)production of both educational discourses and professional practices; their work is a synergy of these things, and as such it bridges both school and university. The HEIs which offer ITE programmes and the schools involved in ITE partnerships are necessarily the pedagogical

and institutional sites where tensions and contestations between these two worlds are played out. Teacher education departments within universities, for example, have often been perceived to have a low status in intra institutional academic and departmental hierarchies (see Whitty et al 1987; Ducharme 1993), whilst the relevance for the school sector of placing ITE courses in the HE sector at all has been repeatedly questioned (see Gardner 1996).

Teacher educators are influenced by the practices and ideals of both the school and the HE sectors. As Day (1995:359) commented,

They are neither fish nor fowl, neither ‘academics’ nor ‘practitioners’. They are caught between the rock of government policy which has raised the value of ‘practical experience’ above all else..... and the hard place of scholarship in which they are judged by their colleagues elsewhere in the world of academia.

A further contributory factor to the contestations within ITE is its ill-defined knowledge base, what Furlong (1996a:154) refers to as ‘the endemic uncertainty’ of professional knowledge. This factor reflects on-going uncertainty about teacher professionalism, its core knowledge areas, and subsequent debates about how the process of learning to be a teacher needs to be structured. Consequently, the knowledge base of ITE has shifted over time, resulting in different modes and forms of teacher induction. Within ITE the knowledge base required by intending primary school teachers has been particularly contested (see Alexander 1984b). For tutors working on primary ITE courses this uncertainty has contributed to their lack of a clear professional identity (as identified by Taylor 1984); the definitions of their role have shifted, the qualifications and experience demanded of them have altered, and the knowledge and authority upon which they predicate their professionalism and the legitimacy of their practice has changed.

These factors and the aspirations and assumptions which inform ITE are the background to its development into its current, fiercely contested form. They have produced changing versions of what Popkewitz (1987) terms 'the public discourses' of ITE which shift over time. In ITE competing ideas and principles are often conceptualised and constructed as dichotomies such as training / education, academic / professional, academic / pastoral, theory / practice and subject-centred / learner or child-centred (see Maguire 1994). Other ideas, such as partnership or progressivism, become hegemonic and largely uncontested within particular time frames. Some recurring factors, themes and issues of ITE can often be traced beneath the surfaces of these public discourses.⁸ But, despite this reoccurrence of familiar themes, such discourses often serve to

dull one's sensitivity to the complexities that underlie the practices of teacher education.... (by) a filtering out of historical, social and political assumptions.' (Popkewitz 1987: ix)⁹

The current context for ITE in England and Wales is the result of a radical 'reform' process, driven by state intervention. Since 1984 there have been six government circulars specifically on ITE provision (DES 1984; DES 1989; DfE 1993; DfEE 1997; DfEE 1998; DfES 2002). These circulars have determined the form, structures, locations and most recently the curricula of ITE. The state has increased its regulation of all aspects of ITE, and in the process has seemed to devalue existing models. These interventions have been widely perceived as challenging the place of HE-based ITE in teacher preparation (see, for example, Furlong 1996; Barber 1996).

The Modes Of Teacher Education (MOTE) studies of ITE (see Furlong et al 2000) and a number of other commentators (see, for example, Whitty 1993) see teacher education as a key medium for effecting change in teacher professionalism. They state that 'Debates

around the form and content of initial teacher education are debates about the very nature of teacher professionalism itself.' (Furlong et al 2000:6). They argue that behind the statutory changes to ITE from 1984 onwards is the state's agenda to change school teaching. Changes to ITE alter the knowledge, skills and values (re)produced during teacher induction courses; they therefore inevitably affect and alter teacher professionalism to some extent. But the conclusion to the MOTE studies is that the changes to ITE have not necessarily brought about a *deprofessionalising* of teaching (see, for example, Whitty et al 1998)¹⁰, but may have served instead to *reprofessionalise* teachers' work. Although the MOTE studies see ITE as a crucial medium for (re)producing teacher professionalism, and teacher educators as key agents in the (re)productive process (see Furlong et al 2000:36), they do not include specific emphases on teacher educator professionalism, nor extensive consideration of the role of tutors as agents of (re)production during ITE.

State intervention in both schooling and ITE, together with some intra professional developments¹¹, has made ITE in the 1990s a school-focused enterprise. The structures, curricula, patterns of student assessments and modes of external regulation used in ITE are predicated on models from the school sector. Despite their strong school focus, most ITE programmes continue to be based in HEIs, however, and teacher educators are hence subject to the imperatives of the HE sector.

Many of these major changes to ITE and their effects at national and institutional levels are well documented and may be seen as examples of the 'public discourses' of teacher education. As such, they have been extensively chronicled, particularly through the fierce resistance of the HEIs to government intervention and the development of state imposed 'partnership' models of ITE. But as Popkewitz (1987) suggests, because of this focus on changes at the macro level, the complexities of ITE at the micro level, have often been

overlooked. An example of this neglect at the micro level, is the absence of research into teacher educator professionalism.

Such neglect of micro level studies is compounded by the fact that, within all the available research on ITE, there are relatively few accounts or analyses which specifically focus on *primary* ITE (see A. Edwards 1998). In analyses of ITE the enterprise is often discussed as if it was homogeneous, drawing different age phases, institutions and ITE routes into one common fold.¹² Yet primary ITE has its own practices and principles which distinguish it from ITE for other sectors of education. For these reasons, the analysis in chapter 4 is designed to provide a ‘map’ of some of the distinguishing features of primary ITE.

1.2.3 The theoretical framework and the research design

As the research questions in section 1.1 have indicated, this thesis aims to investigate the individual tutors’ constructions of professionalism, how these relate to the particular institutional settings, and to the national context for ITE. The theoretical framework for the research employs concepts and an analytical language drawn from the work of Bourdieu. This framework enables me to describe, analyse and theorise teacher educator professionalism. It locates the research in the field or ‘space’ of ITE (as defined by A. Hargreaves 1995), and conceptualises three analytical levels - micro (individual), meso (institutional setting) and macro (national context) - within the field.

One of the ways in which the framework informs the research design is in the collection of data relating to each of these three levels. The first part of the design involved analysing or ‘mapping’ the macro level (national) contexts of ITE between approximately 1963 and 1996. This mapping of the field at the macro level was undertaken before finalising the details of the research design for the empirical research.

The empirical work consisted of questionnaires and interviews with fifteen teacher educators, working on primary ITE courses, at three English universities. Purposive sampling techniques were used to select teacher educators who had what I termed *primary on primary* experience of schooling and ITE. This criterion was used to select tutors who had had primary ITE themselves, had worked in primary schooling and now taught on primary ITE courses. All the interviewees had been recruited to HE after the publication of Circular 3/84(DES 1984) which stated that, as a key recruitment and retention criterion, all teacher educators involved in ITE should have *recent and relevant* experience of school teaching.

The interviews were designed to identify individual teacher educators' constructions of their professionalism(s). The questionnaires were designed to provide relevant data on the professional histories of the tutors in the sample group through from their own ITE, on into their careers in primary schooling, their entry into HE-based ITE work, and their careers within the education departments of their own universities.

In order to analyse the institutional settings for the tutors' constructions of professionalism I created case studies of the education departments within the three universities, using analysis of documentary evidence, information provided by the heads of department, and the interviewees' perspectives on institutions, as stated during one section of the interviews.

1.3 The structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 aims to locate my empirical research in terms of other research on teacher educators. In order to contextualise these studies within the field of professionalism, I have

given critical attention to existing frameworks for the sociological analysis of professionalism and have identified their general inadequacy. The chapter makes some reference to the well researched area of the professionalism of school teachers. It then gives an overview of research into teacher educator professionalism and professional identities. There are a small number of key articles on aspects of the professional identity of teacher educators. These articles are analysed to indicate findings on teacher educators' work, practices, values, orientations and knowledge bases. I show that most previous studies of teacher educators have found differing forms of professional identities. These differences are variously attributed to either a deficit model of teacher educators, to the effects of the institutional setting or to differing amounts of time spent working in HE settings. With the exception of the work of Maguire (1994), and to a lesser extent that of Hatton (1997), most studies overlook the importance in professionalism of teacher educators' roles in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of schooling. Gender issues are addressed in some studies, but rarely in relation to primary ITE as an essentially gendered enterprise.

In chapter 3 I outline the theoretical framework for the research in more depth. As I have indicated in section 1.2, this framework includes concepts and analytical language, drawn from the work of Bourdieu, including the concepts of field and habitus. This framework locates the research in the field of ITE through the definition of the three analytical levels. This concept of levels within the field is central to the theoretical framework; it also structures both the research design and the organisation of the thesis. The research is located in time through a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis, that is both the immediate time frame of the empirical research and relevant historical factors are analysed and articulated. This chapter also includes further analysis of the term professionalism, my definition of it as a 'socially constructed, contextually variable and contested' concept

(Troman 1996:476), and the traditions of research into school teacher professionalism which underpin this definition.

In order to contextualise the empirical work, chapter 4 maps and analyses the macro level of the field of ITE. It aims to achieve three things: firstly, to summarise the macro level factors relevant to the empirical research; secondly, to analyse how such factors have impacted on the meso levels of the field, particularly on the institutions providing primary ITE and their curricula; thirdly, to illustrate that the history of primary ITE since 1963 has been characterised by rapid changes, and by consequent discontinuities in the forms of the institutions within which it has been located, in the defined knowledge bases necessary for primary teaching, and in the qualifications, experience and roles required of its tutors. In this chapter I identify some of the discourses within the field of primary ITE, and the ways in which these discourses contribute to the historical and social legitimating principles of the field.

The chapter is structured into two parts; part one emphasises the changes in primary ITE over a period of 30 years before the empirical research (1963 to 1993 approximately); in part two I analyse the immediate contexts for my empirical work in the mid 1990s, looking at relevant macro and meso level factors, particularly the importance of state intervention, in the form of Circular 10/93 (DfE 1993), in changing primary teacher educators' professional identities. As part of this analysis, I consider the impact of macro and meso factors on the recruitment and retention criteria used for teacher educators, the roles specified for them, and the conditions of working for primary ITE tutors at this time. I conclude that primary ITE at this time was a school-focused enterprise, located in education departments within HEIs which were increasingly influenced by the imperatives of the

university sector. I identify that these changes in the mid 1990s had differential effects on the institutions providing ITE and on individual teacher educators.

Chapter 5 presents the details of the sample, design and methods of data collection for the empirical work, as well as outlining the parameters of the research and its time frame. Together with relevant appendix material, it details the sampling procedures for selecting the institutions, including the principles of negotiating access and the selection criteria used for the case study universities. These three institutions are referred to in the thesis by the pseudonyms of the *University of Avonbridge*, the *University of Brecon* and the *University of the South West (USW)*. A series of sampling plans show how individual tutors were selected for inclusion in the research, and illustrate the final sample groups at each university.

Chapter 5 also details the two types of data collected from the individual tutors: the biographical data, collected largely through questionnaires, and the narrative data, collected through in-depth interviews. The chapter outlines the form of the questionnaires and the structure of the interviews, and justifies the narrative focus of the latter research method.

Chapter 6 outlines the principles and procedures for the analysis of the empirical data. The analytical tools used for analysing both types of data were drawn from the procedures of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The first part of the chapter identifies the stages in the analysis of the narrative data. This analysis concentrates on the definition of the professional resources which the tutors used - within the narratives they related - to construct and legitimate their professionalism. I follow the principles and practices of network analysis, drawing on the work of Bliss et al (1983) and Brown (1999) to provide a systematic way of analysing the data. The resulting networks provide a systematic mapping of all the resources used across the entire set of interviews. These resources are defined as

the *reservoir*. Using these networks also enables me to ‘map’ the resources used by each interviewee in constructing his or her own professionalism. I have defined these as the individual’s *repertoire* of professional resources.

In chapter 7 I present a typology composed of three tutor types; I have named these types *Novices*, *Defenders* and *Education Academics*. These three different types of tutor are each associated with distinctive patterns of usage of professional resource repertoires within the interviews. Each type also has a distinctive biographical profile. With references to section 2.3 on primary teacher educator professionalism, I argue that each tutor type brought with them into HE-based ITE work a different habitus from their careers in primary schooling. Novice and Defender types had a habitus which I describe as *child-centred*, whilst Education Academics are defined as having a *subject-centred* habitus.

In chapter 8 I use these repertoires of professional resources to identify the forms of professionalism constructed by each of the tutor types. I identify two forms of professionalism, *practitioner bond professionalism* as constructed by the Novice and Defender tutor types, and *reconstructed professionalism* as constructed by the Education Academic tutor type.

Practitioner bond professionalism is essentially predicated on experiential knowledge of both first and second order arenas of practice. Being able to claim *dual professionalism* as both ITE tutor and primary school teacher is a key element of this form of teacher educator professionalism, and first order professional resources and practices are privileged within second order work. Research and teaching are constructed as in opposition to one another.

In reconstructed professionalism research and research-inflected teaching are central to tutor professionalism. Professional knowledge resources for Education Academics are

predicated on a broader knowledge base of schooling, gained from both experiential and theoretical sources, than that found in practitioner bond professionalism. (Re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching is seen as taking place through the twinned mediums of the generation of theoretical knowledge (by engagement in personal research and scholarly activity) and research-inflected teaching. The use of research to inform teaching in this way is seen as achieving what I have termed a symbiosis of teaching and research.

In chapter 9 I analyse the institutional contexts for my findings, providing case studies of the three universities participating in the research, alongside insights into these institutions from the perspectives of the interviewees themselves. This data provides a sense of how the field of ITE is instantiated in the three institutions and establishes the institutional (or meso level) contexts for the empirical research. I outline relevant factors within the institutional settings in the mid 1990s, showing that pressures at this time resulted in the three case study universities attempting to reconcile imperatives from both schooling and HE sectors. These resulted in various cultural conflicts, economic restrictions and the re-organisation of tutors' work.

The chapter then extends the analysis of the two models of professionalism presented in chapter 8, and the tutor types with which they were associated, by showing the distribution of tutor types across the three different institutional settings. I show that, whilst Novice tutors at all three institutions adopt a common form of professionalism, professionalism for more experienced tutors is more differentiated. Experienced, Defender tutors at the Universities of Avonbridge and USW adopt the same form of practitioner bond professionalism as Novice tutors. Experienced Education Academics tutors at Brecon adopt the reconstructed form of professionalism.

Chapter 10 interprets the findings of the study at the micro and meso levels of ITE against the macro level of ITE in the relevant time frame. It analyses how and why the two forms of teacher educator professionalism could be constructed and valorised by particular individuals or collectivities within the institutional settings. This chapter illustrates the affinities and disaffinities between the habitus of the tutor types and those settings. I show that practitioner bond professionalism draws on various discourses at the macro level of ITE, as instantiated into all three universities. I argue that the result of the *cumulative convergence* of these discourses is a resurgence of the feminised values, modes of pedagogy and professional orientations, associated with both primary schooling and with an earlier era of primary ITE, into the education departments of the three universities. The instantiation of these discourses creates strong affinities - and some disaffinities - for the child/learner-centred habitus of the Novice and Defender tutors, enabling their practitioner bond form of professionalism to be recognised and valorised. I argue that reconstructed professionalism is valorised by the affinities and disaffinities between the subject-centred habitus of the Education Academic tutors and the instantiation in the setting of the University of Brecon of a diversity of discourses.

I conclude that teacher educator professionalism is relational, formed by complex inter-relations and inter-actions between individuals, institutional settings and the historical and contemporary national context. A further, important factor is that professionalism is integrally related to how the processes of (re)production in ITE and the tutors' function within those processes are understood. With reference to the findings of Becher (1989), the chapter argues that the two forms of professionalism found in this research study can be attributed to fundamentally different ways of constructing primary teacher educators' work

and missions, and traced back to deep-rooted tensions and fault-lines within the gendered field of primary ITE.

Chapter 11 looks at the achievements of the thesis, including its contribution to research into teacher educator professionalism. As part of this chapter, I discuss the issues which the findings raises about primary ITE, relate these issues to ITE in general, and to the position of teacher educators as second order practitioners. The chapter also discusses the contribution which this study makes to knowledge of other second order educators working in HE. A further section discusses the limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with an indication of directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: TEACHER EDUCATORS' PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES: A REVIEW OF THE EXISTING RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the existing empirical research on the professionalism and professional identities of teacher educators in order to identify and offer a critique of the theoretical orientations, methodological approaches and findings of these studies. To set this research in context, the chapter begins with a review of sociological definitions and discourses of professionalism (section 2.2). This review also offers an overview of critiques made of existing theoretical frameworks for the analysis of professionalism.

Many of the general sociological definitions and discourses of professionalism have been translated into specific discourses of professionalism within the field of education. There is, for example, a considerable body of research on the professionalism of school teachers. A number of studies have also been conducted of the professionalism of academics in HE institutions. The professionalism of both of these occupational groups has some tangential relevance to my research, since the teacher educators in my study have been teachers, and are centrally involved in the (re)production of the discourses of schooling, whilst working in academic posts in HE institutions.

But the findings of studies in these areas contain only limited relevance for a study of the professionalism of teacher educators. Teacher educators' professionalism cannot be equated in a straight forward way to that of teachers, since they have changed the pedagogical settings in which they work from schooling to HE. Neither can teacher educators' professionalism be easily equated with that of academics working in other subject disciplines. HE-based academics are concerned with the (re)production of the subject

knowledge, discourses and practices of their disciplines, solely within an HE context. ITE tutors are similarly concerned with the (re)production of the knowledge and discourses of education as a discipline, but they are additionally involved in the (re)production of the *practices* of what it means to be a school teacher in the school context. As chapter 1 has identified, teacher educators then are second order professionals, working in HE settings, but concerned with the (re)production of schooling.

For this reason I have chosen in this literature review to focus primarily on empirical research about the professionalism and professional identity of teacher educators. To put this research briefly within the context of research on education professionals, I have also chosen to include apposite references to studies of teacher and academic professionalism. In particular, section 2.2.3 explores the impact of the ideas of Schon (1983; 1987) on teacher professionalism, and in section 2.3 I have chosen to focus briefly on studies of primary teacher professionalism. This latter section achieves two things: firstly, it identifies key issues about teacher professionalism which the literature addresses; secondly, it gives an overview of research on the professionalism of primary school teachers, during the time frame when the tutors in my empirical research were working in primary schools.

In sections 2.4 to 2.8 I look specifically at studies of teacher educator professionalism and the professional identity of teacher educators. These sections are designed to identify the perspectives and the findings of the existing research in these areas. They enable me to identify that the existing studies offer only limited theoretical starting points for my empirical research into teacher educator professionalism. Section 2.9 concludes the chapter.

2.2 Definitions and discourses of professionalism in education

2.2.1 Definitions of professionalism, professionalism and professionalisation

As many writers note (see, for example, Hoyle and John 1995; Hargreaves and Goodson 1996; G. Elliott 1998) *professionalism* is an elusive term. There is no consensus about the meaning of the term, rather its definitions are changeable, and used by different interest groups at different points in time to serve different purposes. The associated terms *professionalisation* and *professionality* are also subject to slippage.

Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:4) distinguish between

professionalisation as a social and political project or mission designed to enhance the interests of an occupational group, and *professionalism* as something which defines and articulates the quality and character of people's actions within that group (italics in the original).

Other commentators (see, for example, Englund 1996) reinforce this distinction between professionalisation as a process, and professionalism as the characteristic behaviour, skills and values, possessed by particular professionals and exemplified in their practice.

In contrast, Hoyle (1975:315) defines professionalism as the strategies and rhetorics employed to raise the status of a group of workers, and uses the term *professionality* to refer to the 'knowledge, skills and procedures employed by teachers in the process of teaching'.

Hoyle's analysis suggests two different types of teacher professionality, restricted or extended.¹³ Hoyle's types, particularly extended professionality, have had a strong influence on ideas about teacher professionalism (see below). But his exact use of the term 'professionality' has been utilised by only a small number of commentators (see, for example, Galvin 1996, Moriarty 2000) in studies of teachers' professional practices and of what it means to be an educational professional. Generally, the term *professionality* has a

restricted usage in literature about teachers' professional lives, practices and values, and the term *professionalism* is often used synonymously with it.¹⁴ For these reasons I have used the term *professionalism* throughout this thesis. But it should be noted that this usage includes the ways in which knowledge, responsibility and autonomy as the core concepts of professionalism (Eraut 1994; Hoyle and John 1995), are exemplified in the professional lives of teacher educators.

A number of commentators (see, for example, Hanlon 1998; Troman 1996; Johannesson 1993) see professionalism in education as inevitably contested and variable. Hanlon (1998:45) sees the values and attributes underpinning professionalism as 'fluid and subject to change and struggle'. He concludes that 'professionalism is a shifting rather than a concrete phenomenon'. Similarly Troman (1996:476), states that professionalism is a 'socially constructed, contextually variable and contested concept'. Further exploration of the term professionalism, as defined in this thesis, is included in chapter 3.

2.2.2 Sociological traditions in research on professionalism

The analyses of Atkinson and Delamont (1985, 1990) trace the influence of functionalist and symbolic interactionist sociological traditions, dating back to the 1950s and 1960s, in research on the professions and professionalism. In their definitions functionalist perspectives were particularly associated with the age of modernity. Such perspectives saw the 'professions' as a stable and stabilising element in society, and their analyses focused on particular types of high status occupation, with medicine often cited as the ideal typical example of a profession. Some functionalist theorists attempted to produce a definitive list of characteristics defining professional work, and to use these to assess the validity of claims to professionalism of various occupational groups. Such characteristics included the

necessary knowledge bases and other qualities, such as ‘service to clients’ and ‘ethics’, judged to be involved in professional practice. The concepts of professionalism and ‘the professional’ were seen as marked by a considerable degree of ‘homogeneity and consensus’ (Atkinson and Delamont 1990: 93).

Drawing on and extending this functionalist tradition, Freidson (1994) argues that the term ‘profession’ is culturally and historically specific, with particular relevance to Anglo-American cultures and to a particular period in history. He states that if the concept of profession is understood as referring to the practices of certain groups of occupations, possessing broadly similar institutional and ideological traits, then it can be defined as ‘a way of organising an occupation’ (1994:16). This definition of professionalism allows issues of status to be considered, alongside ‘the production of distinctive occupational identities which distinguish between occupations’ (*ibid*).

Freidson defines two basic elements of professionalism: firstly, a commitment to practising a body of knowledge and skills of special value. A course of training has often created a sense of commitment to these things, so that the professional feels a sense of identification between self and his/her professional knowledge base. Secondly, professionals are committed to what he (1994:200) calls a ‘fiduciary relationship’ with clients, that is a relationship of trust between client and professional which the latter must maintain.

Freidson (1994) attributes professional behaviours to a series of factors, including the processes by which the profession is chosen, the ‘socialisation’ process during professional training, and the influence of the particular work setting over the work of individual professionals.

Atkinson and Delamont (1985; 1990) identify that symbolic interactionist approaches to the professions and to the issue of professionalism tend to focus on what they term the ‘more mundane aspects of ‘professional’ life’ (1990: 93). Interactionists look, for example, at how professionals constitute and understand their sense of professional identity, and at the interactions of professionals as individuals and groups within their social contexts. Studies of professionalism in this tradition include analyses of the forms of daily work within specific occupational groups, the complexity of professional socialisation, and how claims to professional knowledge, values and attributes are contested and played out in practice.

Atkinson and Delamont (1985:314) offer a critique of both functionalist and interactionist traditions by accusing them of taking the concept of ‘profession’ (and by extension of professionalism) as unproblematic. They state that functionalists take for granted the characteristics which the professions proclaim for themselves, whilst interactionists fail to question the relationships between different levels and purposes of education, the organisation of professional groups and their practices. In particular they argue that interactionist studies often include attempts to relate the attributes of professionalism found through empirical research to the specific institutional sites or settings in which they occurred.

Atkinson and Delamont criticise this approach, accusing the interactionist tradition of placing an over emphasis on the ‘hidden curriculum of the situation’ (p.314) or the institutional settings. Their argument is that placing institutions at the centre of analysis in this way leads to a narrow and inappropriate focus in which the specific, institutional setting for professional work is seen as structuring and determining professional knowledge and orientations. Some of the studies of ITE which they review are seen as focusing solely on the training site as a medium for cultural transmission. In consequence, these studies

neglect other complex processes involved in the (re)production of professional knowledge and values during training. Atkinson and Delamont conclude that the institutional settings may be influential but should not be considered as ‘total institutions’ (p.311). Additionally, they state that both ‘cultural transmission *and* knowledge management in the (re)production of the professions’ (p.314, my emphasis) need to be considered in analyses of the processes of professional (re)production.

A number of writers (see, for example, Davies 1996; Atkinson and Delamont 1985, 1990) identify that sociological analyses of the professions and professionalism have become ‘subdued’ as a field of enquiry in the 1980s and 1990s. Macdonald (1995:xi) argues that this perceived stasis is caused by the fact that sociological analyses have become ‘multi-centred’ rather than dominated by one paradigm. Atkinson and Delamont (1985, 1990) argue that sociological analyses of professionalism have ceased to be innovative and exploratory, partly because existing theoretical frameworks are inadequate. They argue that the sociology of the professions has failed to take account of the work of French sociologists, particularly Bourdieu and Jamous and Peloille. Atkinson and Delamont (1985, 1990) further argue that the insights offered by Bourdieu’s work give analytical potential for studying aspects of professionalism, particularly the professional socialisation of teachers.

2.2.3 The place of practical knowledge in professionalism

In response to the social changes of late modernity¹⁵ some definitions of professionalism have attempted to accommodate the senses of professional practice as complex, and of knowledge as uncertain and changeable. Through this accommodation they provide an alternative rationale for professionalism and the validation of professional knowledge. The

ideas of Schon (1983; 1987), for example, provide this kind of rationale by emphasising the importance of professional reflection ‘in and on’ action in constructing, and validating knowledge.

Schon sees practice as centred around professional problem solving. Practice is also uncertain and ambiguous, open to multiple interpretations and actions. It is essentially value-laden. His view of practice stresses the intuitive processes and the often tacit knowledge at the heart of professional work. The experiential knowledge of the practitioner is valued; s/he often possesses what Schon (1987) defines as *professional artistry*, that is the exceptional skill and knowledge, often implicit and intuitive, which can be seen in effective actions in complex professional situations. Schon (1983) distinguishes between two types of reflection: *reflection-in-action* which is the knowledge shown in and through intelligent action, and *reflection-on-action* which is the retrospective and rigorous consideration of professional actions. Often only reflection on the processes involved in this ‘knowledgeable action’ or knowing-in-action can reveal the tacit knowledge of the practitioner.

Schon’s ideas have had a wide impact on concepts of professionalism and professional practices in a number of spheres of work, but in teaching and teacher education they have had particular significance and resonance. As Etzioni’s (1969) analysis and the work of interactionist researchers such as Lortie (1975) have indicated, using the classical model of professionalism it is a challenging task to see teaching as a full profession. The nature of knowledge in teaching makes it difficult to defend the idea of teacher as ‘infallible expert’ (J. Elliott 1991:314) in possession of a scientifically grounded and universally applicable knowledge base. And since the state is a major stake holder in education and in regulating

the nature of teacher professionalism,¹⁶ it is similarly difficult to see teachers as autonomous.

The idea of teacher as *reflective practitioner* offers an alternative formulation of teacher professionalism. A number of commentators (see, for example, Hargreaves and Goodson 1996; Hoyle and John 1995, 1998) identify the re-emergence of a *craft tradition* in teaching which valorises experiential, often tacit, professional and personal knowledge of teaching. This tradition provides a validation for practice in teaching as complex, and for teacher knowledge as uncertain and changeable. It recognises and is underpinned by the notion of 'reflection' in and on action; it valorises personal knowledge, judgement and practice, and places importance on the individual's professional actions as the most valid manifestation of professionalism at the micro level.

Models of teacher professionalism in this tradition (see, for example, Hargreaves and Goodson's 1996 *practical professionalism*) often draw implicitly on aspects of Hoyle's (1975) concept of extended professionalism which sees teachers as knowledgeable, intuitive and placing value on their autonomy (see section 2.2.1). A further factor is their emphasis on defining professionalism as a shared way of conceptualising, recognising and valuing the nature of teaching. Day and Pennington (1993), for example, in constructing their multi-dimensional model of teacher professionalism, suggest that any definition of professionalism should be based on practice in teaching and on the knowledge, understanding, values and attitudes underlying it. They stress that professionalism must be a meaningful term to teachers and be firmly rooted in the diversity of everyday work and actions. Similarly, Carr (1992) explores the idea that teaching involves an extended professionalism in which skills, roles, inter-personal qualities and moral attributes are interwoven in practice.

J. Elliott's (1991:162) model of teacher professionalism is explicitly based on recognising and validating the professional knowledge of the individual. The model of professionalism and professional learning which Elliott outlines is based on four propositions:

- i) all professional knowledge is essentially experiential
- ii) acquisition of knowledge occurs interactively with reflection on real situations
- iii) the professional learning curriculum should consist of study of real situations
- iv) pedagogy for professional learning needs to provide opportunities for students to develop the capacities which are fundamental to competent reflective practice (these include empathy for the feelings of others and an emphasis on self-reflection).

Similar definitions of professionalism, based essentially on the discourses underpinning craft professionalism, and extended models of professionalism, are often employed by analysts defending the nature of teacher professionalism in spheres of education, externally regulated to an increasing degree (see, for example, Fish 1989; G. Elliott 1998)

2.2.4 Issues of gender and professionalism

Like Davies (1996), Atkinson and Delamont see a failure of the field to provide a 'sociologically adequate explanation for the continuing marginalisation and powerlessness of women in the learned professions' (1990:91). Davies states that a number of feminist studies of professionalism have focused on what she terms 'gender as an attribute' (1996:663). She identifies that such studies may, for example, analyse professional fields to see where, how and why women are in the minority. Other studies of professionalism have drawn on the understanding of gender as a relation.¹⁷

Davies argues that concepts of profession/professionalism have a gendered base which is too often ignored in sociological analyses.¹⁸ Working from an understanding of gender as relation, Davies states that in order to understand professionalism, it is vital to analyse the gendered discourses which lie at the heart of professional practice. Understanding gender and profession

turns not so much on the *exclusion* of women, but on a particular form of their *inclusion*, (italics in the original) and on the way in which this inclusion is masked in a discourse of gender that lies at the heart of professional practice itself (Davies 1996; 663)

Davies argues that the twin concepts of bureaucracy and profession are crucial to the organisation of work. These concepts are related and together contribute to a masculinist vision of professional work. Drawing on feminist analyses of Weber's concept of bureaucracy, she contends that bureaucracy originates from masculinist discourses, allowing for the production of the 'efficient' organisation as rule-bound, impersonal and impartial. Davies states that, whilst at first sight the concept of professionalism appears to be different to that of bureaucracy, in fact it too draws on masculinist discourses. She works from a traditional definition, similar to that offered by Hargreaves and Goodson's (1996) classical model, by seeing professionalism as determined by a distinct and defined knowledge base, owned by powerful and autonomous practitioners, and characterised by impersonal and impartial professional encounters. Davies' argument is that professionalism on this model 'celebrates and defines a masculine vision' (1996:670) since the autonomy of the professional is constructed as fundamental both to this cultural concept of professionalism and to masculinity.

Within these masculinist discourses of professionalism, Davies sees the ideal typical professional encounter as one that 'privileges male characteristics while denigrating and/or

suppressing female ones' (p.671). She cites the example of the hospital consultant as autonomous professional and the fleeting, impersonal, professional encounter between that consultant and the patient /'client'. But such an encounter can only be seen in these ways by ignoring the preparatory and servicing work which has enabled it to happen; almost all of this work is done by women, usually in roles deemed subservient. The central importance of this work in enabling the professional encounter to take place is dismissed, trivialised or devalued within the gendered discourses of professionalism.

Davies' central argument then is that analyses of professionalism need to focus on how gendered *inclusion* within professional practice works to reinforce professionalism as a masculine construct. She contends that the problem is not just with women's exclusion from certain professional arenas, but rather with the nature of their inclusion within them. This 'exclusion/inclusion problematic' (p672) defines and devalues the nature of women's roles within professional work.

2.3 The professionalism of primary school teachers

Whilst the study of the professions and professionalism are seen as a 'subdued' theme within mainstream sociological studies in the past two decades, the situation is different in education where teacher professionalism has been a focus for considerable debate and empirical research. There is a large body of literature on teacher professionalism, most of which has no direct relevance to this study. From this body, I have therefore chosen to focus briefly on studies of primary teacher professionalism in England and Wales in this section of the literature review. This focus enables me to achieve two things. Firstly, it enables me to identify key issues about teacher professionalism which the literature addresses. Secondly, it enables me to give an overview of research on the professionalism

of primary school teachers, with particular reference to the time frame of the 1980s to the early 1990s. This period has been chosen because it was the time during which the tutors in my empirical research were working in primary schools. Analysing primary teacher professionalism then identifies some of the defining aspects of the professionalism which my sample group and their teacher peers were likely to have encountered during their careers in schooling.

Analyses and studies of primary teacher professionalism take up diverse discourses of professionalism drawn from sociological enquiry, and use them to attempt to describe and analyse forms of professionalism at national, institutional and individual levels. A number of studies consider these forms of teacher professionalism against the background of the changing discourses of primary schooling, the shifting educational policy for this sector, and the highly feminised nature of the occupation.¹⁹ Some of these studies have analysed how policy changes and discourses at the macro level of education, instantiated within the institutional cultures of primary schools, are played out in the professional practices, knowledge and values of individual or collectivities of primary teachers (see, for example Troman 1996; Acker 1997; Pollard 1985). Such studies have helped to illustrate how teacher see their work, how specific forms of professionalism may occur within certain institutional settings, and how major policy changes, such as the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988, impact on professional values and practices (see, for example, Osborn et al 1997; 2000).²⁰

Discourses of progressivism, translated to debatable extents into the pedagogy of the primary classroom, have been judged to be important in defining primary school teacher professionalism and ‘good primary practice’ in the 1980s (see Walkerdine 1984)²¹. Models

of the primary school teacher as reflective practitioner have also been seen as highly influential (see Pollard and Tann 1987).

In studies of models of primary teacher professionalism, teacher knowledge, autonomy and responsibility and the inter-relationships of these elements in daily professional practice are scrutinised (see, for example, Campbell and Neill 1994; Nias 1988). Primary teacher professionalism, particularly pre 1988, is seen as composed of epistemological, ethical and inter-personal elements. These were manifested in child-centred values, including a commitment of care to the nurturing and development of children as individual learners, and diffuse and affective teaching roles (see, for example, Cortazzi 1989; Nias 1988, 1989; Osborn, Broadfoot et al 1991; Pollard 1985; Acker 1997).

Ways of working with colleagues became increasingly collegial in the 1980s (see Lawn 1988; Troman 1996). The introduction of the Education Reform Act (ERA) in 1988 brought profound changes to teachers' ways of working, not least in the introduction of a subject-centred National Curriculum. Some studies suggest that, although these changes initially brought high levels of stress and ideological conflict, many teachers found ways of mediating the changes to preserve their traditional values, including the emphasis on care and nurture, alongside the emerging, new discourses of professionalism (see Acker 1997; Osborn et al 1997).²²

The work of Osborn et al (2000) for the Primary Assessment Curriculum and Experience project (PACE) indicates, however, that between 1988 and the mid 1990s the overall shifts in primary teacher professionalism were from a 'competence model' based on a liberal progressive view of education to a 'performance model' in which education was equated with accountability. This 'competence' model includes many of the features associated with

the model of ‘practical’ or ‘craft’ professionalism outlined in section 2.2.3, and with Dewey’s (1933) constructions of teaching as a moral act. Like those models, the ‘competence’ model emphasises professional autonomy, control through self-regulation, collegiate and informal relationships between teachers, teachers adopting facilitative roles in which affective dimensions are seen as intrinsic, and teachers’ sense of personal and ‘moral’ accountability (Osborn et al 2000:236).

Studies of primary school teacher professionalism then have enabled the identification and analysis of the effects on professionalism of national, institutional and micro level factors. They have facilitated understanding of how teachers understand their professional lives, identified shifts in macro level constructions of professionalism, and identified some of the tensions between the teacher professionalism at the micro and meso levels, and definitions and assumptions of professionalism made at the macro level. As A. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:22) point out

what passes for professionalism and professionalisation is very different in the experienced lives and works of teachers than in the official discourses of policy and change which exalt and advocate it.

As the sections below will illustrate, research on the professionalism of teacher educators, because of its various limitations, has been unable to address many of the issues which studies of primary teacher professionalism have analysed.

2.4 Overview of research on teacher educators

Ducharme (1993:3) identifies that ‘teacher educators are an ill-defined and poorly understood segment of the higher education faculty population’. Despite the overall lack of research, alluded to in chapter 1, there are some large scale quantitative studies of teacher educators in the USA and Australia (as cited in Grundy and Hatton 1995; Ducharme and

Ducharme 1996). Amongst these studies the Research About Teacher Education (RATE) surveys, conducted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education annually since 1984, are particularly notable. These surveys collect largely demographical data about teacher educators in the USA and result in generalised analyses of the teacher education communities, in terms of factors such as total numbers, institutional distributions and locations, levels of academic qualifications and limited biographical information. Most of these factors are not within my area of concern in this thesis, although I have drawn on one analysis of the RATE surveys which contains relevant findings on the professional identities of teacher educators and on differentiating factors within the teacher education communities.

Qualitative research on teacher educators is scarce (see Hatton 1997). Because of this, events and issues at the micro level of teacher educators' work are relatively unexplored. Little is known of the professionalism, motivation and attitudes of teacher educators, and of how they see these factors played out in the dynamics of their relationships with their peers, students, and the teachers with whom they work in schools. Even less is known of how teacher educator professionalism relates to the cultures and dynamics of the institutions within which individuals and collectivities of tutors work, and to the national settings for ITE.

There are, however, a limited number of empirical research studies on different aspects of teacher educators' professional identities, including their experiences, attitudes, biographies, motivation and professional knowledge. The majority of the empirical research studies on aspects of teacher educators' professional identities have been conducted in the USA, with some studies also conducted in the UK, Australia, Canada, and India. The qualitative research studies of teacher educators' professional identities consists of either

large scale studies, such as those of Ducharme (1986), Reynolds (1995) and Ducharme and Agne (1989), or small scale studies, such as those of Hatton (1997), Ducharme (1993) and Acker (1996). The larger scale studies tend to give generalised views of teacher educators; the smaller scale studies, some with very small sample groups, give greater details of individual teacher educators' work and professional identities.²³

A number of writers (see, for example, Ducharme 1993; Acker 1996) researching in this area comment on the difficulties of defining teacher educators as an occupational group.

Acker states that teacher education is a differentiated and heterogeneous field within which individuals undertake many different types of work. Ducharme refers to a 'problem of definition' (1993:2/3) which he attributes to a number of factors including the broadness of the field, its lack of clear boundaries separating it from other academic fields, and the reluctance of some academics to be identified as teacher educators. Clifford and Guthrie (1988) also identify the fragmented and diverse nature of the staffing within teacher education departments²⁴.

Perhaps in part because the professionalism of teacher educators is a complex and under-researched area, there are a number of methodological, conceptual and theoretical issues which need to be identified about the available empirical studies. In studies where the ITE tutors' function in the (re)production of the knowledge, discourses and practices of school teaching is acknowledged, the research focus is frequently on the effects of this function on ITE courses and/or on student teachers, rather than the effects on the professionalism of initial teacher educators themselves. Few studies therefore address questions of how the professional identity and practices of initial teacher educators might be affected by their central involvement in these processes of (re)production.

There is no equivalent study in teacher education of the research of Becher (1989). This study analysed how the organisation of academic work related to the nature of the processes of knowledge production and dissemination. The major finding from the study was that there were clearly identifiable patterns between the nature of academic cultures and the knowledge forms found in each discipline. Drawing on his empirical research and relevant literature²⁵ Becher established complex links 'between academic tribes and the territories they inhabit' (p.5).²⁶ Becher concluded that

fields of enquiry and academic cultures are closely interconnected the significance of the bonding between the two has been underplayed in previous investigations of epistemological and social issues in academia'.²⁷

The absence of research analysing initial teacher educators in terms of the processes of (re)production in which they are involved means that the effects of these functions on their professionalism have remained largely unexplored. This tendency is amplified in studies where the heterogeneity of teacher educators is stated, but not translated into the research methodology - for example, by giving clear criteria for their sample groups or by clearly explaining the types of tutors included - and/or into the presentation of their findings (see, for example, Ducharme 1993).²⁸ By considering tutors involved in ITE, alongside other teacher educators involved in other areas of work - for example, CPD, research only posts and management roles - emphasis on the specific and particular features of ITE work is lost.

Unlike the studies of school teacher professionalism cited in section 2.3, studies of teacher educators give limited attention to debates about the possible forms of professional knowledge, autonomy and responsibility. Rather the studies adopt a more limited focus with attempts to profile the occupational group, to identify the nature of their work - using

three fold definitions of academic responsibilities as teaching, research and service - and to identify working conditions. In this, the research has similarities with some studies of the professionalism of academics (see, for example, Fulton 1996 and Halsey 1992).²⁹ In some studies of both teacher educators and academics, tensions between research and teaching roles are stated, but not explored in depth³⁰. Such tensions are a recurring leit motif in this thesis, hence studies of teacher educators' involvement in and balancing of research and teaching are analysed in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Some studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Brousseau and Freeman 1988; Carter 1984) offer untheorised descriptions of teacher educators' professional identities; others use a variety of theoretical frameworks which I have discussed and identified in this chapter. Even these theorised studies offer limited explorations or theorisation of the micro level data in relation to institutional or national settings. The sheer scarcity of research on teacher educators means that issues of professionalisation / deprofessionalisation in response to externally imposed changes to the work context have not been extensively explored.³¹ As section 2.3 has shown, such issues have been an important focus of work on teacher professionalism in the last decade; they have also featured in analyses of academic professionalism (see Dearlove 1997; Fulton 1996; Halsey 1992).³²

Following this search of the research literature, I conclude that the implications for this literature review of teacher educator professionalism are as follows: there are no empirical studies which are directly relevant to my substantive focus on the professionalism of primary ITE tutors working within English universities. There is one empirical study (Johannesson 1993) which focuses on teacher educator professionalism, and draws on a Bourdieuan theoretical framework. This study has some theoretical relevance to my work. The studies of Maguire (1993, 1994, 2000, 2002) and Hatton (1997) are considered in some

depth. These studies have been selected as particularly significant for a number of reasons: both focus on initial teacher educators, and one of Maguire's studies focuses exclusively on primary ITE tutors. Using different perspectives and theoretical frameworks, they address the issue of the place of ITE tutors in the processes of (re)production; both identify and explore the possible effects of the institutional contexts on teacher educators' professional identities and work; and in both studies these institutional contexts have strong similarities to two of the universities involved in my empirical research.

There are a small number of empirical research studies which focus on different aspects of teacher educators' professional identities. These are relevant to this thesis, since I see such aspects as underpinning the definition of professionalism used in my research. In this chapter I analyse and present the findings of these studies thematically, and give a critical overview of the literature in this area.

There is a huge body of literature published internationally on the policies, curricula, pedagogies, organisation and development of teacher education. This literature includes theoretical analyses, commentaries and polemics on the many and various aspects of teacher education, as well as empirical research on ITE programmes, tutors' pedagogical methods, and students' learning. There are also many accounts and analyses of partnership procedures, including the induction and development of school-based mentors. Most of this literature is not defined as relevant to this review since it does not focus on my principle area of concern here, that is the professionalism or professional identity of teacher educators themselves. However, key analyses, commentaries and histories of ITE and the changing roles, knowledge and experience demanded of teacher educators in England and Wales have been used to inform and develop the mapping of the field of ITE presented in chapter 4.



In this literature review I have concentrated on empirical studies of teacher educators, deliberately excluding a significant number of self-analyses or autobiographical writings. I have, however, included cross references to a sample of such writings at relevant points.

2.5 Johannesson's (1993) study of teacher educator professionalism

Johannesson's (1993) research uses a theoretical framework drawn from the work of Bourdieu to analyse the professionalisation of teacher educators within the 'fagvitund' educational reform in Iceland in the 1980s (the 'fagvitund' is defined as a campaign to improve the occupational consciousness or professional identity of teachers). He uses a definition of professionalism as emerging from the knowledge and discourses which form what counts as cultural or professional capital at a given point in time. In Johannesson's study the 'professionalisation' of the Icelandic teacher educators is linked to the creation of new 'learned discourses' (p.271) and the consequent creation and legitimisation of certain forms of professional capital.

The study draws on empirical research, but full details of the methodology and analytical procedures used are not given. The research is defined as an investigation of the education and career of 300 - 400 (the exact number is not specified) teacher educators involved in the reform movement. The term 'teacher educator' seems to be used to embrace all those involved in shaping and disseminating the reform, including 160 curriculum developers working for the Icelandic Department of Educational Research and Development. These people often came from unconventional academic backgrounds, and had had previous careers in primary education. There are no further details of this group's professional biographies, but in English terms they would perhaps be classified as advisory teachers.

They do not therefore conform to my definition of teacher educators as working in HE-based teacher education. But the study also involved 60 tutors working on primary ITE programmes at the College of Education. This group seems to accord more closely to my definition of teacher educators. Unfortunately the findings of the study do not differentiate between the curriculum developers and the HE-based teacher educators.

Johannesson indicates that the discursive themes of the reform movement were initially ambiguous, and that the Department leading the reform was on ‘the margin of the intellectual and academic landscape in Iceland’ (p.272). The professionalism of the educational reformers was therefore undefined and ambiguous at the start of the reform, offering a new educational space, rich in potential for what Johannesson terms a ‘creative redefinition’ of the available discourses. These in turn defined and legitimated what could be counted as legitimate professional capital for the teacher educators.

In his analysis Johannesson particularly focuses on a group of reformers (the ‘ambiguous group’, p.78) that successfully forged their own definitions of professionalism. This group had defined characteristics; they were often female with non-traditional academic educations, and with similar career patterns. They created their own professional capital centred around a ‘learned discourse’ (p.270) using discursive themes of child-centredness, democratic values and ‘scientist’ (sic, p.270) principles. This capital was used to legitimate their professionalism and to assert their power. The group succeeded in constructing their capital as the dominant form of knowledge in the educational reform movement. In this process, discourses which were associated with the values of the pre-reform era were pathologised and seen as non-democratic and ‘pre-scientific’ (p.270).

Johannesson explores how the hegemony of this form of professional capital blinded those who saw it as ‘truth’ to alternative constructions of knowledge. He likens the process to Bourdieu’s definition of ‘officialisation’ (that is the imposition and sanctioning of what is defined as true knowledge). Imprisoned within their learned discourses the reformers had no choice but to continue to assert the symbolic value and legitimacy of the reform discourse and their own professionalisation within it. But in so doing, they recreated a new ‘social field’ of educational reform ‘with its own hierarchy of values’ (p.279) and a new set of struggles to be faced.

Johannesson’s work, like much of the other research discussed in this chapter, overlooks the importance of individual biography and other micro level factors, in association with different institutional settings, on individual constructions of professionalism. It also illustrates the tendency to homogenise diversity when considering teacher educators. But these caveats aside, the study stands as an account of how new and powerful constructions of professionalism emerge in ambiguous and previously unstructured educational spaces.

2.6 The place of initial teacher educators in the processes of (re)production

2.6.1 The research of Maguire (1994, 2000)

Maguire (1994) conducted an ethnographic study of Sacred Heart College (pseudonym), a diversified CHE which was originally a monotechnic, denominational college of education. The study conducted in the late 1980s and early 1990s included a questionnaire survey and interviews with 14 tutors in either ‘teaching studies’ or ‘main subject studies’.³³ The 1994 study does not distinguish between tutors teaching on secondary or primary ITE courses.

An article, published in 2000 and drawing on some of the same data however, makes it clear that the focus of that analysis is exclusively on primary ITE tutors.

In describing the institutional context Maguire states that Sacred Heart, despite its diversification, retained many of the characteristics of its college of education past: the institution was hierarchically organised with the principal and Church wielding considerable power and influence; many students were resident on the campus and subject to strict rules and regulations; student social life included a range of 'traditional' events designed to promote a collegiate ethos; and campus buildings included a fine country house in leafy surroundings. The pattern and routines of college life generally mirrored 'the world of the school rather than the university' (1994:85). Maguire's questionnaire survey (1994) indicated that the majority of the teaching studies tutors had moved to Sacred Heart after sustained teaching experience in the school sector. Many of them had had strong links with the college prior to their appointment. The majority of the staff had only worked in one HEI.

Maguire's study (1994) does not analyse these teacher educators' professional practices or identities in depth, but it does include some exploration of how the roles of teacher educators in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of school teaching affect the nature of their work. She states that 'inextricably connected with the tensions and dilemmas of educating teachers are assumptions about what constitutes a 'good' teacher' (1994:185). In particular, Maguire identifies teacher education as 'the impossible job' because of the allegiances it demands to both the school and HE sectors. Three themes from her analysis are identified for discussion here: dedication to students, tensions between 'the academic' and 'the non academic', and the theory/practice dualism.

In the 1994 study tutors felt a strong sense of dedication to their students as learners and to the induction process into the values of teaching. In supporting this induction, tutors stated that they freely gave students additional support, when required, even if this increased their own workload. In the 2000 analysis Maguire comments on the commitment of the tutors, and the ways in which they were 'constrained by their feelings of 'professionalism' to extend their working day' (p.160).

Tutors discussed a dichotomy between 'academic' and non academic staff at Sacred Heart which was reflected in the division between 'teaching studies' and 'main studies' (Maguire 1994). This division also reflected the views of some of the tutors interviewed about education in general and ITE in particular. For example, Liz, a mathematics tutor, with three years of experience stated 'there's a difference between academics and people who deal in education. Education is not academic' (p.114), Other teacher educators stressed their on-going sense of identity as teachers rather than 'college lecturers' (p.208), emphasising their difference from 'academics'. Teaching studies staff felt that their qualifications were seen as lacking in prestige, and stressed that their extensive experience in schools, and the professional credibility which this gave them in their work, was not always recognised within the institution as a whole. Maguire concluded that the discourse of 'academic' functioned as a powerful device to control aspects of the work of the faculty of teaching studies and 'to legitimise and delegitimise various practices and stances' (p.116).

In the 2000 analysis the significance of this theme of academic / non-academic tension for the exclusively primary sample group is considered in more depth, with particular reference to the institutional setting of Sacred Heart. Maguire argues that teaching in HE is 'highly differentiated and internally divided' with 'important class and gender divisions within the world of higher education' (p.162). At Sacred Heart tutors were positioned as either

'academics' or as 'non-academics' (educationalists), with the former group perceived to have additional status and authority. Maguire attributes this hierarchy in part to structural factors³⁴ at the CHE which meant that the primary teacher educators in the sample group were positioned as 'non-academics', excluded from participation in the world of the conventional academic. Maguire concludes that these tutors inhabited 'a position which is situated inside/outside the ivory tower' (p.163)

The analysis also considers the advantages for these tutors of celebrating their status as practitioners, and reconstructing themselves 'as primary school teachers in the ivory tower'. It argues that in some ways they worked to exclude themselves from the conventional academic world, and identifies that this occurred in part to defend tutors' senses of self-esteem and self-worth. Maguire comments that at Sacred Heart 'the practical has become a powerful leit motif to be set against theory' (p.158).

In the 1994 research the academic / non academic tension was also reflected in the theory/practice dualism which most teaching studies tutors used to conceptualise their work. Whilst stating that they recognised the importance of theoretical knowledge for teaching, they often placed more emphasis on the value of experience and the knowledge of 'practical issues' which it could generate (p.185). In particular, tutors stated the importance of reflection on practice to inform and develop professional knowledge.

Two studies of Maguire's identifying gender factors within teacher education (Maguire 1993, Maguire and Weiner 1994) are analysed in the section on teacher educators and gender (see 2.8.2 below). A later study of Maguire's (2002) which explores the experiences of older women in teacher education is also analysed at this point.

2.6.2 The research of Hatton (1997)

Hatton's (1997) research is described as an 'ethnographic study of teacher educators' (p.240) in an Australian HEI. The study is based on participant observation, supplemented by interviews, with a sample group of nine teacher educators, eight of whom worked in the Education Studies Department. The interviews focused on the professional biographies of the group, the nature of their work in ITE, and their views of change in their work. The chosen sample group was broadly representative of the staffing profile of the education department in terms of age, status, gender, ethnicity and length of employment. The sector of ITE within which the tutors work - primary, secondary or FE - is not specified.

The institutional context for the study was a College of Advanced Education (CAE) which subsequently amalgamated with a university. Hatton's analysis of this context indicates many parallels between this Australian CAE and English teacher training institutions in the public sector pre 1992. The CAE was originally a teacher training college which diversified and expanded; its teacher education functions were controlled by the Department of Education; it was a teaching only institution, not funded for research; and the majority of its teacher educators were recruited into HE with extensive experience of school teaching.

Hatton's study addresses the issue of the teacher educator's role in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of school teaching in that her research set out to test the hypothesis that teacher educators' work could be seen as *bricolage* (1997:241).³⁵ She defines school teachers' work as *bricolage* and states that

the chief parallels between what teachers do and what *bricoleurs* do are conservative work practices, limited creativity, atheoretical approaches to repertoire enlargement, outmoded or inadequate use of explicit theory, deceptive practices of goal achievement and ad hoc problem solving in the work environment' (p.241)

Despite the declared focus on teacher educators, the main argument presented concerns the effects which the practices of ITE have on student teachers, not on their tutors.

Conceptualising teachers' and teacher educators' work as *bricolage* enables Hatton to argue that ITE has a conservative role in the formation of teachers.

Hatton's findings on teacher educators include an analysis of the tutors as 'curriculum generalists', teaching a variety of different subjects and becoming 'a master of superficiality' (p.251) rather than acquiring a sustained specialism. In consequence, she states that some tutors had restricted knowledge bases which were inadequate to support their ITE teaching. Tutors demonstrated considerable anti-intellectualism; they eschewed research literature as a source of knowledge, relying instead on their experiential knowledge³⁶. The rhetorics of reflective and analytical thinking in teacher education were also dismissed.

Hatton comments that her findings show that 'many teacher educators thus appeared to have merely a *bricoleur's* grasp of knowledge, concepts and issues' (1993:251). In other words the teacher educators in her study stand accused of a lack of sustained knowledge bases which united theoretical and experiential knowledge. Furthermore these knowledge bases are seen as employed in haphazard practices in ITE work, with detrimental effects on student teachers. Hatton sees teacher educators as *bricoleurs* 'who contribute to the production of classroom teachers who are *bricoleurs*' (p.254) and states that

in many ways the beliefs, values, practices, inadequate theorising and inadequate knowledge bases of teacher educators may trap their preservice teachers in a culture that is not conducive to (their) liberation (from limited concepts and practices of teaching)

Hatton's analysis does not explore in detail *why* these teacher educators can be defined as *bricoleurs* and *what* this might imply about the relationships between first and second order practices in ITE teaching. Her work does, however, suggest, almost incidentally, two reasons why these teacher educators might have adopted *bricolage*. Firstly, she attributes this pattern to the on-going effects of their experience of schooling; in other words, because they have been school teachers, they remain school teachers in Higher Education, practising and (re)producing the only type of teaching they know. Secondly, she argues that *bricolage* might be caused by the constraints of the work situation. In this line of argument, teacher educators' *bricolage* is 'typically a rational, though often limited, response to circumstances' (p.246). This argument is not expanded, however, apart from a brief caveat in the conclusion referring back to the institutional context for the research, and the limitations it implies for the findings of the research.

2.7 Key themes in research into teacher educators' professional identities

2.7.1 Biographical data

Ducharme and Ducharme's (1996) analysis of the statistical data collected in the RATE surveys produces a demographic picture of teacher education departments in the USA. The staff groups within these departments were characterised as stable, with little staff movement. Teacher educators were predominantly male and Caucasian in ethnic origin, with few tutors from ethnic minority groups. The majority of tutors had worked in school prior to entering HE. Women were more likely to work in elementary teacher education (see glossary) and in school-focused ITE work. Those in ITE worked longer hours but were less well rewarded in terms of promotion than other groups. The pressure to research and

publish was strong for all teacher educators, and promotion was related to achievements in these areas rather than in teaching.

i) Socio-economic and academic backgrounds

Ducharme and Agne's (1982, cited in Ducharme 1986) survey included a focus on the socio-economic and academic backgrounds of teacher educators, producing some distinctive biographical data. Some of these findings were replicated by the same researchers in a second survey in 1989. The two surveys together paint a picture of teacher educators in the USA as being lower middle or middle class in social origins; their families have restricted experience of HE and their own university education has been at lower ranking institutions.³⁷

In the 1989 survey Ducharme and Agne also present findings to indicate that most teacher educators undertake part time study for their higher degrees and write what the authors describe as 'pragmatic dissertations' (1989:68). Teacher educators tend to be older than academics in other fields, and they still have a low status in university academic hierarchies. Many aspects of this picture of the social, economic and educational biographies of teacher educators are also found in the study of Lanier and Little (1986).

Ducharme and Agne's (1989) analysis uses this biographical data to advance their arguments about the impact of teacher educators' early socialisation on their work in HE.

ii) School teaching experience and professional identity

In many of the American studies, cited in this chapter, nearly all tutors within the sample groups came into HE with school teaching experience (see, for example, Ducharme and Agne 1989; Ducharme and Ducharme 1996; Carter 1984). The research of Sinkinson

(1997), Goyal (1985), Acker (1997) and Hatton (1997) indicate broadly similar patterns of school experience prior to entering HE for teacher educators in studies conducted in the UK, Canada, Australia and India.

The research of Ducharme (1986) indicated that some tutors tended to look back to the school sector for their knowledge base and their pedagogy. Past experience of schooling and renewal of school teaching experience were both frequently seen as a positive part of the professionalism of teacher educators, particularly for tutors involved in ITE.³⁸

Ducharme's interviewees in his 1993 study, however, often showed contradictory attitudes to school teaching. They eulogised its importance as a central professional experience for teacher educators, whilst also constructing school teaching as a routine and intellectually unstimulating life from which they had escaped. The interviewees reported positive experiences of their own school teaching careers (often referring to them in what Ducharme calls 'near hyperbolic terms' 1993:46), and saw these experiences as vital to teacher education work. When asked, however, about their reasons for leaving school the interviewees constructed a different picture of school teaching, seeing it as stultifying and as characterised by routine, rigid schedules, and lack of opportunities for professional development. The research of Carter (1984) shows a similar dichotomy.

A number of researchers, including Ducharme and Agne (1989), Lanier and Little (1986) and Ducharme (1986, 1993) argue that the experience of school teaching remains the dominant professional influence for some teacher educators, even in the HE context. Ducharme (1986) states that the effects of tutors' early professional lives in schools carry over into HE. Some tutors continued to adhere to the work ethics of schools, in that they still had learner-centred values and were suspicious of research and theory. Ducharme and Agne (1989) report similar findings. They suggest that experience of school teaching,

whilst central to teacher educators' professional identity, may be 'counterproductive to enculturation to the Higher Education environment' (p.78).

iii) Motivation for entering teacher education

Research into tutors' motives for entering teacher education includes the analysis of Lanier and Little (1986) and the empirical research of Carter (1984) in the USA. Ducharme's (1993) work also touches on initial motivation. In Lanier and Little (1986) and Carter (1984) the main reason cited by tutors for entering HE-based teacher education was the desire to influence the development of the school sector through teaching students.

In Ducharme (1993) teacher educators' strong senses of responsibility to the teaching profession were clear throughout the interview data, but in leaving the school sector these tutors were seeking further professional advancement. In Carter's study (1984) tutors expressed the need for greater personal autonomy as a reason for entering HE. Carter cites opportunities to pursue subject-centred interests and commitments and/or a particular interest area in the school sector as significant factors in the career change. A further motivational force was the perceived opportunity to focus on quality teaching in HE. Tutors anticipated receiving professional gratification from their pedagogical interactions with students. Lanier and Little (1986) specifically comment that contributing to scholarship and research was not emphasised by any of the tutors in their research as a motivation for entering HE.³⁹

2.7.2 Tutors' mission statements and values

i) Commitment to the school sector

In the studies of Reynolds (1995), Carter (1984) and Ducharme (1993) teacher educators' sense of responsibility to the teaching profession and their on-going commitment to contributing to schooling was clear. In Reynolds (1995) teacher educators affirmed their active commitment to education in part through the concept of being of 'service' to schools; 215 out of 255 of the respondents in this study had undertaken work in and for schools since entering HE. These tutors also felt that they had influence over the schools sector through their roles in teacher preparation.

In Carter's (1984) research in the USA the interviewees showed a high level of on-going, voluntary involvement in school teaching on an intermittent basis.⁴⁰ Carter's findings also showed that tutors felt they had a four fold mission in their work. This consisted of the following elements:

- i) tutors saw themselves as responsible for the transmission of the skills and practices of the teaching profession
- ii) they conceptualised themselves as 'gatekeepers' for the teaching force, responsible for the quality of new entrants to the profession
- iii) they saw themselves as involved in codifying the basic knowledge of teaching for their students and for serving teachers
- iv) like the tutors in Reynolds' sample group, they emphasised their sense of 'serving' the school sector, this time through their involvement in ITE and CPD work.

ii) Commitment to students

Amongst the key values of teacher educators in a number of the studies were their commitments to their students and to teaching, and the satisfaction which they gained from teaching (see, for example, Ducharme 1993; Reynolds 1995; Ducharme and Agne 1989; Busch 1989).⁴ Ducharme (1993) identifies that the major satisfactions of teacher education were associated with teaching roles, particularly with participating in the development of student learning. In Busch's study (1989) tutors consistently prioritised work which involved teaching and interacting with student learners over research and writing. A number of studies (see, for example, Acker and Feuerherger 1997; Ducharme 1993) indicate that 'caring for' students was particularly important for female tutors. This point is explored in more depth later in section 2.8.2.

A number of studies identify teacher educators' views on the power and influence they have over their students as an important factor in determining tutor attitudes. In the studies of Hatton (1997), as discussed in section 2.6.2, and Brousseau and Freeman (1988) teacher educators felt that overall they had limited influence over their students. In Reynolds (1995) tutors clearly believed in their ability to influence the educative process, feeling that they had a strong formative influence and a positive impact on their students. In Carter (1984) teacher educators' views on the degree of power and influence they possessed were divided, with some tutors stating that their power was limited, whilst others felt that it was considerable. In Carter's work, tutors with more than four years of experience in HE were likely to be in the latter category

iii) Social and ideological values

In Grundy and Hatton's (1995) work analysing tutors' social and ideological values the tutors within the sample group were found to draw on one of three ideologies, all of which had a social orientation towards conservatism rather than transformation.⁴² The three ideologies were defined as social (re)production, social fulfilment, and social agnosticism. In the analysis of these discourses covert or overt support of the status quo was frequently evident, as were varying degrees of individualism. Typically, the process of becoming a teacher was seen as 'idiosyncratic and individual' (p.16).

In the ideology of social (re)production knowledge was seen as objective and external. Pedagogy was seen as the transmission of knowledge in order to produce effective practice. One teacher educator whose beliefs were located in this discourse tended to stress his identity as a teacher and to cite similarities between his HE practice and that of primary school teachers. In the ideology of social fulfilment there was a commitment to constructivist epistemology and to a conception of knowledge-power regimes privileging personal empowerment. Tutors adhering to this ideology explicitly rejected the idea of pedagogy as transmission, and saw theorising as important to practice as an individual and holistic entity. The ideology of social agnosticism acknowledged the norms of practice in teaching. Pedagogy was seen as a process of negotiation between students and teachers, with a strong commitment to the growth and development of the individual.

Grundy and Hatton refute Beyer and Zeichner's theoretically derived contention (1987, cited in Grundy and Hatton) that there is a 'hegemonic ideology in teacher education which is conservative, integrative and associated with technocratic rationality' (p.10). As a study of ideological discourses, Grundy and Hatton's study aims to locate tutors within discourses

structuring society, education and teacher education. It clearly relates findings about the discourses which tutors draw on at the micro level to a theoretical analysis of discourses at the macro level of teacher education. It does not, however, attempt to locate the conditions of emergence for the use of particular discourses by individual tutors in individual biography or experience. It also does not locate the findings of the study within the institutional mesocosm of the university.

2.7.3 The status of teacher education work

In the study of Reynold's (1995) some tutors felt that teacher education had a low status in their institutions, and that their work was perceived by other academics to lack rigour. This feeling was particularly strong for teacher educators working in high status universities (frequently termed Research Universities in Reynolds' study). The findings of other researchers (for example, Ducharme and Agne (1989), Lanier and Little (1986), and Ducharme (1986) confirm that for many tutors, teacher education had a perceived low status in the university sector. For some tutors this perception caused a sense of negative professional identity.⁴³

In contrast, Goyal (1985) found that most teacher educators in his study saw their professional identity as positive. Within the Indian HE system the job was seen as a high status one with no accompanying sense of devaluation by other subjects or departments within the employing institutions. Goyal judges the level of job satisfaction found in his survey to be equal to that found in other, equivalent professional groups. Women teacher educators were more likely to see their job favourably than men.

2.7.4 Involvement in Research

In many of the studies (see, for example, Reynolds 1995, and Maguire 1994, as analysed in section 2.6.1) participation in the cultures of both school and university caused tutors to feel a sense of divided loyalties. A frequent theme in both studies was that the demands of the job were impossible to meet. Tensions between teaching roles and the need to engage in research were cited as a major example of conflicting demands. In the research of Ducharme and Ducharme (1996) the necessity to engage in research and publication is identified as a major pressure for teacher educators, with promotion and tenure clearly linked to individual research productivity. Many teacher educators in both this and other studies (see, for example, Ducharme 1993; Ducharme and Agne 1989; Busch 1989; Carter 1984) recognised the imperatives of research and publication and were research active; but in all these studies there were also teacher educators who had ambivalent attitudes to and lack of engagement in research.

In Carter's study 20 tutors out of her sample of 28 were classified as active researchers. The reasons they cited for their research involvement were their general feelings of the responsibility to the teaching profession and the need to engage in research to retain their posts and/or to gain promotion. In the findings of Ducharme (1993), Ducharme and Agne (1989) and Busch (1989) many of the teacher educators surveyed were research active. But others found it hard to identify themselves as researchers or lacked the time and self-organisational skills to research (see, particularly the findings of Ducharme 1993). One senior academic, quoted in Ducharme, to underline this point (1993:69) states 'I'm still not a researcher'. Lack of focus and clear understanding of the research to be undertaken were also problematic for some tutors in Ducharme's 1993 study. Ducharme (1993) claims that

his study represents a typical range of views on and experiences of research which could be encountered in any US school of education. He states,

It is axiomatic that not all faculty will be skilled writers and researchers. It is a further axiomatic that not all faculty, including some who are skilled, will want to write and conduct meaningful research (1993:69)

In Reynolds' (1995) study only teacher educators employed at high status Research Universities, or those who defined themselves as active researchers in less prestigious universities, stated that research was a high priority for them in their daily work. Reynolds attributes this difference to the varying influences and expectations of the employing institutions; other reasons why this differentiation might have occurred remain largely unexplored (see section 2.8.3).

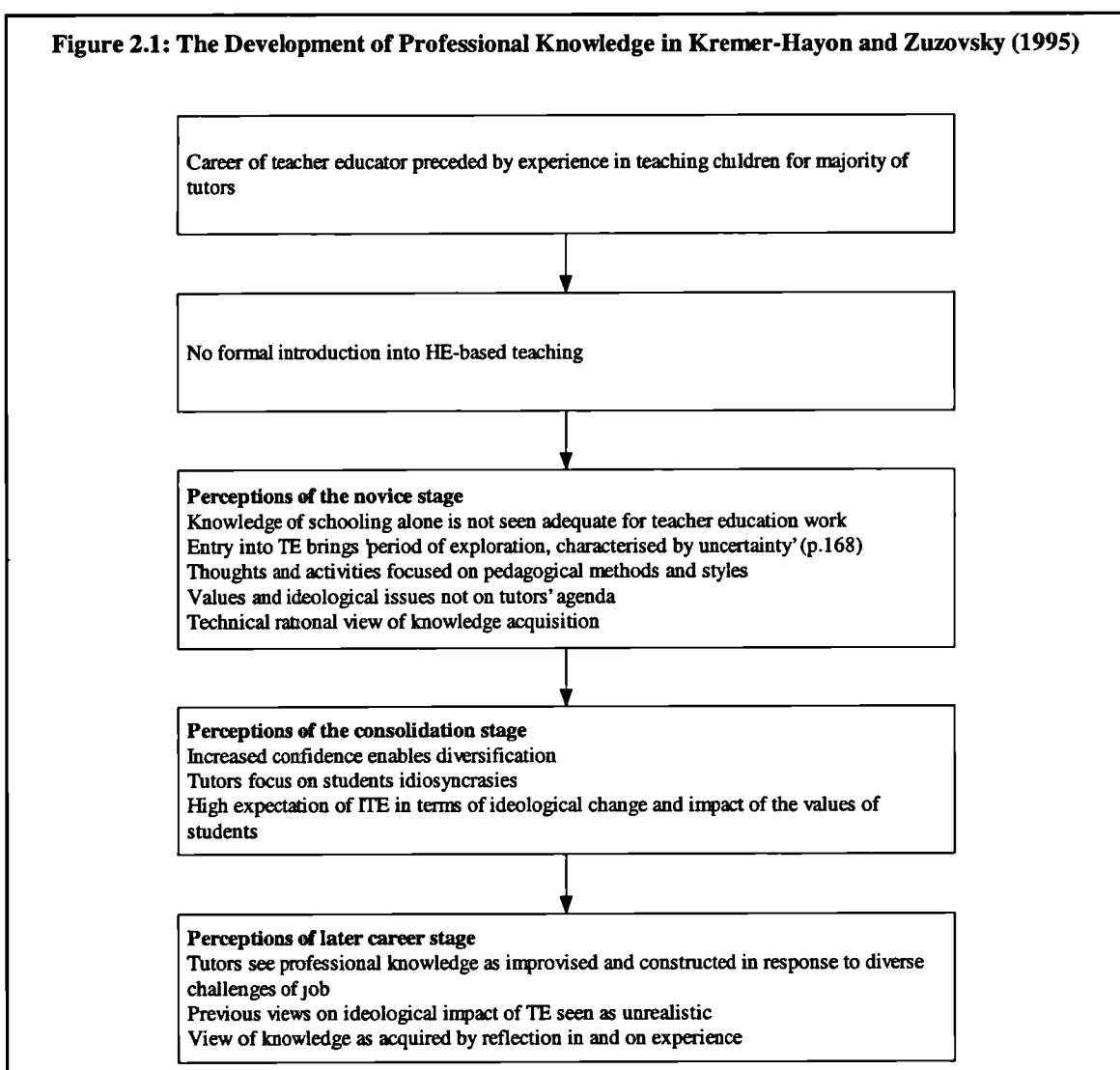
2.7.5 Tutors' knowledge bases

Two studies, those of Hatton (1997) and Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995), specifically address the issue of teacher educators' knowledge bases". A number of other studies address this issue tangentially, including those of Ducharme (1986, 1993) and Carter (1984), as discussed in section 2.7.1. Hatton's findings on tutor knowledge bases, including her statement that many teacher educators thus appeared to have merely a *bricoleur's* grasp of knowledge, concepts and issues' (1993:251) have already been identified in section 2.6.2.

The research of Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995) offers a different perspective on teacher educator knowledge bases. Their study of the professional development of teacher educators in Israel yields insights into how these tutors saw their professional knowledge. From the interview data they collected, the researchers advanced a model of professional

development for teacher educators, as shown in figure 2.1. The methodological and theoretical frameworks for this study of teacher educators are explicitly influenced by the work of Schon (1983; 1987).

Figure 2.1: The Development of Professional Knowledge in Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995)



In Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky's model teacher educators are seen as differentiated by the differing amounts of time they have spent working in HE settings. Professional development is conceptualised as a 'slow, continuous and evolutionary process', with the main constituent being the growth of professional knowledge (p.168). On induction to HE-based work, novices relied on 'linear thinking, on instrumental reasons and on technical rationality' (p.167). Such tutors cited two main sources of professional knowledge which they possessed on entry to HE: the formal knowledge they had acquired in university courses and in professional literature; and their intuition and / or reflexive enquiry.

As tutors became more experienced, they moved into the 'consolidation stage' in which they saw themselves as acquiring knowledge by processes of trial and error, use of intuition and past experience, introspection and reflection-in and on-action. As they learnt, they expanded from a narrow focus on 'Here and Now' to a broader view of 'Then and There' (p.164), diversifying from uniformity to pluralism, from positivism to relativism, and becoming more independent in their thinking. Fundamentally, professional knowledge was seen as built up through 'a long series of reflections on practice' (p.165). Professional development was constructed as a dynamic but essentially positive, process of problem solving in which professional learning was on-going⁴⁵. In the later career stage experienced tutors felt that they had previously had distinct ideological agendas in their work. But, in retrospect, these agendas were seen as unrealistic and as the cause of frustration.⁴⁶ The acquisition of knowledge through reflection in and on experience is clearly emphasised by such tutors.

Given the importance of the discourse of reflective practice in teacher education (see chapter 4), surprisingly few empirical studies of teacher educators' professional attributes show the influences of Schonian perspectives on professionalism⁴⁷. Many self-analyses and

autobiographical accounts of teacher educator professionalism, however, emphasise the central importance of reflective practice in developing the knowledge base of the teacher educator (see, for example, Guilfoyle, Hamilton and Pinnegar 1997; Zeichner 1981).

Reflective practice is even more strongly stressed in self-reflective accounts of teacher educator pedagogy (see, for example, Loughran 1996, Griffiths and Tann 1992, and LaBoskey 1994). Common features of many of these accounts of professionalism and pedagogy are as follows: firstly, reflection on the experience of teaching is constructed as central to the development of teacher educators' knowledge bases and personal theorising; secondly, reflective practice is seen as providing a means of monitoring and regulating the professional practice of the teacher educator; thirdly, developing students' abilities to be reflective is stated to be a central part of the missions of teacher educators⁴⁸. These features are exemplified in the following statement from LaBoskey (1997:150) about her pedagogy as a teacher educator,

Since I believe that reflection in teaching is not only a means for coming to know, but also a means for monitoring the moral and ethical ramifications of that knowledge, preparing my students to be reflective about their work is my primary purpose as a teacher educator

In these self-analyses then, teacher educator knowledge is seen as primarily experiential, generated through the processes of reflection on and in professional practices⁴⁹. The knowledge base of teacher educators is perceived to be acquired and developed in much the same ways as the knowledge of school teachers. Through the emphasis on reflective practice, the acquisition of knowledge is constructed as inter-twined with the processes of self-monitoring and regulation within the reflective processes⁵⁰.

A further feature of many of these accounts is that teacher educators should *model* reflective practice for their students through their own teaching in HE (see, for example,

Russell 1997:34⁵; Guilfoyle, Hamilton and Pinnegar 1997). *Good practice* for teacher educators then is intended to exemplify and to mirror what is defined as good practice for school teachers. The concept of *modelling* in teacher educator pedagogy and professionalism is an important one for this thesis. It is therefore discussed again with specific reference to English primary ITE in chapter 4, and is a recurring leitmotif of the findings of this research, as presented in chapters 8 and 10.

2.8 Differentiation amongst teacher educators

As I have indicated earlier in this chapter, teacher education is widely identified as a heterogeneous field. Differentiating factors identified from the literature include the academic or professional focus of work, involvement in ITE, the degree of involvement in research, the number of years spent in HE, and gender. These differentiation factors are inevitably inter-related, although the available research often does not address these inter-relationships.

2.8.1 The nature of academic/professional work within teacher education

In Allison's (1985), commentary on teacher educators in the USA, tutors are divided into three categories: disciplinists (for example, social scientists, such as educational psychologists and sociologists of education, working on education courses; education generalists (those working in educational fields such as curriculum development); and pedagogists (this category includes 'methods professors' teaching on ITE and CPD courses and involves tutors teaching subject specific curricula and pedagogical methods). Allison states that there is an uneasy alliance between these three categories in teacher education departments. Disciplinists are said to be the most academically respected teacher educators.

Furlong et al (1996) construct a typology of teacher educators in England and Wales prior to the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) defining three types: disciplinary based academics, that is those involved in applications of the social sciences; subject studies specialists; and curriculum methods specialists involved in ITE with necessarily close links to schools and the school curriculum. After the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984), the typology becomes more restricted with only two types of teacher educator, subject specialists and curriculum methods specialists, identified. The writers comment that the 'recent and relevant' recruitment and retention criterion in the Circular has meant that school experience is given greater emphasis and the changing curriculum of teacher education has marginalised the 'educational disciplines' (see chapter 4).⁵²

Teacher educators are then seen by some commentators as differentiated by the academic or professional work they undertake, with tutors involved in ITE seen as a distinct type of teacher educator. In all these studies involvement in ITE tended to mean longer working hours, less research related activity and less career progression. In contrast to teacher educators involved in other types of academic / professional work, the work of ITE tutors involved close and regular contact with the norms, expectations, practices and values of the school sector from which they came.

2.8.2 Gender

In the studies of Ducharme and Agne (1989), Ducharme (1993) and Ducharme and Ducharme (1996) gender is a significant factor in teacher educators' professional lives. Ducharme and Ducharme's analysis states that there are few women in the senior ranks of teacher education departments in universities in the USA. Women experience differing patterns of socialisation and career progression. Ducharme and Ducharme characterise

women as the workhorses of teacher education. In their analysis women were more likely to devote a greater proportion of their time to academic service and a lesser proportion to research and scholarly activity than men. Their promotion opportunities were therefore likely to be more restricted.

In Ducharme and Agne's study women entered HE later than men, taught more and published less. In Ducharme and Ducharme women were also more likely to be found in elementary (primary) education and in 'field supervisory roles' (1996:60), that is in visiting schools to observe students work and to liaise with teacher-mentors. This involvement in ITE then potentially compounds the adverse effects of gender on women's professional development.

Maguire and Weiner (1994) argue that women in teacher education are differently positioned from men in terms of their 'overt structural location' and within the 'less visible contexts of their everyday lives' (p.133). In particular, they see women in teacher education as still constructed in 'the enduring discourses of maternity' by which the female lecturer is positioned as mother. This positioning of women as the caring female, devoting time and attention to pedagogy and becoming a mother substitute for students has also been identified as a factor within women's careers in other areas of academic life (see, for example Walsh 1996; Stiver Lie and O'Leary 1990). But Maguire and Weiner carry their analysis of teacher education further by arguing that within the discursive frameworks of ITE there is a powerful *congruence* between child-centred, progressive pedagogy in schooling and feminised discourses of teacher education. This congruence means that the female teacher educator who was once the class teacher positions herself and is positioned in the college (sic) as 'mother', as facilitator, carer and passive observer, of her students and of her colleagues' (p.135)

Maguire and Weiner's analysis does not identify the specific implications of this positioning for women who are *primary* ITE tutors, but these are discussed with reference to the findings of this research in chapter 10.

Maguire's (1993)³³ study of the affects of gender on the micropolitics of life at Sacred Heart College in England also shows that gender was a differentiating factor in the lives of teacher educators. Maguire characterises the culture of Sacred Heart as strongly paternalistic with 'a gendered regime' (1993:272) in which only two out of seven top management roles were held by women. Maguire's analysis sees the ten women teacher educators at the college as generally more experienced with better academic qualifications than the men, but with less responsibility, heavier teaching loads and considerable disadvantages in micropolitical disputes and 'the jostling and manoeuvring for power' (1993:280). Other factors which differentiated the women from their male counterparts included their heavier workloads overall, reduced support with routine administration, and perceptions of more limited promotion opportunities.

Maguire's (2002) study explores the perceptions of older, female teacher educators, working in different areas and age phases of teacher education, in both old and new universities³⁴. Recurring themes in the analysis are the ways in which these tutors invested themselves in their students' development, and consequently became 'caught up with/against discourses of caring, professionalism and maternity' (p.13). Career progression through sustained engagement in research was constrained by this positioning, as well as by structural factors within the universities. Maguire comments that for some tutors this meant that they found themselves

'in a 'teaching factory' where all their time is taken up in a culture which is similar to that of the school room..... their role in the academy may simply continue to be 'mothers' not academics, 'carers' not 'careerists'. (p.23)

Ageism meant that some of these older women felt themselves to be additionally marginalised within their institutions.

In Acker and Feuerherger (1997) Canadian women teacher educators also identified a gendered division of labour. The women in this research believed that they worked harder than male colleagues, and undertook the majority of work which involved interacting with students and serving the institutions⁵⁵. And as the interviewees pointed out such work was often hidden labour, unrecognised for promotion purposes and unremunerated.

In Acker (1996) the care which female tutors showed for their students was a strong theme in the findings, although again all the women knew that any additional work which this caring involved was not remunerated or valued for promotion purposes. The authors stated that, in analysing their data, they found 'professional stories saturated with caring agendas that led to a multiplicity of tensions and failed hopes' (1996:415). They suggested that caring for students forms part of women tutors' sense of self (p418). The social expectations that women would be caring were seen as a further, strong influence on the tutors interviewed. Women also believed themselves to be marginalised by institutional processes which included the exploitation of their commitment to students. Women tutors had non-linear career patterns (Acker 1996), formed by the interweaving of professional and personal lives. In Acker and Feuerherger (1997) women saw the academic reward process as stressful and difficult. Promotions procedures were also seen as divisive.

Studies of gender in relation to teacher education have then identified gendered divisions of labour within the paternalistic cultures of teacher education institutions. Female tutors are

seen as positioned by broad social expectations of their roles reflected in gender biased institutional structures, students' expectations of women as teachers, and tutors' self-expectations of their roles. Female ITE tutors, in particular, are associated with the absence of conventional academic career development in HE. But, few of these studies explore the complex factors at play when a predominantly female body of tutors is involved in the feminised enterprise that is *primary* ITE.

2.8.3 Theories about the differentiation of professional identity

Within the literature on teacher educators there is then a broad consensus that teacher education is a differentiated and heterogeneous field, and that within it individuals may be performing a variety of different types of work. There is also a recognition that these different types of work will have different effects on those individuals. The effects of differing amounts of time spent working in HE are also considered by some researchers to be significant. As I have indicated, however, this awareness of heterogeneity is not always translated into the methodology and the presentation of the findings of the studies.

Beyond the basic attribution of heterogeneity to the differing forms of work and/ or to time in HE, there are some limited attempts to explore and theorise how and why differences might occur. Researchers such as Ducharme and Agne (1989), Ducharme (1993) and Lanier and Little (1986) create a deficit model in which some teacher educators are seen as adapting poorly to the HE context. Both the pace and the manner of these tutors' adjustment to the norms and expectations of HE are judged to be inadequate. Ducharme and Agne, for example, state that such teacher educators demonstrate

schizophrenic behaviour with respect to higher education roles, slow adaptation to higher education norms, a preference for practice over theory and a distrust of research (1989: 68)

This type of teacher educator emerges from these analyses as clearly inadequate, as at best only a semi-academic⁵⁶. This model of the deficient teacher educator is not linked directly to any particular type of teacher education work, such as ITE tutoring, but there are clear indications that adhering to the norms of schooling is associated with it. In Ducharme (1986), for example, teacher educators are classified as ‘school person, scholar, researcher, methodologist, and visitor to a strange planet’ (as quoted in Ducharme 1993:6) according to the degree by which individuals’ behaviours are judged to be like those of school teachers or of academics in other disciplines within HE.

The basic arguments forwarded to explain this deficit model centre around the concept of socialisation, particularly the ways in which teacher educators have been socialised into professional/academic work. Two aspects of the socialisation of teacher educators are identified as significant: firstly, socialisation into the norms and expectations of HE is seen as limited by restricted personal/academic biographies and family traditions of academic study (see, for example, Ducharme and Agne’s 1989); secondly, socialisation into school teaching is conceptualised as so powerful that it continues to define the dominant professional norms and expectations, even after teacher educators transfer to the HE context (see, for example, Lanier and Little 1986; Ducharme 1986;1993; Hatton 1997). These two aspects of socialisation are frequently seen as inter-related, implicitly attributing academic deficit models to both teachers and teacher educators.⁵⁷

As I have indicated, studies of gender in teacher education offer a number of explanations for differences between men and women’s career progression and senses of professional identity, including the disadvantages caused by the gendered regimes, discourses and structures of teacher education, by women’s non-linear career patterns, and by the tendency for women to be working in areas of teacher education such as ITE which are associated

with more intensive, less prestigious and less well rewarded work. A final factor is that women are identified as taking on more of the 'hidden' and intensive work of teacher education, including the work of 'caring' for students. In this aspect of their work they are sometimes caught in a double bind; such 'caring' may be undertaken willingly because it is seen as a part of the sense of self, and/or it may be part of the implicit, social expectations placed upon women tutors. Because of the previously cited methodological and theoretical limitations of most of the available studies on teacher educators, there is a little recognition that the factors differentiating the occupational group may be inter-related and interactive. The complexity of the positions of some teacher educators cannot therefore be considered or analysed.

An alternative explanation for differentiation between teacher educators is provided by the work of researchers such as Reynolds (1995), Hatton (1997) and Ducharme and Ducharme (1996). Their analyses suggest that the structure and status of the employing institution are important factors in determining the professional identity of the teacher educators working within it. As I have indicated, in Reynolds' findings, positive orientations to research are linked to the institution; the more prestigious the institution, the more likely tutors were to be research active. In Ducharme and Ducharme's analysis (1996) institutional difference is almost taken for granted as a differentiating factor. The varying expectations and norms within different institutions are implicit within the analysis, but the impact of these factors on the professional identities of teacher educators remains unexplored. Hatton (1997), in addition to attributing teacher educators' professional identities to their individual biographies (see above), states that her findings might result from the constraints of the teacher educators' work situation within their teaching-orientated institution.

Following this line of argument, the institutions, as the settings for professional practice, are seen as powerful determiners of professional identity. By extension then professionalism is seen as *localised*, based around the professional orientations and resources needed to work in that particular setting. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:10), in discussing teacher professionalism, refer to a 'flexible' model of professionalism in which the employing institution is a major influence on professional identity and resources. They refer to localised, context-specific knowledge, and to 'situated certainties', which are composed of 'common agreements and certainties about professional knowledge and standards of practice' achieved by collectivities of teachers working within the same schools.

Studies of teacher educators which attribute professional identity to the influences of the institutional setting can be accused of the same narrowness of focus which this chapter has already identified in Atkinson and Delamont's (1985) critique of some interactionist research. In that critique, as in these studies of teacher educators, if the institutional setting is foregrounded as structuring and determining professionalism, then other complex processes involved in the (re)production of professional knowledge and practices and the lives of individual teacher educators may be neglected.

On this basis and on the evidence within their own analyses, the implied attribution of professionalism to institutional setting in some studies of teacher educators needs to be questioned. For example, Reynolds' study attributes high levels of research activity to the influences and expectations placed on teacher educators working in high status US universities. Yet closer analysis of his findings indicates that some tutors in lower status institutions who were already active researchers, also made research a high priority in their daily work, following the same response patterns as tutors at the prestigious Research

Universities. A further pattern was that non-researchers, regardless of the institution at which they worked, produced a similar response pattern to that of the respondents at the less prestigious colleges and universities. Hidden inside Reynolds findings then, is a trend whereby different types of teacher educators, differentiated by their levels of research activity, have different types of belief about their work. This aspect of his findings implies that there is a dichotomy *within* the institutions between teacher educators who prioritise research work and those who do not accord research the same sense of priority. Reasons why this differentiation may occur remain largely untheorised.

A further example is that Hatton's study states, but does not explore, the inter-relationships between the on-going effects of school teaching on her tutors, the institutional setting and the conservative role which she identifies that the tutors' ITE work has in the formation of student teachers. In studies such as these then, the institutional setting is identified as a factor in differentiating the professional identity of teacher educators, but the inter-relationships between settings, individuals and the processes of (re)production in ITE remain unexplored and untheorised issues.

2.9 Conclusion

The available studies of teacher educators serve to identify a number of factors about the professional identities of this occupational group. Teacher educators are seen as having strong senses of commitment to students, with teaching identified as a major source of professional satisfaction, and with some tutors expressing learner-centred values. On-going senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector are also identified. School experience is an almost universal pre-requisite of work in teacher education, and it is seen as remaining a powerful influence on at least some teacher educators throughout their

careers in HE. Teacher educators participate in research to varying degrees, and define the purposes of their research involvement in different ways. Research on the knowledge base of teacher educators is limited, but one study indicates that ITE tutors had a limited and solely experiential knowledge base (see Hatton 1997). Another study (see Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995) indicates a change in the forms of teacher educators' knowledge bases and improvement in their practice with increasing time in HE. This concept of a developmental continuum of teacher educator expertise is shared by some teacher educators' self-studies (see Chung 2002). A further shared theme is that many self-studies and accounts of pedagogy stress the importance of the teacher educator as reflective practitioner, modelling the desired reflexivity for her/his students. One study of teacher educators' social and ideological values identifies a dependence on essentially conservative discourses and values (see Grundy and Hatton 1995).

Differences between the professional identities of different types of teacher educators emerge in some of the studies. These are variously attributed to the differing forms of the work undertaken, gender factors, deficient socialisation into HE, the continuing effects of early professional socialisation into schooling, or the effects of the institutional setting on individuals. Few of the studies I have discussed, however, analyse issues of differentiation of teacher educators in terms of the relations between individual biography or practices, the institutional settings and teacher education at a macro level. The absence of studies considering the inter-related effects of macro, institutional and micro factors means that emerging theories about the professional identity of teacher educators are inevitably limited⁵⁸.

With the exception of the work of Maguire (1994), most of these studies seem to take for granted the place of teacher education in the (re)production of school teaching. They

therefore cannot address questions of how the professional identity of initial teacher educators might be affected by the central involvement of those tutors in the (re)production of the knowledge and practices of schooling. For example, tensions within teacher education work have been identified across the studies discussed in this chapter. These tensions include the pressures of meeting the imperatives of both the school sector and the HE context, the place of school experience in tutors' knowledge bases, engagement in research, and the perceived lack of influence which tutors have over students' development. These tensions have particular significance for the professional identity of ITE tutors required to meet the imperatives of both the school and HE sectors in their daily work. Beneath these tensions lie deep seated issues about the forms of academic and professional knowledge in ITE, and the relationships between first order knowledge (of the school sector) and its associated practices, and second order knowledge (of teaching ITE students in HE contexts) and its practices in teacher educators' work. In many of the studies, however, these issues are not discussed, explored or theorised in depth.

Existing studies of teacher educators' professional identities offer then some relevant insights into the knowledge, experiences, values and orientations of teacher educators. These insights offer some substantive and methodological starting points for my own research design. But they offer few theoretical starting points for the study of teacher educator professionalism. Johannesson's (1993) analysis of how new constructions of professionalism emerged in a new and ambiguous educational space offers a theoretical perspective, drawing on the work of Bourdieu, to theorise how discourses of professionalism can be constructed by one occupational group. But it offers few theoretical or methodological starting points for analysing the professionalism of primary ITE tutors working in English HE settings.

In section 2.2 I have identified general senses of inadequacy with existing frameworks for the sociological analysis of professionalism. I have indicated that some frameworks fail to take account of the inter-relationships between professionalism at individual, institutional and macro or national levels. Others fail to account for gender differences, or see professionalism as homogenised and uncontested across a given occupational group. Within this context then, the absence of existing theoretical frameworks for analysing the complexity of teacher educator professionalism is perhaps not remarkable. But this absence has meant that I have had to devise my own theoretical framework for this thesis. In chapter 3 I outline this framework and the accompanying language of description which I have used.

Chapter 3 The theoretical framework for the research

3.1 Introduction

As I have indicated in chapter 2, few studies of professionalism offered appropriate theoretical starting points for the research which I wished to undertake. I therefore devised a suitable theoretical framework which would enable me to investigate it empirically, and to describe, analyse and theorise teacher educator professionalism. This chapter explains that theoretical framework and introduces the analytical language which is used in this thesis. In constructing these things I have taken into account a number of key factors about ITE, so that the framework and the language together enable me to achieve the aims of this research.

Chapter 2 has identified that professionalism can be defined in numerous different ways. The definition used in this thesis, as stated in chapter 1, is that *professionalism* is the set of knowledge, attitudes and values which define and articulate the quality and character of teacher educators' practices and actions. This definition of professionalism incorporates the concept of *professionality* (see Hoyle 1975). My definition is discussed in more detail in section 3.4.

In chapters 1 and 2, I have discussed ITE as a complex and contested field, and asserted that the place of teacher educators and their professionalism within it is complicated and often overlooked. In order to research teacher educator professionalism I wanted a framework which enabled me to consider the implications for professionalism of a number of inter-related aspects of ITE: I wanted to consider primary ITE as a gendered field of (re)production of primary schooling and as an area of education exposed to intensive state

intervention; I wanted to consider HE institutions as the institutional bases for most ITE work; and finally, I wanted to consider individual teacher educators and the relationships between their prior work in primary schooling and their present work in primary ITE. In order to research teacher educator professionalism therefore I needed a theoretical framework which would enable me to investigate, describe and analyse these inter-relationships and the ways in which they impacted on tutors' constructions of professionalism. Chapter 2 has indicated the inadequacy of existing studies of professionalism in providing such a complex theoretical framework.

In devising a theoretical framework to enable me to analyse the inter-relationships in teacher educator professionalism, I have drawn on Bourdieu's concepts and theoretical language. But this thesis is not intended to include an in-depth exploration of Bourdieu's work; rather I draw upon it to give me a theoretical orientation and a language to describe and conceptualise ITE and teacher educator professionalism. Specifically, I draw upon Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *habitus*.⁹⁹

Drawing on these key concepts enables me to analyse teacher educator professionalism in two ways. Firstly, Bourdieu's theories of social construction emphasise that multiple levels of constructs and interactions within any given field are both structured and structuring. By drawing on these theories, the theoretical framework is used to analyse three different levels of ITE. It relates findings at the individual level of teacher education to the meso (institutional) and macro (national) levels. A fundamental tenet of the theoretical framework, and of this thesis in general, is that in order to understand teacher educator professionalism, there must be a detailed consideration of the contexts within which that professionalism was constructed. Secondly, professionalism in this thesis is not seen as stable, pre-determined or established by set criteria. Rather professionalism is seen as in

flux, as socially constructed, and socially contested within and between the individuals within any occupational group. Drawing on Bourdieu's theories in the theoretical framework enables me to analyse the professional resources which teacher educators use to construct their professionalism, and to theorise about how and why professionalism is constructed in this way.

In this chapter Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus are introduced in section 3.2 to give an initial theoretical orientation for the thesis. In sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 I explain how I have drawn upon these concepts in constructing my theoretical framework. In section 3.6 I look at how this framework constitutes a major dimension in the methodological orientation of the research. The framework determines the 'mapping' of field of ITE, as presented in chapter 4, and the research methods, as outlined in chapter 5. It is then used for various aspects of the presentation and analysis of the findings of the empirical research in chapters 6 to 10.

3.2 Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus

In his 1990 book 'In Other Words' Bourdieu stated that his work could be summarised as either constructivist structuralism or structuralist constructivism (p.123). He gave his definition of structuralism or structuralist as meaning that there were objective structures existing in the social world, independent of its agents' consciousness, which could constrain or guide those agents. For constructivism he gave the following definition,

there is a social genesis on the one hand of the patterns of perception, thought and action which are constitutive of what I call the habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and in particular of what I call fields and groups (1990:123).

Bourdieu's summary outlines the key elements in his view of the social world as dually structured and structuring, and as dually constructed and constructing. It also identifies the centrality of the concepts of habitus and field in his work. Later in the same book (p.131) Bourdieu also discussed key tenets in his theories of the construction of social reality, reiterating some of the ideas outlined above. Firstly, he stated that the construction does not and cannot occur in a social vacuum but is subjected to 'structural constraints' of the social world in general and of the relevant social field in particular; secondly, 'the structuring structures, the cognitive structures' of the habitus have social origins and are themselves socially structured; thirdly construction may be a collective as well as an individual enterprise.

Bourdieu (1998:24). rejected both the conventional structuralist view of social agents as 'particles subject to mechanical forces and acting under the constraint of *causes* (italics in the original) and the rational action theory view of agents as 'conscious and knowing subjects, acting with full knowledge of the facts'. Instead he generated a theory of social agents operating in given fields endowed with a 'practical sense' or habitus of what is to be done in those fields. Individuals then are seen as inscribed into social fields and as endowed with individual and collective categories of perception.

In Bourdieu's work fields are the social worlds where the universal is engendered (1998:138). As he states, 'the evolution of societies tends to make universes (which I call fields) emerge' (1998:83). Generating such a theory of fields means acknowledging that 'the social world is the site of a process of progressive differentiation' (ibid.). The concept of field then provides the frame for the analysis of social relations (Calhoun et al 1993) and of social differentiation.

Fields can be seen as autonomous (Bourdieu 1998:83), and as such they generate their own rules and language. These elements derive from the discourses of the field and form its historical and social legitimating principles. They account for the ‘multidimensional space of (subject) positions available’ to the agents or practitioners operating within the field (Calhoun et al 1993:5). The fundamental laws of the field are tautologous; they are defined by the field and yet they also define, classify and legitimate activities within the field.

Bourdieu states that this means that

we have social universes which have a fundamental law, a *nomos* (italics in the original) which is independent from the laws of other universes, which are *auto-nomes* (italics in the original) which evaluate what is done in them, the stakes at play, according to the principles and criteria that are irreducible to those of other universes’ (1998:83/4)

Some fields are strongly bounded and classified whilst others are ambiguous (see Bourdieu 1987). Bourdieu identifies the sense of ‘indeterminacy’ which operating in ambiguous social fields brings to groups of individuals or agents. Similar notions of distinctiveness and indeterminacy are also used to discuss the position of agents *within* any given field. Whilst there are

clear-cut differences between agents situated at extreme ends of the distributions, (these) are evidently less effective in the intermediate zones of the space in question. It is in these intermediate or middle positions of the social space that the indeterminacy and fuzziness of the relationship between practices and positions are the greatest (1987:12)

Agents at the extremes of the spectrum of subject positions available within the field are thus clearly differentiated from one another; agents in the middle of the spectrum operate with far greater senses of ambiguity and indeterminacy.

Any given field is both ‘a field of forces whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and ... a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces’ (1998:32) A field may therefore be defined as the site of *collective symbolic struggles* which are translated into and experienced as individual and collective contestations at the micro level of its interactions. Fields are seen as instantiated into institutions. The discourses and structural relations within any field are not static, but are in an on-going state of flux.

As I have indicated then, Bourdieu’s definitions of habitus and its relation to his concept of field are complex. He saw habitus as the key medium through which social positioning occurs, stating that ‘the space of social positions is retranslated into a space of position-takings through the mediation of the space of dispositions (or habitus)’ (1998:7). For each type or class of social positions he stated that there is a corresponding type of habitus produced. The habitus is both individual and collective since it has been ‘inculcated into all minds socialised in a particular way’. (1998:66). It can thus be defined as

a socialised body, a structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world - a field - and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world (1998:81).

Bourdieu has defined the habitus as ‘the dispositions of agents, that is the mental structures through which they apprehend the social world’. (p.130). In this and other writing (see, for example, Bourdieu 1998; 1987), he defined the habitus as schemes of perception or acquired systems ‘of preferences, of principles of vision and division (what is usually called taste)’ (1998:25); it is the set of dispositions, or the engrained and engraining ways

of being and acting in the world into which any given collectivity - or individual agent - is socialised.

Habitus generates distinct and distinctive principles of practice. But it also provides what Bourdieu termed 'classificatory schemes, principles of classification, principles of visions and division, different tastes' (1998:8) for the perception of practices. And, as Bourdieu stated (1990:131) 'in both cases, its operations express the social position in which it was constructed'. The habitus therefore mediates, generates and (re)produces affinities of perception and practices which unite an individual agent or a given collectivity. These processes of mediation, generation and (re)production can only be done within the relevant social position and field.

Habitus then is produced within and by the structures of given social fields, and made manifest only within the modes of operation within a given field. But Bourdieu also saw habitus as both structured by and structuring the nature of the field. As indicated earlier, he also resisted the idea that his concept of habitus is deterministic, rather he saw habitus as giving agents a set of dispositions which create a sense of how to operate within a given field. In discussing this aspect of habitus, he often used the metaphors of 'a feel for the game' (1998:80) or of a 'practical sense' (1998:25) of how to operate in a given situation. Dispositions or senses, viewed in this way, rely on usually tacit knowledge of the unspoken rules, determining and constituting the consensus and common sense of the relevant social world.

Bourdieu used the concept of *capital* to articulate many of his arguments about habitus and the positioning of agents within a social field.⁶⁰ I have eschewed the use of this concept because I felt that, when interpreting and analysing empirical data, it offered few starting

points for describing, analysing and theorising the ways in which teacher educator professionalism is constructed and contested.⁶¹ In this theoretical framework I have instead used the concepts of *reservoirs* and *repertoires* of professional resources (see discussion of these concepts in section 3.5), analysing how these related to individual tutors, to their institutional settings, and to the macro level contexts of the field of ITE.

Grenfell and James (1998) extend their analysis of Bourdieu's work by calling on his ideas of affinity and disaffinity between habitus and social fields. They consider the position of agents operating in new or different fields in the following way,

Individuals by existing in social space encounter fields but come with their own generating structures, inculcated in the process of their own development in the world. This habitus forms *affinities* and *disaffinities* (my italics) with the structural relations or fields which surround them.. (1998:24)

In the theoretical framework for this research I draw upon these concepts of affinities and disaffinities between the habitus of individual tutors and fields in order to describe, analyse and theorise how and why certain forms of professionalism relate to the institutional settings and the macro level contexts in which they occur (see section 3.5).

The brief and necessarily selective account of Bourdieu's work given in this section shows the potential power of his theories of cultural (re)production to analyse complex social relations. These theories are particularly important in offering a means of analysing the relation between the field, social positioning within that field, and the habitus of an individual or collectivity (Bourdieu 1998). Drawing on Bourdieu's theories then provides me with a way of describing, analysing and explaining the inter-related and integrated nature of teacher educator professionalism.

3.3 ITE as a field

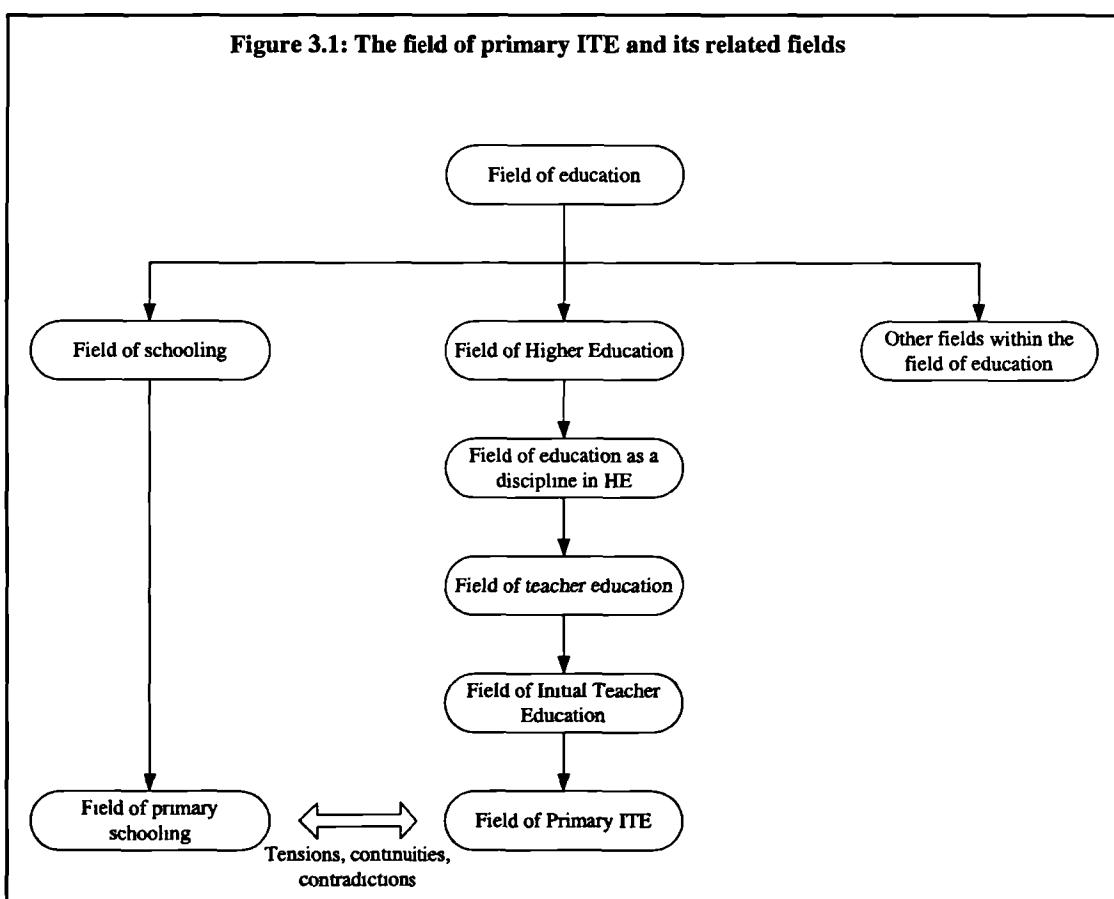
As part of the theoretical framework of this thesis, I draw on Bourdieu's concept of field by conceptualising ITE as a field within the broad social field of education. Such an analysis seems initially straightforward, but as Grenfell indicates such an attempt to define an educational field 'seems to open the door on a complex picture of multitudinal layering and inter-connecting links' (1998:168). Education in Bourdieu's terms is a social field. This field is not seen as a homogeneous totality, but rather as a collection of various fields, often inter-related, within which educational professionals operate as agents. Some of these educational fields (for example, the schooling system for 5-16 year olds) are large, strongly classified and bounded, and play a major part in determining the overall wider social structure; other fields (for example, the education of youth and community workers) are smaller and have a less obvious part in defining the social structure. These less dominant fields may also be more ambiguous and overtly influenced by more dominant fields. Each field is defined as encompassing a collection of particular professional, academic or educational structures, principles, discourses and practices.

This use of the term 'field' then clearly draws on Bourdieu's definitions of the term given in section 3.3; it is a way of denoting the specific educational arenas and the types of professional and academic enterprises in which certain education professionals are involved. A consideration of three broad fields of education - ITE, schooling and Higher Education - is central to this thesis, although my main focus is on ITE as a field. I have used the terms 'field of schooling', 'field of Higher Education (HE)' and 'field of ITE' to denote the main arenas of professional and / or academic practices in which ITE tutors, primary teachers and university tutors are involved. My usage of these terms is not intended to

conflate fields and institutions; rather as in Bourdieu's definition of the concept, fields are seen as instantiated in institutions such as schools, and universities or HEIs.

ITE as a field is conceptualised here as ambiguous, ill-defined and subject to changing influences from other fields, particularly those of schooling and HE. As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, ITE is a field in which the discourses and practices of schooling are (re)produced, and as such it is inextricably related to the field of schooling. But, as section 1.3 has identified, the institutional bases of ITE are still largely in HE institutions, its agents work largely in HE contexts and many of the imperatives it faces are those of the field of HE. It is therefore defined here as an intermediate field to signal these dual influences.

Figure 3.1 shows this mapping of the three fields.



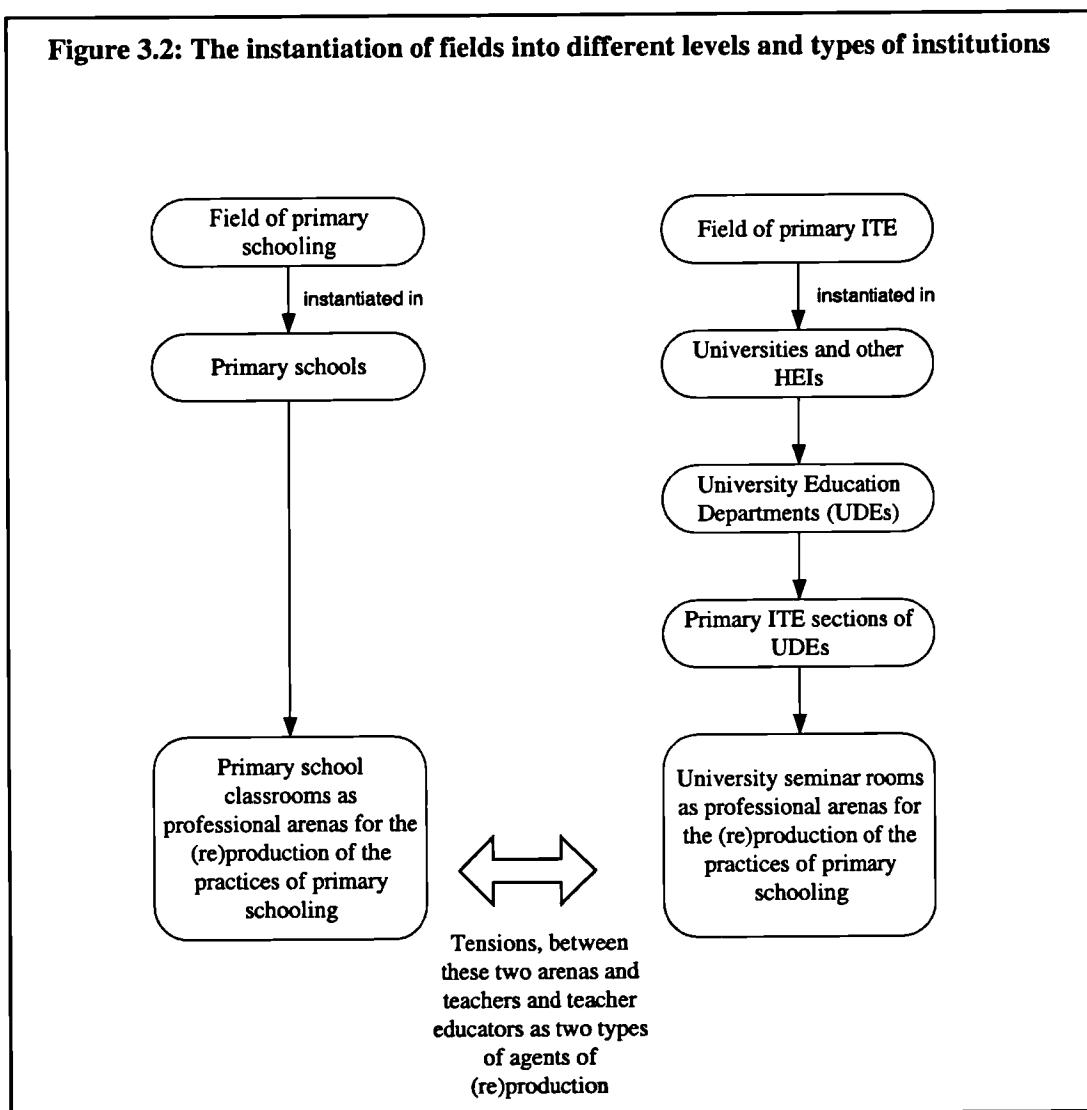
The fields of schooling and of HE are both seen here as strongly classified within the social space of education. The field of ITE, positioned between these dominant fields, partially influenced by them and clearly subject to changes within them, as well as to its own changes, is inevitably more ambiguous, contested and ill-defined. As I have already indicated in section 1.2, these senses of ambiguity and flux in the field of ITE can be seen by analysing the contemporary nature of the field, and by a historical analysis of primary ITE.

The idea of these three educational fields and their relationships to one another gives an inevitably simplified overview, and I use these terms - fields of schooling, HE and ITE - for simplicity and convenience throughout the thesis. But this seeming simplicity can be unpacked further to give a more detailed sense of what Grenfell (1998:167) means when he talks of 'a network of fields within fields'. Firstly, this thesis is concerned not with schooling in general (the field of schooling will obviously include different sectors and phases of school education) but with the field of primary schooling in particular. This field is involved in the (re)production of its own highly specialised discourses and practices. Secondly, the thesis focuses on *primary ITE* specifically. Again, this field has its own discourses and practices, but, despite this uniqueness, it cannot be fully analysed without reference to the field of ITE in general (this is seen here as including primary, secondary and post-compulsory teacher training).

What is revealed in theorising ITE as a field then is not one single, uniform field but the network to which Grenfell refers. And the field of ITE in turn cannot be considered without reference to its 'parent' field of teacher education (this is seen as including all aspects of professional and academic development for teachers). This field relates to a broader field in which the study of education is a discipline within HE. Agents of the field of education are

involved in a range of specific academic practices and discourses, and in the production and (re)production of knowledge about education. Attempting to map complexity in this way is difficult and inevitably involves some degrees of simplification, definition and ‘fixing’ albeit temporarily, but figure 3.2 offers a map of these ‘fields within fields’ relationships.

Figure 3.2: The instantiation of fields into different levels and types of institutions



The field of primary ITE then connects with a number of other fields and shares some of the structures, discourses and rules of those fields, but it also has its own forms of knowledge and action. Grenfell and James (1998:20) use the term ‘sub fields’ for this type of intermediate field within fields. They state that each sub field has ‘its own orthodoxy, its own way of doing things, rules, assumptions and beliefs; in sum its own legitimate means’. It is these elements within the field of primary ITE which form the broad setting for this study of teacher educator professionalism.

As I have already indicated, fields are instantiated in specific types of institutions. At the level of instantiation primary ITE is also complex to analyse. It can be seen as instantiated in various ways; it is instantiated most directly within the primary ITE sections where ITE courses are taught, but these sections are sub-divisions within wider education departments. These departments in turn are located within universities or HEIs. The field of ITE is also instantiated in primary schools. Although the majority of ITE programmes do not have their institutional bases in schools, the classrooms within the schools in which student teachers practise teaching and in which university-based tutors and school-based mentors monitor and regulate that teaching are also the sites for instantiation. The ways in which the field of ITE is instantiated in institutions are complex then. In this thesis much of the analysis of the instantiation of ITE in institutions refers to the HE context. When discussing this level of analysis I refer frequently to the instantiation of the field into ‘the institution’ rather than to the University Department of Education (UDE) or the primary ITE section. This is a simplified way of denoting the often unexplicated complexity of analysing the institutional levels at which ITE operates in HE.

In this theoretical framework the professional resources available within the field of ITE are seen as deriving fundamentally from the discourses of that field. As I have already

indicated, all fields are contested and subject to change, but ITE, as an intermediate field, is seen as particularly characterised by senses of ambiguity and flux. Consequently, its discourses are particularly open to contestation and change. Since the discourses determine the rules of the field (these are seen as akin to Bourdieu's concept of *auto-nomes*, see 3.3) and the nature of practice within it, these aspects of the field are also seen as changeable and ambiguous.

3.4 Analysing the field in space and time

In this section I extend aspects of the theoretical framework, illustrating its multi-level approach to analysing the field of primary ITE, and identifying how the analysis is located in time. The framework aims to analyse the field of primary ITE at three different levels. This idea of multilevel analysis draws on two sources. These are firstly, the ideas of Bourdieu, as explored by Grenfell(1998), about field analysis, and secondly, within writings on teacher education, A. Hargreaves' idea of social space.

Grenfell (1998:169) states that Bourdieu's work shows how a field can be analysed by considering three levels. These levels can be summarised as follows:

level 1, 'analysing the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power';

level 2, mapping out the field as composed by institutions and agents;

level 3, analysing the habitus of the agents.

Grenfell's translation of these ideas into education indicates that level 1 involves considering the relationship between the educational field and the *field of power*, that is the economic and political systems of society. Analysing level 2 includes considering the *fields within fields* structure of education which I have discussed above. It also involves investigating the institutions of the field⁶² in two ways: in terms of how they inter-relate to

one another and to the values of the field as a whole; and in terms of intra-institutional structures and relations. Level 3 involves analysing the habitus of the agents involved in the field, including identifying *the components of the habitus*.

A. Hargreaves' (1995) in his analysis of the positioning of teacher educators (1995) discusses what he terms the social 'space' of teacher education. He contends that

what it means to *be* in teacher education or to *be* a teacher educator can only properly be understood by firmly locating our studies of teacher education in space as well as in time (emphases in the original, 1995:32)

Hargreaves argues that analysing teacher education in the context of time alone is not enough. The nature of the social space of education also needs to be considered. This can be done by defining and analysing what Hargreaves terms different *levels* of this space. In order to develop this concept, he creates a distinction between the microcosms, mesocosms and macrocosms of teacher education. The microcosms (or micro levels) include

the small worlds of lived experience where student teachers interact with their university supervisors, university supervisors interact with co-operating teachers in the schools, deans of education rub shoulders with and ride disparaging remarks from fellow deans of other faculties' (p.13).

The macrocosms (or macro levels) of teacher education include the affects on national policy of factors such as changing demographics and consequent issues of supply and demand for teachers within the state system, the funding policies for HE, the ideological pressures and control exerted by the state and the

dominant educational discourses that push training or education, competencies or critical reflection, subject mastery or generic teaching methodology to the forefront of the teacher education agenda' (p.13/14).

The mesocosmic world (the meso level) is multi-layered. Hargreaves' definition of this level in which micro and macro are articulated includes institutional settings and the 'articulation between groups and clusters of individuals' (p.14). He cites the designated curricula which students follow, and the 'translation' of these curricula into teaching programmes, as examples of this articulation at the meso level.

The theoretical framework I have outlined for this thesis implements a three level structure which draws on and synthesises the work of Bourdieu, Grenfell and Hargreaves. This use of three levels - micro, meso and macro - enables me to explore and analyse the forms of professionalism in primary ITE by considering the field of ITE in more depth than in the majority of studies cited in chapter 2. I contend that, although these three levels are often integrated, it is possible to make such distinctions between the micro, meso and macro levels of teacher education. These distinctions may be temporary and artificial constructs, but here they serve distinct analytical and methodological purposes

The micro level for this framework is defined as the professionalism of teacher educators, including their practices and experiences as primary ITE tutors. Biographical details of the tutors track aspects of their professional 'life trajectories' (Grenfell 1998:173), and thus can provide evidence of the origins and forms of their professional orientations. The most important aspect of the meso level is defined here as being the institutional contexts - the university education departments - within which the tutors work. When analysing teacher educator professionalism this level offers considerable opportunities for teacher educator professionalism to be contested and constructed for and by individuals and collectivities of tutors. In the theoretical framework for this research I draw upon the concepts of *affinities* and *disaffinities* between the *habitus* of individual tutors and different levels of the field in order to analyse and theorise how and why certain forms of professionalism relate to the

institutional settings in which they occur. The macro level in this thesis is defined as including the macrocosmic forces and structures which affect national policy on ITE. These include the ideological pressures and control exerted by the state in ITE, the changing nature of the whole HE sector in England, and the dominant educational discourses arising from state intervention and from intra professional consensus.

As I have identified previously, the field of ITE is particularly subject to change and flux. Because of this factor I have aimed to locate my work in time so that each level of the field may be analysed in relation to the discourses, rules and practices dominant at the relevant time. This thesis therefore places considerable emphasis upon the mid 1990s when the empirical research was conducted by considering the field of primary ITE at that point in time. I have also emphasised that the forms which this field took at that time cannot be fully understood without a brief historical analysis of key factors in the evolution of primary ITE. The empirical research presented in this thesis must then be considered within its immediate time frame, but this emphasis alone is not sufficient without some attempts to map out key aspects of the evolution of the field.

In considering historical contexts this thesis sees historical discourses, once dominant in the field, continuing to exert an influence at the institutional level of ITE as *historical resonances* or *institutional sedimentation* (Kirk 1986). In Kirk's definition this sedimentation is the historical legacy which an institution's past history enprints on its present incarnation. Institutional sedimentation either becomes instantiated within aspects of the institutional principles, structures and practices, and / or it survives as historical resonances for individuals or collectivities within the institution, as part of memories of 'what once was'. In terms of teacher education historical discourses are also reflected in the

ways of practising and being as teacher educators which are accepted as legitimate within the institution.

In this thesis primary ITE work in the mid 1990s is then to be considered through a diachronic rather than a synchronic analysis. As Howey and Zimpher (quoted in Acker 1996: 13) state

studies of the education professoriate need to both better acknowledge historical evolution and attend to the current context in which these professors (teacher educators) work.

3.5 The construction of professionalism

As part of this focus on teacher educator professionalism, this thesis aims to define and articulate the professional resources - broadly defined as the knowledge, values and understanding - used by the interviewees in constructing that professionalism. The research design, as chapter 5 will show, assumes that professionalism is and can be exemplified in the experiences and practices of teacher educators; it can be constructed, reconstructed, lived and understood at the level of the individual professional, as well as at a communal level.⁶ Furthermore, professionalism is defined here as constructed, and contested within and between individuals and collectivities of teacher educators. Professionalism in this thesis is also seen as open to the influences of individuals' professional history. This section aims to use the language of the theoretical framework to explain and extend these aspects of the definition of professionalism used in this thesis.

In chapter 1 I have indicated that primary ITE tutors are the major agents of (re)production within the field of primary ITE. Some aspects of the nature of their positions in that contested and intermediate field have already been discussed, but need to be recapped and expanded here. ITE tutors are involved in the transmission and (re)production of the

discourses and practices of what it means to be a primary school teacher. In this thesis the primary school is conceptualised as the *first order* context for the (re)production and transmission of the discourses of the field of primary schooling, and primary school teachers are seen as *first order practitioners* and as the main agents within the field. ITE is a field which is also involved in the (re)production of primary education but at one remove, partly because of the location within HEIs of the majority of ITE courses. Hence primary ITE is conceptualised as the *second order* context and its agents, the tutors involved in the processes of (re)production, are termed *second order practitioners*.

A significant factor about initial teacher educators as second order practitioners is that they have moved fields. They have once been teachers, participating in the discourses, pedagogic settings and practices of the field of schooling within school settings. Now they operate in the field of primary ITE. As second order practitioners, their work has changed; they have become teachers of teachers operating in the different pedagogic settings offered by HE institutions and participating in the discourses and practices of a different, if related, field. Yet at the same time as they participate in the discourses of ITE as their field of operation, they still need to be able to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of primary schooling. The ‘academic subject’ of these tutors, that is, their area of expertise in HE, remains some part of the discourses and practices of primary schooling. Their work as ITE tutors requires, however, that they have to return to the primary school context at regular intervals in order to monitor and regulate students’ teaching, often carrying out these processes alongside serving primary teachers.

All teacher educators, like other education professionals, are understood in this thesis as being engaged in on-going attempts to assert and promote their own versions of professionalism in order to appear as credible and legitimate. Different versions of

professionalism may be constructed and/or contested by individuals or collectivities of teacher educators. The HEI is seen as one of the sites or professional arenas where various versions of professionalism are played out and where they are contested. In other words the institutional setting is one of the sites of struggle for what it means to *be* both a teacher educator in primary ITE and to be a primary teacher. Other sites of struggle include the schools where teacher educators must convince teachers of their professionalism, and the wider university where they must convince other academics.

In order to construct and assert this professionalism, primary teacher educators draw upon the *professional resources* available within the field of ITE. To describe and analyse these resources I have drawn upon Bernstein's (1996) use of the terms *reservoir* and *repertoire*, and upon the work of Brown (1999) showing how these terms can be applied in the investigation of professional discourses. The structural relations, discourses and rules of the field of ITE create a *reservoir* of professional resources. This reservoir is the totality of all the resources which can be created within and by the structures of the field of ITE, and made available to or appropriated by teacher educators at any given point in time. It provides the conditions for the recognition of what can be seen as legitimate elements of the reservoir. Drawing on this reservoir, and on the ways in which aspects of it are understood and valorised at the meso level, individual tutors or collectivities construct their own collections of professional resources which define their professionalism. I have termed these individualised collections *repertoires*. Teacher educators draw on their repertoires of professional resources in their daily work, and to assert and legitimise their claims to professionalism.

The institutions running primary ITE courses instantiate the discourses, rules, structures and practices of the macro level of ITE, but this instantiation does not happen in homogeneous

ways. Rather the macro level of the field is understood and instantiated in various ways within each institution. These differing patterns of instantiation occur because of the differing positions which departments of education within various HEIs hold within the field of teacher education nationally, and more generally because of the positions which the entire institutions hold in actual and notional hierarchies of English HEIs⁶.

The institutional sites then provide differing, immediate settings - or arenas of practice - for the construction and contestation of professionalism. Different tutors find affinities and disaffinities between their various institutional settings and their habitus. In order to construct their own forms of professionalism, teacher educators within each particular setting then draw upon those elements of the professional reservoir which are available and legitimised by the ways in which ITE is understood at the national and institutional level *and* which accord with their habitus.

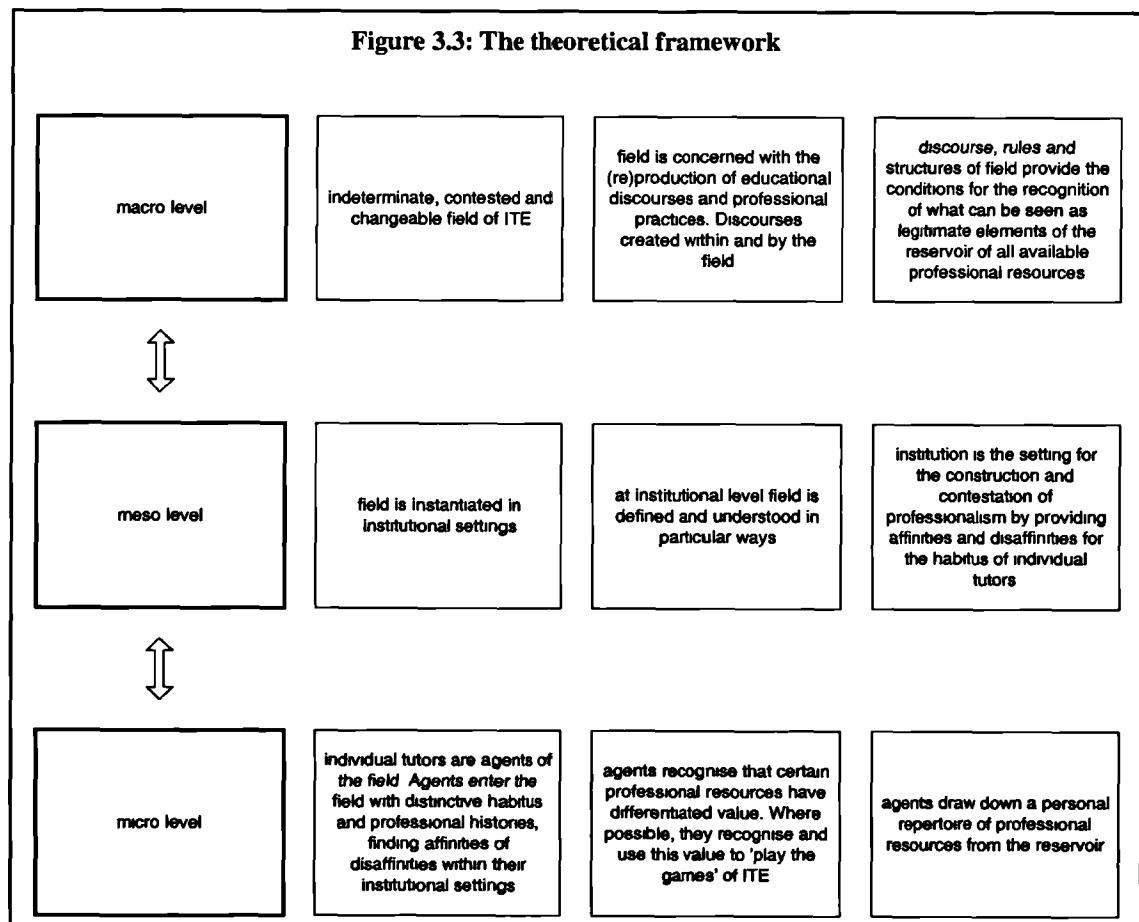
In order to be able to position themselves as professionally credible and legitimate, tutors need to present themselves as possessing a recognised and valued repertoire of professional resources. Within their institutional settings then, they draw on mutually accepted ways of understanding what ITE is about by recognising and asserting the value of different professional resources. The availability of the professional resources is then both constrained and enabled by the affinities and disaffinities between habitus and institutional setting. The resource repertoires constructed, and the ways in which these can be implemented within particular institutional settings, then depend upon the inter-relationships between a number of different factors and levels of ITE:

- i) the discourses, structures and practices available at the macro level of the field

- ii) at the meso levels how these macro level discourses are instantiated, understood and valued within the institutional setting, including collective understandings of what counts as valued professional resources within the institution
- iii) at the micro level the individual tutor's habitus (as engrained by their personal and professional histories), including how the tutor defines ITE as a process of (re)production (how the habitus engrains and is engrained by their professional orientations, knowledge, values etc.)
- iv) the affinities and disaffinities between the tutor's habitus and the setting
- v) the tutor's overt and tacit recognition of what can be counted within the institution as valorised resources, based on both their overt and tacit understandings of the meso level setting and the macro level of the field
- vi) the tutor's 'operationalising' of these resources to construct, promote and contest her/his form of professionalism

According to this framework then, tutors' professional histories and biographies, and their current practices are important aspects in the construction of professionalism, but they are not determinative. Similarly, ITE tutors valorise and legitimise their own professionalism in part by reference to the institutional settings in which they find themselves, but the institution does not function as the sole determiner of professionalism. As chapter 2 has indicated, in some studies of professionalism in the school sector changes in the nature of teacher professionalism have been attributed solely to shifting national policy. In this framework the discourses, rules and structures at the macro level of the field - and any changes to these things - are seen not as straightforwardly determinative, but as providing the conditions for the recognition of what can be seen as legitimate elements of the total reservoir of all available professional resources at the meso and macro levels of ITE.

The relationships between the macro, meso and micro levels of the field are not, however, seen here as solely ‘top down’. The double arrows in figure 3.3 are designed to denote that these levels are seen as inter-related in complex ways which do not easily lend themselves to a pattern of macro level ‘determines’ meso which in turn ‘determines’ the micro level. So, for example, an individual - or more likely a collectivity of teacher educators - within one institution could challenge the ways in which teacher education was understood within that setting. Similarly, an institution or a group of institutions could dispute certain elements of the reservoir recognised as legitimate at the macro level⁶⁵. Figure 3.3 illustrates how the ideas above have been drawn together with the concept of levels within the field to create the theoretical framework for this thesis.



In constructing their professionalism tutors deploy their repertoires in different ways, depending on the situations or professional arenas in which they find themselves. Modes of deployment include the use of *strategies*. The strategic aims of the agents within each field are to produce and assert the legitimacy of their own versions (or repertoires) of professional resources. They do this by using strategies which enable them to achieve this legitimisation and valorisation. Strategies in this theoretical framework are conceptualised as ways of acting which result from the combination of some conscious decision making, together with intuitive actions, based on the tutors' senses of ITE as a field and of their own place within it.⁶ Strategies then are created in part by conscious, planned thought and in part by tacit knowledge and understanding. By using such a definition strategies can be seen partly as devised and implemented by the agent, but those seemingly conscious and rational decisions are also implicitly influenced by the agent's habitus, by her/his positioning within the field, and by the forms of the discourses within that field. Devising and promoting these strategies is one of the ways in which tutors promote the legitimacy of their resource repertoires, and the form of professionalism they espouse.

Different forms of professional resources are seen as having differential value within the field of ITE; that is, they are recognised as having differentiated significance and 'currency' in legitimating professionalism. In my definition of professionalism as contested, any group or individual within teacher education can claim professionalism by asserting and promoting the legitimacy of the repertoires of professional resources which it possesses. But these claims may not necessarily be recognised or valued by other teacher educators, either within or outside their own institutional setting, or by student teachers, serving school teachers or academics in other disciplines. Possessing a repertoire of valued professional resources means that individuals or collectivities can assume and maintain

powerful positions within their institutional settings, and potentially within the field as a whole. Individuals with less valuable repertoires may see the professionalism which they attempt to promote and legitimate being challenged as of low value. Drawing on different repertoires of professional resources then, teacher educators can construct and contest different forms of professionalism.

The account above identifies the key elements of the theoretical framework for the substantive focus of this thesis. In this thesis, as chapter 1 has indicated, I use this framework to investigate the repertoires of professional resources which individual tutors use. I also investigate the influences of micro, meso and macro level factors on these repertoires. At the meso level I analyse how the macro level structures, discourses and rules of ITE were instantiated differently in the institutional settings. From this I identify how the field of ITE is defined and understood within different institutions, and analyse this as a setting which provides affinities or disaffinities for the habitus of the teacher educators. An initial account of the ways in which this framework has structured the research design is outlined below.

3.6 Starting points for the research design

As the theoretical framework has indicated, I determined that the professionalism of ITE tutors needed to be investigated across the three levels of ITE. I therefore devised a research design which allowed me the scope to do this, and was capable of collecting data at all three levels and their inter-connections, as figure 3.4 indicates.

Figure 3.4: The initial outline of the research design

Levels	Data	Methods
macro	mapping of the macro level of the field	analysis of relevant research, commentaries, policy documents and government circulars
meso	case studies of the three universities	analysis of documentary evidence; information from heads of department; interviewees' perspectives on institutions(see below)
micro	individual teacher educators' constructions of professionalism relevant biographical factors to provide data on professional histories	semi-structured interviews questionnaires

At the micro level the design of my empirical research is grounded in the individual's understanding and experiences of their practices as an ITE tutor. Further, like many research studies and analyses of teacher professionalism (see, for example Helsby 1997; G. Elliott 1998), it is influenced by the model of professionalism and professional knowledge defined by Schon (see section 2.2). My research design for the empirical work at the micro level aimed to recognise and valorise the individual's construction of her/his own version of professionalism. I also wanted the research methodology I used to enable me to explore how the tutors constructed the range of practices in which they were involved. I wanted to enable tutors to construct and explore their own understanding and experience of such practices. Given these aims, the research design had to involve the collection of qualitative

data, and semi-structured interviews were judged to be the most appropriate research method, as chapter 5 discusses in more depth.

Tracking the professional history of tutors is important in this research design since, as I have indicated previously, the forms of professionalism adopted by individuals are seen as open to micro level biographical factors. Biographical data was then collected to enable aspects of each individuals' professional history to be identified and analysed. The use of questionnaires was judged to be the most suitable way of collecting this data which needed to be predominantly qualitative.

The tutors involved in the empirical research worked in the teacher education departments of three English universities. The research design included the collection of various types of data, including the analysis of relevant documentary evidence and the provision of basic information about the universities from the heads of department, to create case studies of the three universities. Most of the data collected in this exercise was qualitative. This analysis of this type of data enabled me to identify relevant historical and contemporary contextual factors about the institutions. This was supported by the collection and analysis of some basic quantitative information on the size and structure of each education department's ITE provision, its students and the external indicators of its ranking for research.

Before undertaking any of the empirical work at the micro and meso levels, however, I analysed or in Bourdieu's terms 'mapped' the field of ITE at the macro levels. This mapping enabled me to describe and analyse elements of the macro level contexts for the findings of my empirical research. I collected data for this exercise by analysing relevant research and commentaries, with particular reference to primary ITE. I included in this

analysis an overview of relevant historical and contemporary factors at the national level of primary ITE. I analysed the ideological changes, particularly the intensification of regulation by central government in the period from 1984 onwards. The overall analysis includes an account of how features from the macro level of the field are instantiated in the meso levels of the HE institutions and of the curricula, in order to present an articulated picture of the inter-connections between the macro and meso levels of the field.

This mapping of the field at the macro level was undertaken before finalising the details of the research design at the meso and micro levels. In particular, the mapping enabled me to create relevant selection criteria for the institutions and individuals involved in the empirical research, as chapter 5 describes in more detail.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter a theoretical framework for my research which enables me to describe, analyse and theorise teacher educator professionalism has been established. This framework has the following key features:

- i) use of concepts and an analytical language drawn from the work of Bourdieu. These elements are constructed in a framework to enable me to describe, analyse and theorise ITE and the professionalism of teacher educators working within this field.
- ii) a definition of professionalism as socially contested and constructed, and contextually variable. This definition draws on the identified concepts from Bourdieu's work, and has some grounding in traditions of research into school teacher professionalism (see, for example Hargreaves and Goodson 1996).

iii) the location of the research in time through a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis. I consider both the current context and relevant historical factors in the analysis presented in chapter 4.

iv) the location of the research in the field or ‘space’ of ITE (as defined by A. Hargreaves 1995). This is achieved through the conceptualisation of three analytical levels - micro, meso and macro - within ITE.

This framework structures the research design, the structure of the thesis and the forms of the analysis. In section 3.6 I have outlined the ways in which the theoretical framework has structured the research design, with predominantly qualitative data collected at the micro, meso and macro levels of ITE.

In chapter 4 I present an analysis of factors at the macro levels of ITE, with a specific emphasis on primary teacher ITE. My aim is to map the field of ITE at this macro level. I show that the history of the field of primary ITE has been characterised by rapid changes, and by consequent discontinuities in its discourses and knowledge bases. I also identify that there are gendered discourses and practices within the field. As part of this mapping of the field I also analyse aspects of how features from the macro level are instantiated in the meso levels of ITE.

CHAPTER 4 PRIMARY INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION: CHANGE, DISCONTINUITY AND CONTESTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter maps the field of ITE at the macro level. As indicated in chapter 3, this mapping is part of the research design. It enables me to describe and analyse elements of the macro level to contextualise the findings of my empirical research. Data for this chapter has been collected by analysing relevant research and commentaries on ITE, with particular reference to primary ITE. I include in this analysis an overview of relevant historical and contemporary factors at the national level of primary ITE.

As chapter 1 has stated, there are relatively few accounts or analyses which particularly address primary ITE at any levels of the field (see Edwards 1998). The de-emphasising of primary ITE has meant that in writing this chapter I have largely had to work with unified accounts of both primary and secondary ITE, and then to attempt to dis-entangle their significance for primary. The main focus of this research is not historical enquiry; the history of ITE is a rich and complex field and overviews of it already exist (see for example, Dent 1977; Gardner 1993 and 1996). The mapping of the field presented here is not then a conventional historical overview but a thematic analysis drawing on a number of varied sources. It is necessarily brief, and selected to be relevant to the focus of this thesis.

The analysis presented here aims to do two things: firstly, it aims to summarise the macro level factors relevant to the empirical research; secondly, it analyses how macro level factors have been instantiated in the meso levels of the field, particularly in the institutions providing primary ITE, their curricula and the formal expectations of their teacher

educators. In achieving these aims I present an overview of the macro level, and articulate this with descriptions and analyses of the inter-connections between the macro and meso levels of the field.

Chapter 1 has given an initial outline of the ways in which the field of ITE can be seen as a site of contestation; the analysis in this chapter elaborates on these ideas. It illustrates that the history of the field of primary ITE is heavily gendered. Since 1963 this field has been characterised by rapid changes, and by consequent discontinuities in the forms of the institutions within which it has been located, in the defined knowledge bases necessary for primary teaching, and in the qualifications, experience and roles of its tutors. These changes and discontinuities have affected the professionalism of ITE tutors in ways which have remained largely unexplored. In achieving my aims for the chapter, I indicate the discourses within the field of primary ITE, and the ways in which these discourses have contributed to the historical and social legitimating principles of the field.

The chapter is structured into two parts: one emphasises the changes in primary ITE over a period of approximately 30 years before the empirical research; the second provides an immediate context for the research. Part 1 (sections 4.2-8) analyses the changes and discontinuities at the macro and meso levels of primary ITE from 1963 to the early 1990s. I focus on the institutions and the curricula - both the explicit, declared curricula and aspects of the tacit, 'hidden' curriculum of ITE - as important meso level contexts in which macro level structures, discourses and rules are instantiated. I chart the movement of the location of the majority of primary ITE provision from the Colleges of Education in the 1960s, through to the university sector institutions in the 1990s. Part 1 looks at the factors involved in this 'academic drift' (Pratt 1997:308) of the institutions towards university status.

Part 1 also looks at state intervention in ITE from 1984 to approximately 1992. The government ‘reforms’ from 1984 onwards regulated ITE to an unprecedented extent. These ideological changes (see Whitty et al 1987; Maguire 1993) made ITE a school-focused enterprise in its curricula, its practices, the methods used for inspection and regulation, and in some of its assumptions of teacher and teacher educator professionalism. The declared or overt curriculum in ITE also changed considerably. I analyse these changes and their effects on primary ITE, particularly their impact on changing specifications of the tutor’s role, knowledge and experience.

In part 2 (section 4.9) I analyse the immediate contexts for my empirical work in the mid 1990s. This section analyses relevant macro and meso level factors, particularly the importance of Circular 10/93 (DfE 1993) in the changing form of ITE, and consequently of primary teacher educators’ work. This part considers the impact of macro and meso factors on the recruitment and retention criteria used for teacher educators, the roles specified for them, and the conditions of working for primary ITE tutors at this time. I analyse the changing institutional contexts for primary ITE from the Colleges of Education of the 1960s to the universities and HEIs of the 1990s. Section 4.10 looks at the implications of this mapping of the macro level of the field for the empirical work. Section 4.11 concludes the chapter.

Part 1

4.2. The location of primary ITE in the college sector

As chapter 1 has stated, the origins of primary ITE were in the poverty of the nineteenth century elementary school system. From these origins the college sector emerged to become the main training route for intending primary school teachers. The divorce of the

college and university traditions in teacher education⁶⁷ meant that by the 1930s the UDEs were established as a secondary focused, elite, and minority, albeit highly influential, sector of ITE (see Alexander 1984a; Thomas 1990). In the UDEs intending grammar school teachers followed one year (consecutive) postgraduate courses after completing university degrees, whilst in the colleges the vast majority of elementary teachers followed two year Teacher's Certificates (defined as concurrent courses).⁶⁸

Early in the twentieth century then, the scene was set for a dual system of different routes and institutions in teacher education which reinforced many of the power differentials of class and gender embodied in British society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Alexander (1984a:118) has stated the system 'embodied and reinforced the mutual exclusiveness of the two central traditions in British education: minority / elitist / academic and mass / elementary / utilitarian'. This system contributed to the historically pervasive sense of the academically low status of primary schooling, and consequently of primary ITE. Integral factors in this low status of primary ITE have inevitably been its gendered associations with the care and nurture of young children.

Heward (1993:32) argues that 'institutions of teacher education are gendered, as are the activities and interactions of the individuals within them'. She also emphasises the domination of women in the management of the college sector of ITE provision from 1910 to the mid 1960s (1996;1993). Her analysis sees 'the history of gender and power relations in this sector of tertiary education (as) unique for it was dominated by women who held the majority of senior positions for half a century' (1996:13).⁶⁹

The system of locating the majority of primary ITE in the less prestigious college sector of HE was to continue more or less unchanged from the early twentieth century until the

evolution of the HE system as a whole from 1963 onwards. Even after this date, as this chapter shows, the majority of primary ITE provision continued to be located in the public sector institutions rather than in the universities. For the purposes of this analysis then, the history of primary ITE is seen as being embedded in the history of the colleges of education in their various institutional guises. This sector has a gendered history which is in many significant ways distinct from that of the secondary school focused UDEs.⁷⁰ (see Maguire and Weiner 1994)⁷¹. There was limited involvement of UDEs in primary ITE from the 1960s onwards⁷². The involvement of UDEs in primary ITE at the time of the empirical research is identified in section 4.9.4.

4.3 Three decades of change

In the three decades between 1963 and 1994 the field of primary ITE underwent a series of major changes. During this time the field was characterised by discontinuity and flux. My analysis illustrates this initially by contrasting the institutional locations, curricula and organisational structures of ITE in 1963 with those in approximately 1992.⁷³ It then aims to illustrate how and why these changes occurred by identifying major events in the recent history of ITE and analysing their impact on the macro and meso levels of ITE, notably the institutions and the curriculum. I also look at the implications for primary ITE tutors' work.

In 1963 the vast majority of primary ITE courses were provided by the college sector, elements of which still retained the low status and relative financial and intellectual impoverishment, first identified by the McNair Report in 1944 (as cited in Taylor 1969a). Most of the 108 colleges in England and Wales were small, monotechnic institutions with less than 500 students (see Craft 1971). Most were residential, single sex communities with closely knit social, professional and academic infrastructures. The analyses of Heward

(1993) and Maguire and Weiner (1994) emphasise that the college sector was managed and staffed predominantly by women. Within this feminised ‘culture’ tutors had an ‘ethos of caring and commitment’ (p.126) to their students, as part of which ‘women tutors provided positive role models to other women in relation to their working lives’ (p.127).

Bell’s (1981) analysis states that ITE provided a diffuse, moral and learner-centred process of socialisation into teaching. Shipman (1983:1) states that ‘sustained social relations (were) built into the organisation of the English colleges of education’, and some of these patterns and their underlying values had changed little since the early twentieth century. Taylor (1969a) also states that the curriculum was ‘person-centred’, moral and focused on professional training. Nearly all students followed consecutive courses leading to the award of a Teacher’s Certificate. This qualification had been increased in length from two to three years from 1960 onwards, but otherwise there had been only minor changes to the curriculum of primary ITE since the McNair Report.

By the end of 1992 the majority of primary ITE was located in universities, as section 4.9.4 shows. Intending primary teachers took their place alongside other university students in these large, diversified and, in some cases, high status institutions. All elements of the pastoral traditions from the training colleges of 1963 had seemingly disappeared. Students followed either concurrent under-graduate courses, giving them a degree and Qualified Teacher Status, or a consecutive postgraduate course. The curriculum they followed could be characterised as professional training, but it retained few overt traces of the moral and ‘person-centred’ curriculum of 1963, and had undergone many intermediate transformations since this time. In approximately 30 years then the institutional settings, and the structures of the curricula for primary ITE had been transformed. I have summarised the key events which initiated this transformation in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 : Key events in the recent history of ITE

Key Dates	Event(s)	Significance of event(s)
1963	Robbins Report recommends B.Ed degree and the expansion of the colleges	College sector expands, re-organises and increases its academic status. ‘Academic drift’ (Pratt 1997:308) of college sector begins
1972	White Paper announces sharp reduction in numbers of ITE students James Report recommends emphasis on professional training in ITE	College sector reduced in size and re-organised. Curriculum changes focus around professional training
1976	Callaghan’s Ruskin College speech begins the Great Debate on education	Starting point of increased level of State intervention in education
1984	Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) on ITE published. Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) established	Direct State intervention in ITE begins
1988	Educational Reform Act passed. National Curriculum made mandatory for all state schools in 1989.	Sharp increase in level of State intervention in schooling
1992	Expansion of the university sector All HE institutions included in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) for the first time	Increased ‘academicisation’ of ex-public sector institutions

This analysis sees the major events of the 1960s and 1970s as initiated by three factors:

- i) demographic and economic changes which caused demand and supply for primary teachers to fluctuate wildly in these decades
- ii) attempts to upgrade teachers' qualifications and to ensure that all teachers were educated in ways which meant that they received a personal (academic) education at their own level *and* appropriate professional training
- iii) the expansion and re-organisations of the HE sector, as a whole between 1963 and 1979.

The major events of the 1980s were caused by the following factors:

- iv) state intervention in both ITE and schooling to effect 'reforms' in the structures and standards of primary schooling and ITE. This intervention increased central regulation and monitoring of ITE to an unprecedented degree. It also turned ITE into a school-focused enterprise in terms of many elements of its structure, organisation and curriculum
- v) concerns to ensure that all teachers received professional training, tailored to the needs of the 'reformed' school system
- vi) the preparations for the expansion of the university sector in 1992 and other changes within the HE sector as a whole

These major events meant that all primary ITE was subjected to a series of far reaching changes to its institutions, its curriculum and its staffing.

4.4 Institutional changes

The identified shift in the institutional locations of primary ITE between 1963 and 1992 occurred not through any deliberate government policy to move primary ITE into the university sector. It was rather the result of a series of incremental changes caused by the combination of these demographical and economic factors, and the development of the

whole HE system⁷⁴. There are two major, relevant demographic and economic factors in this period

i) the number of ITE places expanded rapidly between 1963 and 1972 in response to the rising birth rate, fears of teacher shortage, and changes to the structure of secondary schooling. In 1963 there were 26 261 students on ITE courses in England and Wales. By 1972 numbers had expanded to 50 632 (see Alexander, Craft and Lynch 1984:xvii). Most of this expansion was in primary ITE and in the college sector.

ii) in 1972 the White Paper 'Education: A Framework for Expansion' (DES 1972a) identified the need for rapid contraction of ITE student numbers. This was because of the falling number of children of primary school age and the consequent decrease in demand for teachers. The total number of students on ITE courses dropped from 47 814 in 1973 to 19 560 in 1981 (see Alexander, Craft and Lynch 1984:xvii). Again, this change had most impact on the college sector and on primary ITE numbers.

The developments in the HE system which affected ITE were

i) the expansion of the Colleges of Education from 1963. The expansion was recommended by the Robbins Report as part of a package of reforms which introduced the B.Ed. degree and aimed to increase the academic status of the colleges. The scale of this expansion was huge, with the number of colleges overall increasing from 108 to 114, and with nearly all the existing colleges expanding dramatically.

ii) the expansion of the HE system through the establishment of the polytechnics in 1965. Five polytechnics were given ITE provision in the late 1960s; others gained ITE courses in the 1970s. The 'polytechnic experiment' in ITE provision aimed to challenge the established dual routes of training within either colleges or universities⁷⁵. But despite this

intention, almost from its inception, provision within the polytechnics had many similarities with that within the colleges (Owen 1971)⁷⁶.

- iii) the re-organisation of the college sector in the 1970s, initiated by the White Paper of 1972 (DES 1972a). The scale of the re-organisation wrecked havoc on the college sector (see Hencke 1978). Many colleges amalgamated with polytechnics or universities, and a considerable number of smaller colleges closed. By 1977 there was a new generation of thirty diversified Colleges of Institutes of Higher Education (CHEs or IHEs), offering ITE alongside other HE courses, usually in 'liberal arts' subjects. ITE within these new institutions continued to share many common macro level factors with provision within the polytechnic section⁷⁷.
- iv) the expansion of the university sector in 1992. This change took many of the larger public sector institutions, including all the polytechnics, into the university sector. This change is analysed in part 2, as an important element in the immediate context for the empirical research.

The combination of these factors resulted in two huge upheavals in the institutions providing primary ITE. In the 1960s the colleges expanded and thrived, gaining increased academic status. In the 1970s the sector was decimated by radical re-organisation. By the end of the 1970s primary ITE took place in diversified public sector institutions (CHEs or polytechnics) and most traces of the small, monotechnics institutions of 1963 had disappeared. Change had been rapid and radical. There were inevitable discontinuities in the institutions' infra structures, staffing, values and ethos. Some of the changing features of the institutions are summarised in figure 4.2 below.

The factors identified above, also meant that the college sector experienced an ‘academic drift’ (Pratt 1997) from 1963. By the early 1980s the new generation of public sector institutions still had a lower academic status than the universities, but nevertheless their academic status had increased considerably since 1963, and they were consolidating their position as diversified providers of degree level courses in the HE sector.

From the beginning of the 1980s until 1992 the pace of institutional change slowed, with few of the public sector institutions suffering the major institutional changes of earlier decades. Their academic drift continued, and they gradually consolidated their places in the HE sector. But from 1984 onwards ITE was engaged in responding to change of a different type, this time caused by state interventions.

Figure 4.2 : Changes in the Public Sector Institutions

Time frame	Type of institutions	Key features
pre 1963	Teacher training colleges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • small monotechnics • sub-degree level work • low status • integrated social, professional and academic infra structures give distinctive cultures
late 1960s	Colleges of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expanded monotechnics • increased academic status • degree level provision • changes in infra structures change cultures of ITE
late 1970s until 1992	CHEs / IHEs, polytechnics small number of monotechnics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ITE courses offered alongside diversified degree level provision • institutions outside university sector labelled as public sector • LEAs as major stakeholders in ITE

4.5 Change due to state intervention

As Gardner (1996:35) has stated, ITE in the 1980s and 1990s was ‘dominated by an ideologically driven, centralising administration’. There were four government circulars on ITE between 1984 and 1994 (DES 1984; DES 1989; DfE 1992; DfE 1993), of these three concerned primary ITE. Additionally, the TTA was established in 1994 to fund and regulate ITE, and Ofsted were given the brief of inspecting it.

Each of the three government circulars brought changes in one or more of the following areas:

- i) the criteria for the accreditation and validation of courses, including particularly the partnership structures with schools which needed to be developed
- ii) the structure and content of the curriculum
- iii) the criteria for the recruitment, retention and development of teacher educators
- iv) the criteria for the assessment of students

These direct interventions in ITE took place in the context of radical changes to the school sector, notably the Education Reform Act of 1988. In the primary education sector this included the introduction of a subject-focused National Curriculum, and successive attempts to challenge the dominance of discourses of child-centredness in pedagogy and institutional structures, as well as in the primary curriculum (see, for example, Alexander, Rose and Woodhead 1992),

The first circular (Circular 3/84, DES 1984) was defined by Wilkin (1991 quoted in Furlong 1996:150) as a ‘constitutionally revolutionary circular’ because it symbolised a new model for state intervention in ITE. It established the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher

Education (CATE) to accredit all ITE courses, thereby giving central government a new level of control, and challenging the power of the traditional stakeholders in ITE. Mechanisms for including schools in ITE were specified for use as criteria in CATE's accreditation of courses. The circular also specified structures for the primary curriculum. Further, it specified that all ITE tutors should have 'recent and relevant' experience of primary school teaching. This criterion had a radical effect on the staffing bases of primary ITE.

With the publication of circular 24/89 (DES 1989) the mechanisms for ensuring state control of teacher education increased further. This circular specified more extensive partnership links between school and HEIs. It also made further specifications of the curriculum, and of the recruitment and retention criteria for tutors.

In circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) and its equivalent circular for secondary (Circular 9/92, DfE 1992) there were again detailed specification of the partnership structures and mechanisms which HEIs and school-based ITE providers should implement, and of the curriculum. These are discussed in more detail in section 9 of this chapter.

Accelerated by these state diktats, partnership had become the 'dominant professional and political orthodoxy' of ITE (Furlong 1990:87) by the late 1980s. As an integrating ideal for ITE, it seemed to represent a consensus, epitomising 'inherent goodness' (Crozier et al 1990:4) which was difficult to challenge. Consensus occurred because partnership valorised professional practice in schools; it had the rhetoric of mutual respect for schools and HEIs (see Hextall and Sidgwick 1991), and it seemed to challenge the myths of ITE and its tutors as divorced from schooling, created in earlier eras.⁷⁸ The rhetoric of partnership, however,

could conceal unresolved tensions in ITE, and ultimately it challenged the continuing role of HEIs in ITE (see Furlong 1996).⁷⁹

State interventions in primary ITE had the overall effects of bringing yet more changes to a metamorphosing and already de-stabilised sector. These interventions changed ITE fundamentally by making it a more school-focused enterprise. The balance of power amongst the many stakeholders in ITE shifted with the state assuming control of more and more areas of ITE work, and the school sector assuming greater professional influence. The traditional autonomy of the HEIs, particularly in the university sector, was challenged as the focus, curriculum and practices of ITE became increasingly defined by the state. This was seen by many teacher educators (see, for example, Graham 1997; Barton et al 1994) as an attempt to re-define ITE as a narrow, skills-based enterprise and to deprofessionalise teaching.

4.6 Curriculum change

As chapter 1 has explored, ITE has traditionally had an ill-defined knowledge base; consequently its curriculum has been contested and has undergone many changes. The primary ITE curriculum has been a particular problem because of factors originating in both school and HE sectors. The primary school curriculum in England has traditionally been broad and diffuse, involving the study of a large number of subjects, and a focus on children's social, emotional and academic development. Until 1988 this curriculum was itself ill-defined; since this date the introduction of a National Curriculum has not halted further changes and contestations about the aims and form of the curriculum. In HE courses there has been the challenge of reconciling appropriate modes of professional preparation

of primary teachers with traditional models of degree level work as the sustained study of a single subject.

There have been frequent changes and discontinuities in the primary ITE curriculum since 1963. These have been caused by six factors attempting to reconcile

- i) the need to make primary ITE 'worthy' of a university degree
- ii) the form of professional preparation to teach a broad range of subjects and to undertake an often affective, as well as academic, role as a primary teacher
- iii) the principles of concurrent degrees
- iv) government specifications of the curriculum to make ITE more school-focused
- v) shifts in the academic processes involved in planning, implementing and validating courses in the HEIs
- vi) intra professional discourses which have changed over time, and have affected all aspects of the ITE curriculum

The primary ITE curriculum has often been organised as a tripartite structure of main subject study, curriculum methods courses (how to teach the designated subjects in primary schools) and educational studies. The shifts in the ITE curriculum have been manifested as changes in these elements and in the degree of emphasis placed upon them at various points in time. I have outlined the broad patterns of change below.

The curriculum in the era 1963 - 1972 included a strong focus on main subject study and on the educational disciplines. This curriculum was judged to have academic 'rigour', and to be 'degree worthy' (see Taylor 1969b). Following the James Report in 1972, the curriculum shifted again to emphasise the importance of professional training. Curriculum methods courses assumed greater importance, particularly in primary ITE. The development of

school-focused, training models of ITE was accelerated by government specification of the curriculum from 1984 onwards. By 1992/3 all elements of the ITE curriculum were focused on preparation for teaching in school.

The importance of ‘main subject study’ in primary teacher preparation has undergone a number of changes, becoming a major element of the curriculum in 1963, receding in importance in the 1970s, re-assuming importance after the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) and being de-emphasised again in the mid 1990s. Educational studies has also changed from the educational disciplines of the 1960s through to the school-focused, issues-based courses of the 1990s. There have also been accompanying changes in the definitions of what counts as educational ‘theory’; these changes are partly linked to the discourse of reflective practice.

Different intra professional discourses have impacted on the design and implementation of the curriculum. Three types of discourses are judged here to have been highly influential in primary ITE; these are partnership (see section 4.5), reflective practice, and progressivism, including child-centred discourses in schooling. The discourse of reflective practice became an important element of educational studies courses⁸⁰, but it also permeated the planning, teaching and assessing of all elements of the ITE curriculum. In this discourse students are encouraged to see themselves as active in the construction of knowledge through the reflective process (see Elliott 1993).

Primary ITE has been heavily influenced by discourses associated with progressivism (see Taylor 1969a; Taylor 1969b; Alexander 1984a; Gardner 1986; Skelton 1989). Such discourses were strengthened at different points in this history by two factors: firstly, the incorporation of developmental psychology into the educational disciplines in the 1960s

and its survival as an element of the educational studies courses of later decades; and secondly, the dominance of child-centred discourses in primary schooling between 1967 and 1989.

Progressive discourses in ITE contributed to the development of student-centred pedagogical methods such as modelling. Because many of these techniques enabled tutors to link their own practices in ITE to child-centred discourses and practices in primary schooling, they also contributed to a sense of *congruence* between the two fields of education (see Maguire and Weiner 1994). This argument is developed further in chapter 10.

Between 1963 and 1992 then, the curriculum of primary ITE was subjected to change and discontinuity. Curriculum changes impacted on all aspects of life in ITE, involving tutors in on-going cycles of designing, evaluating and re-designing courses. Tutors also found that modes of teaching and learning necessarily had to change with different types of curricula (see Taylor 1969a, 1969b; Bell 1981; Shipman 1983; Alexander 1984a). A further way in which these changes impacted on tutors was the shifting knowledge and experience demanded of tutors as retention and recruitment criteria.

4.7 Changes in the knowledge and experience required of teacher educators

Two basic criteria, namely the level and form of academic qualification and knowledge, and experience of school teaching, have traditionally been used to judge the professional credibility of teacher educators (see DES 1989b). My analysis aims to make four points about these criteria

- i) different emphases have been placed on them at different points in history, altering the professional profiles of ITE tutors and contributing to the discontinuity of teacher educators' professional identity
- ii) these changes have particularly affected primary ITE and the access of primary trained tutors to ITE work in Higher Education.
- iii) the requirements for recruitment and retention of ITE tutors were for many years implicit, unquantified and the subjects of professional judgements within the ITE institutions. This situation changed in 1984 with the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) and its 'recent and relevant' criterion. The importance of this criterion in defining the professional credibility of tutors was immense.
- iv) despite this emphasis upon the importance of school experience from 1984 onwards, the level of academic qualifications held by tutors has risen steadily over the last thirty years

Before 1963 experience of and commitment to primary school teaching were the major criteria for the recruitment of primary ITE tutors. As the college curriculum became more academicised from 1963 onwards, the academic qualifications of tutors began to assume much greater importance (see Taylor 1969a). Tutors with subject-oriented degrees and secondary school teaching experience entered primary ITE work in the mid to late 1960s. The gender balance changed with more men working as tutors on primary ITE courses (see Taylor 1969a). And the importance of experiential knowledge of teaching in the primary school sector was generally de-emphasised in recruitment and retention criteria. A consequence of this was that in 1982 a survey of all ITE staff in 17 institutions (McNamara and Ross 1982) found the majority of tutors to be academically well qualified, but with little primary school experience.

The ‘recent and relevant’ criterion of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) was designed to redress this situation and to ensure that all primary ITE tutors had up to date knowledge of the primary school sector. It is widely acknowledged that, because of this criterion, school experience became the major factor in the recruitment of teacher educators from the mid 1980s onwards (see Fish 1995). The staffing bases of the institutions altered considerably. In primary ITE large numbers of ex-primary entered HE work straight from schools (see Furlong et al 2000).⁸¹

Despite the emphasis on school experience, as table 4.1 shows, the general academic profile of teacher educators continued to rise. This was due in part to the rising level of primary school teachers’ qualifications overall and to the availability of higher degrees in primary education. By 1992 Masters degrees had become the ‘baseline’ qualification for a career as a teacher educator (DES 1992), as table 4.1 shows.

Table 4.1: Rising levels of academic qualifications held by teacher educators

Source	Percentage of staff holding first degree	Percentage of staff holding Masters degree	Percentage of staff holding doctorate
Taylor (1969a)	51%	20% (Masters degree or higher)	(numbers subsumed in Masters degree figures)
McNamara and Ross (1982)	61%	48%	10%
DES (1987)	not specified	66%	10%
DES (1992)	not stated	Masters degree becomes the baseline qualification	not stated

4.8 Changes in tutors' roles and pedagogical practices

This chapter has already outlined the changes and discontinuities in many key aspects of ITE; with such extensive changes in other areas of ITE, it is therefore no surprise to find that there has also been change and discontinuity in the roles specified for tutors. This thesis sees primary ITE, as a field in which the knowledge and practices of what it means to be a primary school teacher are (re)produced, with a history of feminised pastoral and pedagogical traditions in which the knowledge, practices, values and orientations of ITE tutors are inter-twined. Some of these traditions have been and still remain covert and implicit, others are heavily gendered; at certain points in time some have been suppressed or pathologised. Formal definitions and expectations of the tutor's role have seemingly moved away from the diffuse and affective roles required in the traditional training colleges, and towards the more restricted pedagogic and academic roles required of many HE tutors in disciplines outside education. Yet closer analysis of aspects of the history of primary ITE indicate a far more complex picture.

The account below is a summary, drawing on the available research and commentary of changes in the tutor's role within the colleges as they were at the start of their academic drift in 1963, through to the diversified HEIs of the early 1990s.⁸² It defines a move from what I have termed the *extended pastoralism* of the traditional training colleges to the survival of what I have termed *pedagogical pastoralism* in the 1970s, and on to the *modelling* required of primary tutors in the 1980s and 1990s, summarised in figure 4.3

Figure 4.3: Summary of changes in the ITE tutor's role early 1960s to late 1980s

Models of tutor practices and expected tutor roles	Time frames and characteristics of institutions
Extended pastoralism, including pedagogical pastoralism Tutor's role to develop and monitor the social, emotional and professional development of the student	Training Colleges / Colleges of Education early 1960s
Breakdown of extended pastoralism as social structures of Colleges change. Tutor's role to develop and monitor the academic and professional development of the student	Expanding Colleges of education 1965 onwards
Tutor's role to nurture and monitor the students' professional development Survival of pedagogical pastoralism in at least some primary ITE courses	Public sector institutions especially CHEs / IHEs mid 1970s - 1980s
Re-emphasising and valorising of modelling as a pedagogical strategy for ITE tutors Tutor's role to model the defined good practice of primary schooling through own ITE teaching, and to nurture and monitor the student's professional development	Primary ITE provision within public sector institutions mid 1980s

*Pastoralism*⁸³ was a strong feature of the tutors' roles in the colleges of education (see Bell 1981; Shipman 1983). This analysis identifies two related types of pastoralism in the 1963 colleges: firstly, the *extended pastoralism* made possible by having students and tutors living and working in small, residential, monotechnic communities where the social, academic and professional infra structures were integrated. The tutor's role in this type of pastoralism was participatory, amorphous and extended as Shipman's (1983) study of

Worcester College in the 1960s and other sources indicate (see Bell 1981). Tutors undertook responsibility for guiding the professional, social and intellectual development of the students, and for providing models of the required blend of professional, personal and social qualities. This type of pastoralism was disappearing from the colleges by the late 1960s as the institutions expanded and changed.

The second type of pastoralism defined here is the use of teaching techniques which allowed tutors to monitor students' professional development closely; this is termed *pedagogical pastoralism*. In the pre 1963 colleges this type of pastoralism was an integral part of extended pastoralism. It was implemented through a range of feminised practices and pedagogies which enabled tutors to undertake the necessary nurture and regulation of their students as new teachers. One such practice was the personal tutor system widely and pejoratively known as the *mother hen* system (see Judge et al 1994). This system enabled one tutor to monitor and nurture the professional development of a group of students throughout their ITE course. The tutor's role involved modelling the role of the primary school teacher for and with their students. Bantock (1969:128) has commented that it thus provided the 'application of the quasi-parental role advocated for the infant teacher to the job of teacher training itself'. Both extended and pedagogical pastoralism are seen in this analysis as essentially feminised practices, drawing on the feminised traditions of the college sector in the twentieth century (see Maguire and Weiner 1994; Heward 1993).

As Bell (1981) also identifies, tutors using such pedagogical strategies individualised their students, assuming high levels of responsibility for their induction into primary schooling, and placing themselves at the centre of this process. There have been times in the history of ITE when pedagogical pastoralism has been a tacit, and sometimes even pathologised, practice (see, for example, Taylor 1969b; Judge et al 1994).

Such *pedagogical pastoralism* tends to be associated by some commentators only with the 1960s colleges (see, for example, Judge et al 1994). But the research of Bell (1981) clearly illustrates the survival of pastoral, learner-centred teaching structures in primary ITE in the diversified institutions of the 1970s. Shipman's (1983) study of Worcester College also identifies the survival of many of the values and practices of pedagogical pastoralism, even as the colleges expanded in the late 1960s.

By the mid 1980s, the *recent and relevant brigade* were beginning to enter HE, and there was a growing emphasis on ITE as a skills-based, classroom-focused enterprise, best taught by practitioners with recent knowledge of school teaching. Fish (1995) sees this as the first phase of moves by the state to nullify the role of the HE-based tutors, by assuming that teachers and tutors had similar skills. As Wilkin (1990;14) has identified, such moves implied that the tutor had no particular expertise and s/he therefore became 'marginalised if not dispensable'. Certainly, in the circulars of 1989 and 1993 (DES 1989, DfE 1993) the role of tutors was rarely mentioned unless to identify deficits in their experience and practical knowledge of contemporary schooling.

HMI reports from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s, however, reported and evaluated some of the pedagogical skills of ITE tutors in the HEIs they surveyed. Many of these reports focused in particular on the strategy of modelling and its purposes. Successive reports (see DES 1987, 1988, 1993) contained statements which linked the tutors' HEI teaching methods to the students' work in schools. The HMI report of 1987 on primary ITE in the public sector institutions typically commented, for example, that 'the majority of teaching offered good models for the students' future work in schools' (DES 1987:78). In such reports the tutor's role was presumed to be that of providing a direct role model for the teaching strategies which students were learning to use in schools. In HMI's 1987 and 1988

reports (DES 1987; DES 1988) good teaching by tutors was provided by active, learner-centred teaching. ‘Poor’ teaching approaches, including too much exposition, undifferentiated group work and providing few opportunities for students to construct their own knowledge. These were condemned because students might base their own teaching on such models (p.78-82).

Intra professional analyses at this time also identified the importance of modelling as a pedagogical strategy. The first MOTE survey, for example, identified modelling as an important pedagogical tool in use by tutors in the early 1990s (see Furlong et al 2000). In Skelton’s study of the PGCE primary course at All Saints College in the late 1980s the use of modelling and other student-centred teaching techniques meant that students were often to be observed taking on the roles of primary school children ‘whilst the tutor acted the role of the primary teacher’ (1989: 61). Skelton identifies that this course, like many others at this time, emphasised child-centred approaches to teaching, placing particular focus on individualism (interpreted as the need for the teacher / tutor to respond to the needs of the children / students as unique individuals). The first MOTE survey (1990 - 1991) also identified many instances of primary ITE tutors using experiential learning, student-centred teaching techniques (Barrett et al 1992) and engaging students in reflective practice.. The dominance of the discourse of reflective practice in all primary ITE courses can be judged by the results of that MOTE survey. These showed that 72% of all courses were using the model of teacher as reflective practitioner for their ITE courses at this time.

Part 2

4.9 Primary ITE between 1992 and 1996; setting the immediate context for the research

The main aim in this part of the chapter is to establish the immediate context for my empirical work which took place between 1994 and 1996. In order to focus on this time frame effectively, however, I have also included an analysis of the years 1992 - 1994. In these years two important events for ITE took place which in many ways set the agenda for 1994 - 1996. These events were the expansion of the university sector to include the new universities, and the publication of Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) for primary ITE.

I have included in this part of the thesis an overview of the following aspects of ITE between 1992 and 1996: events at the macro level of primary ITE, including state intervention, intra professional developments and changes to the HE sector as a whole; the ways in which these events affected the institutions offering ITE courses; and the impact of the changes at the macro and meso levels of ITE on the retention and recruitment criteria required for tutors, their roles and their conditions of working. These changes at the macro and meso levels are relevant to this thesis because, as I have argued in chapter 1, in order to understand teacher educator professionalism, it is essential to understand its contexts.

Finally, I have included an analysis of patterns of primary ITE provision in the time frame 1994 - 1996. During this time, the vast majority of primary ITE provision was located in HEIs, with the majority of places provided within the expanded university sector.⁴⁴ These institutions can be categorised as established universities, new universities and colleges of Higher Education.⁴⁵ The majority of primary ITE students still followed concurrent undergraduate degrees rather than consecutive one year PGCE courses. This analysis is included

as part of the consideration of the macro and meso levels of ITE in this thesis. It also enables me to justify key features of my research design.

4.9.1 Imperatives from the state and the university sector: 1992 - 1994

By 1992 changes in the general structure of the HE sector had acted to blur at least some of the boundaries between the established universities and the public sector institutions (see Pratt 1997). Many of these institutions, particularly the polytechnics and the largest CHEs, were now large, well established institutions. The Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council (PCFC) funding and legal mechanisms, implemented in 1989, meant that these institutions already had the corporate status and the accreditation necessary for gaining university status. In 1992 the Further and Higher Education Funding Act turned the polytechnics into the new universities and unified the funding arrangements for the whole of HE (see Pratt 1997). This was a major change to the HE sector which had considerable implications for ITE. As the new universities were created and the university sector expanded, many of the institutions offering ITE courses achieved enhanced academic status, in theory at least.

As the analysis in part 1 has shown, the ex-public sector institutions, within which the majority of primary ITE provision was historically located, had experienced a slow 'academic drift' (Pratt 1997; 308) between 1963 and 1992. When many of these institutions became universities in 1992, they had to pay immediate attention to the economic and academic imperatives of the university sector. For the education departments within many of the institutions responding to these imperatives meant a distinct change in their communal priorities.

Some of these imperatives became clear in the 1992 Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).

This RAE had two distinct features: it involved the HEIs outside the established university sector for the first time; and it was conducted with considerably greater rigour than the previous exercise in 1989 (see Bassey 1997). The education departments within the new universities and the CHEs, without institutional research cultures, (see DES 1987; Fish 1995a), now had to establish or increase their levels of research productivity to establish good levels of funding for future research activity. These institutions also knew that there were academic imperatives at stake since the status of their education departments within the institution and nationally depended at least partially on the results of the RAE.

Just as the education departments were accommodating to the increased demands of the university sector, the government published two Circulars on secondary and primary ITE (DfE 1992; DfE 1993). The first of these circulars - Circular 9/92 - is described by Furlong et al (2000:68) as representing a 'major watershed for teacher education'. Together this Circular for secondary and Circular 14/93 for primary caused a major restructuring of the organisation and curriculum of ITE. As Furlong et al state they also marked the start of a more confrontational period of state reform. These circulars and subsequent reforms had the two-fold aim of firstly, curtailing the power of HE and increasing the role of schools, and secondly, increasing the state's control of the curriculum and assessment procedures used in ITE. The first of these aims was interpreted by many commentators (see, for example, Furlong 1996; Barber 1996) as a further threat to the location of ITE in HE institutions. The second of these aims related to the eventual creation of a nation-wide curriculum and assessment framework which could be monitored by Ofsted from 1994 onwards.

Circular 14/93 specified the shift of part of the funding for primary ITE into schools, an increase in the time which students spent in schools, and elements of the ITE curriculum. It

included detailed specifications of partnership structures and mechanisms which HEIs should implement in their ITE programmes. Courses were to have an increased emphasis on the integration of university and school-based elements, and were to be planned, taught and assessed by schools and HEIs in partnership.

These specifications meant that all primary courses had to be restructured. In the case of many institutions this meant huge changes. As section 4.5 has shown, partnership was a dominant discourse of ITE by the late 1980s. This dominance had been created by both government circulars, particularly Circular 24/89 (DES 1989) and intra professional initiatives. But, despite this dominance, models of partnership in action in the early 1990s were limited, particularly in the public sector institutions where the majority of primary ITE provision was then located (see the first MOTE survey, Barrett et al 1992). Circular 14/93 formalised partnership and made mandatory a series of structures to be implemented on all courses. These changes to ITE inevitably had a major impact on teacher educators' work.

In Circular 14/93 the outcomes of ITE were specified through a series of competence statements or competencies. Despite teacher educators' protests that competencies were simplistic and mechanistic and were manifestations of technical-rational discourses (see, for example, Edwards 1992; Hartley 1991), ITE inevitably moved to competence-based assessment in the mid 1990s (see the results of the second MOTE survey, as reported in Furlong et al 2000).⁶ The circular linked the content of ITE to the school curriculum in ways designed to ensure 'efficient and effective' implementation of the school National Curriculum. As part of this kind the circular emphasised the core subjects of the school curriculum, specifying that all ITE courses should include 150 hours of mathematics, English and science.

4.9.2 Responding to the imperatives: 1994 - 1996

The development of partnership structures and procedures to meet the specifications of Circular 14/93 was a major focus of activity in primary ITE in 1994 - 1996 (Furlong et al, 1996). As the second MOTE survey identified, the circular intensified the strong orientation of ITE towards school based work. Teacher education departments undertook intensive work in schools setting up the required partnership structures. Different models of partnership emerged from such work.⁸⁷

In partnership with schools, tutors planned new courses which focused around the three core subjects of the primary school curriculum and met the competencies stated in the circular as the outcomes of ITE. In 1994 - 1996 teacher educators were engaged in implementing the mandatory structures of the circular in ways which also accommodated intra professional discourses such as reflective practice. This inevitably caused tensions within the sector, with tutors negotiating between state imposed structures, the rules and regulations of their HEIs, the dominant professional discourses of ITE, and their own values, principles and practices. Such tensions also had implications for the work patterns of teacher educators.

In the time frame 1994 -1996 further tensions were caused by preparations for the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) of 1996. The more explicit and widespread research 'performance indicators' made available by the 1992 exercise had had considerable effects on institutional funding and on the research oriented aspirations and achievements of the universities. Consequently, in many institutions preparations for the 1996 exercise were extensive, placing considerable pressure on individual teacher educators to become active researchers. This factor was intensified by the need for departments to generate research

income, and to diversify to generate higher levels of income (see Judge et al 1994; Whitehead and Menter 1996; Furlong et al 1996).

Furlong et al (1996) state that these general patterns had a variety of effects in different institutions with large and diversified or wealthy teacher education departments tending to fare best, and monotechnics being most pressurised. The pressure to engage in research tended to be most stressful in institutions which did not have established research traditions (see Judge et al 1994).

The results of the RAE of 1992 show the established universities achieving an average grade of 4 and the new universities achieving an average 2 grade in the Education assessment.⁸⁸ By 1996, however, the average grade for the new universities had risen to 3b, an increase of one grade. The average grade for the established universities remained as a 4. According to the analysis of Bassey (1997) this rising profile of the new universities reflected a shift in research funding and an increased importance placed on research activity in these institutions.⁸⁹

General restrictions on funding in HE also affected all HEIs, with education departments hit particularly hard because of the devolving of some of their funding to schools. The analysis of Paine and Sedlak (in Judge et al 1994) shows the institutions to be under considerable financial pressure in 1993-94. In the surveys of Furlong et al (1996) and Whitehead and Menter (1996) in the academic years 1994-95 and 1995-96, funding crises had intensified the financial pressures on teacher education departments.

This resulted in further changes to staff and work patterns. Both surveys show a reduction in the total number of teacher educators in the institutions, with 'wastage' being achieved in a variety of ways, including the early retirement of older, experienced staff. There was an

increasing 'casualisation' of the work force with substantial numbers of staff on either full time temporary or part time contracts. Furlong et al report increased Staff Student Ratios (SSRs) within UDEs; in the early nineties the ratio was 1:15 by the academic year 1995-6 it had risen to a mean of 1: 21.5. Their observations indicated, however, that in a number of institutions the situation was much worse than this, resulting in an intensification of work for teacher educators (see section 4.9.3).

In 1994 the government established the Teacher Training Agency as a quango to fund, monitor and regulate ITE. The funding of ITE was separated out from the Higher Education Funding Council Executive (HEFCE) mechanisms used for the rest of HE. The TTA assumed considerable power over all aspects of teacher education and implemented a 'raft of policy initiatives' (Mahony and Hextall, 1997:11) from 1995/6 onwards. The government increased its regulation of ITE still further by instituting a systematic inspection of all primary courses from 1995/6. These inspections were conducted under Ofsted criteria rather than by the quality assurance mechanisms used in the rest of HE. This round of inspections, known as the 'Primary Sweep' because of the speed and systematic mode of its implementation, was the first of a barrage of Ofsted inspections in teacher education.

Teacher educators had felt under threat from and devalued by state intervention in ITE since 1984, but by 1994 this sense of devaluation had become so acute that there was a wide spread sense of threat to the continuing location of ITE courses in the university sector (see, for example, Furlong 1996; Barber 1996). In the time frame for my empirical work then primary ITE was located in HEIs which were increasingly uncertain of the future of HE-based teacher preparation.

4.9.3 Effects on Teacher Educators

I have analysed the effects of these conditions on teacher educators in terms of three factors: the criteria used for recruiting and retaining them in HE posts; the tutor roles demanded; and the conditions of working within the institutions.

In the time frame 1994 - 1996 the available evidence (see Ofsted 1995, 1996 and UCET 1996) shows that primary ITE was staffed predominantly by tutors from primary teaching backgrounds, recruited after 1984. This was therefore the first time since the mid 1960s that there were large numbers of tutors with sustained, 'recent and relevant' primary school experience teaching on primary ITE courses. As stated previously, these primary tutors were academically well qualified for their work, usually to at least Masters level. Some older ex-secondary tutors re-trained for primary through school experience were still working on the courses. In the early 1990s 'recent and relevant' ('R. and R.') had continued to be a major legitimising factor in tutors' expertise both officially and within the institutions (see Beattie 1991; DES 1989)

This situation had changed subtly by 1994. The importance of recent and relevant as a strict entry and retention criterion was de-emphasised by the publication of circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) in which tutors were no longer required to complete a quantified amount of school experience. The central place of school experience in tutor's expertise continued to be emphasised, however, by the rhetoric of partnership.⁹⁰

Generally, the 'populism of being an experienced teacher' (Whitty et al 1987:169-170) had become part of the rhetoric of ITE and a defining aspect of tutor's professional experience and knowledge. In parallel to this rhetoric, changes within the institutions and to official specifications for ITE meant that the academic profile demanded of tutors was also rising.

As the evidence below indicates, there was also increasing pressure on individuals to become research active. The ideal primary teacher educator in 1994 - 1996 would therefore have had 'recent and relevant' experience of primary school teaching, expertise in HE teaching, a high level of academic qualification and a record of research engagement. More realistically, the typical tutor was likely to have a Masters degree and experience of primary school teaching, but a limited research profile (as cited in Furlong et al 1996).

Section 4.8 has identified the changing role of the ITE tutor in government reports and circulars throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s. Two elements of this change - the process of the de-emphasising of the tutor's role (see Fish 1995) in circulars on ITE and the emphasis on tutors modelling 'good primary practice' for their students in HMI reports - have been mentioned. In Circular 14/93 the roles of HE-based ITE tutors were rarely discussed, unless it was to identify deficits in tutors' experience and provisions which could best be remedied by school-based tutors and /or more time spent in school. The emphasis on 'modelling' as a pedagogical technique, found in earlier government reports on ITE (see, for example, DES 1987) was not included in this circular, although in the later 1990s it re-surfaced in Ofsted reports on primary courses (see, for example, Ofsted 1998).

In intra professional perspectives on the primary tutor's role in the early to mid 1990s three main elements recur: the development of students as reflective practitioners, the use of modelling as a teaching technique,⁹¹ and the use of an eclectic range of teaching and learning approaches, with particular emphasis on experiential learning (see Barrett et al 1992). The second MOTE survey (1996) showed that reflective practice, although less dominant than in the first survey, was still a major discourse in ITE in the mid 1990s; 46% of all open-ended responses from HEIs including the term 'reflective' in their descriptions of course aims.

These typical elements of the primary tutor's role may also be found in Fish's (1995) study of primary ITE pedagogy in 1994. In Fish's analysis the aim of the tutors was to develop reflection through an exploration of practice. The importance of both reflective practice and experiential learning were heavily stressed. In their teaching tutors selected activities to enable students to reflect on teaching in school. They then engaged students in 'practical discourses' (p.156) and in focused reading and writing about that professional world. Tutors provided models for their students through their own reflection and critical thinking, becoming facilitators of students' learning, with an expertise comprised of an 'analytic perspective fed by observations across a range of settings and sharpened by research knowledge' (Rudduck 1992 quoted in Fish 1995:187)⁹²

The analyses of both MOTE surveys (Furlong et al 2000) showed ITE tutors in the mid 1990s had less influence than in previous decades over their students because of the development of partnership initiatives with schools. They had less autonomy in their professional work and in theory at least less responsibility for students since teachers in schools were supposed to share teaching and assessment. The second MOTE survey reports tutors still feeling a formal responsibility for providing key elements of teacher preparation. The same survey reported that students also looked to tutors to define 'good practice' and for a sense of vision in primary teaching. Students received a preparation which was 'demanding, relevant, practical and closely mirrored current work in schools' (Furlong et al 2000:144).

HE-based teaching sessions observed for the second survey were practically oriented with tutors using their own pedagogy as a model for 'good practice' in schools. In other words

tutors' pedagogical practices in HE-based teaching sessions had changed little since the analysis of ITE undertaken by the DES in the late 1980s (DES 1987; DES 1988).

Between 1994 - 1996, as I have indicated, the on-going location of ITE in HE-based programmes was under challenge. As part of this challenge, official specifications of the roles of HE-based primary tutors were very limited. Intra professional analyses at this time identified a sense of pedagogical roles based around principles of reflective practice, experiential learning, and the use of modelling as a teaching technique, but all tutors' work had been changed by the partnership specifications in Circular 10/93 (DfE 1993). ITE tutors had decreased autonomy and influence in their professional work. The development of partnership structures, alongside other changes, caused the burgeoning of more extensive bureaucratic and managerial roles for ITE tutors. These are detailed below.

In 1993 - 1994 Paine and Sedlak's analysis showed teacher educators to be under considerable stress, with a great deal of the activity defined as "reactive and anticipatory" (Judge et al 1994: 200). In 1994 - 1996 the reduced and changing staff base of many education departments meant that teacher educators were experiencing an 'intensification' of their work (Furlong et al 1996), often undertaking the duties of the considerable numbers of colleagues leaving ITT courses (Whitehead and Menter 1996). Policies of casualisation within education departments meant for many permanent staff that

an increasing proportion of their time (is) spent managing the work of others, for example, inducting staff into their roles, and assuring quality in what is often a geographically dispersed work force. This move into more managerialist and bureaucratic activity for the remaining core of full time, permanent staff is likely to have a negative impact on the time they can devote to teaching and research with detrimental consequences for both (Whitehead and Menter 1996: 318).

Within ITE work teacher educators were experiencing other changes to their work patterns with less time spent teaching students, more time on planning the implementation of government specifications, more time on ensuring the quality and coherence of students' experience, and far more work in schools, including staff development for school-based tutors (Judge et al 1994; Whitehead and Menter 1996).

Many of these developments in partnership structures increased the tendency identified by Whitehead and Menter (1996) for teacher educators work to be more bureaucratic and managerialist. Furlong et al (1996) comment that teacher educators were forced into increasingly 'generalist' roles with a consequent 'down grading of many forms of expertise' (1996: 18). Because of the prescriptions for course outcomes and the structures laid down in successive government circulars, this diminution of tutors' expertise was accompanied by a reduction in the autonomy teacher educators could exercise over their courses.

In terms of research activity Furlong et al (1996) report on the differential effects which the preparations for the RAE of 1996 had on individuals, with the 'research successful' thriving, and individuals who were either not established researchers or with heavy teaching commitments suffering most pressure. They specifically cite the 'recent and relevant' group of teacher educators as falling within this latter category

For others, particularly those recruited since Circular 3/84, the RAE has been a major challenge.many lecturers recruited to universities in recent years have not themselves completed research degrees. As a consequence they have been less able to compete for external and internal research funding and have found themselves pressured to 'deliver' on publication targets while studying for their own degrees and facing continually increasing teaching loads (1996: 16).

Bridges (1996) confirms such differential effects, stating that those working in ITE were unlikely to be active researchers because of the form and quantity of their work. He also identifies a developing pattern of research being separated from teaching in some institutions, meaning that tutors working in ITE had no engagement in research.

In general then the work of teacher educators between 1994 and 1996 was intensifying and changing, in part because of funding restrictions and a changing staff base in many institutions. Tutors were engaged in implementing the structures of Circular 14/93. This involved them in more managerial and bureaucratic roles; as ITE became ever more school-focused, tutors also undertook a considerable amount of work focused in and on primary schools. Most tutors were also under pressure to become more research active. These two focuses for teacher educators' work were potentially dichotomous in some institutions, with tutors being asked to engage in imperatives from both schooling and HE. Other tutors were 'relegated' to teaching only roles, with detrimental consequences for their subsequent careers in academia.

4.9.4 The institutional patterns of primary ITE provision 1994 - 1996

This section looks at the patterns of primary ITE provision across the types of HEIs defined above - established universities, new universities and CEs or IHEs. My analysis is based on the DfEE/ TTA figures for actual and assumed registrations on primary ITE courses for 1995/96. This information was originally circulated by the TTA to all ITE providers.

Figures for 1994/95 were requested, but not supplied by the TTA which stated that these figures were not available. I was informed that comparisons between 1994/95 and subsequent years would apparently have been difficult in any case since figures for this year were calculated and recorded on a different basis from those in consecutive years. Patterns

of provision across institutions were, however, stated by my TTA contact to be broadly the same as those shown in my analysis for 1995/96.

In 1995/96 there were 19 established universities, 24 new universities and 25 Colleges of Higher Education providing HE-based programmes of primary ITE. The majority of ITE providers (43 out of 68) were therefore in the expanded university sector. Previous sections of this chapter have shown that the history of primary ITE is essentially the history of the colleges of education, operating in various guises as institutions outside the prestigious university sector. But these figures reflect the fact that with the establishment of the new universities in 1992, substantial numbers of primary ITE providers moved into the university sector for the first time.

Table 4.1 shows the percentage of students on primary ITE courses, analysed by institutional type. As the table shows, of the 38 057 students in training in this year, 51% were at either established or new universities within the university sector. This means that, although the CHEs continued to educate large numbers of intending primary teachers, the majority of primary ITE places were provided within the university sector.⁹³

Table 4.2: Percentage of all students on primary ITE courses studying at different types of HEIs

Institutional type	Percentage of students at each type of institution
Established Universities	16
New Universities	35
CHEs	49
Total	100%

Despite the expansion of PGCE places in the 1980s and early 1990s, as table 4.3 shows, in 1995/96 the majority of primary ITE provision still took place through undergraduate courses. Many primary ITE tutors at this time were therefore faced with the challenges of organising and teaching concurrent courses in which students' own HE learning needs to be integrated alongside development as a teacher.

Table 4.3: Distribution of total number of primary ITE students across undergraduate and postgraduate training routes

Route	Percentage of total number of ITE students on particular training routes
Postgraduate (PGCE)	14
Undergraduate (UG: 3/4 year degree)	86
Total	100%

Table 4.4 shows the total percentage of students studying on each route analysed against institutional type. This table shows that the university sector provided the majority of PGCE training, whilst the CHEs provided the majority of undergraduate training. Of the 19 established universities, 11 provided only PGCE courses, whilst 8 offered both PGCE and UG programmes. Of the 24 new universities, one offered PGCE only, one offered UG only, but the majority offered both types of courses. All the CHEs offered both routes.

Table 4.4: Percentage of students on primary ITE courses, differentiated by institutional type and training route

Type of institution	percentage of PGCE students	percentage of students on UG route
established universities	6	10
new universities	4	31
CHEs	4	45
Total percentages of students on each route	14%	86%

In the time frame for this empirical research then the majority of ITE providers and the majority of ITE student numbers were located within the expanded university sector. In the course of a decade primary ITE had shifted its institutional location from the public sector institutions to the university sector. In the 1990s then primary ITE could be said to have made a ‘late entry’ into the academic arena of the university sector. This process had been achieved through the academic drift of the new universities rather than through any deliberate decision to increase the status of primary education courses. The majority of primary ITE students were still studying on undergraduate concurrent courses. Patterns of provision were differentiated across institutional types. There were also marked differences in provision patterns within individual institutions in the university sector. These findings have implications for the organisation of the empirical work at the meso and micro levels of ITE. These are discussed in chapter 5.⁴

4.10 Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter I have identified that primary ITE, as a field in which the knowledge and practices of what it means to be a primary school teacher are (re)produced, is heavily gendered. I have analysed the discontinuities and changes in the field of primary ITE in the thirty years between 1963 and 1993. I have emphasised changes in the following areas

- i) many of the institutions within which primary ITE was located in 1994 - 1996 had experienced an *academic drift* which took many of them from being small monotechnic teacher training colleges in 1963 through to identities as CHEs or polytechnics by the late 1970s and on to being the new universities of the 1990s. I have also emphasised that most primary ITE provision took place within this fast changing sector of HE, with the established UDEs playing only a small part in the history of primary ITE.
- ii) state intervention of ITE intensified from 1984 onwards, with increasing monitoring and regulation of many dimensions of the field. State legislation, for example, impacted on the knowledge and experience required of primary ITE tutors as recruitment and retention criteria. The 'recent and relevant' criterion within Circular 3/84 (DfE 1984) required all ITE tutors to have recent and experiential knowledge of teaching in the primary classroom. This criterion, in particular, valorised the place of such knowledge within teacher educator professionalism, and is widely seen as altering the staff bases of the institutions by bringing large numbers of teachers, straight from schools, into HE-based ITE work.
- iii) the curriculum of ITE became more academic in the 1960s, and then shifted to become progressively more school-focused from 1973 onwards. In the 1980s and early 1990s discourses of *craft professionalism*, particularly those of *reflective practice*, were used to valorise professional practices. Such discourses provided ways of theorising practice in

both schooling and ITE, and of attempting to assert the continuing professional autonomy of teachers and teacher educators

iv) specifications of the roles which tutors played in the induction of students into teaching have varied over time. The history of primary teacher educators includes professional practices and traditions in which the knowledge, values, pedagogies and orientations of primary schooling and primary ITE were seen as inter-twined. I have identified that some of these practices and traditions were covert and implicit; and at certain points in time they have been suppressed or pathologised. All of these practices were gendered, associated with often female tutors inducting younger students, who were usually female, into the feminised occupation of primary schooling.

The second part of this chapter has shown that in the mid 1990s when my empirical research was carried out ITE was taking place in new and changing contexts. Ownership of the field of ITE was being contested between the state, the HE sector and schools, and the continuing location of ITE programmes in HE bases looked far from certain.

I have described primary ITE at this time as a school-focused enterprise, located in education departments within HEIs which were increasingly influenced by the imperatives of the university sector. The academic drift of the institutions required them to participate in and be regulated by the academic, economic and social imperatives of the university sector. But at the same time the changing form of ITE, particularly the requirements in Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) required them to engage with an increasingly school-focused ITE curriculum, and to generate new *partnership* arrangements with schools. This inevitably meant accommodating many of the imperatives of primary schooling. Education departments and ITE tutors at this time thus needed to accommodate the often dichotomous imperatives of two different sectors of the education system within their work.

The further round of State regulation and prescription of ITE in 1992/3 (DfE 1992; 1993) had constructed teaching in schools as a practical and instrumental task which could be demonstrated through the realisation of a series of *competencies*. The primary Circular (Circular 14/93) talked at length about the roles of schools and school teachers in ITE, but contained no indications of the distinctive contributions of HE-based tutors. It also further eroded the autonomy of tutors to design and implement their own curricula.

The same state prescriptions meant that tutors had to adapt to new professional roles which necessarily demanded new skills and knowledge. Courses had to be designed and ‘delivered’ in partnership with schools. Tutors had to adopt a ‘pedagogy of guidance’ (Guile and Lucas 1999:212) on mentoring courses to enable practising school teachers to become *partners* in ITE. The sense of responsibility for inducting their students into the teaching profession which had long been part of tutors’ work was now, in theory at least, formally shared with teacher-mentors in school. Planning for, teaching and assessing of student teachers was no longer the sole domain of tutors.

This chapter has shown that, whilst ITE has long been characterised by its dualistic, ‘Janus-faced’ nature, the scenario in 1994 - 1996 intensified this dualism. I have shown that, propelled by state legislation on ITE, the tensions within institutions and the contradictions and tensions in the lives of ITE tutors were increasing. As stated in chapter 1, the mid 1990s are taken to be a key time for the intensification of this dualism.

I have indicated that the changes at the macro level of ITE, particularly changes to the HE sector and its funding and the form of state intervention, impacted on all HE institutions providing primary ITE. But I have also indicated that these changes had differentiated effects, with most pressure falling on the institutions facing the full force of the imperatives

of the university sector for the first time. The inclusion of nearly all institutions providing primary ITE programmes in the RAEs of 1992 and 1996 meant that many teacher educators faced new or increased pressures to engage in *research* activities. I have indicated that these changes had differentiated effects on individuals, with many of the 'recent and relevant brigade' of tutors facing new demands which intensified their work, required them to become research active, and implicitly devalued their experience of schooling.

This chapter has presented an analysis of the field of primary ITE in England and Wales between 1963 and 1996. At the macro level of ITE, as I have shown, the immediate context for the research is that of a time of great change and pressure in primary ITE. This chapter has also presented relevant information on the institutions providing primary ITE and on the working conditions and recruitment and retention criteria required of ITE tutors.

This mapping of the field at the macro level was deliberately undertaken before finalising the details of the research design at the meso and micro levels, in order to allow me to use identified factors from the analysis, alongside the piloting of the empirical research, for fine tuning the meso and micro levels of the research design. In particular, the mapping enabled me to create relevant selection criteria for the institutions and individuals involved in the empirical research. These criteria and other relevant details of the research design are now presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5 RESEARCH DESIGN, SAMPLE AND METHOD

5.1 Introduction

An initial outline of the research design has been given in chapter 3. In this chapter I describe in more detail the research design at the micro and meso levels of ITE. I also identify relevant factors in the implementation of the research design.

This chapter locates the empirical research within the interpretative paradigm of social science research. The research rationale presented here sees research as a social activity, bounded by its context. Relevant contextual factors for this empirical research include the paradigm, the placement of the empirical research in time and space (as specified in chapter 3), and the researcher's position as simultaneously teacher educator and researcher into teacher education. These contextual factors are considered within this chapter. The chapter also illustrates how the research was designed to have methodological rigour.

The empirical research focused on fifteen primary teacher educators, working in three English universities. Drawing on Yin (1988:46), the research design is defined as a 'multiple-case embedded design'. This chapter details the procedures for selecting the individuals and the institutions, including the selection criteria used, the principles of negotiating access, and describes the methods of data collection.

5.2 The research design

This research stands within what Silverman (1993:21) defines as the interpretative tradition of social science, which he sees as concerned with concepts of social construction in meaning. Silverman's definition states that the tradition uses qualitative methods to

generate hypotheses. In line with this definition my empirical research at the micro level describes and analyses tutors' constructions of their professionalism through the use of in-depth interviews.

These interviews are presented not as representing or mis-representing a 'reality' which exists outside them but as valid productions of meanings in their own right. Silverman (1993:107) defines such data as '*displays of perspectives and moral forms* (italics in the original)'. This definition implicitly recognises the fragmentation of the social so that meaning becomes 'multi-dimensional and multi-layered' (Adler 1993:160). Together these definitions indicate that research which focuses on representations as 'multiple, non-contradictory and valid descriptions and explanations' (Hammersley 1992:51) is valid and valuable.

I have given particular emphasis to the researcher's stance because I see the researcher as foregrounded in the research process. Consequently, s/he can never achieve the total 'objectivity' claimed by some positivistic research traditions. 'Subjectivity' is not an additional consideration, as it becomes in some qualitative research studies (see Glesne and Peshkin 1992), but an integral part of the research process. Following Day (1995:357), I acknowledge that 'I' as the researcher am involved in the values, ideas and experiences which emerge in this text. This emphasis provides part of the methodological strength of the research design. It also enables me to incorporate an element of personal reflexivity into my empirical research.

In chapter 3 I have indicated the appropriateness and logic of using qualitative methods for the research. Using these methods my empirical work has validity and reliability in a number of ways. Firstly, as this chapter indicates, I have used traditional features of

methodological rigour in the piloting, sampling and implementation of the research. Secondly, I have made explicit the context of the research, particularly the relevances of my position as a researcher (see Hammersley 1992) and I have monitored my own assumptions about the study as it progressed. Thirdly, I show that what is provided in this research is 'a comprehensive and unified account' (Elliott 1993:10) of the available data. In these ways I show that my research meets three of the four alternative criteria for judging qualitative research defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985), namely credibility, dependability and confirmability.

Following Yin (1988:46) my research design at the meso and micro levels of the field of ITE is termed a 'multiple-case embedded design', that is it involved more than one case study and within each case, there were multiple units of analysis. My institutional case studies focused on the teacher education departments (or UDEs) within three different universities. At each institution, I interviewed five tutors working on primary ITE courses, all of whom had been recruited to primary ITE after the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984). They also had *primary on primary* experience of teaching and ITE (that is, they had undertaken primary ITE themselves and had worked in primary schools). In addition to the interviews, I obtained biographical data from these tutors using questionnaires.

Working from Yin's principles for such a design, its advantages were judged to be that the overall study would be more robust because it used multiple-cases. The embedded design also meant that there were opportunities for extensive analysis both within each case and between the three cases. Yin identifies that one of the pitfalls of such a design is that it may focus only on analysing the sub-units of each case without returning to the larger (overall) unit of analysis. The structure of the study which presents and analyses the findings at the

micro (individual), meso (institutional) and macro (national) levels of ITE (see chapter 3) was designed to circumvent this pitfall.

The interviews I conducted are viewed as social interactions to which both researcher and interviewer brought personal orientations deriving from our values, attitudes, beliefs, and interests. In the case of this research, as stated in chapter 1, I had a similar professional background to my interviewees and held a similar job. My approach letter (see Appendix 2) therefore included the information that I worked in teacher education at an institution which was then newly merged and therefore somewhat ambiguous in terms of its status. I also specified that I was a research student at the Institute of Education. Although I did not know any of the interviewees, the letter provided information with which they could position me; some of these positions would inevitably have been based on assumptions of shared knowledge and values; others, particularly those associated with research, would have been potentially based on my difference from the interviewees.

On a superficial level, I attempted to minimise what is termed ‘interviewer bias’ by using common formats and procedures for each interview as far as possible, although, as section 5.5 documents, these had to be flexible to accommodate certain individual circumstances. I also analysed each transcript for references by interviewer or interviewee of assumptions of shared knowledge and values, for direct questions from the interviewees to find out more about my professional identity, and for interviewee attempts to analyse my research agenda.

But fundamentally, the interviews were bounded by the common professional background which I shared with the interviewees, and hence by the discourses, knowledge, experience and inter-personal relationships within the field of teacher education. This question of the

'boundedness' of the research interview in terms of the narrative emphasis of the research design is addressed in section 5.3.2.

5.3 The research methods at the micro level

5.3.1 Introduction

As stated in chapter 3.6, two types of data were collected from the fifteen tutors in this study; these were narrative data collected through interviews, and biographical data collected through questionnaires. The in-depth interviews were the most important aspect of the micro level research, and the design of the interview schedule is therefore discussed in some depth below. The data from the questionnaires enabled me to construct biographical profiles for each tutor. These questionnaires are discussed briefly, with reference to relevant appendix material in section 5.3.4.

5.3.2 The design of the interview schedule

The full interview schedule which is included in Appendix 2 indicates how the research design addressed issues of ethics and ensured that interviewees understood the interview processes. I have also included the 'cover story' (see Glesne and Peshkin 1992) which I used to explain my research. This gave details of my own work in ITE (this had also been specified in the approach letter). It stated that, whilst I obviously had a general knowledge of ITE derived from this work, my research agenda focused on understanding the factors about the interviewee's professionalism listed in Appendix 2. This cover story was developed because the pilot interviews had generated a certain amount of curiosity about why I wanted to research issues about ITE which I was presumed to understand already (see

Appendix 3). The cover story served to explain my research and to provide a focus for the interviews.

The content areas of the interview are specified in the interview schedule. These were developed through a rigorous piloting process (see Appendix 3). They were also influenced by the content of other interview-based studies of teacher educators, notably the studies of Ducharme (1993), Acker (1996) and Carter (1984) (see chapter 2) and by the macro level analysis (see chapter 4). The content areas covered were designed to ensure that all elements of work in ITE could be opened to enquiry. With these elements in mind, the content areas in the interviews were designed to meet the following criteria:

- i) to enable the interviewees to discuss their own constructions and understandings of their professionalism
- ii) to reflect the range of practices in which tutors were likely to be involved
- iii) to enable them to discuss their own understanding of those practices
- iv) to enable interviewees to articulate the professional resources which they saw as underlying professionalism and professional practices
- v) to enable the tutors to identify and analyse the professional resources used to maintain and assert their professional credibility and legitimacy.

I also included in the interview schedule a series of questions which encouraged interviewees to discuss the metaperceptions they held. These questions focused on how the interviewees perceived students and teachers to see teacher educators. The aim of these questions was to enable tutors to identify the professional resources which they perceived others to see as important attributes of their professionalism. These metaperceptive questions then opened these attributes and the significance of the perceived views of teachers and students to interviewee discussion and comment.

As I have indicated, the research design was structured to enable me to place my analysis of the micro levels of teacher educator professionalism within the relevant meso level contexts. I therefore included in the interview schedule a separate section on the interviewees' perceptions of their institutional context. In this part of the interview I asked all the tutors to identify and discuss institutional factors which they felt affected the forms of their professional practices and their professionalism. The range of institutional factors included in this section was determined by the macro level analysis of ITE (see chapter 4) and by the piloting process.

Overall, the interview schedule was then planned to encourage interviewees to describe their personal experiences of and perspectives on the research questions. As the schedule shows, the interviewees were asked to include narratives to illustrate and clarify their responses to the interview questions. Following other educational research studies in the narrative tradition (see, for example, Cortazzi 1991; Lanzara 1991), this emphasis on narratives was seen as a way of generating 'rich' qualitative data which gave voice to the interviewees' descriptions and interpretations of their professionalism and enabled the 'words to fly' (Glesne and Peshkin 1992:63).

The interview schedule indicates that the in-depth, individual interviews were planned to have the following characteristics (adapted from Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). They were semi-structured, based on a pre-set but not rigidly ordered schedule of questions developed during the pilot interviews. Within this semi-structured format, the interviews were as open as possible, allowing the interviewer to pursue any unexpected responses, to follow each interviewee's train of thought, to probe responses and to request illustrative narratives. In the pilot interviews a typical pattern was that interviewees responded to questions or probes of their previous responses by giving an assertion (defined as a declaration or direct

statement). The research design planned to use such assertions as an introductory point to illustrative narratives. Assertions thus occurred outside the defined narratives but often functioned as starting points to them. This aspect of the research design is explained in more detail in chapter 6.

5.3.3 Defining ‘narratives’ within the research interviews

The basic rationale for using a narrative emphasis in the research design was to enable tutors to identify their professionalism through personal constructions and recontextualisations of the daily practices of their working lives. The use of narratives meant that the research was clearly based on personal experience of practice and of a range of situations in which the professional legitimacy of the teacher educator was asserted. My intention was that using a narrative emphasis within the research design would avoid two potential ‘traps’

- i) I aimed to avoid an interview schedule which would follow pre-determined definitions of the attitudes, values and knowledge which might be presumed to be underlying tutor professionalism.
- ii) the narrative emphasis avoided the bland, summarised responses which might have occurred in using only direct questions about how tutors saw their professionalism. As stated above, the research design aimed to generate ‘rich’ and ‘informal’ data which would have been difficult to achieve with more formal interview designs. In the research design narratives became the contexts or frames for the identification of tutor professionalism, as chapter 6 explores in more detail.

The term ‘narrative’ is, like ‘professionalism’, one which changes definition according to the different contexts and traditions within which it is used. I therefore found it necessary to

create my own definition of what a narrative is within my research. In this research design narratives are defined as re-constructive commentaries on events, experiences and issues.

This definition embraces two forms of narratives:

- i) narratives which include the relating of a sequence of connected events in the order of happening (what may be termed a *narrative story*)
- ii) narratives which relate a coherent and discreet commentary on one aspect of experience (what may be termed a *narrative account*).

The first form of narrative follows a conventional definition of the narrative form as story telling; the second form, like the definitions found in the work of researchers such as Clandinin and Connelly (1995), broadens the conventional definition to include description and commentary. Within the context of this research design both are seen to be valid forms of narrative to consider.

In this research my interest is in narratives only as contexts for the exemplification of tutor professionalism. I focus only very briefly on the form or structure of the narratives, placing far greater emphasis on their content. Using narratives in this way enables the research design to achieve a number of things. It enables the interviewees to represent and discuss the range of experiences and practices in which they are involved and to construct their own understandings of their work. The use of narratives also allows tutors to exemplify and discuss the professional resources they use to maintain and assert their professionalism. In analytical terms, as chapter 6 discusses, the use of narratives enables the context of the professional resources used to be preserved.

The narrative emphasis within my research was influenced by research using narratives to explore teacher thinking and knowledge, notably the work of Cortazzi (1991), Clandinin

and Connelly (1995), Lanzara (1991) and Mattingly (1991). These influences can be seen in my emphasis on the importance of individuals constructing narratives of their own experiences, and of listening to the tutor's 'voice'. But my use of narratives clearly does not draw on other established traditions of narrative theory and analysis. I am not, for example, concerned with the structure of the narrative as a text, as in literary traditions of narrative theory. Neither am I concerned with looking at the structure and function of the narratives and in exploring their social meanings, as certain sociological and socio-linguistic traditions of narrative analysis aim to do.⁹⁵

The perspective taken for this research design acknowledges an element of *reconstruction* in the narratives, and acknowledges that the narratives told may be temporary constructs, elaborated in response to the contexts of the research interviews. The narratives and assertions which resulted from my research design are therefore presented and analysed in chapter 6 not as representations of the world of action, of 'reality', but as individual constructions or 'interpretations' of experiences, events and issues. They reflect the interviewee's decision on the constructions of themselves as teacher educators to be presented during the social interaction of the interviews. I acknowledge the narratives - and the entirety of the interviews - as contexts for the recontextualisation of professionalism, including the recontextualisation of the tutors' pedagogic practices. The narratives are therefore cultural products of teacher education in general and of the research contexts in particular.

5.3.4 The questionnaires

The questionnaires were used to collect biographical details from each tutor, cataloguing their career histories in primary schools and in teacher education. This data was collected

to enable me to construct biographical profiles for each tutor (see chapter 6). At a later stage in the process of analysis I then compared and contrasted these profiles as part of establishing the typology of tutors (see chapter 7). The questionnaires aimed to collect data on the following areas of tutors' experience and expertise:

- i) the forms which their work in HE took
- ii) the forms of their previous work as a school teacher
- iii) their perceptions of their own ITE

The full questionnaire, as completed for one tutor, is included and briefly discussed in Appendix 2.

The questionnaires were included in the research design to enable me to record and analyse some of the biographical factors of the tutors' professional history which I felt might affect primary ITE tutors' professionalism. As stated in chapter 3, my definition of professionalism sees it as potentially open to such biographical factors, including aspects of the individual's professional career history. As chapter 2 indicates, a number of studies of teacher educators, including those of Ducharme (1993) and Ducharme and Agne (1989), have identified that such biographical factors are influential in the construction of professional identity. Significant factors identified in these and other previous studies include number of years in HE, the time spent in school, and their work in teacher education. These and other relevant factors which I drew from the piloting of questionnaires in the piloting were included in my questionnaire. Factors relating to the implementation of the questionnaires are discussed in section 5.5.

5.4 The sample: the selection of the institutions and individuals

5.4.1 Principles for the selection of institutions

The procedures for the selection of the institutions generally followed a replication not a sampling logic (see Yin 1988:53). Replication logic was deemed more appropriate for a number of reasons:

- i) the aim of the research was not to attempt to establish representative findings for all teacher education institutions, but rather to illustrate the forms of professionalism of the individuals in the three case study universities
- ii) the number of potential variables when considering different types of teacher education institutions was too great to represent in a small empirical study
- iii) the mapping of the macro level of ITE, the analysis of relevant research on teacher educators' professional identities, and the findings of the piloting process, together enabled me to hypothesise that there would be distinct differences in the findings at different types of institutions.

I did, however, use some aspects of sampling logic to help me decide on criteria to select the three institutional case studies. This was done to enable me to select the best possible purposive sample of institutions, not because I presumed that the three case studies chosen could 'represent' a larger number of institutions.

Two criteria were used to define an initial target group of institutions. Criterion one was that all the institutions should be universities*. Criterion two was that the selected institutions should include different types of universities. As stated below, this was to enable me to explore some of the suggested differentiations in institutional histories and current contexts described in chapter 4. These criteria were defined firstly, by analyses of

institutions offering some form of primary ITE in 1994 and secondly, by references to the research on institutional change presented in chapter 4. Once the possible target group had been established, a third criterion was used to select the final sample. This criterion was that all the institutions used should be within a fifty mile radius of a major conurbation.

Appendix 2 describes how I categorised all the English universities offering primary ITE in order to select an appropriate sample. Also included in this appendix are the principles and procedures I established for negotiating access to the universities.

Obtaining access to a suitable range of institutions was a difficulty in implementing the research design. As chapter 4 has outlined, 1994 when the process of negotiating access to the institutions in the target group began, was a particularly difficult time for ITE. Tensions about the future of HE-based ITE, funding squeezes, and the implementation of partnership structures had inevitably had an effect upon the institutions, creating a general atmosphere of nervousness and uncertainty. This may provide some explanations for the difficulty I found in negotiating access to suitable universities.

In selecting an institution from category 1, I initially approached the institution which had made a straight transition from HEI to university status. I received a reply from the Head of Department regretting that he was unable to support my request, since the Education Department was undergoing considerable changes in staffing and structure, following a merger. I then approached the second institution in this category and received a positive response from the Head of Department, welcoming my research. I then followed the procedures for obtaining access detailed above. The further procedures for selection of individuals are recorded in the account on setting up the research in this institution, given the pseudonym of the *University of Avonbridge*, in chapter 5.

The selection of an institution from category 2 initially seemed straightforward in that the Head of Department at one institution gave me permission to conduct the research. Following a staff meeting at which the research was subsequently raised, however, I was told that I could only approach individuals who volunteered to be interviewed. There was apparently just one volunteer. Despite requests to approach other members of staff individually and to explain the research in more detail, I was not given a list of staff or the name of a contact person. This stage of negotiating access took considerable time, in the middle of which the Head of Department left. I was then able to establish contact with the new Head of Department who welcomed the research, and gave me access to a staff list. The procedures for selection of individuals, as detailed above, were then followed. This institution was given the pseudonym of the *University of the South West (USW)*.

The selection of an established university (category 3) was the most problematic and took over a year to negotiate. The Head of Department at the first university I approached replied that the primary department was involved in research of their own, and could not therefore participate in my study. A second university declined on the grounds that their staffing had just been dramatically reduced, and the small number of staff remaining had considerable work pressures. The third university approached initially welcomed the research and undertook to send me the staff list and the name of a contact person. I then received a telephone call from the Head of Department, however, to inform me that I could only interview five named members of staff who could provide 'the best information about the courses and the university.' All five were senior managers in the department and all were male. Two of this group also did not conform to my stated criteria since they had not undergone primary ITE and did not have primary school teaching experience. When it

became clear that this was a non-negotiable situation, I reluctantly decided that I could not use this institution.

The fourth university initially declined to be involved in the research as it was undergoing a difficult re-structuring of its staffing. Almost a year later, however, I approached this Head of Department again, and, after discussion with the course leaders concerned, he gave permission for the research. He also provided a staff list and the names of two contact people. The procedures for selection of individuals, as detailed above, were then followed. This institution was given the pseudonym of the *University of Brecon*.

The final sample of the three universities involved in the research was then as follows:

- i) *the University of Avonbridge*⁹⁷, an institution which had made a rapid transition from being a College of Higher Education to a polytechnic, and then to new university status in 1992;
- ii) *the University of Brecon*, an established university, with a long and venerable tradition of involvement in primary ITE;
- iii) *the University of the South West*, a new university, formerly a polytechnic, with a relatively short history of primary ITE provision.

In chapter 3 I have indicated that institutional case studies, analysing the meso level settings provided by these universities, were created through the collection of various types of data, including the analysis of relevant documentary evidence and the provision of basic information about the universities from the heads of department. The analysis of this data enabled me to identify relevant historical and contemporary contextual factors about the institutions, and then to create the institutional case studies, as presented in chapter 9.

5.4.2 Procedures for the selection of interviewees

Once the three universities had been selected and the relevant procedures for negotiating access had been followed, the technique of purposive sampling (see Cohen and Manion 1994; Merriam 1988:45) was used to select interviewees at each institution. The criteria which were used as a basis for this sampling were established through the piloting work. They were also informed by the analysis of changes in the staffing bases of English ITE (see chapter 4) and the literature review (see chapter 2).

The key criterion for selecting individuals was that they should have been recruited after the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984). All the tutors in the study were part of the *recent and relevant brigade* recruited to HE after 1984, at least partly because of their primary school teaching experience. I wanted to investigate the professionalism of such tutors for two reasons. Firstly, my analysis of the available research (see chapter 4) and the pilot study indicated that such tutors formed the majority of the staffing base for primary ITE in 1994. Secondly, I felt that such tutors would have potentially interesting constructions of professionalism which had, as yet, remained unresearched.

Having established these criteria, I then set up sampling plans (Cohen and Manion 1994: 89) for each institution which recorded the relevant criteria and the ways in which the final sample group met these. These plans are included in this chapter. My aim in using purposive sampling was two fold:

- i) to choose to interview individuals who were broadly representative of the *primary on primary teacher educators*, recruited to HE after 1984, and working in the institution
- ii) to select sample groups from each institution which were broadly comparable with one another in terms of the key criteria used.

Two sampling plans are included in this chapter to show how the final sample groups from each institution were comparable across one of the key criteria used for selection.

The use of purposive sampling enabled me to select sample groups of teacher educators who met all the criteria for selection I had established. A further justification for the use of this technique was that the chosen individuals were, I felt, likely to be the ‘sample from which I could learn the most’ (quotation adapted from Merriam 1988:45). The target groups of all the primary ITE tutors working within each institution were small and diverse, with a number of possible dimensions potentially available for differentiating between individuals. Attempting to obtain a rigorously representative sample from such groups was impossible, and was never the aim of this study. I aimed instead to use purposive sampling to select five individuals from these target groups to interview as my sample group. These sampling techniques enabled me to select for this sample group five individuals who met the basic criteria and had different biographical profiles.

Two sets of information were used to select individuals for interview. The first set, termed ‘basic criteria’, was used to establish the potential sample group in each institution. The second set, termed ‘further dimensions’, was used to select particular individuals within this group, with different biographical and gender profiles to form the final sample group.

The basic criteria were that each individual had to:

- i) have more than one year’s experience of working on primary ITE courses in an HE institution;
- ii) be either a permanent member of staff or working on a long term temporary contract (of two or more years duration);
- iii) be teaching for at least half of her/his allocated teaching time on ITE primary courses;

iv) have had at least five years experience of teaching in primary schools prior to entering HE;

v) have undertaken a primary ITE course as part of professional induction

Once the basic criteria had been used to define the potential target group within each institution, I then used three further dimensions to select a purposive sample of the individuals within this group. These dimensions were:

vi) the number of years spent in ITE;

vii) the level of academic qualification held;

viii) gender.

The selection of interviewees at each of the three universities was completed in four stages, as Appendix 2 indicates. That appendix material presents a series of sampling plans, drawn up for each institution, to ensure that the purposive sampling techniques used, enabled me to interview tutors with a broad range of experience and expertise.

5.4.3 Interviewees at the University of Avonbridge

At Avonbridge there were fifteen staff working on the primary ITE courses. Twelve of these staff met the basic criteria. As the sampling plans indicate, their levels of qualification varied from just a first degree (two tutors) through to doctoral level (two tutors), with the majority holding Masters degrees. Their years of experience in HE varied from just over one full year to nine years. Following the completion of these sampling plans, I discussed the selection of interviewees with a contact person working in the institution. Using her information, a further two members of staff had to be excluded from the potential sample group. One tutor was excluded because she was then working on an alternative, off-site project, and one because she had just moved to another institution. From the remaining

sample group of ten, five individuals who had a range of experience and levels of qualification were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified. The final sample group at Avonbridge consisted of five tutors with the following profiles:

Table 5.1: Profile of Interviewees at Avonbridge: Qualifications, Gender and Years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Sarah Carter	F	Ph.D.	9
Bridget Eaton	F	Masters	5
Tom Heyes	M	Masters	7
Mary Reynell	F	First degree	3
Sam Whitehouse	F	Masters	2

As the table shows this group gave me the intended range of interviewees with different levels of experience and qualifications. The interviewees were also broadly representative of all the primary tutors at Avonbridge, recruited pre 1984, in terms of their years of experience in HE and of their levels of qualifications.

5.4.4 Interviewees at the University of Brecon

Information supplied by the Head of Department at Brecon indicated that there were 18 full time or established part time members of staff working on the primary ITE courses at the time of the interviews. Of all these tutors only 10 met the selection criteria. Of this group of eligible tutors eight had Masters degrees and two had Ph.D.s. Their years of experience of HE varied from just over one full year to ten. Following the completion of these profiles I

then discussed the selection of interviewees with a contact person working in the institution. After this check on the sample group confirmed that all these tutors were eligible for inclusion in the research, five individuals who had a range of experience and qualifications were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified in Appendix 2. Three responded positively, two asked to postpone their interviews due to pressure of work. Of these two respondents, it proved possible to interview one at a later point; the other could not be re-contacted. Consequently I selected an alternative respondent, with similar qualifications and years of experience in HE, who was approached and interviewed successfully. The final sample group at Brecon consisted of five tutors with the following profiles:

Table 5.2: Profile of Interviewees at Brecon: Qualifications, Gender and Years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Linda Hussein	F	Masters	2
David Jones	M	Masters	10
Siobhan Kennedy	F	Ph.D.	6
Lisa McDonald	F	Masters	5
Deborah Pacitti	F	Masters	9

As at Avonbridge, this Brecon sample group gave me the intended range of tutor experience and academic qualification levels. The sample group of interviewees at Brecon was also broadly representative of all primary tutors at the institution eligible for inclusion in the research in terms of years of experience in HE and of levels of qualifications.

5.4.5 Interviewees at the University of the South West

Information supplied by the Heads of Department at USW indicated that there were 21 full time or established part time members of staff working on the primary ITE courses at the time when the interviews commenced. Of all these tutors only ten were eligible for inclusion in my research. Their levels of academic qualification were either a first degree (two tutors) or a Masters degree (eight tutors). The years of experience in HE varied from just over a full academic year to nine years (see Appendix 2).

Following the completion of these sample plans I then discussed the selection of interviewees with a contact person working in the institution. Using her information one further member of staff had to be excluded from the potential sample group, because of long term sickness. From the remaining sample group of nine, five individuals who had a range of qualifications and experience were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified. They all responded positively. The final sample group at USW consisted of five tutors with the following profiles:

Table 5.3: Profile of Interviewees at USW: Qualification, Gender and Years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Stephen Goldberg	M	Masters	2
Sandra Lascelles	F	B.Ed	3
Mike O'Donnell	M	Masters	5
Lydia Shohet	F	Masters	9
Rebecca Shutz	F	Masters	6

Once again, this group gave me a good range of tutors to interview. This group were also broadly representative in terms of the dimensions of years of experience and levels of qualification to the total possible sample group.

Having checked that the chosen sample groups at each institution were broadly representative of all the primary tutors eligible for inclusion in my research, I then compared the three sample groups against one another. The results of these analyses for years of experience in HE and levels of qualification can be seen below.

Table 5.4: Interviewees from the three institutions compared by number of years of HE experience

Interviewees compared by number of years in HE (most experienced tutor ranked 1)	Avonbridge	Brecon	USW
1	9	10	9
2	7	9	6
3	5	6	5
4	3	4	3
5	2	2	2

As this table shows, the sample groups were broadly similar in terms of years of experience in HE, except that the Brecon group had more experience overall, including two tutors with nine to ten years of experience.

Table 5.5: Number of interviewees from the three institutions compared by qualifications

Levels of qualification	Avonbridge	Brecon	USW
Ph.D.	1	1	0
Masters	3	4	4
First degree only	1	0	1

The sample group at Avonbridge was the most diverse in term of levels of qualifications since at this institution I was able to interview tutors with all levels of qualification from first degree only to doctorate level. At Brecon there were no tutors with only first degrees. The range of qualifications was therefore restricted to Masters degrees and Ph.D.s with the majority of tutors holding the former qualification. The sample group reflects this distribution. At USW the primary tutors were the least well qualified as a group in that there were no primary tutors with doctorates in the possible sample group. I therefore interviewed tutors with Masters degrees since this was the most common qualification at USW, and first degrees.

5.5 Implementation of the research design

There were a number of other factors which affected the way in which the research design was implemented, and in particular, how the data at the micro level was collected. In this section I now outline these factors. The research design specified completion of the questionnaire prior to the interviews. The questionnaire was then to be brought to the

second interview. The interview schedule ideally consisted of two separate interviews of approximately an hour each. In practice, the pattern of the interviews / questionnaire was varied to meet the different circumstances of the interviewees. Three patterns of data collection were used. These were as follows:

- i) the questionnaire was completed at the time of the interview with me
- ii) the questionnaire was completed and returned after the interview
- iii) one long interview was substituted for two shorter interviews

Each interview included all the questions in the interview schedule, although the questions occurred in different orders to enable me to adjust them to the flow of talk. There were no major changes to the interview schedule over the time frame of the empirical research. The presentation of my 'cover story' as a researcher also remained consistent. Interviews at the University of Avonbridge took place in late 1994 and early 1995. Interviews at the other two institutions took place in the early part of the academic year of 1995/96. All of the interviews took place in the institutions concerned with the exception of the interviews with Bridget Eaton (Avonbridge) and Linda Hussein (Brecon). Both of these interviews took place in the interviewees' homes to accommodate individual needs.

I have already stated the principles which I used for ensuring that the data collection was methodologically rigorous. In practice, I was able to tape record all the interviews, with the permission of the interviewees. The amount of off tape material generated before or after the interviews varied. Any such material collected was, as planned, noted in full, as quickly as possible after the interview. After each interview I also wrote two memos. The first memo was similar to an interviewer's report form; it contextualised the interview, noted any relevant features and summarised key features of the content. The second memo analysed any methodological issues arising.

All the tapes were transcribed verbatim as soon as possible after the interview took place.

They were punctuated and annotated to preserve as many as possible traces of the non-verbal features of the interview (Powney and Watts 1987:34). This method of transcription aimed to preserve the 'flow' and informal structures of some of the language used, and to keep in place conversational markers and verbal idiosyncrasies. I aimed to capture as much sense as possible of the nature of the interview, but it is acknowledged that in transcription there is inevitably an element of selective interpretation by the transcriber of what has been said (see Powney and Watts 1987). All the transcripts were read through as soon as possible after the interviews. This reading enabled me to analyse the dynamics of the interview. Identified factors here included instances by interviewer or interviewees of assumptions of shared knowledge and values, direct questions by the interviewee to ascertain my professional identity, and interviewee attempts to predict or analyse my research agenda.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the research design and the sample used for the empirical research. I have indicated the research paradigm within which the empirical work rests. I have explained the research design, indicating its congruence with the theoretical framework and its development through extensive piloting work and its articulation with the analyses in chapters 2 and 4. I have also explained how I aimed for methodological rigour in the design and implementation of the empirical work.

Following Yin (1988:46) I have defined the research design as a 'multiple-case embedded study'. In line with the theoretical framework for this thesis, the design enabled me to focus on ITE professionalism at both micro and meso levels (see chapter 3). I have outlined how I

investigated tutor professionalism through interviews and questionnaires conducted with fifteen teacher educators. This represents a focus on the micro or individual level of primary ITE. I have also outlined how the design enabled me to place this empirical work with individuals within the context of the three universities chosen as the institutional case studies. This chapter has outlined how the three institutions - the University of Avonbridge, the University of Brecon, and the University of the South West - were selected for inclusion in the study.

I have also outlined the criteria for the selection of the individual tutors participating in the research. These criteria focused on the selection of tutors teaching on primary ITE courses, who had been recruited to HE after 1984, and had *primary on primary* experience of schooling and ITE. Five tutors from each of the three institutions who met all of these criteria were selected for the study. In this chapter I have described the principles and processes of their selection. I have also presented profiles of the fifteen tutors in the final sample group, showing their gender, the number of years they had spent in HE and their levels of qualification at the time of the interviews.

I have described the two data collection techniques used in the study as questionnaires, used to collect biographical details from the tutors, and in-depth interviews. The format of the interviews encouraged tutors to recount narratives which reflected the various forms of their experiences in ITE. In chapter 6 I illustrate and analyse the narratives which occurred within this interview data. I explain how these narratives were categorised and illustrate the method of analysis used to identify the professional resources used within the narratives.

CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS AND INITIAL FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

As chapter 5 has identified, the interview schedule asked the interviewees to relate narratives about their professional lives and practices. Within the interview context then, such narratives frequently became the contexts for discussions of teacher educator professionalism. In the initial part of this chapter I analyse the nature of these narratives in terms of their subjects, structures and contents. I focus in particular on the identification and definition of the professional resources which the tutors presented themselves as using within their narratives. Section 6.2 outlines issues and findings about the nature of the narratives, identifying and accounting for the different types of data occurring. Section 6.3 shows how the narratives were analysed, summarised and categorised into types.

In chapter 3 an initial definition has been given of professional resources as consisting of the knowledge, values and understanding which are used to construct and legitimate professionalism. Using this definition as a starting point, the data is analysed, drawing on the techniques of network analysis, to identify all the professional resources used by the tutors during the interviews. The results of the analysis are presented in two systematic and comprehensive coding networks. These networks enable me to account for the complete reservoir of resources found. Section 6.4 indicates the analytical processes used for identifying, coding and checking the professional resources which the interviewees use to define and legitimate their professionalism. The coding system used for the data is explained and exemplified in section 6.5. In this section I also include sample texts from the

narratives and explanations of coding decisions made. The analytical language used is also explained and illustrated. Section 6.6 concludes the chapter and identifies its key findings.

6.2. The narrative data

In chapter 5 narratives have been defined in this thesis as re-constructive commentaries on events, experiences and issues, including two forms of narratives. The analysis of these narratives enabled me to identify the professional resources which the tutors used, within the context of the research interviews, to define their professionalism and to position themselves as professionally legitimate. The methods of analysis used here deliberately did not draw on conventional forms of narrative analysis⁹⁸, rather they were devised to reflect the emphases of this research study. Responses to the institutionally focused questions, as described in the interview schedule, were analysed separately from the responses to other questions on the interview schedule (see chapter 9 for a description of the analytical techniques used).

The method of analysis called for an initial reading of all the transcripts, as described in chapter 5, followed by progressively more in-depth readings. The object here was to analyse the forms of the narrative data for each respondent which the interviews produced. Comparing these, three factors became apparent:

- i) in some interviews there was a clear ‘story telling’ element to the narratives. It was as if I was listening to and reading experienced story tellers relating well loved tales.
- ii) in contrast, at some points the narratives told were brief, functional and obviously aimed at ‘answering’ a question or exemplifying a point in slightly more detail

iii) most of the interviewees talked very freely and openly in the interviews. The off tape notes kept show that many of the interviewees summed up the interview as a welcome opportunity to talk about their work, its stresses and its rewards.

Cortazzi's (1991) study of the narratives used by primary school teachers in describing their working lives and his 1993 analysis of narratives helped me to explain these features.

Cortazzi explores questions relevant to this research of when, where and how the narrative products of research interviews vary from the narrative products of normal conversation.

He details Wolfson's work (cited in Cortazzi 1993) which indicates that narratives told in research interviews were characterised as answers, were briefer, and contained more summarising and fewer direct quotations of speech than conversational narratives.

Cortazzi's (1991) own empirical work of narratives contradicts these findings, however.

His data contained many performance and informal features which Wolfson associated mainly with conversational narratives. In discussing this, Cortazzi suggests that primary teachers are 'practised raconteurs' (p.57) and, importantly, that the context of his interviews (in schools and therefore on teachers' territory) and the relationships and common identity between the teachers and the researcher as an ex-primary teacher, led to 'shared norms for evaluation'. He comments that the interviews may have been regarded by his sample group as 'an expressive medium which would have emphasised the performance factor' (1993:57).

In the context of my interviews many of these factors are also relevant to consider

i) teacher educators, perhaps even more than primary school teachers, may be seen as practised raconteurs since their work sometimes involves the 'performance factor' of teaching large groups

- ii) the form of my interviews allowed the possibility that they could function as an opportunity for respondents to discuss sometimes stressful professional situations
- iii) the shared norms in a research context in which both interviewer and interviewee were teacher educators were even stronger than those in Cortazzi's study.

My research design, like Cortazzi's, therefore potentially offered an 'expressive medium' for the teacher educators. Given these considerations, it is not surprising that, like Cortazzi's data, some of the narratives in my empirical data certainly contain clear examples of performance elements, including the use of direct quotations and of informal language. And, as detailed in chapter 5, the method of transcription aimed to preserve these things as far as possible.

6.3. Establishing narrative types

6.3.1 Narratives and assertions

The analytical process of establishing the narrative types is described below. Establishing narrative types enabled me to identify patterns within and between the narratives. This was an essential stage in organising the data for the analysis of the professional resources the tutors used within each narrative. It was a process of progressive sifting of the data, done as one of the early stages in organising and analysing the data in the transcripts. Firstly, a distinction between narratives and assertions in the transcribed interviews was re-visited. Secondly, the narratives were classified into narrative types. Finally, data summaries of the narratives were created. These summaries enabled me to consider the narrative context whilst analysing the nature of the professional resources used by each individual tutor.

An initial analysis of the transcripts was undertaken. The interviewees' responses to each key question in the interview schedule were analysed and classified as either narratives or assertions. To recap, an assertion was defined as a declaration or direct statement⁹. Assertions occurred outside the defined narratives, but usually functioned as an introduction to them. Typically, an assertion was used by the interviewer as a starting point for probing and developing interviewees' thinking. Narratives were often requested as exemplification at such points. Because of the functional aspects of the assertions they were not analysed separately from the narratives.

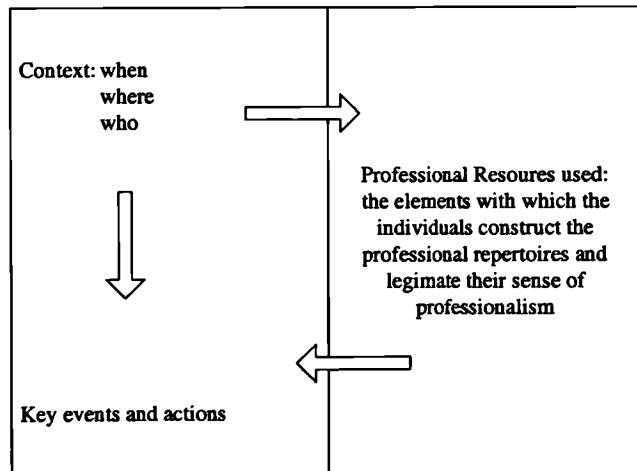
6.3.2 Analytical procedures for establishing narratives types

The narratives were analysed to establish the basic forms they took. This stage of the analysis was informed by an identification from previous empirical studies of teacher educators (see chapter 2) and the macro level map of ITE (see chapter 4) of possible themes, patterns and tensions of ITE tutors' professional identities. These focuses included *induction, research engagement, partnership development* to meet the requirements of Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) and *tutors' relationships with their peers, students, and school teachers*.

In this stage of the analysis, the technique of open coding (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss 1987) was used to 'fracture' the data in order to explore the narratives. As suggested by Glaser and Strauss, descriptive codes were assigned to the narratives, and to begin the process of classification each narrative was named. This descriptive level of analysis enabled a detailed exploration of the data and led to further classification of the narratives. The descriptive coding was also used to summarise the narratives.

The summaries used borrowed their basic format from Miles and Huberman's (1994) suggestions for creating 'vignettes' or focused descriptions as data summaries. The initial analyses indicated that for each narrative presented the data show should specify the context (when did the narrative take place? where did it occur? who was involved?) and give a summary, depending on the type of narrative, of either the descriptive elements or the dynamics / action within each narrative (what was being described? what were the key events or actions?). These elements of the data show were decided partly by the analysis of the narratives themselves, as detailed above, and partly by the adaptation of the descriptive analytical frameworks of researchers in relevant narrative traditions in education such as Clandinin and Connelly (1995), Cortazzi (1991, 1993), Lanzara (1991) and Schon (1991). Cortazzi (1991), for example, includes an element termed 'orientation' in his data analysis which covers many of the aspects included under 'context' here. Figure 6.1 shows the form of the narrative summaries.

Figure 6.1: The narrative summaries



The narrative summaries were then analysed within and across interviews to establish types of narratives which represented clear, recurring patterns, themes and relationships within the data. Finally, these types were re-analysed against the empirical data to establish that they described and accounted for the form and dynamics of the majority of narratives told in the interviews. A summary of the main types of narratives found in the data is given in figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2: Summary of the main types of narratives found in the interview data

<p>1. Narratives defining roles, attributes and practices of individuals and professional groups. These narratives are defined here as directly constructing individuals or groups and their associated practices</p> <p>1.1 Self constructive narratives (including the nature of current practices in ITE and of teacher educator pedagogy)</p> <p>1.2 Narratives constructing students and the nature of their practices as either learners or as teachers</p> <p>1.3 Narratives comparing and contrasting teacher educator professionalism with that of primary school teachers</p> <p>1.4 Narratives comparing and contrasting teacher educator professionalism with that of other university lecturers</p> <p>1.5 Narratives constructing the professionalism and practices of contemporary ITE tutors with other teacher educators (including those from past eras of ITE and from other areas of work in teacher education)</p>	<p>2. Narratives describing ITE tutors' interactions with others</p> <p>2.1 ITE tutor - student interactions</p> <p>2.2 ITE tutor - ITE tutor interactions</p> <p>2.3 ITE tutor - primary school teacher interactions (includes a considerable number of narratives about interactions between tutors and teacher-mentors involved in supervising students' teaching on partnership models)</p> <p>2.4 ITE tutor - teacher educators outside ITE or university lecturers (outside teacher education)</p>
<p>3. Metaperceptive narratives: how ITE tutors think others perceive their professionalism</p> <p>3.1 Metaperceptions of students' views</p> <p>3.2 Metaperceptions of teachers' views</p>	<p>4. Narratives about specific time periods or aspects of experience</p> <p>4.1 Induction to HE-based ITE</p> <p>4.2 Engagement in research</p> <p>4.3 Partnership development (excluding tutor-teacher interactions as detailed in 2.4)</p> <p>4.4 Experiences of management and academic administration in ITE</p>

6.4. Analysis of the professional resources

Within each type of narrative I then identified and classified the professional resources used by the tutors. My aim was to achieve a systematic way of analysing and accounting for all the professional resources within the context of each type of narrative. In order to achieve this, I used a form of network analysis, drawing on the work of Bliss et al (1983) and Brown (1999). Network analysis involves the application of both theoretical concepts, and inductive analytical techniques, drawing on grounded theory coding (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss 1987), to categorise empirical data. The networks resulting from the analysis are therefore the products of both specific theoretical orientations and the nature of the empirical data. Network analysis is essentially a procedure for translating between theory and data. It enables the development of an analytical language to describe the data, or what Bernstein (1996:134) called a 'language of description', 'a translation device whereby one language is transformed into another'.

The development of the networks, within the narrative emphasis adopted here, offered a number of advantages:

- i) it enabled me to analyse the interview transcripts as texts in a theoretically informed way
- ii) it enabled me to analyse those texts in a detailed and systematic way which also preserved the narrative contexts in which the professional resources were deployed
- iii) it offered a systematic way of identifying and demonstrating what I have termed the reservoir or total set of all the professional resources used within all the interviews
- iv) it could be used at a later stage of the analysis to describe and compare the repertoires of professional resources used by individual tutors, enabling me to show both what resources were used within individual repertoires and also what resources were *not* used

v) it enabled me to produce both qualitative and quantitative descriptions of the resources used. These descriptions could be generalised or highly specific, as chapter 7 will illustrate.

The stages of the network analysis are described in figure 6.3 below.

Figure 6.3: Analytical Stages in the Network Analysis

Analytical Stages	Purpose
1. Initial analysis of professional resources within each narrative type, using techniques derived from open coding, alongside theoretical concepts for the analysis of professionalism, established in chapter 3	To fracture data in order to explore detailed nature of professional resources To create descriptive, initial categories of professional resources
2. In depth analysis of professional resources using initial categories	To use emerging network analysis to describe, define and classify professional resources
3. Compare and contrast analysis of similar professional resources across and between different narrative types	To refine definitions of similar types of professional resources and to identify differences between them To explore which professional resources were used in which types of narratives
4. Systematic coding of professional resources Creation of final analytical networks	To code professional resources using systematic, analytical networks (Bliss et al 1983)
5. Cross checking of professional resource categories to empirical data	To validate professional resources networks through re-checking their correspondence with the empirical data

As this figure indicates, the analytical stages followed involved an initial analysis of the professional resources, followed by processes of extrapolation, 'testing out' and refining of relevant findings. In stages 1 and 2 the coding was developed through a process of applying

theoretical concepts alongside repeated reading of the narratives, and the emerging categories of professional resources. All the narratives were analysed to identify the professional resources which the interviewees used within them. The use of the network analysis techniques within these narrative contexts meant that relatively long data extracts were used as the unit of analysis. This was done to ensure that the text was not fragmented to the extent that the coherence of the interviewees' responses was lost. This way of working represented a compromise between a detailed coding at a very fine level and a more holistic form of textual analysis. Crucially, this compromise enabled me to preserve the context within which the resources had been used.

In stage 3 the emerging coding of the professional resources was refined through further analysis. The aim here was to check and refine the coding against the empirical data to establish that it described and accounted for the form and dynamics of the majority of professional resources used within each of the narrative types. The coding system was then developed and refined until it provided an analytical language for interpreting the professional resources used in the narratives. The results of the analysis are shown as two systematic networks of the professional resources used in all types of narratives.

6.5. The Networks of Professional Resources

6.5.1 Key issues

In this section I present and discuss the two networks of professional resources. Together these networks indicate the professional resources which the teacher educators in the sample group chose to use to construct their professionalism in the immediate contexts of the interviews.

In this section I also explain the categories of resources shown in the networks, and illustrate how and why categorisation judgements were made. This is done by presenting and analysing the resources used within sample narratives.

Before illustrating the networks and coding system used, there are a number of points to be made:

- i) The set consists of two networks of resources which are termed knowledge and professional orientations. The first category, shown in figure 2, is that of knowledge based resources. This knowledge category consists of both knowledge of schooling and of ITE. A further distinction is made between substantive knowledge and processual knowledge. This distinction and the term used are explained in more detail through the illustration of the coding below. The definition of the different types of knowledge resources also takes account of the interviewees' attributions of their knowledge to either experiential or theoretical origins. The second category of professional resources, shown in figure 3, was professional orientations. This term was used to include firstly, the professional personae which the tutors presented themselves as adopting with students, their teacher educator peers, and other professionals, and secondly, how tutors constructed their professional duties and responsibilities to various sectors of education, particularly schooling.
- ii) Many of the professional resources which ITE tutors used in the interviews are discussed in relation to their work with students, both as learners in ITE seminar rooms at the universities and as prospective teachers in schools. The narratives identify the recontextualised practices and professional resources of the tutors, but interwoven with these things are accounts of student attributes, what the tutors define as 'good primary' practice' in their students' teaching, and how tutors see their roles in relation to their students. ITE students and the knowledge and practices which they need to acquire to

become good teachers. These elements are presented by the tutors in this research as central to teacher educator professionalism.

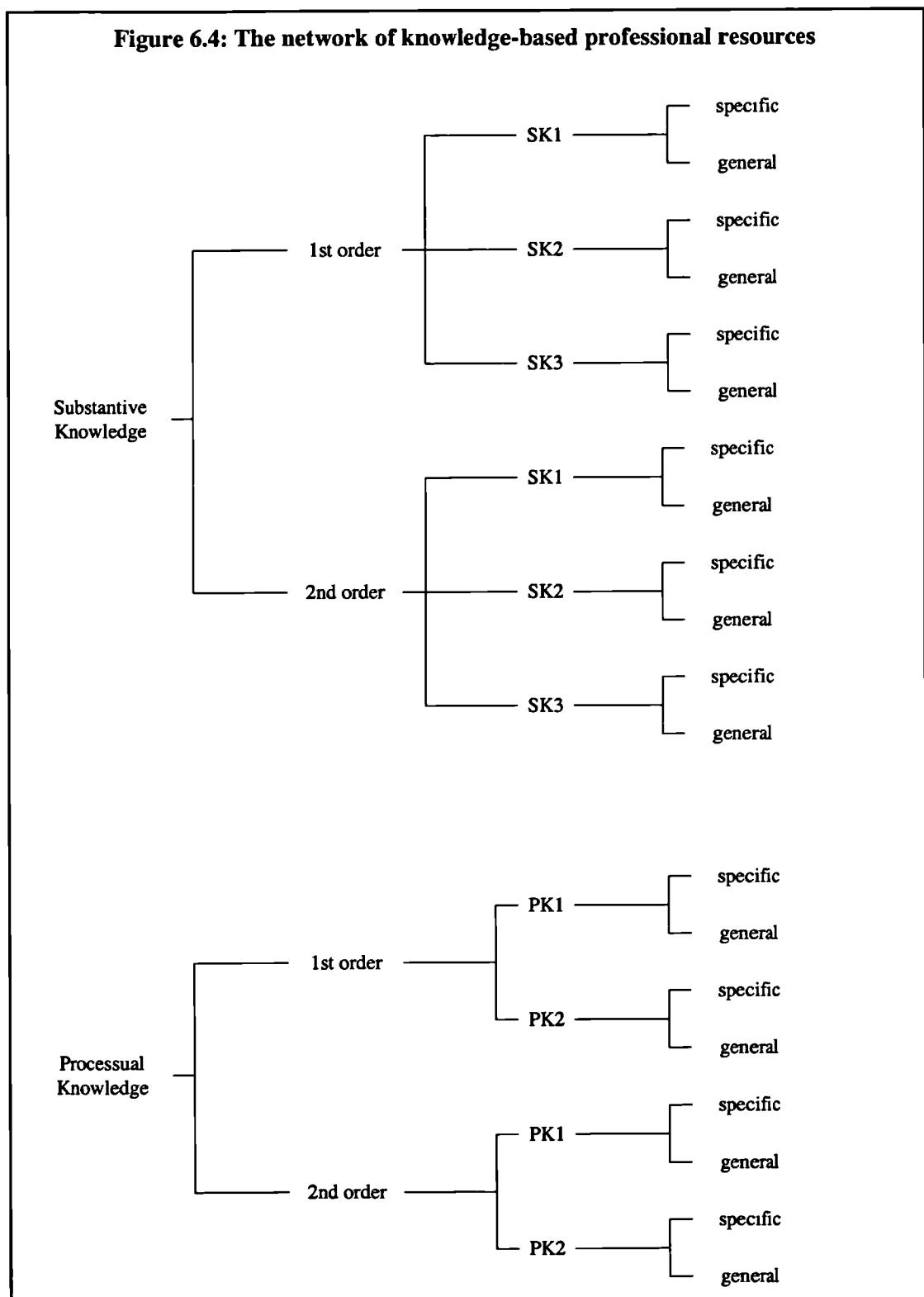
- iii) In some of the narratives the interviewees present their professional resources through processes of compare and contrast with the professional resources which they perceive other professional groups possess or lack. These other professionals then function as points of reference for the interviewees' professionalism. Other professional groups cited include primary teachers, university lecturers in disciplines outside education, and the previous generation of ITE tutors. Serving primary school teachers are a key reference group for teacher educators in these narratives, as chapter 8 illustrates in more detail. Both of the networks presented here account for the professional resources attributed to these other groups. To illustrate this point, I have included in section 6.5.2 narratives in which the professional resources of these other professionals are presented.
- iv) Teacher educator professionalism is also constructed in the interviews through the interviewees' metaperceptions of how students and teachers see the professional resources of teacher educators. Examples of the resources presented in one of these metaperceptive narratives are included in section 6.5.2.
- v) Knowledge based resources are defined mainly in relation to the professional resources which the interviewees present themselves as *possessing*. But, in analysing some of the narratives, it is also important to consider the nature of the knowledge which the interviewees present themselves as *lacking*. Consequently, in the examples given below, I have indicated where tutors presented themselves - or other professionals - as either possessing or lacking certain knowledge resources.

It is not possible within the conventions and acceptable parameters of this presentation to offer a comprehensive specification of each and every categorisation of the resources.

Hence the examples presented here have been chosen to facilitate the illustration of the range of professional resources as used by tutors within different types of narrative.

6.5.2 The network of knowledge-based professional resources

Figure 6.4: The network of knowledge-based professional resources



As figure 6.4 shows, the category **knowledge** was subdivided into different types of knowledge. These were as follows -

1. Knowledge about the nature of the primary school sector or of ITE is defined here as **substantive knowledge**, abbreviated to **SK** in the networks. Substantive knowledge is defined here as knowledge about the content, nature and structures of the sector of education under discussion. This definition includes knowledge about the nature of suitable pedagogical methods. SK resources could focus on either knowledge of primary schooling (termed **first order** knowledge) or knowledge of ITE (termed **second order** knowledge). First order substantive knowledge could, for example, include knowledge of the planning, teaching or assessment structures used in primary schools. Second order knowledge could include descriptions of teaching strategies for working with ITE students or knowledge of students' normal development patterns.
2. Knowledge of the importance of reflection in or on action in teaching is defined here as **processual knowledge**. This is abbreviated to **PK** in the coding networks. PK is defined here as knowledge about the processes of reflective practice and their use in professional practice. Like SK resources, processual knowledge could focus on either knowledge of primary schooling (**first order**) or knowledge of ITE (**second order**).

The SK and PK categories were then further sub-divided as follows:

SK1 - practical, bounded knowledge, related to action and competence as a primary school teacher. In the interviews the origins of this knowledge were often directly cited as being in the experience of teaching

SK2 - overview knowledge, context free, giving insights into possible action but with no direct implications for it. As with SK1, its origins were frequently cited as being in the

experience of teaching; sometimes teaching across a variety of contexts was specified as the origin.

SK3 - theoretical knowledge, giving insights into possible action but with no direct implications for it. In the interviews the origins of this knowledge were often directly cited as being in reading, other scholarly activity and/or research.

PK1 - knowledge and recognition of the importance of reflective practice in professional practice

PK2 - metaknowledge of reflective practice, that is self awareness and recognition of the centrality of reflection in personal practice

Each subtype of knowledge was then categorised as either **specific**, that is referring to a particular action, person, named group of people, or a specific situation, or **general**, referring to a broader and unspecified situations, circumstances or groups of people

6.5.3 Illustrations of the coding of knowledge resources

Three narratives including substantive knowledge resources are presented here, followed by two including processual knowledge resources. As indicated previously, knowledge resources could be presented as either possessed or as lacking for a particular occupational group or an individual within a narrative. The resources most frequently presented as absent in this way were first order SK1 and first order SK3. Examples of such resource usages are given below.

The first example given is one of the metaperception narratives in which tutors talked about how they thought teachers and students saw teacher educators' professionalism. This narrative shows an ITE tutor discussing a student's judgement of some of his colleagues, and his own metaperceptions that students sometimes see tutors as lacking in the contemporary and action-orientated knowledge which would enable them to be competent classroom teachers.

Sample narrative 1: Just a few weeks ago a PGCE student got everyone's backs up. He came to me to complain about the course and said that he didn't think most of the staff here could cut it back in school. We were OK at the general primary overview stuff from our own teaching days but we wouldn't cope at the cutting edge now. I know that's sometimes what students think but the sheer front to saying that straight out to me took my breath away

The tutor's construction is that the student sees some ITE tutors as possessing 'general primary overview' knowledge of schooling. This resources is defined as 1st order SK2 general for the following reasons

- the knowledge is first order because it relates to the primary classroom
- it is SK2 because it is overview knowledge
- it is general knowledge because it refers to a general situation - perceived lack of expertise at 'the cutting edge' of primary teaching

But the tutor relates that the student also perceives tutors as lacking the practical, contemporary knowledge of schooling which would enable them to 'cut it back in school'.

This resource is defined as 1st order SK1 general for the following reasons

- the knowledge is first order because it relates to the primary classroom
- it is SK1 because it is practical knowledge which relates to action and competence as a teacher

- it is general knowledge because it refers to a general situation, that is, expertise in the actions of primary teaching

The second narrative is an example of a tutor defining his own professionalism by comparing and contrasting it to that of the previous generation of ITE tutors. Here he is responding to a question about his involvement in research.

Sample narrative 2: I associate those words ‘research’ and ‘academic’ with an older generation of teacher educators who were in ivory towers, up to their ears in research about school but detached from the reality (of school), they couldn’t be more different from us now..... I mean I’m not an academic, my knowledge comes from all those primary classrooms I worked in, not from books and research

In this narrative the tutor sets up a dichotomy between a previous generation of teacher educators and the current generation, including himself ('us now'). The narrator presents himself as possessing first order SK2 general, and lacking first order SK3 general resources. The previous generation, in direct contrast, are presented as lacking knowledge of schooling related to ‘reality’, but having research-based knowledge. The resources the tutor presents himself as possessing are categorised as first order SK2 general for the following reasons:

- the knowledge is first order because it relates to schooling
- it is SK2 because it is overview knowledge of the primary classroom
- it is general knowledge rather than specific

The resources he presents himself as lacking are categorised as first order SK3 general for the following reasons:

- the knowledge is first order because it relates to schooling

- it is SK3 because it refers to theoretical knowledge with its origins in research
- it is general knowledge rather than specific

This third narrative contains references to knowledge categorised as second order, that is knowledge of ITE.

Sample narrative 3: I know I've got a huge amount of knowledge about ITE and how it works, what works, why and when, but it's sometimes hard to know how much you know if you know what I mean (*interviewer intervenes to ask for clarification*). Well, let me thinksay when Sue, when, she's a new colleague started work here I used that knowledge to mentor her, I was teaching her about how to teach the students. She came to me once with a query about a particularly difficult student who was basically disrupting her teaching sessions and I could draw on my experience to say 'look it happens, try this

This resources is categorised as second order SK2 specific for the following reasons

- the knowledge is second order because it relates to ITE
- it is SK2 because it is overview knowledge
- it is specific because it refers to a specific situation (the mentoring of the colleague)

Both the following narratives illustrate processual knowledge (PK) resources. In narrative 4 the interviewee presents and discusses her processual knowledge through a discussion of reflective practice as an essential attribute of students. In the process of presenting her own professional resources she also constructs the professional attributes of the student. This kind of association between tutor professionalism and how tutors saw students' professional attributes is explored in more detail in chapter 8. In narrative 6 the interviewee presents herself as being aware that processes of critical reflection are central to her professional evaluation and learning.

Sample narrative 4: It is important that students are reflective in their teaching, to me that's the key criterion in a good teacher I've got this student Lisa out in school at the moment she's great, always reflective about what she's doing, how

and why, I go in there but she doesn't really need me to evaluate her, she's so reflective she does that herself, she's got that knowledge off pat

The professional resources presented here are defined as follows:

- the knowledge is first order because it relates to schooling
- it is PK1 because it shows knowledge and recognition of reflection positioned as important in professional practice
- it is specific because it relates to a named person and to specific circumstances

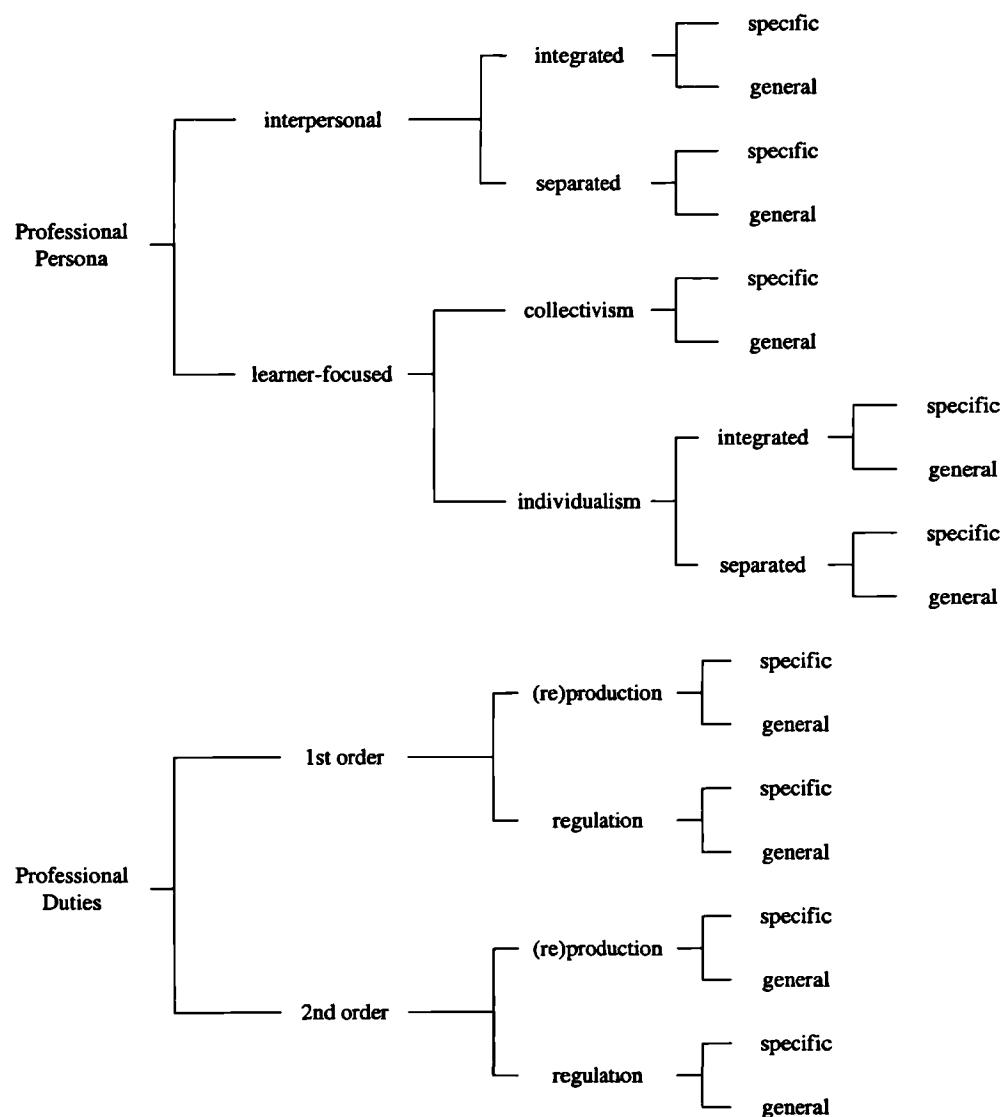
Sample narrative 5: In this job you need to have a chance to stand back and think, reflect about what you've been doing. You need to develop an inner voice, like having a critical friend who can ask questions - what you are doing and why, talking, thinking it through reflecting and clarifying why you're doing this

The professional resources presented here are defined as follows:

- the knowledge is second order because it relates to ITE
- it is PK2 because it shows metaknowledge of reflexivity (there is a clear sense of self-awareness that reflection is central to personal practice)
- it is general knowledge because it relates to general principles rather than specific circumstances

6.5.4 The network of professional orientation resources: professional personae

Figure 6.5: The network of professional orientation resources



The term professional orientations refers to the broader inter-personal and ethical attributes, values and responsibilities used as resources in the narratives. These were divided in two ways, as figure 6.5 indicates.

The first part of this network denotes the resources referring to and defining the **professional personae** of the interviewees. The terms ‘professional personae’ or ‘persona’ are used here to indicate the aspect of their professional ‘personalities’ which the interviewees chose to reveal during the interviews. These personae include the values, attitudes and inter-personal attributes underlying professional actions. The professional personae therefore have affective and ethical bases.

The resources of the **professional persona** are divided into

either an **interpersonal** category which includes resources used in interactions between professionals (for example, interactions between ITE tutors and teachers in partnership schools, between ITE tutors and other university lecturers, or more rarely, the tutors perceptions of interactions between teachers in schools)

or a **learner-focused** category which includes resources used in relating to learners. Most of the examples of resources in this category came from narratives describing how ITE tutors interacted with their students and what they aimed to know about them as learners and as prospective teachers. More rarely, these professional resources were identified in narratives referring to the interviewees’ perceptions of primary teacher-child or to the interactions of a university lecturer in a discipline outside education with students. The identified resources here referred to both how tutors state that they know students as learners (for example, whether students are individualised or seen en masse as a group) and

what tutors state that they need to know about learners (for example their academia or professional competence).

The **interpersonal** category is sub-divided as follows:

integrated resources which signal the de-emphasis of individual autonomy and the elevation of values such as mutualism and communalism

separated resources which signal individual autonomy valued above communalism.

The professional resource in use was then coded as

either **specific** that is referring to a particular action, person (or named group of persons) or situation,

or **general** referring to a broader set of people, situations or circumstances.

The **learner-focused** is further sub-divided into **individualism** or **collectivism**. As figure 3 shows, there are two types of individualism, **integrated individualism** and **separated individualism**. The collectivism category and both types of individualism are further sub-divided into **specific/ general** distinctions.

The **collectivism** category is defined as those resources referring to dealing with learners en masse, as a homogeneous group. No undifferentiated ways of working to accommodate individual needs are identified. Learners are known only through a basic range of attributes (for example, only academic competence may be used in judgements of merit).

The **individualism** category is defined as those resources referring to ways of working with learners as differentiated individuals, including knowing students' names, and knowing of individualised needs.

Integrated individualism is defined as resources in which all aspects of the personality (social, emotional, academic, teaching competence) are involved in the individualisation

Separated individualism is defined as resources in which academic and teaching competence only are involved in the individualisation

6.5.5 Illustrations of the coding of professional personae resources

In this narrative the interviewee presents part of her professional persona in describing how she tries to relate to her students.

Sample narrative 6: Take the current third year. It took me a long time to get to know them all as individuals, to really understand them - and that's, that's knowing all the academic factors, alongside their work in school and all the attendant social dynamics and the emotional traumas, the allegiances, loves and hates of student life, oh, you know the kind of thing.

The professional resources are defined as professional persona learner-focused integrated individualism general for the following reasons:

- professional persona because the orientations are about broad professional attributes
- learner-focused because interactions with learners are under discussion
- integrated individualism because a number of elements of the students' professional / personal attributes are judged
- specific because a certain group of learners is clearly specified

The next text is a further example of a 'compare and contrast' narrative (see also narrative 2). Here the interviewee contrasts her learner-focused interactions with her students with those which she perceives are undertaken by university lecturers in disciplines outside education.

Sample narrative 7: I often compare my job to that of other tutors here, someone who's teaching on, say, a history degree course, where students get degrees and they're (the tutors) just making a judgement about intellectual competence essentially, maybe not even knowing the students as individuals. But with us it's different, on a B.Ed course we're having to make judgements about personal competence across such a vast range of abilities. Not only intellectual ones but personal ones as well.

The professional resource claimed for the narrator as an ITE tutor is that of professional persona learner-focused integrated individualism general for the following reasons:

- professional persona because the orientations are about broad professional attributes
- learner-focused because interactions with learners are under discussion
- integrated individualism because a number of elements of the students' professional / personal attributes are judged
- general because the focus is on the generic group 'students'

The professional resource claimed for the other university tutor is that of professional persona learner-focused collectivism general for the following reasons:

- professional persona because the orientations are about broad professional attributes,
- learner-focused because interactions with learners are under discussion
- collectivism because no individualisation of the learner is attempted and interactions are based on academic ability alone
- general because the focus is on the generic group 'students'

As stated, a further aspect of the professional persona relates to interactions with other professionals, including teacher educator peers. The next two narratives show contrasting resources in these areas. In both narratives the interviewees are relating how they interact with their peers.

Sample narrative 8: I feel that it is so important for me to be supportive of colleagues, hard as that is sometimes. An example? Well, let me think, well, say last week, a notice comes round, who can take on yet another school supervision? First reaction - not me, no chance, but then I thought if I don't take it then Lin or Anna or someone will have to, so in the end I went to talk it over with them all and we ended up splitting the thing, so good result, no one landed, collaboration, how it should be.

The professional resource here is defined as professional persona interpersonal integrated specific for the following reasons:

- professional persona because the orientations are about broad professional attributes
- interpersonal because the element under discussion is about interactions between professionals
- integrated because values such as mutualism and communalism are elevated
- specific because the focus is on a specific instance

Sample narrative 9: I'm trying to organise the Teaching Studies programme for year 2 and I went round the team last week, casting around and asking people 'Could you do this session on assertive discipline of circle time or whatever?' and the responses were 'No, sorry, can't do that. No time' or 'No, not me, don't know anything about that. Special Needs is my thing.' That's just how it is here, everyone doing their own thing in their own time and their own way.

The professional resource here is defined as professional persona interpersonal separationism specific for the following reasons:

- professional persona because the orientations are about broad professional attributes
- interpersonal because the element under discussion is about non-teaching interactions
- separatism because individual autonomy is stressed and valued above communality
- specific because the focus is on a specific instance

6.5.6 The network of professional orientation resources: professional duties

The second part of the professional orientation network refers to and defines the **professional duties** of the interviewees. The term professional duties is used to encompass the broad duties, responsibilities and mission statements which the interviewees identified as part of their professionalism; tutors' senses of responsibility and commitment to their students and to their peers have already been discussed within the categories above.

As figure 3 shows, **professional duty** resources are divided into

either **first order** resources, if related to schooling, **second order** resources, if related to ITE specific issues, or **institutional** resources, if related more broadly to the university in which the interviewees worked.

First and second order resources are then sub-divided into either **(re)production** or **regulation**. **(Re)production** resources are defined as mission statements about individual or communal responsibility to (re)produce 'good practitioners'. **Regulation** resources are defined as mission statements about teacher educators' roles as gate keepers, monitoring the quality of ITE tutors as practitioners and, more significantly, monitoring the quality of teachers entering the profession.

As for the professional personae resources, the professional resource in use was then coded as

either **specific** that is referring to a particular action, person (or named group of persons) or situation,

or **general** referring to a broader set of people, situations or circumstances.

A further small category of resources referred to allegiances and duties to the employing university. This category is termed **institutional**. Because of the limited quantity of these resources, it was not possible to sub-divide this category further.

6.5.7 Illustration of professional duties resources

Most of the professional duties resources used during the interviews were first order, referring to tutors' senses of responsibility for the (re)production and regulation of students as new school teachers. A smaller number of narratives used second order resources, usually in the contexts of discussing mentoring of new ITE tutors. The limited number of institutional resources used referred to tutors' commitment to undertaking what is commonly termed 'service' work for the university (for example, sitting on committees or chairing meetings). Because the institutional category was so small, I have illustrated only first and second order resources in this category below.

This narrative illustrates a tutor drawing on (re)production resources to define his work.

Sample narrative 10: I was out in school a while back, talking lots of things over with the headteacher when we got round to talking about changing roles, partnership, mentoring, etc. etc. when he said to me semi-jokingly, 'So what's your job now then? What's your role, now we do all the this extra work for you?' And I said, 'Oh minor, minor, only to produce top class teachers for you'. And he knew that I meant that seriously because that is my job, that's my responsibility.

The resource used is defined as professional duties first order (re)production general for the following reasons:

- first order because it refers to the tutor's sense of duty to the school sector
- (re)production because the tutor's role is clearly stated as the (re)production of good practitioners
- general because no specific instances of individuals are cited

In sample narrative 11 the resources used is a regulatory one since the tutor's sense of being a gatekeeper for teaching is clear. Again, it is a first order resource, related to regulation of school teaching. It is specific because the narrative refers to a specific student's failure.

Sample narrative 11: We had one student last year as the end of year 3 worked through an enormous struggle, finished up failing and I knew I had to say to her 'So you've done three years but I don't think you're good enough' and I found that very hard, but it's my responsibility to ensure that no one slips through the net, who might become, become a liability to the profession in future years

The final narrative shows a tutor using professional duty second order (re)production general resources in discussing the mentoring of colleagues.

Sample narrative 12: I've done quite a bit of mentoring of new staff over time, over the years and I always see it as my responsibility to make sure that they turn out to be good practitioners, as tutors, I mean they need to be the best possible to help us maintain standards

The resource is

- second order because it refers to the tutor's sense of duty to ITE
- (re)production because the tutor's role is clearly stated as the (re)production of good practitioners
- general because no specific instances of individuals are cited

The same tutor then goes onto use a second order regulation specific resource as she describes the outcome of mentoring a failing colleague.

Sadly, there was one time, terrible and very sad, when I knew this new colleague wasn't up to scratch, she just wasn't good enough, and it was my responsibility to say that to her before the students began to suffer too much, not to mention all of us.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed features of the analytical procedures and initial presentation of the empirical data. It has outlined the procedures I used for analysing the narrative data collected during the interviews. When analysing the narratives, the data from the transcribed interviews was progressively sifted to categorise recurring types of narratives. From these narrative types I created data summaries to enable me to identify recurring features of the narratives. These narrative types then became the contexts for analysing the professional resources which the interviewees used.

The analysis of the professional resources followed the principles and procedures of network analysis. The networks were developed and refined until they provided an analytical language for interpreting the professional resources used in the narratives. The two systematic networks enabled me to account for and to map the complete set of professional resources used across all the interviews. This set of resources represents the initial findings of my empirical research at the micro level. These findings then indicate the forms in which teacher educators chose to present their professionalism in the immediate contexts of the interviews. The coding networks and the analytical language have both been

illustrated and explained. In section 5 of the chapter, I have shown how and why particular codes were assigned to the resources used within certain narratives.

I have illustrated that teacher educator professionalism, as presented by tutors within these interview contexts, draws on resources of professional knowledge, professional orientations and senses of the professional mission or duty. All of these elements are underpinned by strong senses of the professional values involved in primary ITE. In other words the professional resources which the sample group of teacher educators in this research drew upon to construct their professionalism have epistemological, inter-personal and ethical dimensions.

Epistemological resources used in this research include knowledge of both schooling and ITE. A further distinction is made between substantive knowledge resources and processual knowledge resources, as knowledge and use of reflective practice. Knowledge is seen by tutors as either experiential or theoretical in origin. Professional orientation resources have both inter-personal and ethical dimensions. They include the ways in which tutors relate to their students and other professionals, and how they construct their professional duties and responsibilities to various sectors of education.

I have indicated that ITE tutors frequently discuss and define their professionalism in relation to their pedagogical practices, to their knowledge and understanding of their students, and to the primary school contexts in which those students will work. ITE students and the knowledge and practices which they need to acquire to become good teachers are presented by the tutors in this research as central to teacher educator professionalism. The professional resources, and the ways in which they are used within the interviews then, emphasise the tutors' functions in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of

primary school teaching. This is an important finding which chapter 8 will illustrate and discuss in more depth.

I have also indicated that professionalism is sometimes defined through processes of compare and contrast with the professional resources which tutors perceive other professional groups may have or have had. These other professionals then function as points of reference for the interviewees' professionalism. Serving primary school teachers are a key reference group for teacher educators.

In this chapter I have shown the complete set of professional resources used by all the tutors across all the interviews. From the complete set of resources shown in this chapter, individual tutors 'drew down' their own repertoires of resources, following the processes outlined in the theoretical framework in chapter 3. In chapters 7 and 8 the analysis uses the coding networks to identify the nature of the repertoires used by different types of tutors, and to extend this analysis of teacher educator professionalism.

CHAPTER 7 THE TYPOLOGY OF TUTORS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter now draws on the findings of chapter 6 to create a typology of tutors. It shows how different tutor types used different *repertoires* of resources, drawing from the complete *reservoir* of professional resources. In chapter 1 I posed a number of questions about teacher educator professionalism. I now aim to address two of these questions in this chapter through further analysis of my findings. These questions are as follows:

- i) What are the repertoires of professional resources which ITE tutors use in constructing their professionalism?
- ii) How do these repertoires relate to the professional biographies of the tutors, and their career experiences in both primary schooling and HE-based ITE work?

The typology of tutors presented in this chapter has been created by analysing the different repertoires of professional resources used in the individual interviews, alongside the individual biographical profiles completed with the data from the questionnaires. The stages in this analysis are described in Appendix 4.

The resulting typology is composed of three tutor types; I have named these types *Novices*, *Defenders* and *Education Academics*. These three types of tutor differ according to their distinctive patterns of usage of professional resources, as evidenced by the interview data. Each type also had a distinctive biographical profile.

This chapter is structured as follows: in section 7.2 I address question i) by presenting the findings for the repertoires of professional resources used in the interviews by the three types of tutors I have identified. This section includes identification of the recurring factors

across and within the repertoires used by the different tutor types. Section 7.3 analyses the relevant biographical factors, summarised in the professional biographical profiles of each tutor type. In section 7.4 I identify relevant issues arising from the typology to be addressed in subsequent chapters of this thesis. I then discuss and establish the habitus of the differing tutor types in relation to their previous careers in primary schooling in section 7.5. Section 7.6 summarises the chapter.

7.2 Professional resource repertoires used by tutor types

In the sections below (7.2.1 to 7.2.4) I present my findings for the repertoires of professional resources used by each type, identifying the predominant use of the professional resources in order to identify the patterns of usage. For each tutor type I have then summarised the resources used, and discussed the key features of each repertoire in more detail. This discussion includes comparing and contrasting repertoires used by different tutor types, where appropriate.

7.2.1 Novices' professional resource repertoires

All the tutors who had between two and three years of experience of HE-based ITE work shared the same, distinctive professional resource repertoires. I named this tutor type *Novices* to reflect the fact that a limited amount of experience of HE-based work was a key factor in their biographical profiles¹⁰⁰. This point is discussed further in relation to the biographical profiles in section 7.3.1.

The professional resources used by Novices in the interviews were as follows:

Substantive knowledge resources

- Knowledge of schooling (1st order knowledge) used more than knowledge of ITE (2nd order knowledge)
- Dominant form of substantive knowledge used was context specific, action orientated knowledge of schooling (1st order SK1 specific)
- Some use of generalised knowledge of the primary school sector (1st order SK2)
- Rare use of theoretically authorised knowledge of the school sector (1st order SK3)
- Knowledge of ITE largely limited to experiential knowledge (2nd order SK1)

Processual knowledge resources

- Processual knowledge in the schooling context emphasised (1st order PK)
- Dominant form of processual knowledge used was basic knowledge of reflective practice in the school sector (1st order PK1)
- Second order metaknowledge (PK2) used more extensively than second order PK1

Professional orientation resources

- Learner-focused aspect defined as integrated individualism
- Wide range of student attributes (personal, professional, academic) seen as potentially involved in ITE
- Interpersonal aspect of the professional persona defined as integrated.
- Values such as communalism and mutualism stressed
- Saw selves as possessing similar professional orientations to primary school teachers
- Differentiation of own professional orientations from those of ‘the academic’
- Professional duty to the school sector strong

- Duty to (re)produce good primary practitioners emphasised

The distinctive features of the Novices' professional resource repertoires were as follows:

i) Novices used first order substantive knowledge resources in 60% of the relevant narratives. Within this use of first order knowledge, 60% of the resources were then further classified as SK1. Through the use of such resources Novices flagged their recent knowledge of the practicalities of the primary classroom, and established themselves as knowledgeable about primary teaching. Only 37% of the narratives in which Novices used substantive knowledge were classified as SK2 (generalised, overview knowledge), whilst a mere 3% were classified as SK3. Novices therefore relied heavily on their practical and specific knowledge of the primary classroom in discussing their professionalism as ITE tutors.

ii) Knowledge of ITE (second order knowledge) was used less extensively than first order knowledge of schooling; only 40% of all relevant SK resources were second order. This was in contrast to the other tutor types which all used second order knowledge to a greater degree than the Novices. Overall 90% of Novices' second order SK resources were classified as SK1, that is they were focused on the practical, action orientated aspects of ITE work.

iii) Novices used first order processual knowledge (PK) as a significant part of their professional resources (61% of relevant PK narratives used this resource). This usage meant that, like the other tutor types, they saw reflection on teaching as an integral part of 'good practice' in the primary school sector.

iv) Novices also defined reflective practice as an integral part of 'good practice' in ITE teaching; 39% of all the PK resources used by this type focused on second order (ITE) work in this way. Novices made considerable use of the professional resources defined as

metaknowledge of reflective practice (PK2) in relation to their own work as teacher educators (of all second order PK resources 58% were PK2 and 42 % PK1). Metaknowledge was therefore constructed as a central tenet of teacher educator professionalism. It was also seen as an important way of generating new knowledge of ITE work.

vi) The professional orientations used by Novices were defined as integrated individualism. This meant that they saw their roles in ITE teaching and tutoring as diffuse; they aimed to develop students' academic, professional and personal attributes through knowing and interacting with individuals and small groups. The professional persona of Novices was defined as integrated. This meant that tutors stressed the importance of values of communalism and mutualism in their interactions with peers. These professional orientations to integrated individualism were also shared with the Defender tutor type. Novices outlined their senses of professional responsibility to the school sector and their place in producing good practitioners.

vii) Novices did not see themselves as research active; they rejected any sense of themselves as 'academics', stressing their differences from the stereotype of 'the academic' which they constructed . These Novice orientations to research were also shared with Defenders.

Novices were then found to share common repertoires of professional resource usage heavily predicated on their previous experience as school teachers. They relied on an experiential knowledge base for both schooling and ITE work, stressing the need for teachers or tutors in both sectors to be reflective and self monitoring. They also stressed that the same professional personae and pedagogical roles were important in the professional lives of both primary school teachers and ITE tutors.

7.2.2 Defenders' professional resource repertoires

Defenders were experienced teacher educators, as the biographical profiles in section 7.3.2 indicate. I termed this tutor type *Defenders* because of the sense which these tutors communicated in the interviews that they felt their professional credibility needed to be defended, particularly against sceptical school teachers and students. This point is discussed in more detail below and in chapter 8. The repertoire of professional resources used by Defenders was as follows

Substantive knowledge resources

- Knowledge of schooling (1st order SK) used slightly more than knowledge of ITE (2nd order SK)
- Dominant form of knowledge was generalised knowledge of schooling (1st order SK2 general)
- Context specific knowledge of schooling (1st order SK1) used to assert practitioner credibility in some narrative contexts
- Limited use of theoretically authorised knowledge of the school sector (1st order SK3)
- Use of knowledge of ITE greater than that of Novices.
- 2nd order knowledge focused almost entirely on experiential knowledge, either practical action orientated knowledge (2nd order SK1) or overview knowledge (2nd order SK2)

Processual knowledge resources

- Processual knowledge in ITE (2nd order PK) emphasised more than such knowledge in school sector (1st order PK)
- Within 2nd order knowledge metaknowledge of ITE (PK2) emphasised

- Within 1st order knowledge place of reflective practice (PK1) in defining ‘good practice’ emphasised
- Dominant form of knowledge metaknowledge of reflection within ITE sector (2nd order PK2)

Professional orientation resources

- Learner-focused aspect defined as integrated individualism
- Wide range of student attributes (personal, professional, academic) potentially involved in ITE
- Interpersonal aspect of the professional persona defined as integrated.
- Values such as communalism and mutualism stressed
- Saw selves as possessing similar professional orientations to primary school teachers
- Constructed differentiation of own professional orientations from those of ‘conventional academic’
- Professional duty to the school sector strong
- Duty to produce good primary practitioners emphasised

The distinctive features of Defenders’ professional resource usage and their commonalities with other tutor types were as follows:

i) Knowledge of schooling formed a major part of the substantive knowledge professional resource usage of Defenders. Across all the narratives in which substantive knowledge was used 52% of the resource usage was first order (schooling) and 48% second order (ITE).

Within the first order resource usage 58% of the relevant narratives showed usage of overview knowledge (1st order SK2). In certain narratives though Defenders used action orientated knowledge of schooling (first order SK1) to assert their practical knowledge of primary education and/or to defend themselves against perceived challenges to their

professional legitimacy. The use of these professional resources therefore played an important part in legitimising tutors' professionalism. Defenders made limited use (7% only) of theoretically authorised knowledge of schooling (1st order SK3). Generally, knowledge of schooling was a major part of the resource repertoire of Defenders.

- ii) Defenders used substantive knowledge of the ITE sector (2nd order SK) more than Novices did. As indicated above, they used this resource in 48% of all relevant narratives. This knowledge was almost all experientially based, derived from personal practice in ITE teaching. 49% of the use of this resource used overview knowledge; 45% used practical, action orientated knowledge. Only 6% of second order SK narratives used theoretically authorised knowledge (SK3); in all cases this usage referred to knowledge of government circulars on ITE rather than to research about the processes and pedagogy of ITE.
- iii) The pattern of processual knowledge usage by Defenders referred more to ITE work (2nd order) than to the school sector (1st order); of all PK resource usage by this type 55% was focused on 2nd order. This second order knowledge emphasised metaknowledge of reflection (PK2) more than PK1 (defined previously in this research as a standardised form of reflective practice); within all relevant 2nd order resource usage PK2 accounted for 70% and PK1 for 30%. Metaknowledge was therefore constructed as a central tenet of teacher educator professionalism.
- iv) As for the Novices, Defenders used processual knowledge to construct and standardise what counted as 'good practice' in school teaching. Defenders also encouraged reflective practice in students and defined this as a major area of professional activity for tutors. They also stressed the importance of exceptional school practitioners having metaknowledge of reflexivity; 35% of all first order PK resources cited the importance of such knowledge.

v) Defenders shared a common pattern of professional orientations with Novices, as specified in 7.2.1.

vi) Defenders and Novices also held similar attitudes to research, again as specified in 7.2.1.

The professional resource repertoires of Defenders were broadly similar to those of Novices. There were differences in the balance of usage of processual and substantive knowledge resources, as section 7.2.3 spells out, but there were also many common features. These included an emphasis on an experiential knowledge base for both schooling and ITE work; practical knowledge of schooling remained an important part of the repertoires, despite their time in HE work; and importance was given to the place of reflective practice in teaching. Importantly for this analysis, Defenders and Novices constructed the same professional personae and pedagogical roles as central to both primary teacher and teacher educator professionalism.

7.2.3 Differences between Novice and Defender professional resource repertoires

As indicated above, there were a number of similarities between the Novice and Defender professional resource repertoires. Overall these similarities were striking and more significant than the differences between the two types. In order to provide a rigorous analysis, however, these differences are summarised below,

The differences between the two types involved their usage of processual and substantive knowledge resources. Novices used 1st order substantive and processual knowledge more than Defenders. This meant that their repertoires made more reference to the world of schooling than those of the Defenders did. Novices made more use of first order SK1 than Defenders; again this meant that their resources stressed their practical, action-orientated

knowledge of schooling. Defenders made more use than Novices of overview knowledge of the primary sector (1st order SK2). Novices made more use of resources which stressed the importance of knowledge of reflective practice in the school sector (1st order PK1). Of all relevant PK resources used by Novices 61% were 1st order. In contrast Defenders made more use of 2nd order PK than 1st order. Whilst the Novice resources therefore tended to place more emphasis on the importance of practitioner reflection in and on school teaching, Defenders emphasised its place in ITE practice. Defenders also made more use of resources which stressed the importance of metaknowledge of reflection in ITE (2nd order PK2).

These differences can be summarised by stating that overall Defenders' professional resources were more focused on the second order context (ITE) than those of the Novices. Emphasising these differences should not detract, however, from the fact that both types placed considerable emphasis upon their knowledge and experience of schooling as the blueprint for their professionalism as primary teacher educators. Nor should it detract from the identical patterns of professional orientations used by the two types. In sum, the similarities between the professional resource repertoires for these two types were far greater than the differences. The differences, though slight, do however, pose some interesting questions about the professional development of ITE tutors which will be addressed in chapters 10 and 11.

7.2.4 Education Academics' professional resource repertoires

Education Academics were experienced teacher educators who had worked in a number of HE contexts, as the biographical profiles in section 7.3.4 will identify. I named this tutor type *Education Academics* because of their confident assertions in the interviews of their academic status and the place of research in their work as primary teacher educators. These

points are discussed in more detail below and in chapter 8. The professional resource repertoires of these tutors included the following:

Substantive knowledge resources

- Wide range of substantive knowledge resources using both knowledge of ITE (2nd order) and of schools (1st order)
- Second order knowledge a significant part of the resource repertoires, but majority of such knowledge experientially based
- Theoretically authorised knowledge of the school sector (1st order SK3) most frequently used type of first order knowledge
- Considerable use of overview knowledge of primary schooling
- Context specific knowledge of schooling (1st order SK1) still used to assert practitioner credibility in limited contexts

Processual knowledge resources

- Processual knowledge in ITE (2nd order PK) emphasised more than such knowledge in school teaching (1st order PK)
- Within 2nd order knowledge PK1 emphasised. This was the dominant form of knowledge of reflection used within narratives directly addressing ITE tutor professionalism
- Within 1st order knowledge place of reflective practice (PK1) in defining ‘good practice’ emphasised

Professional orientation resources

- Interpersonal aspect of the professional persona defined as separatist
- Individual autonomy and effort by fellow tutors recognised and commended

- Learner-focused aspect of professional persona defined as separated individualism.
Tutor role is therefore clearly focused on academic and professional aspects of ITE
- Limited range of student attributes (professional and academic only) involved in ITE
- Professional duty to the school sector strong
- Duty to produce good primary practitioners emphasised

The distinctive features of Education Academics' professional resource repertoires were as follows:

i) In comparison to the other two tutor types, Education Academics used wider repertoires of professional knowledge (both substantive and processual) and of professional orientations. This tutor type used first order substantive knowledge more extensively than second order knowledge, with 54% of all relevant narratives using first order knowledge and 46% using second. Education Academics were the only tutor type to use significant elements of both experientially and theoretically authorised knowledge of schooling in their resource repertoires. Overview knowledge of the school context was used in 30% of all relevant first order substantive knowledge narratives. 58% of the relevant narratives used theoretically authorised knowledge of schooling as a professional resource. Education Academics were the only type to make such significant use of this resource. In certain limited contexts Education Academics included practical, context specific knowledge of primary schooling in their resource repertoires. As for the other tutor types, this tended to happen when they felt their continuing credibility as a primary teacher was under question. 12% of all the first order SK narratives showed usage of this professional resource.

ii) Knowledge of ITE (second order knowledge) formed a significant part of Education Academics' professional resource repertoires. As for Defenders, this knowledge was almost all experientially based and derived from personal practice in ITE teaching. Within the

relevant narratives 38% of second order SK usage was SK1, 59% SK2 and only 3% SK3.

Again, as for the Defenders, in all cases this SK3 usage referred to knowledge of government circulars and guidance on ITE rather than to research about the processes and pedagogy of ITE.

iii) The pattern of processual knowledge usage by Education Academics, like that for Defenders, referred more to ITE work than to the school sector; of all PK resource usage by this type 60% was focused on 2nd order. Unlike the Defenders, however, this second order knowledge emphasised knowledge of reflection (PK1) more than PK2; within all relevant 2nd order resource usage PK1 accounted for 85% and PK2 for 15%. Reflective practice in ITE was therefore constructed as a key part of teacher educator professionalism, but metaknowledge was given less importance.

iv) As for the other two types, Education Academics used first order processual knowledge to construct and standardise what counted as ‘good practice’ in school teaching.

v) The professional orientations of the Education Academics were distinctive. When discussing their focus on learners, they constructed their ITE tutor roles as involving the development of students’ academic and professional competence only. The tutor’s role was to attend to those imperatives and not to become involved in social or emotional aspects of the students’ lives. This tutor type eschewed the values of mutualism and communalism with their peers forwarded by the other two types of tutors, and instead stressed the importance of individual autonomy and effort. Like the other tutor types, Education Academics outlined their senses of professional responsibility to the school sector and their place in producing good practitioners.

vi) Education Academics saw themselves as research active. They used the term 'academic' and applied it to themselves. They also stressed the importance of theoretical knowledge and personal research engagement in their resource repertoires.

The professional resource repertoires used by the Education Academics were then distinctly different from those of the Novices and the Defenders. The professional orientations of this type were different, with the teaching role in ITE seen as more restricted. This tutor type did not draw parallels between ITE professionalism and that of primary school teachers, rather the term 'academic' was re-defined to fit constructions of the ITE tutors' work. Knowledge of schooling remained an important part of the resource repertoires, but this usage focused on overview knowledge of the primary classroom, alongside knowledge gained from personal research and other theoretical sources. In all these areas then the professional resource repertoires of Education Academics varied from those of the other two types.

7.3 Biographical profiles associated with each tutor type

7.3.1 Novices' biographical profiles

In this section I aim to discuss the key factors within the biographical factors for this tutor type. Firstly, all Novice tutors had between two and three years of experience of HE-based ITE at the time of the interviews. This is a key finding for the typology and later chapters of this thesis will explore its significance. All the Novices had worked in only one HEI - not surprisingly given their brief experience of HE work. They were likely to have had previous links with the institution prior to taking up their current post. These links had been established through an aspect of their own teacher education and development. One Novice had undertaken her own ITE at the university where she now worked; others had worked in

partnership schools and / or undertaken CPD courses at their university prior to being appointed. Some Novices had also made a gradual transition from school to HE work by lecturing at the university on a part-time or casual basis initially.

Novices classified themselves as inactive researchers within their institutions¹⁰¹. All Novices taught only on primary ITE courses and were not involved in CPD tutoring or teaching. With no research activity and no involvement in teaching serving teachers, their roles in their institutions were therefore restricted only to primary ITE teaching.

Whilst the above factors were common to all tutors defined as Novices, there were other factors for this type which were less clearly defined. These factors were the level of qualification held, the subject specialism, and the pattern of experience in the school sector. The level of qualifications which the Novices held varied. Three Novice tutors had a Masters degree (chapter 4 has defined this as the 'baseline qualification' in ITE), but two Novices held just a first degree. The subject specialisms also varied. Overall Novices were not likely to have clearly defined or well developed subject specialisms, with two generalist tutors, and three tutors in the early stages of generated specialisms within the sample group¹⁰². This element of Novices' biographical profiles was diverse then, and it was difficult to determine any standard profile for this type. All Novice tutors had entered HE straight from primary schools, three from senior management posts as headteachers, and two straight from the classroom. None of them had had experience of advisory work.

7.3.2 Defenders' biographical profiles

I have identified the following key biographical factors for all tutors classified as Defenders. They had between four and nine years of experience of HE-based ITE, and could therefore be said to be in mid career stage. They had only worked in one HEI, and

had had links with this institution through an aspect of their own teacher education and development prior to taking up their posts. Two Defenders had undertaken their own ITE at their current workplaces. Like the Novices, other Defenders had been involved in the partnership work of their universities or had undertaken courses there prior to appointment.

All Defender tutors had generated a subject specialism through their work in schools or on entry to HE. All the Defender tutors interviewed stated that they had achieved this expertise during their time in HE rather than through their school teaching. Defenders did not currently define themselves as active researchers, and did not expect to be placed in this category by their institution in forthcoming RAEs. Interestingly, however, some of them stated that they had limited involvement in research earlier in their careers, but this area of work had now become less of a priority for them. Two Defender tutors indicated some very limited, current involvement in research, but still maintained that they were not likely to be classified as ‘active researchers’ by their institution. These tensions are explored in more depth in section 7.4.

Like Novices, Defenders taught only on primary ITE courses, with no involvement in other courses or areas of activity within their education departments. They were, however, also involved in the management of primary ITE courses, often having responsibility for running large courses and undertaking considerable amounts of academic administration. Like the Novices, their roles in their institutions were focused only on primary ITE, but arguably, their management responsibilities gave them an even greater sense of involvement in this area.

In terms of their patterns of experience in the school sector, Defender tutors did not have experience of advisory teacher work and had entered HE from senior management posts in

primary schools. Three Defenders had been primary headteachers prior to entering HE; the remainder had been deputy heads. There was one anomalous factor in the biographical profiles for the Defenders. This was that, whilst the majority of such tutors in this study had Masters degrees, one also held a doctorate.

7.3.3 Education Academics' biographical profiles

This tutor type had between six and ten years of experience of HE-based ITE. Like the Defenders then, they could be said to be in mid career stage. They had worked in more than one HEI during this time. One Education Academic had worked in two HEIs, the others had worked in three, including their current posts. Education Academics were not likely to have had links with their current institution prior to taking up their post. Unlike the Defenders and Novices then none of them had undertaken any aspects of their professional development as teachers at that university.

The Education Academics were the only type with consistent subject specialisms. They also clearly defined themselves as active researchers, and expected to be entered in the next departmental RAE submission. For all Education Academics their area of research was focused on the applications of their subject area to primary school teaching. This continuity of subject specialisation and research focus gave all the Education Academics a clearly defined area of expertise in both research and teaching. One Education Academic, for example, had a first degree in English Literature, a PGCE as part of which he had specialised in the teaching of English, and a Masters degree in the teaching of English. In his current post he taught PGCE primary students about the teaching of English in primary schools. His research focused on children's literacy, with a particular emphasis on the use of texts to extend literacy in Key Stage 2. Another Education Academic had the same

pattern of continuity of research and teaching in mathematics education. These patterns contrasted with the diversity of expertise and the consequent lack of a consistent specialist focus informing teaching (and potentially research) shown in the Novices' and Defenders' biographical profiles.

Education Academics taught on both ITE and CPD courses in their institutions. Their work within their education departments therefore had a diversity which was not shown in Defenders' and Novices' work. In terms of experience of the school sector, Education Academics had all had experience of advisory teacher work in the area of their subject specialism, whilst in the school sector, and had entered HE straight from such posts. Additionally, this type was found in only one institution, a factor which is considered in depth in chapter 9. As with the Defenders, there was one anomalous factor in the biographical profiles for the Education Academics. This was that, whilst the majority of such tutors had Masters degrees, one also held a doctorate.

7.4 Summary of the typology of tutors

I have shown in the previous sections of this chapter the three distinct types of tutor found in this research. To summarise these three types:

- i) Novices were tutors with limited experience of HE-based teaching whose work focused only on ITE teaching. Novices used common repertoires of professional resource usage heavily predicated on their previous experience as school teachers. These tutors had made a comparatively recent transition from the school sector, bringing with them a lack of clear subject specialism and the accumulated experiences, attitudes and orientations of their careers as primary teachers. Perhaps predictably these tutors relied heavily on their experiences of primary schooling in the professional resource repertoires they used to

discuss their professional identity and work as ITE tutors. For this type of tutor then the primary school sector provided the blueprint for their resource repertoires.

ii) Defenders were experienced teacher educators, with between four and nine years of time in HE. The Defender type of tutor then had experience and knowledge of HE-based ITE work, but their resource repertoires also made considerable use of the knowledge, experience and orientations gained during their previous - sometimes distant in time - career in primary schooling. Some aspects of both Defenders' professional resource repertoires and their biographical profiles¹⁰³ were similar to those of Novice tutors. Defenders worked only on ITE programmes, they had only worked in one HEI and had generated subject specialisms. Defenders had broadly similar levels of HE experience to Education Academics.

iii) Education Academics were experienced teacher educators, with between six and ten years of experience of ITE work. The biographical profiles of the Education Academics showed distinct differences from those of the other tutor types in the following areas

- experience of working in more than one HEI
- no links with their current HEI prior to recruitment
- diversity of work in their departments
- consistent subject specialisms in a subject within the primary school curriculum
- status as active researchers, with their research focus within that specialist subject
- prior to entering HE had advisory teacher experience in this subject

This tutor type included then experienced tutors undertaking a diverse range of teaching and research activity. This type had entered HE with subject specialist knowledge already established, and on entry to HE had been able to build on this specialist knowledge to become active researchers.

Education Academics used professional resource repertoires distinctly different from those of the other two types. The first order substantive knowledge resources they used were often derived from theoretical rather than experiential sources; they used different professional resources when discussing interactions with both students and peers; and they drew on different resources to describe and legitimise their professionalism as ITE practitioners (see chapter 8).

7.5 Differing habitus for the tutor types

Drawing on the theoretical framework for this study, teacher educators are not seen as entering the field of ITE as identical individuals, rather they are seen as bringing with them their differentiated personal and professional biographies, and their differing knowledge, professional orientations and constructions of professionalism. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts, individual professionals enter the field with 'their own particular, objectively derived habitus' (Grenfell and James 1998:164). Part of the habitus for all the types of tutors in this research has been generated in part through their differing careers in primary schooling, and their ways of understanding their work as teachers in the sector. It is beyond the scope of this research to determine the exact impact of the tutors' primary school careers on their habitus, but some exploration of how this first order work affects second order professionalism is central to the development of this thesis.

The fact that these tutors had the necessary credibility to move from school into HE indicates that they must have had some claims to being recognised as 'good' and 'successful' primary practitioners at those times. As such, in Bourdieu's terms, they were 'in' the game of primary schooling, possessing valued and necessary professional

resources. These professional resources also had value within the field of ITE at the points at which they entered it.¹⁰⁴ In other words there must have been broad affinities between their habitus and the discourses, practices and principles of the fields of both primary schooling and ITE at this time.

Chapter 2.3 has analysed key features of primary school teacher professionalism during the decades when the interviewees would have been teaching.¹⁰⁵ With reference to this analysis, it is relevant to note the strong similarities between the professional resource repertoires of Novice and Defender tutors, shown in this study, and those shown by primary school teachers, particularly in research into teacher professionalism from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s.

These studies show, for example, that many primary school teachers at this time stressed their commitment to children, conceptualised teaching as concerned with the care, nurture and monitoring of children's development, and adopted affective and diffuse teaching roles. These and other relevant aspects of this type of primary school teacher professionalism are summarised in Osborn et al's (2000) 'competence model' based on a liberal progressive view of education. The key attributes of teaching at the time relevant to this research have been summarised in section 2.3; these attributes, including self-regulation, affective roles, a commitment to education as a process of development, and moral accountability are all professional resources which Novice and Defender tutors drew upon in this study.

There are then strong similarities between the professional resources which these tutor types might reasonably be presumed to have had as primary school teachers in the 1980s and early 1990s, and the professional resources they drew upon as ITE tutors to construct and legitimise their professionalism in this research. Because of these similarities, these tutors are defined here as having being primary school teachers who in their first order

careers were influenced by the discourses of progressivism and child-centredness, dominant in rhetorical definitions of 'good practice' in the primary schooling of the 1970s and 1980s. To denote, these influences, I define these tutor types as having had a *child-centred habitus*, whilst working in primary schools. This thesis argues that, after entering ITE work with such habitus, these types became learner-centred tutors in HE-based primary ITE. To describe the habitus of these ITE tutors in future chapters I use the shorthand term *child/learner-centred habitus*.

There are few obvious similarities between the professional resource repertoires of the Education Academic tutors and the findings of studies on primary teacher professionalism, beyond the tutors' advocacy of reflection to provide a mechanism for the self-regulation of practice. In chapter 2 I have outlined the dichotomy sometimes made in primary education between child-centred and subject-centred discourses, and the assumptions of many commentators that the former discourses were dominant in defining 'good practice'. There are certainly few traces of subject-centred teaching being defined in this way, or of primary school teachers professing their allegiance to their subject specialisation in the literature on primary teacher professionalism, during the relevant period. A number of commentators (see, for example, Pollard 1985) have indicated that there was a rhetoric / reality gap in the progressive movement, and that child-centred beliefs were not always reflected in the 'reality' of the subject-focused curricula, practices and discourses found in many primary schools. Some commentators (see, for example, Pollard and Tann 1987; Burgess 1989) also identify that by the 1980s there were other important discourses, often running counter to child-centred discourses, in primary education. These discourses related to subject-centred teaching (Thornton 1993) and to an ideology of attainment (see Burgess 1989:84). These aspects were given greatly enhanced importance with the introduction of

the subject-focused National Curriculum. The professional resources of the Education Academics may well then relate to these subject-centred discourses within primary schooling at the time when they were school teachers.

The distinctive biographical profiles and resource repertoires of Education Academics present various issues at this point. Within the parameters of this research study it is not possible to determine conclusively whether Education Academic tutors had a different habitus from that of Novice and Defender tutors on entry into HE work or whether they entered with the same habitus which then underwent reflexive processes of ‘improvisation’ or ‘reconstruction’ in relation to the meso level settings in which they found themselves. These two possible lines of argument are now summarised.

Firstly, Education Academic tutors had a different habitus from Novice and Defender tutors on entry to HE-based ITE work. The one piece of evidence for this is that they have distinctive biographical profiles indicating that they have had different career trajectories in primary schools than the other tutor types. One key difference is the sustained subject specialist knowledge which the Education Academic tutors developed throughout their initial academic and professional education, on into their primary school careers and then into HE work. A related factor here is that Education Academic tutors entered HE from subject focused primary advisory work rather than straight from primary schools. Speculatively then, the subject specialist knowledge gained from these experiences may have given them a more subject orientated perspective on primary education.

Following the dichotomy between child-centred and subject-centred discourses outlined above, the habitus of the Education Academics might be said to have been predominantly influenced by the latter discourses, whilst that of the Novice and Defender tutors were

influenced by the former in their primary school careers. Consequently, the habitus of the Education Academics, as their set of dispositions, their engrained and engraining ways of understanding primary schooling and being a primary school teacher, differed from that of the Novice and Defender tutors whilst in teaching and on entry to HE.

Following this line of argument, Education Academics bring into HE a habitus which includes a sustained subject specialism, and as chapter 8 will show, strong senses of being lifelong academics and scholars. This habitus orientates them to different constructions of primary schooling and of the role of the ITE tutor in the (re)production process from those of the other two tutor types. In particular, from the time of their entry into HE, Education Academic tutors' subject specialisms enable them to participate in the type of school-focused, subject specific research which they described in the interviews. Within their current institutional setting where, as chapter 10 will show, such research engagement is valued, they find affinities between the discourses, practices and principles instantiated in the meso level of the UDE and this habitus.

The second line of argument is that Education Academics may have entered ITE from schooling with the same type of habitus as Novice and Defender tutors. As the biographical profiles indicate, Education Academic tutors did not enter the field of ITE at their current institution, but have worked in at least one other HEI first. At some point during their varied HE experiences the reflexive relationships between the habitus and the institutional settings within which they operate enabled these tutors to create their reconstructed form of professionalism. As chapter 3 has indicated, Bourdieu's work does not see habitus as deterministic or causal, rather within the settings in which agents operate there is seen to be space for improvisation. Education Academic tutors' professionalism could then be seen as the result of 'improvisation' within their particular institutional setting.

If this second line of argument is followed, then within the parameters of this research study, it is not possible to state categorically whether this ‘improvisation’ has occurred at their current institution or at the previous institutions in which these tutors have worked. This limitation occurs because the research design did not include the collection of data about the tutors’ previous posts and work in HE (see chapter 11). There is the possibility that these tutors have deliberately moved posts in order to find an institution with affinities to a habitus which has already undergone improvisations in their previous HEIs.

After careful consideration of these two lines of argument - and weighing of the available evidence - the likelihood is that both have a contribution to make to understanding why the professionalism of the Education Academic tutors differs from that of the other tutors in this research. This thesis therefore argues that Education Academics had a different habitus from that of Novice and Defender tutors on leaving the primary sector, *and* that it is the affinities and disaffinities which they find between habitus and institutional setting(s) which enable them to construct and valorise their form of professionalism as teacher educators. In future chapters I use the term *subject-centred habitus* as a shorthand way of referring to the habitus of this tutor type. Whatever the effects of their experiences before reaching their current institution, as chapter 10 will show, once at this university the tutors are able to confidently proclaim the legitimacy and value of their reconstructed form of professionalism. This line of argument is developed further in chapter 10 in relation to the analyses of the institutional settings and the macro level of ITE.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a three dimensional typology of primary ITE tutors. In the accompanying appendix material I have described how this typology was constructed. I

have indicated the professional resource repertoires used by each tutor type by identifying and discussing the predominant patterns of resource usage found. I have also shown that there were distinct biographical differences between the tutor types. These differences were particularly pronounced between Education Academics and the other two types. Differences have been identified in the tutors' teaching experience prior to entry to HE and in their career patterns and work experience once there. Education Academic tutors had distinctive biographical profiles which included an emphasis on subject specialisation. One key feature distinguishing Novice tutors from the other two types was their limited experience of HE.

This chapter has shown that Novice and Defender tutors shared broadly similar resource repertoires. The common form of professionalism which these two types shared, drawing on these repertoires, is discussed in detail in chapter 8. Education Academics had a distinctive repertoire of resources which, as chapter 8 illustrates, was deployed to construct a second form of teacher educator professionalism.

I have argued in this chapter that the three tutor types found in this research brought into ITE work their different habitus, generated, at least in part, from and by their varied career experiences as primary school teachers, and their different knowledge, orientations and ways of understanding primary school work. I have termed the habitus which the Novice and Defender tutors brought with them from schooling a *child-centred habitus*; the habitus of the Education Academics is termed a *subject-centred habitus*.

These different tutor types entered ITE to work in different institutional settings, and to engage in the field of teacher education in different ways¹⁰⁶. In ITE they became the agents for the (re)production of primary school teachers; their professional functions changed - they now became teachers of teachers. Their professional resources from primary schooling

were valued differently in the new field, and they had to learn how to draw on these resources differently, and, if necessary, to construct new resources to valorise and legitimate their professionalism(s) as ITE tutors. As this chapter has indicated and chapter 8 explores in more detail, for some tutors their experiences and knowledge of primary schooling become a major part of their 'new' professionalism as ITE tutors.

CHAPTER 8 THE TWO FORMS OF PROFESSIONALISM

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I answer the third question about teacher educator professionalism which I posed in chapter 1. This question was: what do the professional resource repertoires and the ways in which they are deployed indicate about the professionalism(s) of ITE tutors?

In the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 3 I have stated that teacher educators, as agents in the field of ITE, construct their own repertoires of resources, drawing on the reservoir of all the resources available to them. They then deploy these resources in different ways in different contexts. This deployment includes the use of strategies which the tutors devise and promote in order to tutors assert the legitimacy of their resource repertoires, and the form(s) of professionalism they espouse. Whereas chapter 7 has identified the fundamental aspects of the professional resource repertoires used by each tutor type, in this chapter I analyse the modes of deployment of these repertoires within the tutors' narratives during the interviews. I use the form of the repertoires and the various ways in which the resources were deployed within the narratives to identify the forms of professionalism identified with the tutor types.

I identify two forms of professionalism, *practitioner bond professionalism* as constructed by the Novice and Defender tutor types, and *reconstructed professionalism* as constructed by the Education Academic tutor type. I have coined the term *practitioner bond professionalism* because it is one of the findings of this research that Novice and Defender tutors worked within a labyrinth of professional and personal expectations and institutional structures which effectively 'bound' them into their self-identified practitioner roles. The

ways in which this ‘binding’ occurs are discussed in more detail in chapter 10. The term *reconstructed professionalism* has been used because it seemed to me that this form of teacher educator professionalism ‘reconstructed’ or reformed elements of both the professionalism of the schoolteachers which the Education Academic tutors had once been, and of the academics they had now become (see chapter 10). The findings for these two forms of professionalism are presented and analysed in this chapter, using the analytical language defined in previous chapters.

This chapter is structured as follows. In section 8.2 I identify and analyse the practitioner bond form of professionalism, illustrating the analysis with extracts from the interview data. I then relate my findings to the analysis of relevant literature in chapter 2. In section 8.3 I complete the same descriptive and analytical processes for the reconstructed form of professionalism. In section 8.4 I summarise my findings, and identify how the analysis is to be extended in chapter 9.

8.2 The practitioner bond form of professionalism

8.2.1 Key features of the form

Earlier I have shown the resource repertoires used in the interviews by Novice and Defender types of tutors (see section 7.2), and have indicated the many similarities between these repertoires. In this section of chapter 8 then, I look in more detail at these repertoires, and at the assertions and strategies used by tutors to promote and legitimise them. Together these elements construct the practitioner bond form of professionalism.

The practitioner bond professionalism has a number of distinctive features.

- i) A diffuse and extended teaching role is constructed as central to ITE work. Professional values stress the importance of learner-centred teaching, and the tutors celebrate the expertise and rewards gained through supporting the development of students as learners. Professional knowledge of ITE is seen as generated through experience. The importance placed on ITE teaching is linked to the tutors' professed missions to produce 'good primary practitioners' from ITE programmes. These features are discussed in more detail in sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3.
- ii) Professionalism is also predicated on an experiential knowledge base of school teaching. In particular, practical knowledge of schooling is emphasised as a key part of the knowledge base. Assertions of professional identity often centre around the knowledge gained from being an ex-school teacher. The tutor's role in ITE teaching is often explicitly compared to that of the primary school teacher. These features are discussed in more detail in sections 8.2.4 and 8.2.5.
- iii) Tutors emphasise the importance of reflexivity in many areas of their practice. They also state that encouraging reflective practice in students is a major area of their professional activity. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.2.6.
- iv) Tutors voice strong senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector. As indicated above, these senses are chiefly manifested through a mission to produce 'good primary practitioners' from ITE programmes. Tutors state that in order to achieve this a major area of their professional activity is to model aspects of the primary teaching role for their students. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.2.7.
- v) Because of the centrality of the teaching role, other aspects of ITE work, including research, are de-emphasised. Tutors contrast their identified celebration of practitioner

values with the rejection of stereotypical ‘academic’ values. These features are discussed in more detail in sections 8.2.8.

8.2.2 Teachers of teachers first and foremost

Earlier in this thesis (see section 7.2) I demonstrated that both Novice and Defender types used second order SK resources in their repertoires¹⁰⁷. As chapter 5 has stressed, the interviews provided opportunities for the recontextualisation of all elements of professionalism, including the recontextualisation of pedagogical practices. Tutors’ second order knowledge was presented through narratives describing how they planned, taught and assessed ITE courses, and in their accounts of student development and learning. These narratives were often positive in their tone, providing accounts of tutors’ confidence, competence, creativity and joy in working with students¹⁰⁸.

This is exemplified by a Defender tutor, Lydia, talking about a group of fourth year B.Ed students,

I get such a kick from designing programmes for that group. I’ve worked with them throughout their time here and I just feel, I just know where they need to go next, and what I should teach them and that’s a powerful feeling.

Novice and Defender tutor types both saw such knowledge as deriving from their accumulated experience of teacher education. Defender tutors placed a strong emphasis on the development of their knowledge over their many years in ITE. Novice tutors, with less than three years of HE teaching experience, also attributed their growing expertise in ITE to the accumulation of experience, albeit limited. For example, Linda, a Novice tutor says,

I’ve learnt so much since I came here about teaching students, it’s all been great experience and I’ve learnt so much from it, hard to begin to describe how much really.

In section 7.2 I have indicated that for both tutor types nearly all the second order knowledge used was experientially based¹⁰⁹. The tutors stated that they valued this knowledge and saw it as a major element of their professionalism. In the interviews they seemed to celebrate their expertise and accumulated knowledge; by doing this, they also repeatedly constructed themselves as experts in the student learning process. Analysis of the narratives showed, however, that they also perceived second order knowledge resources to be devalued by students and by teachers, and to have little value in sectors of education outside ITE¹¹⁰.

ITE was constructed as a professional, practically oriented enterprise in which teaching students was the most important activity. Within the interview contexts Novice and Defender tutor types made repeated assertions about the centrality of their roles as teachers in their ITE work. This is illustrated by one Novice tutor, Sandra, who states,

I'm a teacher, above all I'm still a teacher, that's the absolute centre of my professionalism, my sense of identity, as a teacher.

All the Novice and Defender tutors identified their teaching roles as bringing the highest levels of job satisfaction. Through the form of the professional resource repertoires used in the interview contexts (as identified in section 7.2. and reviewed again in section 8.2.4 below), tutors also identified that they saw a central part of the teaching role as establishing good tutor-student relationships. Tutors constructed themselves as highly conscientious, committed to their teaching and to ITE students as learners. This teaching role and the professional resources associated with it are identified in more detail below.

Assertions of the importance of teaching in ITE work were frequently linked to either rejection of the label 'academic' or to an on-going sense of self-identity as a primary school teacher. Tutors counter-poised acceptance of self-identification as a teacher against

rejection of self-identification as an ‘academic’. This was a recurring theme in this form of professionalism which is discussed in more detail in section 8.2.6. Even more frequent was the comparison of the teaching role in ITE to that of primary schooling. This comparison was an on-going theme in practitioner bond professionalism, and is discussed in section 8.2.5.

Practitioner bond professionalism included strong senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector. These were manifested in the interview context through the tutors’ assertions of their senses of mission and responsibility to (re)produce the ‘good teacher’ from their ITE programmes. The leit motif of the ‘good teacher’ (alternatively expressed as the ‘good practitioner’) was used throughout the interviews to describe approved practitioners. In many cases the ‘good *primary* teacher / practitioner’ was emphasised, thereby implying a distinction between what constituted this status in the primary sector, as opposed to other education sectors, such as secondary schooling.

Novice and Defender tutors both positioned themselves as having a responsibility for developing their students into ‘good teachers’. This responsibility was a recurring theme in practitioner bond professionalism; all the tutors shared a sense of dedication to this perceived mission of producing the ‘good primary practitioner’. This mission had two interwoven strands. Firstly, tutors felt a duty of care towards their students which was often part of the diffuse teaching role discussed below. For example, Rebecca related how she checked the welfare and progress of her students after they had left the university,

In September I usually phone up my newly ex-students to check out how they are faring. “How are you doing,” I ask and I’m thinking “Did we do a good enough job in preparing you for this? Can you survive?

This aspect of tutor professionalism was seen as part of an extended teaching role in which concern for students' welfare extends beyond the ITE phase. Secondly, tutors constructed themselves as responsible to the primary education sector if they failed in their mission to produce 'good teachers'. ITE tutor as gatekeeper to the profession was a strong theme here; if tutors were not rigorous in their monitoring of the quality of students' teaching then they constructed themselves as failing in their responsibility to the school sector. This was exemplified by one Defender tutor, Tom, who stated,

It's my job to ensure that those new teachers leaving here are good teachers, the best possible teachers we can produce, otherwise I'm failing, failing myself, failing all those schools and children and teachers out there.

8.2.3 Celebrating the extended teaching role

Earlier in this thesis I have indicated through the analysis of the professional resource repertoires that the pedagogic aspect of the professional persona of Novices and Defenders was defined as integrated individualism (see sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). This means that a wide range of student attributes, including social, emotional, academic and professional, were all constructed as potentially involved in ITE. Tutors saw students as undergoing an intense process of professional and personal development which potentially placed them under stress, whether academic, professional or personal. A key part of the tutor's role was to support students in these developmental processes, helping them to deal with any difficulties arising. As co-ordinators of the processes, tutors saw themselves as involved in sometimes contradictory roles of nurturing, monitoring, encouraging, regulating, liberating and directing their students.

The resource repertoires used indicated that the tutors' role in this form of professionalism became diffuse, extended and affective. As stated above, tutors asserted that a central part

of the teaching role was establishing relationships with students, and doing this well was seen as a key element of professionalism. Self-construction as a 'good tutor/teacher' was a recurring aspect in all of these interviews. Tutors highlighted issues of concern, care, responsibility and control in their teaching roles. Many of the identified rewards of teaching in ITE centred around tutors' involvement in the learning processes and around their feelings of being valued by learners. But these diffuse teaching roles adopted were also seen as demanding of time and emotional energy.

In one narrative using the professional resource of integrated individualism, for example, a Novice tutor, Sandra, described having an 'open door policy' for students. This enabled her to offer students help as and when they needed it. She described her support for Tracey one of her students who had been

having a lot of problems this year - great student, bright, well motivated, no academic problems, good in school - but terrible, terrible personal life She's needed a lot of support this year so she comes to me and we try to talk it through, so that she can stay on the course really

The tutor made it clear that she knew the named student well. The student needed help in resolving issues from her personal life which impinged - by implication repeatedly - on her professional development throughout the ITE course. In this narrative, and in many similar examples, a wide range of areas of the student's life and personality were clearly known to the tutor. The tutor's role became extended and diversified away from tutor-as-professional-mentor into tutor-as-personal-counsellor. The tutor took on this diffuse support role willingly, even though in the latter part of the narrative she indicated that it was time consuming and emotionally draining for her.

In another narrative an ITE tutor, Tom, related a conversation with a second tutor, teaching outside the Education Department, about a main subject module which some of the Education students were taking. A contrast was implicitly established between the caring ITE tutor who knew his students and was overseeing their development and the other tutor. Tom related,

and I said to him, 'How's it (*the work*) going for Samina and Emma (they're two of my year 3 students). And he looked at me as if I was mad and I realised that he probably didn't even know who they were. He probably bungs the whole lot together in the lecture theatre and just reads the exam scripts at the end of the semester, gives them a grade and that's called monitoring students' learning.

In this narrative an impersonal teaching persona (defined as collectivist pedagogical interaction in the professional resource reservoir in chapter 6) is constructed for the other tutor. This persona is contrasted unfavourably with the interviewee's concern for his students (using the professional resource of integrated individualism). The ITE tutor here showed many of the key traits of the practitioner bond form of professionalism; he knew the students by name; he used this knowledge to individualise them; he established that he feels a duty of care towards them; and he was attempting to monitor their progress. The nurturing pedagogical persona he constructed for himself contrasts sharply with that constructed for the other tutor; this tutor did not know the students; he did not appear to be concerned about this lack of knowledge; he was seen to be careless towards his students (note the casual and homogenising implications of the term 'bung the whole lot together'); and by implication he inadequately monitored his students' learning.

In other narratives using similar professional resources Novice and Defender tutors repeatedly celebrated their knowledge of their students as individuals, often naming them and showing detailed awareness of their progression and the factors affecting it.

Individualisation of students was a key strategy in these types of pedagogic interactions.

Knowledge of and commitment to students was seen as an important aspect of teacher educator professionalism. This aspect of tutors' professionalism was predicated on an ethos of care, developmental nurturing and moral responsibility. Tutors celebrated this aspect of their professionalism, emphasising their closeness to their students, and stressing their ethics of responsibility and commitment. For Defender and Novice tutors this is what it meant to be a good teacher in ITE; and expertise in teaching, with all its associated values, attitudes and orientations, was at the heart of their form of professionalism¹¹¹.

8.2.4 Knowledge of primary school teaching

As I have indicated in section 7.2, the professional resource repertoires of both Novice and Defender tutors showed repeated use of first order substantive knowledge, that is knowledge of the primary school context. In the professional resource repertoires first order knowledge was used more widely than second order knowledge by both of these tutor types. Knowledge associated with the tutors' past careers in school was therefore used more extensively than knowledge of their present careers in HE to define their professionalism as teacher educators. These first order professional resources had particular significance for the practitioner bond form of professionalism both because of this pattern of usage, and because of the strategies associated with their deployment.

First order knowledge resources for these two tutor types were largely experiential in origin (see section 7.2), deriving from the tutors' own experience of primary school teaching. The resources classified in the professional resources network as SK1 were about practical, action orientated knowledge of how to teach. Novice and Defender tutors used these resources to signal their knowledge and experience of the primary classroom.

Analysis of the metaperceptive narratives - in which the interviewees were asked to describe how they thought their students and serving primary school teachers saw the professionalism of teacher educators - showed that practical knowledge of schooling was perceived to be highly valued. Indeed in most contexts this knowledge was the only criterion by which tutors felt that they could unequivocally establish their legitimacy as teacher educators. On-going status as a credible primary school teacher in the eyes of teachers and students thus became indistinguishable from legitimisation as a credible ITE tutor in such contexts. And tutors attempted to claim dual professionalism as both primary school teachers and primary ITE tutors.

Tutors therefore worked hard to signal their experience of and competence in schooling. All the tutors voiced concern that their credibility as primary teachers - and hence by implication as ITE tutors - was regularly questioned, whether explicitly or implicitly, by students and teachers. In order to counter these challenges tutors devised a number of strategies, some pre-emptive and others redemptive. A common pre-emptive strategy, for example, was for tutors to tell their students of their past - or even better on-going - experiences of primary teaching¹¹². Novice and Defender tutors related that they consciously planned to signal their teaching experience to new student groups. This frequently involved telling students what one tutor termed 'my stock of stories from the classroom'. Such signalling was seen as a key part of the process of establishing tutors' professional credibility with students.

Pre-emptive strategies were not always sufficient, however, to prevent students, or more frequently teachers, from being sceptical about the tutors' knowledge of primary schooling. Redemptive strategies to assert the tutors' credibility were therefore also needed. Explicit challenges from teachers or students to tutors' legitimacy were often interpreted as

implying that the tutors had inadequate knowledge of the primary classroom. Such challenges were met head on; strategies deployed included stating their experience (where possible stressing the contemporaneity of the experience, as the narrative below shows), showing empathy towards teacher or student on some aspect of school life perceived to be difficult¹¹³, giving advice on a teaching dilemma, or even more directly showing their competence by intervening in the teaching process¹¹⁴.

An illustration of this was a narrative related by a Novice tutor, Sam. She told of being faced with a sceptical teacher and an untrusting student, both of whom she perceived to be questioning her knowledge and expertise when she came to see the student teaching on School Experience visits¹¹⁵. Finally, Sam was able to ‘win them over’ by intervening in the student’s lesson to calm a difficult class. With her practitioner competence and knowledge proved, Sam felt that she became credible to the teacher and student. She stated that she had ‘showed them that I could still do the job’. Her words refer directly to the job of primary school teaching, but in the tutor’s own interpretation of this incident proving her competence as a classroom teacher became synonymous with demonstrating her professional credibility as a teacher educator.

Citing the recent nature of their school teaching experience was also a strategy tutors related using to rebut challenges from teachers. Many of the Novice narratives on this theme involved the tutors referring to the contemporaneity of their experience. For example, Linda tells of a visit to a school to supervise a student teaching another difficult class of children. The class teacher explained to the tutor how difficult the class were and then she said to me, straight out,
‘Do you know what it’s like teaching this kind of class?’
So I said yes, I’d taught in schools of exceptional difficulty. So she said,
‘How long ago was that?’
‘Two years ago,’ I said.

“Thank God for that” she said. ‘So you really do know about what this is like.’

The tutor’s comment on this incident was that the class teacher then

saw me as competent and knowledgeable, because I’m so newly out of school, that’s how she saw it, my practical knowledge and experience are still fresh, relevant if you like

As in the previous example, competence and knowledge as a primary school teacher were inter-twined with being a teacher educator. Tutors perceived that possessing and demonstrating this recent knowledge gave them positive feedback from teachers and students, and reinforced their sense of having what some tutors referred to as ‘the kudos of the classroom’ and others termed ‘street credibility’. Armed with such knowledge then, they had status as credible, newly ex-primary school practitioners. This credibility was a major part of their professionalism.

These strategies were not always wholly successful for all tutor types however. Novice tutors expressed unequivocal confidence in their on-going status as credible primary teachers, but in some narratives Defender tutors expressed anxiety that they lacked the first order knowledge necessary to gain and maintain this sense of legitimacy. This was sometimes expressed as ‘feeling it (*the ability to teach children*) slipping’ or ‘losing that sense of credibility’ with the students. This is exemplified by Mike, a Defender tutor, who recalled telling a new group of students anecdotes about his own school teaching as a pre-emptive strategy when he realised that they were

the same stories that I told so many times before the same old stale stories, I knew it and I felt the students knew it too. I was losing it losing that sense of street cred. with the students

Defender tutors, like Novices, attempted to assert their continuing legitimacy as primary school practitioners, sometimes apparently against the odds of teacher or student

scepticism. But such attempts met with varied success; in some narratives the tutors' past status as primary practitioners was enough to gain them credibility; in other narratives the tutors' knowledge was judged to be outdated. This latter outcome resulted in the tutor being rendered relatively powerless in relation to teachers or students demanding or possessing practitioner knowledge and relevance.

In one narrative, for example, Sarah perceived her knowledge of schooling and hence of ITE to be unfavourably compared to that of a practising teacher by students. In this narrative a teacher came into the university to take part in a workshop; her presence was greeted by the students with 'three cheers'; for the students her knowledge was seen as 'genuine' and 'straight from the classroom', whereas Sarah perceived the students to be saying about her 'Well, Sarah, she's all right, but you know, how long ago was it that she was in the classroom, really dealing with kids?' In all the narratives this type of loss of credibility as a teacher, and consequently as a teacher educator, was felt to be very negative.

In one group of narratives comparing the professionalism of current tutors with that of other teacher educators, Defenders and Novices described tutors without recent and relevant school experience being judged as lacking in credibility by their tutor peers, by teachers or by students on the grounds of that loss. Such tutors were sometimes pejoratively termed 'old fossils' or 'dinosaurs'. In these narratives these tutors were constructed as lacking action orientated, practical knowledge of primary schooling because they had never been primary school teachers. This lack of knowledge became apparent to other tutors, teachers and students either through the HE-based teaching of such tutors, or more often through their lack of expertise in primary classrooms when they were tutoring students.

Analysis of the dynamics of this type of narrative showed that the professionalism of 'old fossil' tutors was judged to be inadequate because of this perceived deficiency in just one area of professional knowledge (there were no attempts made in the narratives to evaluate these tutors' professional knowledge on any other criteria). Based on this deficiency then, there was a clear dismissal of any claims to legitimate professional knowledge by these tutors. No other single professional resource was used in this way to pathologise teacher educator peers.

Novice and Defender tutors then saw the professional resource of first order knowledge as a key part of their professionalism. Practical knowledge of the primary school context was used to signal their experience of and competence in teaching children. They used - or attempted to use - the strategy of positioning themselves as having on-going status and credibility as primary school teachers. This involved demonstrating their possession of the requisite knowledge, skills and competence. Such demonstrations were seen by the tutors to be particularly important to students and serving school teachers since credibility as a primary school teacher was perceived to be so closely associated with legitimisation as a teacher educator for these groups.

8.2.5 Still a primary teacher at heart

For Novice and Defender tutors their knowledge of schooling and their continuing sense of self-identity as a primary teacher were often explicitly linked to their pedagogy in HE. All these tutors made explicit comparisons between their modes of teaching in ITE and the processes of teaching and learning in the primary classroom. For example, Mike, a Defender tutor, with five years of working in HE, stated, 'I'm still a primary school teacher

at heart and I still need to see people learning and growing, I still need my class, my group or whatever, my learners to nurture.'

This tutor was not alone in drawing parallels between the systems of the primary school teacher and his/her class and the ITE tutor and his/her students. In many narratives tutors made direct comparisons between the teaching and learning processes in ITE and in school; groups of students were repeatedly compared to classes of children, either explicitly or through apparently inadvertent slips of the tongue. As illustrated above, through the interviewees' accounts of their pedagogy they promoted themselves as 'good practitioners', responding to students as individuals by nurturing, supporting and monitoring development. These practitioner bond values and modes of pedagogy were seen by the tutors as directly comparable to those of primary school teachers. And as chapter 7 has indicated, these elements of practitioner bond professionalism did have their equivalent in the rhetoric of the child-centred primary classroom and in studies of the professionalism of primary school teachers in the 1980s.

8.2.6 The importance of being reflective

Earlier in this thesis I have shown that for Novice and Defender tutors processual knowledge, in both school and ITE sectors, was a significant part of the professional resource repertoires they deployed in the interviews (see section 7.2). Through the deployment of these resources, *reflective practice* in its different forms was defined as being a key criterion in the definition of both 'good primary teaching' and practitioner bond professionalism.

These tutor types made significant use of first order processual knowledge, that is knowledge of reflective practice as it related to the school sector¹¹⁶. (Re)producing

reflective practice was described as a major area of professional activity for tutors. They worked at inducting students into reflective practice, using processual knowledge resources to monitor, regulate and judge the quality of students' teaching. The quality of personal reflexivity shown by students was one of the major criteria by which students' status as 'good practitioners' was judged¹¹⁷.

The practices and principles of reflective practice therefore formed part of a 'technology' for the (re)production and surveillance of students' teaching; they were devices by which the experiential knowledge of primary teaching could be regulated and monitored. These processes could either be 'administered' by the tutor on the students' behalf, or students could become self-monitoring and self-regulating through 'the internalisation of norms' (Osborn et al 2000:236). The stated ideal was that regulation should shift during the ITE course from being overt, external and 'imposed' by the tutor to being self-imposed, internal and often covert. The ideal student teacher eventually became self-regulating, like her/his tutor model.

One common strategy used for student induction was for Novice and Defender tutors to attempt to model good practice in being reflective through their own reflexivity in ITE (see section 6.4. for an example of this strategy used in a narrative). This use of modelling was an important feature of practitioner bond professionalism; it is therefore discussed in more detail in section 8.2.7.

As I have shown in section 7.2 these tutor types also made significant use of second order processual knowledge resources¹¹⁸. 'Being reflective' about teaching was constructed as a standard part of ITE practice. This is exemplified by one narrative told by a Defender tutor, Tom, which opens by stating,

I don't think there's anyone (*that is, any ITE tutors*) here who isn't actively engaged in evaluating their teaching rigorously.

This type of resource deployment established the central place of reflection about ITE work in practitioner bond professionalism. Reflective practice was seen as providing a means of intra professional and individual self-monitoring and self-regulation. As chapter 10 argues, this assertion of professional autonomy was particularly useful given the time frame of the empirical research.

Tutors also deployed resources which emphasised their metaknowledge of their own reflexivity. This metaknowledge - defined in chapter 6 as self-awareness and recognition of the centrality of reflection in practice and termed PK2 - was used as a further means of establishing the status and quality of reflective practice, and of the ITE tutors as legitimate practitioners in ITE¹¹⁹. Whereas basic processual knowledge (PK1) was constructed as a standardised part of 'good practice' in school and ITE teaching, metaknowledge was constructed as high status knowledge, associated predominantly with ITE and practitioner bond professionalism. It conferred high status on practitioners who possessed it and implied excellence and autonomy of practice. Metaknowledge provided extended self-reflective principles through the self-consciousness of the self-regulation which practitioners undertook. An illustration of this is a narrative where a Defender tutor, Bridget, spoke of knowing that self-questioning and the development of 'an inner voice..... a critical friend' is how learning about her practice in ITE occurs for her. Metaknowledge of reflection became 'the only way' to learn about ITE practice.

Possessing metaknowledge has moral overtones in some of the narratives. This is exemplified by one narrative where Sarah described her metaknowledge and its associated practices, and concludes 'you have to be your own judge'. This emphasis on self-

surveillance was repeated across other narratives in which this professional resource was used. Tutors claimed that they took personal responsibility for the quality and forms of their practice. This claim to ownership and responsibility held out the promise of practitioner autonomy; as Lydia expressed it ‘there’s no one else to do that for you, is there?’

The use of metaknowledge to define practitioner bond professionalism indicates that this knowledge functioned in the narratives as an extended, elitist form of reflective practice. In it knowledge of the place of reflection in and on practice became the key to self-surveillance, self-regulation and further professional learning. Metaknowledge was higher status knowledge possessed by these tutors and used to legitimate their professionalism as associated with, but of higher status than, that of most teachers in schools. As chapter 10 also discusses, metaknowledge therefore became a form of what Hunter (1994:90) terms a ‘status ethic’. It asserted the ultimate ‘ownership’ of reflective practice by teacher educators (see Calderhead and Gates 1998; Elliott 1993). It was also this metaknowledge, with all its self-consciousness, which facilitated Novice and Defender tutors in modelling and (re)producing reflective practice with and for their students, as section 8.2.7 identifies.

Reflective practice also provided powerful valorisation of experiential, personal and often tacit knowledge about teaching and teacher education. As this chapter has shown, such knowledge was a fundamental tenet of practitioner bond professionalism. This argument is explored in more detail in chapter 10.

8.2.7 Modelling primary school teaching

As I have illustrated, first order knowledge and orientations were vitally important in practitioner bond professionalism as sources of legitimacy for the tutors in their quest to continue to be seen as credible primary teachers. Tutors also stated that they used these first

order resources as models for their second order pedagogical practices and values, and for their professional personae¹²⁰.

Through the deployment of these professional resources drawn from schooling, Novice and Defender tutors could simultaneously position themselves as ‘good’ learner-centred teacher/tutors in ITE, and as still credible, knowledgeable and ‘good’ primary teachers. They could then use this simultaneity in their work with students to form the desired professional values, knowledge and attitudes of primary school teachers.

In this section I intend to illustrate the ways in which the tutors described how this simultaneity was exemplified in their teaching. But at this point I need to establish a proviso about this data. My research design, as specified in chapter 5, did not include a strong focus on pedagogical techniques; I did not observe any of my sample group teaching, and my interview schedule was not designed to focus on the details of practice in ITE teaching (see chapter 11). Nevertheless, a number of the narratives which tutors told included such details. It is the analysis of these narratives which I have drawn upon in the following section. The narratives are used with the proviso that they are the tutors’ own recontextualised accounts of their pedagogical techniques.

Novice and Defender tutors clearly stated that they aimed to model primary teaching for their students, and they achieved this modelling through the simultaneity identified above. Through their own knowledge of the classroom, they stated then that they modelled the knowledge and competence needed to teach in primary schools. They also aimed to model the three attributes which they defined as important for the ‘good primary teacher’ who exceeded mere competence. They stated that it was important to use their own pedagogy to model the desired learner-centred focus; they aimed to use their own reflexivity to promote

reflective practice for students; and they stated that they modelled the appropriate professional persona, emphasising the importance of caring for learners and adopting mutualistic attitudes towards their peers.

Drawing on these accounts of practice then, induction of students into the teaching profession for these tutors therefore had four aspects:

- i) learning *what to teach* (developing the necessary substantive knowledge base)
- ii) learning *how to teach* (developing the approved pedagogical forms)
- iii) learning *how to learn about teaching and to be self-regulating* (developing a processual knowledge base, learning how to be reflective¹²¹)
- iv) learning *how to be* as a teacher (developing the appropriate professional persona)

Using the definition of *pastoralism* given in chapter 4, these tutors were engaged in giving *pastoral guidance* to their students. They stated that they provided this guidance by modelling many aspects of what they defined to be the professionalism of the primary school teachers (following the tutors' own definitions of the 'good practitioner') in and through their own professionalism.

I have defined the modelling strategy used by the tutors in the findings of this research as having two forms:

- i) *direct modelling*, where the tutor adopts the role of primary teacher, the students are asked to role play as children and the activities are designed for use in the classroom;
- ii) *stylistic modelling*, where the tutor's broad style of teaching is to be taken as the form for primary practice¹²².

In my findings tutors described some incidents of direct modelling in their narratives. The modelling strategy, as presented, seemed to enable tutors to 'deliver' knowledge about what to teach children in a way which went beyond giving 'tips for teachers'²³. Direct modelling, as described by my interviewees, was used not just to convey the substantive knowledge of primary teaching, but also to emphasise the pedagogical structures and styles required. Tutors stated that a further advantage of this strategy was that it encouraged students to role play, and to see the teaching and learning involved through children's eyes. This was seen as giving further emphasis to learner-focused teaching styles and to students empathising with learners; the latter quality was seen by Novice and Defender tutors as a key attribute of the 'good primary practitioner'. In direct modelling, as defined by Novice and Defender tutors, then both substance and form of the ITE teaching session were described as important.

Use of stylistic modelling was even more evident in my findings. Stylistic modelling as described by Novice and Defender tutors involved them in attempting to position themselves as learner-centred, caring, and reflective models of teaching through all aspects of their formal and informal interactions with their students and peers.

Reflection on action as an integral part of ITE practice was perceived to have direct links to this type of stylistic modelling. Tutors explicitly stated that they saw their own knowledge of reflectivity as a form for students to follow. Two examples of this are as follows: firstly, some tutors told of planning teaching sessions in ways designed to unfold for students their personal deliberations about teaching. Tutors thus saw themselves becoming a stylistic model of the reflective practitioner for students, and were very conscious of the importance of this modelling aspect of teaching. An illustration of this is a narrative in which Stephen, a Novice tutor, links the status of ITE tutors as reflective practitioners to the prescriptions

for reflection given to students. Not only are all the tutors explicitly labelled as ‘reflective practitioners’ but the tutor continues ‘We couldn’t not be really, could we? I mean that’s what we’re always telling the students to be’.

Secondly, tutors consistently used the same language and practices in describing their own reflection as they prescribed to students, thus emphasising the commonality of the processes involved and their function as role models. In one narrative, for example, Tom uses the same mantra of ‘always be asking why’ in describing his own practice as he offers to a student who finds reflection difficult. Again, the student is implicitly being asked to model herself on the tutor’s practice to become a better practitioner, and to initiate new learning. As presented in the interview contexts, it is the tutors’ metaknowledge of reflection which enables them to adapt these explicit modelling roles¹²⁴.

8.2.8 Orientations to the academic and research engagement

As discussed above, Novice and Defender tutors saw teaching, and its related activities and attributes, as the centre of their professional lives; other aspects of ITE tutors’ activity, including research, were de-emphasised by this. ‘I am not an academic’ was a frequent assertion from these tutors when questioned about how they defined and participated in research activity within their institution, or how they saw research relating to their professionalism. As sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 have stated, Novice and Defender tutors were not likely to have sustained or recent engagement in research activity, although some of them showed ambivalent attitudes to research work, recognising its benefits for intellectual stimulation and career enhancement, whilst denying their own involvement in it. And, as has been shown, some Defender tutors had, in theory at least, the capacity to be research active.¹²⁵

Furthermore assertions of identity as teachers often accompanied rejection of the labels ‘academic’ or ‘researcher’. This was illustrated by a Novice tutor, Sam, who told of being asked at a dinner party about her job by a stranger. Sam related that a school teaching friend who was also present interceded and answered for her, “Oh, she’s an academic”¹²⁶. Sam rejected this immediately and decisively by saying, “No, I’m not, I’m a teacher, I’m still a teacher.”

As I have shown, during the interviews both Novice and Defender tutors asserted their practitioner identity as a key part of their professionalism. They differentiated this professionalism from what they perceived to be the conventional academic world of research. Research and teaching were therefore seen as dichotomous, rather than as integrally related, elements; and being labelled a researcher or an ‘academic’ was counterpoised with being the ‘good teacher’.

In one type of narrative, for example, engagement in research was constructed as detrimental to the quality of teaching which tutors could offer their students. Tutors emphasised the professional resources which they associated with their practitioner status. For example, Tom related a narrative which counter-poised deep commitment to his students as individual learners with engagement in research. In this narrative he related that he had been given a small, internal research grant to help him establish a research profile. The money was to ‘buy him out’ of a number of hours of his teaching. This caused him great concern about finding the right person who could take over his teaching without ‘short changing’ one particular group of students whose progress was causing him concern. Because he could not guarantee finding a replacement who would ‘know and care about those students’, he was considering not using the grant and foregoing the research

opportunity. In narratives such as this the extended teaching role and research engagement were seen as incompatible.

In the interviews other tutors set up practical knowledge of schooling and status as an academic as incompatible. Practitioner bond professionalism celebrated the practical, relevant and 'real' nature of its knowledge base and contrasted this with a model of 'academic' or research-generated knowledge as remote, theoretical and divorced from learner-centred practice. This tendency was exemplified by Mike, a Defender tutor, who stated that he associated the words 'research and academic with an older generation of teacher educators who were in ivory towers.....detached from the reality of school.' In his accounts and in those of other tutors this older generation of teacher educators were the 'old fossils' or 'dinosaurs', referred to in section 8.2.4, condemned for their lack of school experience¹²⁷.

Donald (1985) argued that the discourses within a field are organised around imaginary unities and oppositions which he termed 'nodal points'. Drawing on this definition, in these findings, teaching and research operated as nodal points within practitioner bond professionalism, with tutors constructing teaching and research as dichotomous dimensions of the field of ITE. This dichotomy saw the discourses and practices associated with teaching as privileged and valued, whilst those associated with research were seen as negative and 'Other'. Research involvement carried negative connotations of tutor autonomy and engagement with a stereotypically academic world, divorced from the day to day practices of ITE teaching, and crucially from students as learners. Using this binary construction of research as Other to teaching, tutors drew their professional resources from their practitioner values and practices, whilst almost seeming to acclaim their rejection of the professional resources which they associated with research. In contrast, as section 8.3

will show, within reconstructed professionalism teaching and research were constructed as inter-related.¹²⁸

8.2.9 Summary of practitioner bond professionalism

Practitioner bond professionalism sees a diffuse and extended teaching role as central to ITE work. Because of this emphasis on teaching, other aspects of ITE work, including research involvement are de-emphasised. Professional values stress the importance of learner-centred teaching and a diffuse and affective role for tutors in their interactions with students. Practical knowledge of schooling is emphasised as a key part of tutors' knowledge bases, and a substantial part of professionalism centres around strategic use of the professional resources which can be claimed through being an ex-school teacher.

Practitioner bond professionalism is predicated on an experiential knowledge base of both schooling and HE-based ITE work.

Senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector are further factors in practitioner bond professionalism. These are fulfilled specifically through the tutors' feelings of obligation to produce 'good' primary practitioners through the ITE process. Reflective practice is defined as an essential part of 'good practice' for practitioners in both schools and ITE in monitoring and regulating teaching.

The teaching role in ITE is explicitly compared to that of the primary school teacher. Professionalism involves tutors in positioning themselves simultaneously as both still credible and 'good' primary teachers and as 'good', learner-centred tutors. In other words they claim *dual professionalism* as both school teacher and HE-based teacher educator. Tutors described how this simultaneity is then used in modelling aspects of the school teaching role for students. By attempting to model the good primary practitioner through

their own professionalism in these ways, tutors centre themselves as models in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching, and aim to (re)produce primary teachers in their own images.

8.2.10 Similarities between the findings on practitioner bond professionalism and the literature on teacher educators, and teacher professionalism

In chapter 7 I have indicated the many similarities between findings of studies into primary school teacher professionalism and the professional resources of Novice and Defender tutors. In addition to these similarities, practitioner bond professionalism also draws on models of professionalism based on craft traditions in school teaching. Like Hargreaves and Goodson's (1996) model of 'practical professionalism', outlined in chapter 2, it recognises professional practices as being at the heart of professionalism. As part of this recognition, knowledge which is essentially personal, practical, experiential and often tacit is valorised.

Like Day and Pennington's (1993) multi-dimensional model of teacher professionalism and Carr's (1992) extended professionalism, practitioner bond professionalism sees knowledge, practice, skills, inter-personal qualities and moral attributes as interwoven. ITE professionalism for Novice and Defender tutors, like these models of teacher professionalism, is composed of an experiential epistemology, a strong ethical dimension, and an emphasis on the importance of interpersonal relationships. Practitioner bond professionalism, again like models of craft professionalism in teaching, draws heavily on Schon's ideas of reflective practice and Dewey's construction of teaching as a reflective and moral act (see chapter 2). The place of the discourses of reflective practice in practitioner bond professionalism is a crucial one. This issue is therefore discussed in more detail in chapter 10.

The findings on practitioner bond professionalism in this study also have some similarities with findings from the studies of teacher educators reviewed in chapter 2. Novice and Defender tutors have a sense of responsibility to the school sector (see Ducharme 1993) and an on-going commitment to contribute to schooling through the (re)production of good quality primary practitioners (see Ducharme 1986; Reynolds 1995; Carter 1984). They are strongly committed to their students and gain most professional satisfaction from their teaching (see Maguire 2002; Ducharme 1993; Reynolds 1995; Ducharme and Agne 1989). They stress the importance of reflection both to develop practice in ITE work and to provide self-monitoring and regulation (see Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995)¹²⁹

Further similarities between the literature on teacher educators and the practitioner bond form of professionalism include the construction of experience of school teaching as the central professional experience for teacher educators (see, for example, Ducharme 1993); stress on the importance of the renewal of school experience (Ducharme 1986); the adoption of caring roles for students (see Acker 1986; Maguire 2000, 2002; Acker and Feuerherger 1997; Ducharme 1993); the belief in the importance of individualising students (see Ducharme 1986); and a reliance on experiential knowledge bases in teacher education (see Hatton 1997; Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995)¹³⁰. Like Maguire's sample group of primary ITE tutors, Novices and Defenders effectively reconstruct themselves as primary school tutors in HE settings (2000:158). They also share key aspects of the four fold mission espoused by Carter's (1984) ITE tutors, namely the 'transmission' of professional skills and knowledge about teaching, acting as a gatekeeper to the profession, and serving the school sector through the (re)production of good teachers in high quality ITE programmes.¹³¹

These tutors, like those in some previous studies (see, for example, Maguire 2000; Ducharme 1993; Ducharme and Agne 1989; Busch 1989; Carter 1984) also had ambivalent or negative attitudes to and restricted engagement in research. Chapter 2 has shown that in Maguire's (2000) study a group of primary tutors engage in discourses of 'the practical' and adopted 'the hyper-performativity of the practical' (p.158) in their professional lives, in order to resist and oppose academic discourses. A similar binary construction of teaching as practical and experientially-based, and research as theoretical and 'academic' is a feature of practitioner bond professionalism, as this chapter shows.

Aspects of practitioner bond professionalism, particularly the adoption of extended teaching roles, show similarities to the pastoral and pedagogical practices and the communal values identified in the college sector in the 1960s (see the research of Taylor 1969a; Shipman 1984; and Bell 1981, as analysed in chapter 4). Chapter 4 has also shown that the analyses of commentators such as Alexander (1984) and Judge et al (1994) suggest that the sense of mission and the extended pedagogical methods associated with the old teacher education colleges largely faded away with the institutional changes and diversification of the 1970s and 1980s. Maguire's studies (1994; 2000), however, show that such values persisted for tutors at Sacred Heart College who were dedicated to inducting their students into teaching, devoting considerable time and energy to this task. Her findings indicate that aspects of the professional orientations which Taylor (1969a) noted in the old college sector of the 1960s persisted in at least one institution in the late 1980s / early 1990s.¹³² My findings on practitioner bond professionalism indicate that these same mission-centred professional orientations, manifested in learner-centred pedagogical practices and professional roles, also had on-going legitimacy in some other institutions in the mid 1990s. In many ways

then *pedagogical pastoralism*, as defined in chapter 4, continued to be part of these teacher educators' professional practices.

Maguire's (1993, 1994, 2000) studies of teacher educators at Sacred Heart College have particular significance for this research, not least because, like the studies of Hatton (1997), they report some similar findings to mine from an institutional setting with similarities to two of my case study universities. For this reason, these two studies, and the research of Reynolds (1995) are discussed in relation to both the micro and the meso level findings from this research in chapter 9. Maguire's studies are also discussed in relation to the articulation of my findings across all three levels of ITE in chapter 10.

8.3 The reconstructed form of professionalism

8.3.1 Key features of the form

The form of professionalism which I have termed reconstructed professionalism was constructed by the Education Academic tutor type. In this section of chapter 8 I now look in more detail at the professional resource repertoires used by Education Academics, and at the assertions and strategies used by this type of tutor to deploy, promote and legitimise these repertoires. Together these elements created the form of reconstructed professionalism.

This form of professionalism had a number of distinctive features.

- i) Sustained engagement in personal research was emphasised as a key element of professionalism. 'Research' as defined by these tutors took a number of different forms, but all the tutors were involved in their own empirical research, focused on the primary school sector. Tutors saw themselves as 'academics' or 'researchers', as well as teachers. Like the

other two tutor types, Education Academic tutors had strong senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector. But their mission statement was different; they saw themselves as contributing to the theoretical knowledge base of primary schooling through their personal research in the sector. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.2.

ii) Research was seen as an integral part of teaching. Tutors described different ways in which a symbiosis between ITE teaching and research took place for them. These included the sharing of their own research and theoretical knowledge of schooling, and the inducting of students into a research-orientated form of primary school teaching. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.3.

iii) Professional knowledge included a broad knowledge base about primary schooling. Resources included a strong emphasis on knowledge gained from theoretical sources, including through engagement in personal research. Overview (generalised) experiential knowledge of primary schooling was also important. In some contexts, however, it was still seen as necessary for tutors to demonstrate specific, practical knowledge of the primary school in order to maintain their credibility as teacher educators. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.4.

iv) Knowledge of how to teach in ITE was seen as an important element of professionalism. In contrast to the first order knowledge base, however, this second order knowledge was almost entirely experiential, and attributed to years of work in ITE. The teaching role in ITE was narrower than in practitioner bond professionalism, and clearly defined to focus only on the students' academic and professional attributes. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.5.

v) As in practitioner bond professionalism, reflexivity was seen as important for the self-regulation of ITE tutors' work. The use of reflective practice was described as enabling tutors to monitor and judge their practice. Education Academic tutors also saw encouraging the development of reflective practice in students as an important part of their professional activity. These features are discussed in more detail in section 8.3.6.

8.3.2 The place of research in reconstructed professionalism

Reconstructed professionalism for Education Academics tutors was predicated on research in three ways: firstly, research was important as a professional activity in its own right, and tutors celebrated their self-identity as researchers; secondly, research was seen as an integral part of teaching in ITE; thirdly, part of tutors' mission statement was to contribute to the knowledge base of the primary school sector.

In the interviews this tutor type defined *research* in a number of different ways. The term was variously used:

- i) to define involvement in research resulting in research outputs, governed by set criteria for peer acceptance and publication, by the tutors themselves or by other HEI staff. I have termed this conventional research;
- ii) to describe informal enquiry into teaching problems, not necessarily through rigorous application of conventional research procedures and practices, but discussed with reference to the research of others. I have termed this practitioner action research;
- iii) to describe contemporary knowledge of research relating to an academic area or field. I have termed this scholarship.

Engagement in research, using one or more of these definitions, was in turn defined by the tutors as denoting involvement in an academic enterprise. It therefore merited the labels of ‘researcher’ or ‘academic’. Education Academic tutors used these terms freely and interchangeably to describe themselves and some of their teacher educator peers, as I explore in more detail below.

I have indicated in section 7.2 that this tutor type was involved in what I have defined as conventional research. Education Academic tutors were therefore able to see themselves as active researchers, with publication records and with on-going claims to ‘membership’ of the conventional research community. Just using their definition of conventional research then, they would have been able to assert the importance of being research active within their form of professionalism - and sustained engagement in personal research, leading to publications, was particularly emphasised as an element of reconstructed professionalism. But extending their definitions of research beyond conventional research also enabled Education Academics to give increased emphasis to research as part of their professionalism.

Whilst their sustained engagement in conventional research had occurred only since their transition from school to HEI, tutors described on-going involvement in practitioner action research and in scholarship throughout their professional lives. This in turn enabled them to identify themselves as having professional life-long status as ‘academics’ or ‘researchers’. For example, one tutor, Siobhan, asserted, ‘I’ve always been an academic’; another, David, echoed these words when he stated, ‘I see myself as an academic, I always have done’. These claims to life-long status as academics were reinforced by the professional resource repertoires used by this tutor type. As section 7.2 shows, Education Academics made considerable use of theoretical knowledge of schooling - first order SK3. This is

exemplified in one narrative using this professional resource where Deborah illustrates her claim to life-long status as an academic by saying,

When I did my MA which I did very late in my career because I wanted to move away from the classroom and into HE, when I started the MA, I realised that many of the books on the reading list and many of the ideas we discussed in seminars, I could sit there and say 'I already know this. I already have this theoretical knowledge about my job'.

She commenced her MA course with a strong sense of the power of her own pre-existing knowledge. The degree was seen as a means to a second career in HE and away from school; the knowledge it included was therefore implicitly associated with the new world of HE and with the theoretical or academic. But Deborah already felt a sense of inclusion for this world, as she defined it, because of the existing level and form of her theoretical knowledge of schooling¹³³.

Education Academic tutors also linked self-identification as a researcher or academic to self-identification as a teacher. This involved conceptualising teaching in ITE in different ways from those used in the practitioner bond form of professionalism where teaching was associated with primary school teaching and firmly disassociated from the academic. In section 8.2.6, for example, I have described a Novice tutor rejecting the label of 'academic' and asserting her identity as 'still a teacher'; she implicitly links her past incarnation as a primary teacher to her present post as an ITE tutor. An Education Academic tutor, Siobhan, asked to define her job in a similar social context related that,

I said, 'I'm an academic teacher'. And I meant that I'm a teacher and a researcher who's sharing that research through my active face to face teaching.

Like the other Education Academic tutors quoted above, Siobhan claimed self-identity as an academic, but she then associated this label with that of 'teacher' to become an 'academic teacher'. This was then explained by inter-linking teaching and research in a way

which was a repeated characteristic of Education Academics' professionalism, as discussed in more detail below. In this narrative, as in many others told by Education Academics, research was positioned as an integral part of ITE teaching. The way in which Siobhan linked her research activity to her teaching enabled her to own and claim the term 'academic teacher'. As she concluded, 'I'm an academic but I am still (*word stressed in the original*) a teacher.'

As stated above, research had a third function in reconstructed professionalism. Senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector were an important part of this form of professionalism. For Education Academics these senses focused on their mission to contribute to the knowledge base of the primary school sector, achieving this through their school-focused research enabled them to achieve this. The narrative below illustrates these factors, including the strong sense of mission and one instance of a tutor, Lisa's, feeling that she had in achieving this professional goal. Lisa began with an assertion about the importance and meaning of her research, and followed this with an illustrative narrative,

I feel I have something important to contribute to primary schools through my work, my research, I mean. When my first book was published, when one day I was visiting a school to see a student and a teacher came up to me and told me how great she thought my book was, it had really helped her with her teaching, she'd found it so useful etc. etc. I glowed with pride, you know what I mean, I glowed. And as I thanked her I thought, 'Great this is what I should be doing, this is my mission'.

Lisa's wish to contribute to the knowledge base of the primary sector was clear in the initial, generalised assertion. But it was the affirmation of the quality and value of the book by the teacher for the practical and useful help it provided which gave the tutor strong feelings of reward and of achieving a professional goal. In this and other similar Education Academic narratives then, research was seen as something which had a use-value and a clear function in assisting practitioners. It was through this sense of the application of

research to the primary context that the tutors were able to achieve their mission. Whereas practitioner bond professionalism emphasised the mission to produce the ‘good primary practitioner’, for reconstructed professionalism a major part of the mission was to contribute to the body of knowledge defined as ‘good primary practice’.

8.3.3 Research and teaching as a symbiosis

I have identified in section 7.2 that Education Academics made use of professional resources focused on their knowledge of schooling (first order substantive knowledge) in their repertoires. As the quantified analysis in this section has indicated, Education Academics made more extensive use of first order substantive knowledge than of second order. These first order resources were therefore an important part of Education Academics repertoires and of these tutors’ form of professionalism. Whereas in practitioner bond professionalism, the majority of the first order resources used were experiential in origin, and based on the tutors’ personal experience in school teaching, in reconstructed professionalism the majority (58%) were theoretically based, that is they were derived from and authorised by the tutors’ own research.

As I have indicated, Education Academics described integrating research into their work in ITE. This integration took two different forms. Firstly, tutors offered students the findings of their own research into primary schooling. Used in this way research was occasionally offered as a solution to a defined and practical teaching problem; more usually, as in the narrative below, it was offered with the aim of broadening students’ knowledge bases. For example in one narrative an Education Academic tutor, Deborah - with a consistent subject specialism in mathematics - draws on the findings of her own research into young children’s learning with a group of students¹³⁴.

I tell my students about my research, yes, (*interviewer intervenes to ask when she tells them about this*) when do I tell them? Well, last week, say, for example, my maths group, we were discussing planning maths for the Reception class and I shared with them the research I'd done in that area, showed them my findings about children's learning at that age.

Deborah's school and subject-focused research had direct relevance to her teaching: she was teaching the students how to plan for mathematics teaching in an age group where her research had given her a fund of theoretical and relevant knowledge about children's learning patterns. She was therefore able to offer her research findings to her students as an integral part of her teaching. Deborah then spelt out her purpose in using her research in this way,

so that they (*the students*) had a sense of research that was on-going in the area and a sense of how to use it in teaching. Now that's not tips for teachers, I'm very against that approach, it's saying here's an overview of relevant research, what might this mean for you? That's what I think my teaching should do.

The intention was clearly not to give the students immediate, practical advice but to contribute to their overall knowledge base about mathematics education. Education Academic tutors stated that they urged their students to use practitioner action research to solve classroom problems. When utilising this form of research, tutors stated that they would respond to student requests for specific advice on teaching by urging them to identify the problem, and then, with this clarification achieved, to seek further illumination from relevant reading. The use of research-integrated-teaching to contribute to students' knowledge bases and to resolve teaching dilemmas in this way was a powerful part of Education Academics' mission statements. Tutors spoke of wanting their students to have knowledge of relevant research and to be able to apply it to their teaching. Research was thus seen as a resource which students should be able to draw upon in the illumination and improvement of teaching.

Most important of all was that students should finish their ITE and enter the teaching profession with a clear understanding of the inter-relationships between teaching and research. One Education Academic tutor, Lisa, summed this up by stating,

If my students come through this degree (*the BA(QTS) degree at her institution*) knowing that research is an integral part of teaching, then I've done my job.

In other words the tutor's work in inducting student into a research-orientated form of teaching was completed.

As a second form of research-integrated-teaching Education Academic tutors also shared with their students the theoretical knowledge gained from their own scholarship. This knowledge was obviously a key part of reconstructed professionalism, and tutors asserted the importance of using this in teaching. This is illustrated in the following narrative told by David,

I think what I'm offering students is something very valuable, not that they always appreciate that. Students come to me and say 'I really don't understand what you were saying about how Piaget has influenced the development of primary language teaching or whatever.' And I can answer that. I mean there's plenty of people in the department who've got no hope of answering that and other people who have. But if students came to me and said 'I can't cope with this class, what can I do about them?'. Maybe I couldn't answer that to their satisfaction but does it matter? there are plenty of people here just out of schools who have that kind of teaching skill at their finger tips and they can say 'Try this, try that' whatever.

David constructed himself as a 'wise tutor', as a source of authority on theoretical ideas. As part of his teaching role, he could advise students on aspects of educational psychology. He saw himself as contributing to students' development - and by implication supporting their induction into their further roles as primary school teachers. Research was therefore positioned as an integral part of his teaching.

As the narrative progresses, David contrasted his own theoretically authorised expertise with that of tutors possessing practical knowledge of schooling - and therefore with ongoing credibility as school teachers. The 'school credible' tutors could answer student questions about coping in the classroom. David confessed that he might not be able to answer that question, but asserted the continuing importance of his theoretical contribution to student development. The practical aspects of the training process could be dealt with by the 'school credible' tutors. The sources of legitimacy for the two categories of tutors were clearly differentiated in the narrative as either theoretically generated knowledge or practical action-orientated experience. The division of expertise is definitive with practical knowledge 'owned' by the school credible tutors and theoretical knowledge 'owned' by the Education Academic narrator. David's sense of professionalism then was not based on his ability to give students practical, action-orientated advice, but rather on his theoretically generated knowledge and its integration into his teaching and tutoring of students.

Section 8.3.4 below details the struggles which Education Academics described that they had in asserting their credibility with students and teachers in some circumstances. David's narrative was unusual in that it dismissed the importance of showing that he had practical, action orientated knowledge of schooling. A more common strategy for Education Academic tutors, if challenged directly by students or teachers was to assert that they still had such knowledge.

The importance which Educational Academics placed upon theoretical knowledge of primary schooling in ITE was not always perceived to be embraced by their students. There were a number of narratives in which Education Academics told of their perceptions that students were resistant to such theoretical knowledge, particularly when there were no

direct implications for classroom practice. For example, Lisa described using professional resources based on first order substantive knowledge (SK3) to advise a student who was having difficulty keeping calm in his classroom.

So I'd been in there observing him (*the student*) struggling one afternoon and we were talking it all through afterwards and he said to me in effect 'What do I do? Tell me what to do?' And there was me telling him about the findings of the Elton Report, you know, all that stuff about minor disruptions being most stressful and the importance of being positive, keeping up a positive atmosphere in the classroom, all that kind of thing, and he's sitting there looking at me like I'm an alien from another planet and saying, 'Yes, but tell me what to do with this lot'.

The tensions around this kind of perceived resistance to the tutor's knowledge were that Lisa is offering perspectives on the problem from relevant research, whilst the student is perceived to be demanding practical action-orientated advice. These tensions between tutor and student had resonances with the perceived challenges to tutor legitimacy identified in the next section.

Within the reconstructed form of professionalism then, research activity involved tutors in generating theoretical knowledge of the first order context (the primary school sector). This knowledge was then integrated into teaching in the second order context (ITE work). Research was essentially associated with schooling and used in ITE teaching, even if its value as a knowledge base for the tutors was not always perceived to be recognised by students. Teaching and research became a symbiosis: tutors stated that there was a mutually constituting relationship between these two elements of their work. Their research permeated their teaching of ITE students about the primary school sector; their teaching in turn drew on their substantive knowledge of primary schooling, gained in part through their research. Using this symbiosis, Education Academics created for themselves a professionalism predicated on their self-identification as academic teachers and on their

theoretical knowledge of schooling. Education Academic tutors' personal research was also central to their two-fold sense of responsibility to the school sector: it made a direct contribution to the body of knowledge about primary schooling, and it enabled tutors to induct students into a research-orientated form of teaching.

8.3.4 Experiential knowledge of schooling

I have shown in section 7.2.3 that Education Academics also used professional resources based on their experiential knowledge of primary schooling (first order SK1 and SK2). Of these two types of resource overview knowledge of primary schooling (SK2) was used more than practical, action-orientated knowledge (SK1). Like the other two tutor types Education Academics used overview knowledge to signal the depth and breadth of their knowledge and experience as practitioners in the primary classroom. They also used it to give students insights into primary schooling, rather than to give specific advice. This overview knowledge for Education Academics was then an important part of their professional resource repertoires. Together with their theoretically authorised knowledge of school, Education Academics had a varied and extensive repertoire of knowledge resources about schooling on which to predicate their professionalism. Nevertheless they, like the other tutor types, sometimes felt that their legitimacy as teacher educators was challenged.

The analysis of the metaperceptive narratives showed that Education Academics perceived that students and teachers placed high value on practical action-orientated knowledge of schooling (first order SK1) as a key element of tutor professionalism. As the quantified analysis in section 7.2 shows, Education Academics made limited use of first order SK1. But in the metanarratives they told, demonstrating this knowledge was the only way in which Education Academic tutors felt that they could rebut challenges and establish

themselves as legitimate teacher educators. Like the other tutor types they felt that on-going status as a credible primary school teacher became indistinguishable from legitimisation as a credible ITE tutor in these contexts. In such narratives then Education Academics used SK1 to signal their on-going competence, skill and knowledge in the practicalities of teaching children to sceptical teachers and students. To do this they used some of the same redemptive strategies as the Defender tutors (see section 8.2.4), including giving specific advice on teaching dilemmas, stating their experience and showing empathy on difficult or unpleasant aspects of school life.

But, like Defender tutors, Education Academics sometimes struggled to assert their legitimacy as primary school teachers against the odds of student or teacher scepticism. This scepticism often seemed to centre around the length of time they had spent out of the classroom; it implied that their knowledge of schooling was no longer relevant or adequate. The accompanying feelings of loss of credibility for tutors which this scepticism caused were seen as negative.

As I have shown, Education Academics had a form of tutor professionalism which drew on both extensive theoretical knowledge and experientially-based overview knowledge of primary schooling. In reconstructed professionalism, unlike in practitioner bond professionalism, ongoing status and credibility as a primary school teacher was not a major part of professionalism. But the exceptions to this were the situations when Education Academics felt their legitimacy to be challenged directly by students or teachers. In all such situations in this research there are no instances of these tutors using any of their theoretical or overview knowledge resources to rebut the challenges. Instead, like Defender and Novice tutors, Education Academics seemed almost compelled to respond by attempting to demonstrate their practical knowledge of the classrooms they left years before and by

positioning themselves as still primary school teachers. For both of the forms of professionalism found in this research then practical, action orientated knowledge of schooling seemed to be accorded particular significance by the tutors in signalling their ongoing legitimacy as teacher educators to teachers and students.

8.3.5 Expertise in ITE tutoring

As chapter 7 has shown, second order substantive knowledge resources formed a significant part of Education Academic tutors' repertoires. Analysis of this resource usage showed that tutors valued this knowledge, seeing it as an important element of their reconstructed form of professionalism. Within the interview context Education Academic tutors, like Defenders and Novices, celebrated their expertise in and knowledge of ITE teaching, positioning themselves as experts in the field of ITE. Their resource usage tended to emphasise their overview knowledge (2nd order SK2) more than their specific, practical knowledge (2nd order SK1). Here, for example, Siobhan was discussing her knowledge of how to plan for ITE students to ensure effective learning,

I've learnt from years of teaching students that you need to constantly return to the main messages, the bare bones, of what you want to communicate, so say I had to, well, for example, I was planning part of the PGCE course the other day and I thought I had almost finished it but then I had to stop and say to myself, 'You know that's not going to work, you've tried this diverse kind of thing before with students and it's too loose for them, too ill-defined, they won't get it, go back and hammer home the basic messages.'

She began the narrative by stating her philosophy of reiterating and simplifying key content areas in teaching ITE students, and then described how she applied this overview knowledge to her practice in planning courses. Similar narratives establishing the Education Academic tutor as skilled in the planning, teaching and assessing of ITE courses were an important part of reconstructed professionalism. This narrative was also typical in that the

knowledge of ITE was described as experiential in its origins. In the reconstructed form of professionalism, the second order knowledge resources were nearly all experiential, with tutors often explicitly attributing their expertise to the accumulated experience of years working on ITE programmes.

The utilisation of second order substantive knowledge resources within the reconstructed form of professionalism had then some similarities with the utilisation of the same resources in practitioner bond professionalism, as I have identified in section 8.2.2. In both forms these resources were valorised, and used to position tutors as experts in ITE teaching; in both forms the knowledge was predominantly experiential in origin. It seems obvious that knowledge of teaching in ITE should be an important part of professionalism for teacher educators, but it is puzzling to find all types of tutors so heavily dependent on experientially generated knowledge of teaching their subject. This is particularly perplexing within the reconstructed form of professionalism where Education Academic tutors whose substantive knowledge base of schooling was heavily influenced by theoretical knowledge, whereas their knowledge base of how to teach in their own sector was not theoretically derived or authorised.

One of the puzzling ‘absences’ from the findings of this research is that there are almost no examples in the empirical data of tutors using any theoretical knowledge of ITE, except limited references to government legislation, as a professional resource. Such research certainly exists - see, for example, Fish’s (1989:144) work on tutors using the ‘double focus’ of teaching and learning in ITE teaching, Furlong’s (1988) work into patterns of student development, or Proctor’s (1994) research on supervision - but it is not used within either the reconstructed or the practitioner bond form of professionalism. Theoretically authorised knowledge of ITE therefore effectively remains as a ‘gap’ in the professional

resource reservoir found in this research. The implications of this finding are explored in chapter 11.

As section 8.2 has shown, within practitioner bond professionalism teaching on ITE courses was seen as the main area of professional activity and as the pivotal point of professional identity. In contrast, Education Academics described a broad spectrum of professional activities in HE, only part of which was teaching ITE students¹³⁵. This may explain why, although knowledge and experience of ITE teaching were clearly a valued part of the reconstructed form of professionalism, Education Academic tutors did not place the same sustained emphasis on the centrality of their expertise as ITE tutors as Defender and Novice tutors did (see section 8.2.2).

There were also differences between the professional orientations found in each form of professionalism. Within the analytical category of professional orientations, I have defined the pedagogic interactions used by Novice and Defender tutors as integrated individualism (see section 8.2.3). I have stressed that in the practitioner bond form of professionalism, this means that the tutor's pedagogical role becomes extended and affective. In contrast to this, I have defined the pedagogic interactions of Education Academics as separated individualism. Within the reconstructed form of professionalism this means that Education Academics saw their pedagogical roles as narrower and more focused. Tutors were concerned only with the academic and professional development of their students, and set down firm boundaries to prevent themselves from becoming over-involved in other aspects of students' lives. One Education Academic tutor, Deborah, for example, in discussing her interactions with students stated, 'You have to know when to say 'Sorry, not my job.'

In the narrative which follows this assertion Deborah stated that she suspected that a named student, Guy, may have had difficulties in social interactions with other adults (by implication these adults are his school teaching colleagues). The student concerned was stated to be a good teacher, 'fine with the children in the classroom' and academically strong, 'a high flier in all his written work'. Deborah was concerned only with this academic and professional competence; his social difficulties were therefore excluded from her areas of concern. The tutor's role was then explicitly limited; as Deborah stated,

And, so I have to say 'That's my business, his work and his knowledge as a teacher and that's OK, the rest of it, no.'¹³⁶

Education Academics saw their pedagogic role as monitoring of the academic and professional attributes of their students. Their tutoring was thus relatively focused and well defined in contrast to the extended and affective nurturing role found in practitioner bond professionalism. The tutoring/teaching role in reconstructed professionalism was solely about focused, professional monitoring¹³⁷.

8.3.6 Reflective practice and reconstructed professionalism

Within the reconstructed form of professionalism, processual knowledge, in both school and ITE sectors, was a significant part of the professional resource repertoires used by Education Academic tutors. There were strong similarities between the forms and uses of these processual knowledge resources in practitioner bond and reconstructed professionalism. In both forms of professionalism these processual resources were used to position reflective practice as being an important criterion in the definition of 'good practice' and the 'good practitioner' in both primary schools and ITE.

The reconstructed form of professionalism, like practitioner bond professionalism, placed importance on first order processual knowledge, that is knowledge of reflective practice as it related to the school sector¹³⁸. For Education Academic tutors, as for their Novice and Defender peers, (re)producing reflective practice was a significant area of professional activity. Education Academic tutors aimed to induct students into reflective practice, and used their processual knowledge resources in monitoring, regulating and judging the quality of students' teaching. A further similarity was that for Education Academic tutors the quality of personal reflexivity shown by students was also one of the major criteria by which students' status as 'good practitioners' was judged¹³⁹. A significant difference was that these tutors, unlike their Novice and Defender counterparts, did not describe *modelling* reflective practice for students through the conscious exhibition of their own reflectivity.

As I have discussed in section 7.2, Education Academic tutors also made significant use of second order processual knowledge resources. A further similarity between their form of professionalism and that of the Novice and Defender tutors was that reconstructed professionalism also positioned 'being reflective' about teaching as a standard part of ITE practice. Education Academics related being reflective about their own teaching and using reflection on practice to regulate and judge their practice. This type of resource deployment established the central place of reflection for ITE tutors in reconstructed professionalism. As section 8.2.6 has indicated, this was also an assertion of professional autonomy at a time when teacher educators were being subjected to unprecedented levels of state intervention (see chapters 4 and 10).

A further difference between the way in which the two forms of professionalism used processual knowledge resources was that Education Academics made very limited use of metaknowledge (second order PK2) in discussing their own reflexivity¹⁴⁰. The strong

emphasis on metaknowledge to regulate personal practice in ITE, found in the practitioner bond form of professionalism, was not evident in reconstructed professionalism. Neither were there any accounts of tutors attempting to position this metaknowledge as high status knowledge, or as the starting point for modelling good practice in student reflection through their own reflexivity in ITE (see sections 7.4.7 and 8.2).

8.3.7 Summary of reconstructed professionalism

In the reconstructed form of professionalism the ITE teaching role fitted within a broad portfolio of professional activity, including sustained engagement in research. The teaching role, whilst an important element of professionalism, was defined as focusing on a narrow range of student attributes (those concerned with academic and professional development only). This form of professionalism did not include any overt descriptions of modelling ‘good practice’ in primary school teaching for students. As in practitioner bond professionalism, however, reflective practice was defined as an essential part of good professional practice in both schooling and ITE.

Professional knowledge resources for Education Academics were predicated on a broader knowledge base of schooling, gained from both experiential and theoretical sources, than that found in practitioner bond professionalism. Education Academic tutors used practical, action orientated knowledge of the primary classroom to signal their credibility to teachers and students if they felt their professional credibility was being contested. But engagement in personal research focused on primary schooling and other theoretically derived knowledge of the school sector were more central components of professionalism. Research was integrated in the tutors’ induction of primary ITE students into schooling. The use of research to inform teaching in this way was seen as one way of achieving what I have

termed a symbiosis of teaching and research. Knowledge of ITE work was also emphasised as an important element of professionalism; this knowledge was, however, largely experiential and its acquisition attributed to years of HE experience.

As with practitioner bond professionalism, senses of responsibility and commitment to the school sector were further factors in the professional identity of tutors. But in reconstructed professionalism these senses of commitment were exemplified through the tutors' feelings of obligation to contribute to the theoretical knowledge base of primary schooling, and to induct students into research-orientated teaching. In reconstructed professionalism then research and research-inflected teaching were central to tutor professionalism.

(Re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching was seen as taking place through the twinned mediums of the generation of theoretical knowledge (by engagement in personal research and scholarly activity) and research-inflected teaching.

8.3.8 Similarities between the literature on teacher educators and findings on reconstructed professionalism

Reconstructed professionalism shares the following similarities with findings from the studies of teacher educators reviewed in chapter 2. It includes a sense of responsibility to the school sector (see Ducharme 1993; Maguire 2002) and an on-going commitment to contribute to schooling (see Ducharme 1986; Reynolds 1995; Carter 1984). Education Academic tutors are committed to their students and gain professional satisfaction from their teaching (see Ducharme 1993; Reynolds 1995; Ducharme and Agne 1989; Maguire 2002). They stress the importance of reflection either to develop practice in ITE work or to provide self-monitoring and regulation (see Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995). Many of these aspects are shared with practitioner bond professionalism, as outlined in chapter 8.2.10.

Like the academics in the surveys of Fulton (1996) and Halsey (1992), Education Academics in this research show a commitment to scholarship and their research. They also share a recognition of the imperatives of research activity and publication with some of the tutors in studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Maguire 2002; Ducharme and Agne 1989; Ducharme 1993; Busch 1989; Reynolds 1995; and Carter 1984). Carter's ITE tutors, like the Education Academics, linked their research involvement to their feelings of responsibility to the teaching profession. The findings of Reynolds' study which link high levels of research involvement to teacher educators working in high status universities have particular significance for this research. They are therefore discussed in more detail in chapter 9.

As chapter 7 has outlined, there are few obvious similarities between reconstructed professionalism and the findings of studies of primary teachers professionalism pre 1988, beyond the advocacy of reflective practice to promote and regulate practice. But reconstructed professionalism does show the influence of models of teacher professionalism which stress the importance of theoretical perspectives to inform and develop the practitioner's experiential knowledge base (see, for example, Hoyle's (1975) model of extended professionalism outlined in chapter 2). As chapters 7 and 8 have shown though, Education Academics used theoretical perspectives to develop their knowledge of schooling (as their 'academic' subject) rather than to develop and inform their experiential knowledge base of their ways of working in teacher education. Like the Novice and Defenders tutors, Education Academics in this research depended on a largely experiential knowledge base for their second order practices and pedagogy.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have identified and analysed the forms and modes of deployment of the professionalism identified with each tutor type. My findings show that there is no one homogeneous form of professionalism for these teacher educators. Within the small sample group for this research, superficially with key aspects of professional biography in common¹⁴¹, there are two different forms of professionalism - *practitioner bond professionalism* and *reconstructed professionalism* - constructed by the three tutor types. I have identified that these forms are predicated on different epistemological, ethical and inter-personal resources including varied constructions of professional knowledge, responsibility, orientations, personae and autonomy.

Chapter 7.5 has already indicated that the professional resources of Novice and Defender tutors had many similarities with those of primary school teachers in studies of teacher professionalism, particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s (see, for example, Osborn et al 2000). Section 8.2.10 has now shown that practitioner bond professionalism draws on craft models of teacher professionalism which valorise experiential knowledge, emphasise reflective practice and see knowledge, inter-personal skills and moral attributes as interwoven in professional practice (see, for example, Day and Pennington 1993; Hargreaves and Goodson 1996).

I have also identified in this chapter that practitioner bond professionalism also has similarities with the findings of some other studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Ducharme 1993). These similarities include a commitment to serving the school sector through the (re)production of good primary practitioners, the importance of reflection to develop and regulate practice, the constructing of the experience of school teaching as

central to ITE work, adopting diffuse and affective roles with students, and restricted engagement in research.

Chapter 7.5 has indicated that there are few obvious similarities between the reconstructed professionalism of the Education Academics and studies of teacher professionalism in the relevant period. Section 8.3.8 has shown, however, that this form of professionalism shares a commitment to research and to continuing to contribute to schooling with some of the tutors in other studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Carter 1984; Reynolds 1995). It also shares this commitment to research with academics in other disciplines in surveys of academic professionalism (see, for example, Fulton 1996; Halsey 1992).

Professionalism for ITE tutors in this research has been found to be integrally related to the processes of (re)production in ITE. Underpinning the two different forms of professionalism then are fundamentally different ways of understanding ITE as processes of teacher (re)production. These are in turn related to what tutors construct as the necessary knowledge base and professional practices of the first order context of primary schooling, and how they see themselves as participating in the (re)production of these discourses and practices through their second order work in ITE.

The findings of this study show that in practitioner bond professionalism tutors place themselves at the centre of the processes of (re)production in ITE. Student induction into the required discourses and practices of primary school teaching is seen as taking place through the various professional attributes and activities of the ITE tutor. The ITE tutor's function as a teacher of teachers thus becomes the pivotal point for both student induction, and tutor professionalism. Tutors aim to (re)produce students in their own images, promoting themselves as *models* for the 'good' primary practitioner. As part of this, tutors

adopt an extended, affective and learner-centred teaching role with students, in order to model the good primary teacher's attributes as learner-focused, nurturing, reflective and mutualistic. Because of this emphasis on *self-modelling*, knowledge of schooling, together with the pedagogical models and professional personae involved in how tutors construct primary school teaching, become privileged in practitioner bond professionalism. Second order practices and discourses are then predicated on those of the first order. And tutors attempt to claim a form of *dual professionalism* as both primary school teacher and ITE tutor. In this dual professionalism research and teaching in ITE are constructed as fundamentally dichotomous in terms of tutors' working lives.

In reconstructed professionalism tutors construct their own involvement in ITE as processes of (re)production in quite different ways. Engagement in research focused on the school sector and research-inflected teaching are central to tutor professionalism. (Re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching is seen as taking place through these mediums. Consequently, the teaching role in ITE, although still important, is constructed as less central both to tutors' work and to the induction of students, than in practitioner bond professionalism. In terms of tutors' work, teaching is one aspect amongst a broad portfolio of professional activity; and the teaching role is seen as being focused on a relatively narrow and clearly defined range of students' academic and professional attributes. Research-inflected teaching remains a key medium for the induction of students into research-orientated primary school teaching. But, unlike Novices and Defenders, Education Academic tutors do not describe any overt modelling of primary school teaching in their own pedagogical practices; neither do they make explicit parallels between their own teaching role and that of school teachers.

This chapter has shown that in some contexts tutors perceive their professionalism to be contested by others involved in the field of ITE, particularly students and school teachers. These groups are perceived to challenge tutors on their credibility and legitimacy to be teacher educators (the implicit question from student/teacher to tutor is ‘are you a fit professional to be involved in the (re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching?’). These challenges are often perceived to be based on the contemporaneity of tutors’ knowledge (the implicit question is ‘do you know about the current nature of primary schooling?’) or the origins of the knowledge (implicit questions are ‘how do you know these things? have you been a school teacher yourself? if so, when?’). Tutors respond to these challenges by attempting to indicate their on-going knowledge and competence as a teacher by citing, exemplifying or demonstrating their practical and experientially based knowledge (the resource of first order SK1). Novice tutors, with their comparatively recent experience of schooling, perceive that they are able to establish themselves as credible in the eyes of students and teachers; more experienced tutors attempt the same strategy, but state that they sometimes struggle to achieve credibility.

Students and teachers, along with tutors, are stakeholders in ITE. They too bring their professional histories and dispositions into the field; they too have their positions and interests within the field. The tutors’ accounts of their micropolitical interactions with these groups indicate a number of things. Firstly, from these tutors’ perspectives, teachers and students are perceived to privilege recent, relevant (that is, practically orientated) and experiential knowledge of primary schooling as a professional resource for ITE tutors. This ‘discourse of relevance’ (Maguire and Weiner 1994:133) above all others is perceived to be used by these groups to judge professional credibility and legitimacy. Secondly, from these

tutors' accounts their professionalism is inseparable from the perceived values, interests and actions of teachers and students. Such factors contribute to the valorising of knowledge of schooling in the professionalism of teacher educators, as chapter 10 will discuss in more depth.

In chapter 9 I extend the analysis by considering the relevant meso or institutional level settings for the tutors' work. I also present and analyse the distribution of the tutor types and the forms of professionalism across the three settings, and begin to analyse how and why these occur.

CHAPTER 9 THE THREE CASE STUDY UNIVERSITIES

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 8 has shown the two forms of teacher educator professionalism found in this research and related them to the types of tutor. The chapter has also identified that professionalism is integrally related to the processes of (re)production within ITE and to how these are understood by different types of tutor. Chapter 9 now addresses the fourth question posed about teacher educator professionalism in chapter 1. This question was: how does professionalism relate to the institutional settings within which the tutors work? In addressing this question, the analysis of previous chapters is extended by presenting the distribution of the forms of professionalism and the tutor types with which they were associated across the three different institutional settings identified in chapter 5. This facilitates the identification of which forms of professionalism were found in each university, and leads to the analysis in chapter 10 of how and why different forms of professionalism were constructed by different tutor types in different institutional contexts.

The institutional or meso level contexts for the findings at the micro level are also presented in this chapter, including case histories of the three institutions - the Universities of Avonbridge, Brecon and the South West (USW) - their development and identified external indicators which provide data on their education departments around the time of my research. I have already indicated that the mid 1990s were a time of change in ITE. At this time institutions were attempting to accommodate imperatives from the state which made ITE more school-focused and from HE which placed greater emphasis on research in most teacher education institutions. In chapter 4 I identified these changes had differential effects on the institutions (see, for example, the findings of Furlong et al 1996).

In chapter 5 and Appendix 2 I have indicated that the three case study universities were selected using purposive sampling techniques in part because of their institutional differences. In chapter 3 I have briefly stated that there are ‘hierarchies’ of institutions - both recognised and tacit - within the HE sector. Different HEIs - and the departments of education within them - occupy positions of dominance, subordination or equality in relation to other institutions and their education departments. In particular, institutions have differential holdings of prestige and honour associated with research activity, and to a lesser extent, teaching activities. Attempting to place the three case study universities within any notional or actual hierarchies of ITE institutions inevitably involves some degree of subjective judgement. Drawing on the data presented more fully in section 9.3, however, the University of Brecon is seen as an established university with a long history of involvement in ITE, widely recognised in the world of teacher education as an elite institution, possessing a reputation for high quality ITE, and to a lesser extent, for some good quality research. The University of Avonbridge and USW are new universities and less ‘prestigious’ institutions, with some national recognition of the distinctiveness and quality of their teaching, but less recognition and value attached to their research outputs. The data in this chapter shows how the changing discourses and practices at the macro level were instantiated in different ways within the three UDEs. Further data on these institutions is also provided from the perspectives of the interviewees themselves. This meso level data enables the research findings at the micro level to be contextualised.

The chapter is structured in the following way: in section 9.2 I analyse the distribution of the forms of professionalism and of the tutor types by institution. This analysis indicates that, whilst Novice tutors at all three institutions adopted a common form of

professionalism, professionalism for more experienced tutors became more differentiated. In section 9.3 I present case studies of the three institutional settings, analysing their history and external indicators of primary ITE provision, and research activity in each university education department. In section 9.4 I present the interviewees' perspectives on the institutional contexts within which they work. In section 9.5 I discuss the similarities between my findings and key studies in the literature on teacher educators. Section 9.6 concludes the chapter.

9.2 Distribution of the forms of professionalism and the tutor types by institution

All five tutors interviewed at the University of Avonbridge adopted the practitioner bond form of professionalism. A similar pattern of adherence to practitioner bond professionalism by all tutors was found at the University of the South West. At both these universities then practitioner bond professionalism, centred around specific ways of knowing and understanding primary schooling, was the universal form of professionalism for my sample groups. Two forms of professionalism were found amongst the sample group at Brecon. Of these two forms, reconstructed professionalism, centred around the integration of research and teaching, was more common. Four tutors adopted this form of professionalism. One tutor at Brecon adopted practitioner bond professionalism.

In chapters 7 and 8 I have indicated the links between the tutor types and the forms of professionalism they adopted. Consideration of these patterns of the distribution of forms of professionalism across the three institutions can then be extended by analysing them alongside the distribution of the tutor types. At Avonbridge there were two Novice tutor types and three Defender tutor types amongst the sample group. At USW the tutor types, defined from the sample group, followed this same pattern of two Novices and three

Defenders. Amongst the sample group at Brecon there were four Education Academic tutor types, and one Novice.

In chapter 7 I have identified that the amount of time spent in HE was an important factor in the biographical profiles of the Novice tutor type in that all such tutors had spent three years or less in HE-based ITE work. Considering the patterns of distribution of the forms of professionalism and the tutor types together shows that Novice tutors at all three institutions adopted the practitioner bond form of professionalism. Recent recruits to ITE were then able to understand their professionalism in the same way across and within the three different university settings.

Differentiation is to be found within the forms of professionalism adopted by the more experienced tutors at each institution. The Education Academic type of tutor, with different habitus from the other tutor types and found only at Brecon, adopted the reconstructed form of professionalism. Whilst at Avonbridge and USW, Defender tutors adopted the practitioner bond form of professionalism. It therefore meant a different thing to be an experienced ITE tutor at Brecon than at Avonbridge and USW.

At Brecon, as I have indicated in the sampling plans included in chapter 5 only one tutor with less than three years of HE experience was interviewed. Predictably, this tutor, Linda Hussein, was the only one in the Brecon sample group to adopt the practitioner bond form of professionalism, whilst her more experienced colleagues adopted the reconstructed form of professionalism. At Brecon then the different forms of professionalism adopted by tutors seemed to be superficially related to the number of their years of HE experience.

In order to explore how and why these patterns of the distribution of the models of professionalism and the tutor types across the three institutions occurred, the institutional contexts - the meso levels of my research framework - need to be considered in more depth.

9.3 The institutional case studies

9.3.1 Introduction

This section presents case studies of the three universities involved in the empirical research. These case studies show the institutional - or meso level - factors which defined and affected the UDEs as the professional arenas within which the tutors worked. Firstly, the history of the education department within each institution is reviewed; secondly, a summary is given of relevant contextual factors for each university between 1994 and 1996, including the provision for primary ITE courses.

A number of sources have been used to create these descriptions. The factual information, used to create the histories of the institutions, was obtained either from sources within the universities, usually senior managers in the education departments, and from university archives held in the campus libraries, except where referencing indicates the use of a specific external source. The histories of these institutions should be read in conjunction with the general analysis of institutional changes outlined in the analysis of the macro level of the field in chapter 4.

In describing the institutional contexts in the years 1994 -1996 when the empirical research was undertaken I have used a variety of sources. These include data on student numbers supplied by the DfEE (this is the same data source used for the analysis in section 4.9) and course specific data given to me by the heads of department. In considering the institutional

contexts I have also included one of the external performance or 'Quality Assurance' indicators then in use for teacher education departments. These were the gradings from the Research Assessment Exercises (RAE) of 1992 and 1996.¹⁴²

These external indicators are included to give further perspectives on the factors affecting the institutional contexts in 1994 - 1996. The use of externally generated, 'hard data' within this essentially interpretative research framework is not intended to give direct 'corroboration' to my empirical research. It is rather intended to give additional and external perspectives for consideration as part of the institutional case studies. This is part of the process of extending the meaning of my empirical research findings.

9.3.2 The history of the University of Avonbridge

The education department of the University of Avonbridge had its origins in two emergency teacher training colleges, Avonbridge and East Lea Park, established in 1945 and 1946 respectively, under the control of Avonbridge Local Education Authority. Avonbridge, based around an old country house in beautiful and extensive grounds, on the edge of a major conurbation, was one of the earliest Emergency Teacher Training Colleges. It quickly established a thriving residential community. East Lea Park was non residential and conformed to Martin's description of some emergency colleges as being 'groups of hutments' (1949:9). Both colleges made the transition from emergency training to recognition as permanent training institutions in the late 1940s, with Avonbridge pioneering the teaching of emergency trainees alongside conventional students as the Emergency Training Scheme came to an end in 1950 (see Martin 1949). East Lea Park gained residential facilities for some students when it became a permanent college. From 1951

onwards both colleges were members of an Institute of Education formed under the direction of a regional university (see Gardner 1986).

In the 1960s both colleges underwent the rapid expansion of student numbers which, as chapter 4 identifies, was experienced by many institutions at this time. In both colleges this caused changes to established social, academic, professional and administrative structures similar to those identified by Shipman (1983) at Worcester College between 1961 and 1968. During this time the two institutions offered primary and secondary ITE courses, but built particularly strong traditions in primary education.

Both institutions came under threat of closure with the contraction of student numbers and the subsequent re-organisation of the college sector in the early to mid 1970s. Finally, in 1976 the two colleges merged to form the Avonbridge College of Higher Education (CHE), based on the Avonbridge site. The new institution diversified its provision in the arts and social sciences, coming close to Eason and Croll's (1971) description of many of the new diversified colleges or institutes as 'liberal arts colleges'. ITE, particularly at undergraduate level for the primary school sector, continued to be a major area of work at the new institution. After further years of threatened closure and uncertainty about its fate in the mid 1980s, the CHE eventually merged in 1989 with the Avonbridge Polytechnic, a large institution with no education department of its own.

The polytechnic had previously been a large technical college, specialising in engineering and science, which attained its polytechnic designation in 1969. This development from one main institutional base is identified by Pratt (1997) as a major factor in enabling the polytechnic to establish its direction and internal mechanisms prior to rapid expansion. Pratt cites Avonbridge Polytechnic as a high status and innovative institution within its

sector. It was one of the first polytechnics to move into total modularisation in the 1970s and to expand into offering higher taught and research degrees in the 1980s. In 1992, when it attained its current university status, the polytechnic had extended its provision to include fifty five undergraduate courses, nineteen taught Masters courses and other higher degrees in an extensive array of professional, vocational and academic disciplines (Pratt 1997).

9.3.3 The history of the University of Brecon

Brecon had its origins in an adult education institute formed in the 1890s. In 1905 the institute expanded through the establishment of a training department for the initial training of elementary school teachers and a separate art department. The new institution was under the direct auspices of the local university with no legal or constitutional independence, but the expansion of the training department also involved the active support of a number of LEAs. Within two years of its opening, the department was the largest college of teacher training in the country, and the only one maintained by a university for the purpose of teaching the two year Certificate in Education (see Dymond 1955). It was also permitted to teach the university's degree programmes in education.

The institution was then unusual in a number of ways: it was affiliated to both LEAs and a university; its students studied elementary education alongside students working for degrees and qualifications in other disciplines; its staff had connections to the world of the universities at a time when most colleges involved in elementary ITT were seen as academically isolated; and education students were taught on the same campus as students studying on degree programmes in other subjects. Brecon retained its elementary education focus and had many of its students in residence, unlike the usual day training colleges

affiliated to universities which had rapidly moved to secondary ITT provision for non-residential graduates (see Thomas 1990).

The department did, however, share many of the typical features of other elementary training colleges at this time (see Firth 1991): the rules and conventions governing residential and communal life were rigid; students were strictly regulated with an emphasis placed on personal and professional morality; and a close knit community with strong allegiances to the institution was created. There was a strong ethos of commitment to elementary education.

In the inter war years the department expanded to include secondary ITT but maintained its fundamental ethos. Staff publications on primary school teaching extended the department's influence and status in the worlds of primary ITE and schooling. A particular focus of tutors' publications was the promotion of child-centred models of infant schooling. In the post war years the department was recognised as 'one of the foremost permanent training colleges for teachers....with a high level of entry and standards' (Martin 1949:39). Martin also recorded that from 1944 - 1945 Brecon ran and evaluated a trial of the Emergency Training Scheme for the government

The department's links to its parent university were strengthened in the 1940s by the national initiative to band colleges together with universities to form Institutes of Education. In the post war period the institution as a whole continued to function under the auspices of its parent university, attaining a quasi university college status. Staff continued to publish influential school-focused research, with many still heavily involved in the promotion of child-centred approaches to primary schooling (see Dymond 1955; Firth 1991).¹⁴³

The college expanded steadily to include other disciplines, although initial teacher training remained its central element, particularly as the nation-wide expansion in teacher training between 1960 and 1970 more than doubled its student numbers. In 1962 Brecon started to offer a primary teaching option within its PGCE secondary course. From this date onwards the institution took a leading role in developing PGCE primary provision within the college sector of ITE (see Gilbert and Blyth 1984). In 1970 Brecon established a separate PGCE course for intending primary teachers, housed in a purpose built unit. The provision of this PGCE further strengthened Brecon's primary provision and its reputation as a leading ITE institution. Two successive PGCE course directors and some other staff were leading exponents of child-centred teaching approaches to primary education in the 1970s (see Firth 1991).

When ITE numbers contracted again in the 1970s the department, now a school of education, expanded into other post graduate and INSET work. Its primary ethos was reinforced at this time by an amalgamation with two local colleges of education, both with strong primary ITT traditions. In 1988 the institution as a whole made the transition from its previous quasi university college status to full university status.

9.3.4 The history of the University of the South West

ITE provision at the University of the South West began in 1967 with the establishment of a department of Education in South Western Technical College (SWTC), a rapidly expanding institution offering a range of Further and Higher Education vocational courses. The new department, along with those established at a small number of other emerging polytechnics, including Manchester, Trent and Sunderland (see Pratt 1997), was originally intended to

increase opportunities for the training of teachers in technical subjects. In 1972 - 1973 SWTC submitted proposals for a full-time B.Ed. course in a range of subjects, including primary education. SWTC and another local institution, Southern Technical College, were rapidly approaching merger at this time, and were formally designated as the Polytechnic of the South West (PSW) in 1973. Unlike most other polytechnics in the 1970s, PSW did not amalgamate with any teacher training colleges. By the mid 1970s the new polytechnic was involved in teaching only HE courses (see Pratt 1997). Its campuses were scattered over a number of geographically separated inner city sites, with teacher education courses taking place on two of these.

Like many of the other new urban polytechnics, PSW developed strong community links. It set the explicit objective of increasing the number of its students from ethnic minority groups. By 1988 30% of all its first year students (across all courses) were from these groups, a percentage which was believed by Wagner (1988, quoted in Pratt 1997) to be the highest in the country. The continuation of this profile is reflected in the admissions figures for ITE primary courses in the institution in the early 1990s (evidence from HMI Report, quoted in Pratt 1997). Again in line with the general profile of the institution's intake, non-standard entry, mature students represented an above average percentage of students on some ITE courses. PSW thus possessed the attributes which Pratt (1997) defined as making teacher education in the polytechnics distinctive from that offered in the 'old' universities: inner city locations; established traditions of vocational education within the institution; a concern with Equal Opportunities and broadening access for marginalised groups of students, particularly those from ethnic minority communities; and involvement in broad community initiatives.

ITE numbers at PSW expanded rapidly with the start of the new B.Ed. degrees in the early 1970s, but then declined in line with the general demographic changes in teacher education later in the decade. In the late 1980s and early 1990s PSW continued to expand its role in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses for the LEA within which it was located and with which it had close ideological ties. In 1992 the polytechnic became the University of the South West (USW). The education department and its parent faculty moved from a small, outlying site onto the main university campus in 1994.

9.3.5 Primary ITE provision at the three universities between 1994 and 1996

i) Avonbridge

Even after the institution achieved university status in 1992, the education department, together with the humanities section, continued to be based at the Avonbridge site, some miles away from the main campus of the university. Primary ITE courses provided the majority of the education department's work, although it also offered a limited number of secondary ITE places and a range of INSET courses.

DfEE figures show 518 students registered on four year B.Ed primary courses and 76 students on PGCE primary courses in 1995/6. The institution's own figures also record 21 students on a two year B.Ed degree, making a grand total of 615 primary ITE students.

The institution's own figures show that under-graduate students on primary ITE courses had the following profiles

- the majority were female (96%)
- the majority were in the 18 - 25 age group (68%)
- the majority were classified as 'white' in terms of their ethnicity (85%)

- 56% entered with A levels and the rest with non-standard entry qualifications

PGCE students had

- similar patterns for gender and ethnicity
- an older age profile (61% were 26 or over)
- second class degrees in 82% of cases

ii) Brecon

In 1994 -1996 this department of education offered a wide range of courses, including primary and secondary ITE, and CPD courses, although primary ITE students were in the majority. Brecon also had significant numbers of students studying for post-graduate degrees in education, both through taught programmes and research. It continued to have a high status in the world of teacher education and was particularly noted for its primary ITE provision. The teacher education department was still located on the main campus, alongside a range of other academic faculties.

DfEE figures show that there were 376 students registered on four year under-graduate programmes in 1995/96 and 76 on the PGCE course, making a grand total of 452 primary ITE students.

Based on the institution's own figures, analysis shows that the under-graduate cohort of 1994/95 had very similar characteristics to that at Avonbridge in terms of age, gender and ethnicity. The main difference in the two groups was that at Brecon 78% of under-graduates entered with A level qualifications. The profile of the PGCE students at Brecon was also similar to that at Avonbridge.

iii) USW

The primary B.Ed courses dominated the ITE provision at USW in the mid 1990s, although there were also small primary and secondary PGCE cohorts. The department also provided a small range of CPD courses and an under-graduate course in early childhood education without QTS. There was a particular focus on education in an urban context and a major concern with educational opportunity for ethnic minority students in the education department's mission statement.

DfEE figures for 1995/96 show 451 under-graduates and 42 PGCE students registered on primary ITE courses at USW, making a grand total of 493 primary students. In the undergraduate cohort of 1994/95 the institution's own figures showed similar age and gender profiles to the cohorts at the other two universities. But there were greater percentages of students from ethnic minorities (37%) and with non-standard entry qualifications (63%) at USW. The PGCE cohort was even more distinctive since the course was designed for bi-lingual teachers. Most of these students (93%) were from ethnic minorities, although in terms of gender, age and entry qualifications they shared common characteristics with the PGCE cohorts at Brecon and Avonbridge.

9.3.6 External indicators of research productivity

Table 9.1 shows the results of the RAEs of 1992 and 1996 for each institution. I have also cross referenced the results for the three case study institutions to the analysis of the RAE gradings for teacher education institutions nationally.

The RAE gradings for 1992 and 1996 show that research productivity and quality at Brecon rose during this time in terms of the actual grades achieved. Brecon also increased

its grading from below the modal average for an established university in 1992 to achieve the modal average for this category of institution by 1996. The staff participation rate was high in 1992 but had risen slightly further by 1996. Measured in terms of the actual numbers of staff entered for the two RAEs, there was a 14% rise in research activity at Brecon over the four years.

Levels of research productivity and achievement at USW and Avonbridge were similar in 1992 and 1996. The grades for both institutions reflected the modal average grades achieved by new universities. At USW there was a distinct rise in levels of staff participation in research. At Avonbridge participation rates rose sharply from less than twenty percent in 1992 to more than forty percent in 1996. Measured in terms of the actual numbers of staff entered for the two RAEs¹⁴⁴, there was a massive 111% rise in research activity at USW over the four years. At Avonbridge the rise was even greater at 150%.

Table 9.1: Results of the Research Assessment Exercises of 1992 and 1996 for the three universities

External Indicator	Avonbridge	Brecon	USW
Research Rating (1992 RAE)	2	3	2
Research Rating (1996 RAE)	3b	4	3b
Level of Research Participation (1992 RAE)	<20%,	79-60%,	39-20%,
Level of Research Participation (1996 RAE)	40-59%	80-94%	40-59%

9.4 Interviewees' perspectives of the institutional settings

9.4.1 Introduction and overview

In this section I extend the analysis of the meso level settings for my findings by including accounts from the interviewees' perspectives of the institutions within which they work. As chapter 5 has indicated, the interview schedule included questions focusing on institutional factors which might have impacted on the professionalism of teacher educators at the time of the empirical research. Interviewees were asked how funding constraints, government interventions in ITE, particularly the introduction of Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993), and preparations for the RAE of 1996 had impacted on their education department in general. More specifically, they were asked whether or not these factors had affected the form of their own work. Within the interview schedule there was also the opportunity for interviewees to identify any other institutional factors which impacted on their professional lives. At the end of the interviews all tutors were also asked how they felt their personal form of professionalism and the professional knowledge, orientations and values (professional resources) underpinning it was valued within their department.

The responses to all of these questions were the interviewees' representations of some of the events and conditions affecting their professional work as teacher educators within the education departments of their institutions.¹⁴⁵ These responses therefore provided, from individual and partially collective perspectives, an additional meso level contextualisation for the micro level findings of this research. The responses were often inter-linked in terms of cause and effect (for example, funding pressures were seen to affect staffing levels which

in turn affected professional expertise, pedagogical methods, and collegiality), but these causal links are not explored in detail here.

As chapter 6 has indicated, the responses to these questions were analysed separately from the responses to the rest of the interview schedule, using the coding techniques of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The emerging themes from this process were then checked to confirm that they focused on institutional specific conditions and events. This process was repeated both within individual interviews and across the set of interviews from each institution to ensure that both individual and communal themes were included.

In summary, the findings show that funding constraints at all three institutions were seen by the interviewees to be having major effects on the quality, quantity and form of their work and professionalism as ITE tutors. Government intervention in ITE, especially the publication of Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993), was a central part of this changing pattern, since all tutors stated that they now undertook more work setting up and implementing partnership structures with schools. All the interviewees saw government intervention in ITE as an intrusion on the autonomy and professional work of teacher educators. Funding squeezes within each university, caused in part by the devolution of some HE funding to partnership schools, were stated to be affecting the forms of tutors' teaching. A reductive view of teaching was said to be increasingly adopted within the institutions, with pressures for pedagogy to become functional and instrumental.

Preparations for the RAE of 1996 were stated to be a further factor affecting tutors' work in each institution. All the universities could be seen as re-organising in the mid 1990s in attempts to capture more research-related funding. Reactions to these preparations varied. At Avonbridge RAE preparations were cited as sources of stress, tension and alienation for

the teacher educators; at Brecon Education Academic tutors recognised and accepted the importance of research productivity, but the Novice tutor felt under stress. At USW interviewees stated that there was strong pressure to be research active, but they demonstrated markedly more relaxed attitudes to these pressures than tutors at the other two universities. These changing organisational structures were reported as creating new and differential forms of prestige and honour associated with research activity.

To be working in primary ITE at Avonbridge was presented as being involved in a collegial, valued and high status enterprise. Tutors perceived that their form of professionalism was valued highly within the primary ITE team, even if it might be devalued in other parts of the UDE. At Brecon the rapid pace of change and intensification of work, together with a gendered division of labour were identified as additional factors affecting professionalism. The four Education Academic tutors saw their professionalism as valued highly within the institution; for the Novice tutor there was a sense of temporary, and somewhat precarious, professional recognition. At USW there was divergence and difference in the perceived valuation of the practitioner bond of professionalism.

Commitment to USW students - many of whom came from multi-ethnic and / or socially and economically deprived backgrounds - was cited as a major factor uniting the institution, but senses of divergence and difference within various factions of the teacher education department were also discussed.

9.4.2 Avonbridge

i) Funding constraints

All the tutors at Avonbridge told of a sense of financial crisis within the education department there. For example, Sarah said, 'Life here is on a financial knife edge. Survival

feels like a week to week event sometimes.' This crisis was perceived to have been caused in part by the government's requirement that part of ITE funding be transferred to schools (see Circulars 9/92 and 14/93, DfE 1992, 1993). Lack of funding had meant staff leaving were not replaced; this resulted in increased workloads for the remaining staff. It also had knock-on effects on tutors' professional knowledge, pedagogical methods, academic administration and heavy teaching loads.

'Expertise' in a given subject, curriculum focus or age range was reportedly seen by the senior management as easy to acquire and thus potentially changeable. This was not necessarily a new phenomenon at Avonbridge, but its effects had intensified in the period just prior to the interviews. All but one of the interviewees told of changing her/his subject specialism or age range expertise at some point to meet changing staffing needs. Similarly, tutors could be asked to pick up a new curriculum emphasis (for example, Special Needs or Educational Studies) or to tutor students on School Experience in age ranges with which they were not familiar. Diversification of curriculum expertise was seen to be encouraged by the economic constraints and the organisational structures of the department. All but one of the interviewees felt that this diversification had had a negative impact on their work as teacher educators.

Funding constraints also affected the modes of pedagogy used at the university. Senior management at Avonbridge were said to be discussing the teaching of students by 'transmission methods' which four of the tutors explicitly stated were inappropriate to ITE. Tutors stated that senior managers increasingly saw teaching as reductive and instrumental. 'This view is exemplified by Mary who stated that

They (the senior management) would like us to stick them all (*the students*) in the lecture theatre and just lecture at them but teaching in ITE just won't work like that. They don't seem to understand this.

Such changes were either resisted (by four out of the five tutors) or very grudgingly accommodated by one of the tutors. One of the Defender tutors, Sarah, contrasted these changes to pedagogical methods with the ‘golden days’ of ITE when one tutor could work with a small student group for a prolonged period of time.¹⁴⁶ A reduced staffing base had also increased the amount of academic administration which tutors had to undertake.

ii) Government intervention

The interviewees at Avonbridge stated that the primary ITE team were heavily engaged in preparation for the implementation of the government’s Circular 14/93 at the time of the empirical research. As well as their traditional roles in the teaching and academic administration of HE-based courses, all tutors reported that they were involved in collaboration with primary school teachers. This work involved activities such as re-writing courses, setting up partnership structures and practices, recruiting partnership schools, re-designing assessment criteria to meet the competencies in the circular, and implementing mentoring courses for teachers to learn how to teach and assess students. All the tutors stressed that these developments had increased their workloads dramatically, and changed the form of much of their work.

All the Avonbridge tutors felt that the institution had good relationships with its local primary schools, pre-dating the partnership requirements of Circular 14/93. Working in and with schools was seen as a positive and important part of tutors’ work, but the detailed partnership requirements were seen as unnecessarily bureaucratic and unrealistic. Four of the tutors stated that they still felt that the overall responsibility of planning for, teaching and assessing students would rest with them, despite the rhetoric which stated that school

teachers would share these processes. Other aspects of the Circular were seen also as having a negative impact on tutors' work by limiting their professional autonomy. The specification of part of the ITE curriculum and the imposition of competencies for the assessment of students were cited as examples of this.

iii) Research Assessment Exercises

As chapter 4 has indicated, before 1992 Avonbridge had no tradition of involvement in education research. The interviewees reported that the RAE of 1992 and preparations for the 1996 RAE had caused a 'culture shift' at Avonbridge in which all tutors were now expected to combine research with their teaching and administrative commitments. 'We're all researchers now, aren't we?' stated one (non-research active) interviewee wryly.

All the tutors reported feeling alienated by and from these requirements (see chapter 8). Internal structures set up for the professional development of new researchers were seen as inadequate and unsupportive. All the interviewees felt that a two tier, hierarchical system had been created within the department in which active researchers were seen as an elite with increased status and professional development opportunities, whilst other staff (all the interviewees included themselves in this group) carried heavy teaching and administration duties, did not or could not easily engage in research, and were disadvantaged because of this.

iv) Other institutional factors

Interviewees identified five other institutional factors affecting their work. These were

- the particular strength of Avonbridge's relationships with its local schools, as stated above. This was cited as a positive factor by all tutors.

- the opportunity for the regular renewal of school experience. This was achieved through a formal staff development policy within the department. The four experienced tutors interviewed at Avonbridge mentioned this as a positive factor since it enabled them to renew their knowledge and experience of the primary school classroom at regular intervals. There was also said to be an on-going recruitment policy which ensured that all new tutors had recent experience of primary school teaching.
- the heavy workload carried by tutors working on ITE courses in relation to the smaller workloads undertaken by teacher educators working outside ITE. All the interviewees mentioned this factor. For example, Sam stated,

We're (*we = primary ITE tutors*) the workhorses around here. We do all the nitty gritty work with the students and all the running around.

On a similar theme Tom described his own work in the following way,

I'd say I worked in the engine room and got dirty hands quite a lot. I'm not a high up person at all. I work the engines that keep everything going.

This factor was related to both the perceived hierarchy within the department and to work associated with the on-going changes to ITE courses.

- Four tutors stressed the collegiality within the primary ITE team, with fellow tutors said to be supportive, caring and committed to working together. But this team was seen as unusual within the department as a whole where an increasingly individualistic culture was taking over. The tutors felt that this was a negative development.
- Primary education is the 'bread and butter of this place'. Four of the tutors stated that primary ITE was the mainstay of the department financially. Without the large numbers of students on the two primary courses, the department would be unable to function.

This was seen as giving the primary ITE tutors and their work enhanced importance and status within the department.

v) Perceived valuation of professional resources

All five tutors at Avonbridge perceived their professional knowledge, orientations and values to have a high level of valuation within the primary ITE team. Novices stressed the high status given to them as recent primary practitioners, emphasising their consequent value to the department. All the interviewees stressed a sense of professional valuation within and by a team of like minded professionals. Responses to this question from all the tutors indicated perceptions of strong, common constructions of professionalism within this team. Accounts of 'I' as a professional became merged with accounts of 'we', as the primary ITE team. Mary, for example, stated,

Yes, I feel valued as a professional here, I suppose that's because well, I feel that we're a team all working in the same way, with the same values, attitudes, call it what you will, but we know, we know that we're all professionals heading in the same way, we all know what's important, the quality of our work with students comes first, and we all know how we need to operate to get there.

Similarly, Tom, talking about how he perceived his knowledge base to be valued, also stressed this sense of communalism, and attributes this to the tutors' shared backgrounds,

I'm valued for my knowledge of primary schools and for all the knowledge I've accumulated over the years of how students learn. Everyone here knows those things are important. How could they not be? We're all coming from the same place, from schools, I mean.

Outside the primary ITE team, all the tutors felt that their professional resources were likely to be less valued. Three reasons for this perceived devaluation were cited: firstly, the interviewees' lack of research activity would be judged as a deficiency; secondly, their high levels of commitment to their students which would be seen as inappropriate time

consuming; and thirdly, experience of working in schools would not be given sufficient credit. Strong as these senses of professional devaluations in the wider department were, they were largely dismissed as unimportant by the interviewees. Dismissal was achieved in various ways. These included stressing the importance of primary ITE courses at Avonbridge (see above), reiterating the communal strength of the primary team, and reaffirming the communal confidence in priorities and the 'correct' ways of operating (in the words of Mary quoted above 'we all know what's important').

9.4.3 Brecon

i) Funding constraints

All the interviewees at Brecon stated that funding problems, again attributed in part to the implementation of Circulars 9/92 and 14/93, had led to a reduction in the staffing base. All the tutors felt that this in turn had led to an increase in the academic administration aspects of their workloads, as they 'covered' the work of staff who had left. There was, however, also stated to be a strong respect for 'academic expertise' within the department which meant that tutors defended their own area of expertise and refused to undertake teaching work in other areas.

A further effect of the economic constraints within the department was stated to be an increased Staff Student Ratio (SSR) on ITE courses, with all students being taught in larger groups in the past two years. The Novice tutor interviewed, Linda Hussein, said that she felt that such settings were inappropriate for ITE; the increase in the SSR had had a negative effect on her work by preventing her from choosing and implementing the learner-centred pedagogical methods which she judged to be most appropriate for the students. Hence she felt that her models of teaching were being increasingly devalued at Brecon.

The four Education Academic tutors at Brecon also identified that the pedagogical methods used on the primary ITE courses had had to change significantly in the past two years to accommodate the rising SSR. Like Linda Hussein, they bemoaned the intensification of their work caused in part by this factor; unlike her, they broadly welcomed the changes in pedagogical methods as more appropriate for HE students than the intensive, student-centred methods in place previously.

ii) Government intervention

Revised course designs and the first round of partnership structures to meet the criteria of Circular 14/93 were in place at Brecon by the time of the interviews. All the interviewees reported, however, that there was still considerable fine tuning of partnership structures ongoing. This followed a familiar pattern of involving tutors in more collaborative work alongside school teachers. Tutors at Brecon reported that they were particularly involved in teaching on mentoring courses (in which they taught teachers how to guide and assess ITE students on School Experience), writing new course documentation in partnership with school teachers, and designing student portfolios for use in competence-based assessments.

Partnership with schools was seen as positive, but the increasingly managerialist element of work for tutors - particularly the new roles for tutors in 'managing' students' School Experience - which accompanied it was seen negatively. Circular 14/93 was generally seen as an unnecessary imposition on ITE; partnerships with schools had existed prior to its publication, course structures at Brecon had been more than adequate, and the assessment of students had been efficient and fair without the use of competencies. One tutor, David, seemed to express the sentiments of all the interviewees at Brecon when he stated that the Circular contained 'a reductionist, technical-rational model of the teacher', whilst teacher

educators became 'puppets moving to the government's tune to deliver sterile teaching programmes'.

iii) Research Assessment Exercises

Preparations for the RAE of 1996 were stated by all the tutors to be a major factor in institutional life at Brecon. Pressure from the senior management for all staff to be research active was strong. Monitoring procedures were in place to set and review explicit research targets for all staff. There had also been recent changes in the staff recruitment and retention policies to ensure that as many staff as possible were research active; these changes had resulted in a number of experienced but non-research active staff leaving the institution or being transferred to teaching only contracts.

The four experienced tutors interviewed at Brecon all stated that their own research activity pre-dated these changes. Nevertheless the tightening of institutional policy had increased the importance of their research productivity, as defined in the 1996 RAE criteria. Linda Hussein, the Novice tutor at Brecon, felt acutely aware of and daunted by the pressure to be research active; many of her anxieties focused on how she could ever hope to achieve research outputs at the desired level alongside all her teaching duties.

iv) Other institutional factors

Interviewees identified four other institutional factors affecting their work at Brecon. These were

- All the interviewees talked about the rapid pace of change at Brecon in the two years before the time of the interviews. Change was perceived to have taken place in all of the following areas: the department's mission had changed from the prioritisation of

high quality teaching to prioritising research; expectations of individual research productivity had become much sharper; the organisation of University-based teaching in ITE had altered, with more and larger classes and less teaching overall; tutors' work in schools had become more focused on 'managing and monitoring partnership' rather than on interacting with individual students; the ethos of the department itself had changed, in that there was less sense of communalism and a stronger sense of valuing individual autonomy. (Many of these areas have already been identified in different parts of my findings, but it was the cumulative effects of all these changes in a short space of time which the interviewees particularly stressed in their responses.)

- All the interviewees identified that their work had intensified recently and that the various elements and requirements were becoming increasingly difficult to manage. A key theme was tensions in combining ITE work and with research. The word 'struggle' was repeated many times in these responses. For example, Deborah states

Some days I love this job, other days it's just such a struggle and it seems to be getting worse, the research and the teaching and all the partnership work out in school, it's like, like, well, I know it's a cliché but it's like trying to juggle with too many balls in the air at once,

Siobhan reiterates this theme by saying

I'm constantly running around from job to job, trying and failing to keep everything going and it just seems like one long struggle sometimes.

At later point she adds

We're told to prioritise the research and everyone here knows now that that's the key thing, but that's very hard when you have students and schools demanding urgent attention.

At Brecon, as at Avonbridge, the intensifying workloads were associated only with tutors working in ITE. Tutors in other parts of the department were perceived to have less time consuming and onerous workloads, and crucially more time to devote to research.

- Three tutors identified that the two primary courses - the PGCE and the BA(QTS) - were taught separately by two different teams of tutors. There was therefore said to be little real sense of 'primary team' at Brecon.
- Three female tutors identified that they felt there was a gendered division of labour at Brecon. Women were said to be given different roles and responsibilities from men. Taking on additional responsibility for course management and co-ordinating student learning was particularly emphasised here. These tutors also felt that men were given greater career opportunities and more time to research than women.

v) Perceived valuation of professional resources

The four Education Academic tutors at Brecon perceived their professional resources to have a consistently high level of valuation within the department. They cited themselves as being valued for their significant contributions to the department. These contributions covered various aspects of their work, including the quality of their teaching. But most importantly, and perhaps not surprisingly given the departmental focus on research identified in 9.4.4, their research activity was perceived to contribute to the department's research profile and its reputation for excellence in ITE. The contribution of their research work to the wider sphere of primary education was also mentioned by all these tutors as a significant factor in their high professional valuation.

For these four tutors, as for the tutors at Avonbridge, many of the responses in this section of the interviews tended to fuse accounts of 'I' as a professional with accounts of 'we' as a homogenous group of professionals, stressing shared expectations and understandings. At

Brecon, these tutors felt a strong sense of congruence between their reconstructed form of professionalism and the perceived departmental / institutional demands of them.

As Lisa stated,

I know I fit in here, I've got the kind of profile that this department needs, and so yes, I do feel professionally valued here

For Linda Hussein, the one tutor at Brecon classified as a Novice type, there was no such comfortable sense of congruence between her own professional resources and her perception of their valuation within the department. She expressed senses of dichotomy and uncertainty on this issue,

I'm so newly out of school and I think that's both valued and not valued, if you know what I mean, I think I'm valuable because of all my practical and up to date knowledge of schools, but some people here wouldn't see it that way

Linda stresses her contemporary knowledge of the school sector as a professional strength, but adds that she sees the valuation of this knowledge as ambiguous at Brecon. She perceives that such knowledge is taken for granted by some of her colleagues, and devalued and trivialised by others. Her response continues,

but I haven't really got any other forms of kudos here, I mean I don't have the research record. I don't know if I'll ever have the research so until or if I get that I think I'm in a kind of transition, maybe valued and maybe not valued, I'm a bit of an oddity here, not yet proven.

Again, possession of a research record is seen as a key indicator of professional valuation at Brecon. For Linda her lack of a research profile becomes a key point of dissonance and deficit, causing her to question how her professional resources are valued within the framework of the department's expectations.

9.4.4 The University of the South West

i) Funding constraints

Tutors at USW reported that this institution was also experiencing the effects of funding constraints at the time of the interviews. Tutors stated that there was increasing ‘casualisation’ of the workforce, identifying patterns of full-time staff leaving and being replaced by part-timers, staff on short contracts or consultants employed by the hour. This meant that the remaining full-time tutors on permanent contracts had to undertake a different and more diversified type of work. This included inducting, overseeing and managing the work of ‘casual’ staff. All of the interviewees saw this change in their work as negative. ‘Casualisation’ had also meant an increase in teaching hours for all tutors.

As at Avonbridge, funding constraints were also seen as affecting the modes of pedagogy used at USW. Tutors also made similar statements about the reductive discourses of teaching in ITE adopted by senior management, and expressed their views about the inappropriateness of the practical and instrumental pedagogical methods they were being asked to adopt. As at both Avonbridge and Brecon, lecturing to students in large groups was identified as one specific, inappropriate pedagogical method.

Again, in common with Avonbridge, tutors felt that diversification of curriculum expertise was encouraged by senior management in order to create a more flexible staffing base. Consequently tutors felt they had to be adaptable in terms of the teaching they undertook. For example, one tutor, Sandra, expressed this as

I’m flexible and my timetable changes from year to year. There is no one course that I’ve taught more than one year but part of my life is looking for a little niche, to make myself indispensable to someone

Three of the interviewees felt that this diversification had had a negative impact on their work as teacher educators.

ii) Government intervention

Tutors described the ways in which the implementation of Circular 14/93 had affected their work. These descriptions followed broadly similar patterns to those identified by tutors at Avonbridge and Brecon. Partnership had increased the overall amount of work tutors were required to undertake; it had required them to work much more closely with school colleagues, and to undertake different types of work. At USW partnership in itself was seen positively by all the tutors, but the increasingly bureaucratic workload for the tutors associated with it was seen negatively.

In general the government's intervention in ITE were seen as an intrusion on the professional work and autonomy of teacher educators. Four out of the five tutors interviewed at USW stated that they disagreed with the imposition of the competencies approach to assessment. The two tutors working in mathematics and English education both stated that the curriculum specifications within the circular were inappropriate for their subjects and would impinge on the quality of ITE teaching which they could offer their students.

iii) Research Assessment Exercises

As chapter 4 has indicated, USW, like Avonbridge, had no tradition of involvement in education research pre 1992. At the time of the empirical work the institution was involved in preparations for the RAE of 1996 but all the interviewees reported a 'relaxed' attitude to

individual research involvement. The policy of the senior management was said by Lydia to be 'to request but not require' research involvement. Similarly, Mike stated that

I know research is more important now to them (*the senior managers in the department*) and I suppose it is in one sense, so all the structures are supposed to be there if research is what you want to do, but it's not imposed, not heavy handed 'you will research' stuff, more up to the individual.

Stephen related that before starting work at USW his anxiety about his ability to undertake research had been high. On taking up his post this anxiety evaporated as he realised that research engagement was not regarded as a high priority for him. His job was to teach students, and 'teach them well'.

Despite this relaxed attitude to research reported by all the interviewees, the tutors also indicated that other parts of the education department might see participation in research differently. All the tutors discussed the prestige given to 'researchers' over and above 'teachers', and saw active researchers as a privileged group. The 'empire builders' mentioned by three tutors in a later section of the interviews (see below) were often given the additional label of 'researchers'; the gendered responses about the division of labour (also see below) in the department also cited a division between the female staff who were more likely to be teachers and the men who were more likely to be researchers. All of these things indicated the interviewees' senses of a two tier, hierarchical system of researchers and non-researchers at USW.

iv) Other institutional factors

Interviewees identified five other institutional factors affecting their work at USW. These were

- All tutors mentioned USW's commitment to the inclusion of students from ethnic minorities and from under-privileged socio-economic backgrounds in ITE. This commitment was stated to be part of the 'mission statement' of the institution. All the tutors expressed a high degree of support for this policy and felt that implementing it in ways which supported the progression and development of individual students was a positive part of their work
- All the female interviewees cited the heavy workload carried by women tutors working on ITE courses. They stated that the women undertook more of the teaching, basic course administration and management, and the time consuming day to day interactions with students; men tutors were perceived to undertake less of this type of work. Sandra expressed this as

we (*the women tutors*) do all the course housekeeping here, the men they try to keep away from all that nitty-gritty, keep-the-family-going work, so what's new there then?

This gendered division of work was stated to be both positive and negative for women tutors; it gave them rewards in terms of being able to inter-act with and support students, but it was time consuming and largely unrecognised work which was not seen as contributing to professional advancement. Whilst women undertook these duties associated with teaching, men were more likely to be involved in research with all its perceived kudos and professional advantages.

- Three tutors discussed the collegiality at USW. They stated that there were a number of different sub-groups within the education department. Definitions of these sub-groups included 'the empire builders' who were ambitious, often research active, individuals, establishing their own power bases by staking out their 'territory and rights'. This term

was used by two tutors, one male (Mike) and one female (Lydia); Lydia stated that all ‘empire builders’ were also male. The ‘empire builders’ were not seen as collegiate, but as self-focused and autonomous. A second group was referred to as ‘the real colleagues’; this group was stated to collaborate with and support one another in a variety of ways. All three tutors felt that they belonged to the ‘real colleagues’ group, and saw themselves as markedly different from the ‘empire builders’.

- Two tutors identified that they felt their students were resistant to learning in the HE-based parts of their courses, but were much more positive about school placements. This was felt to be part of students’ valuation of ‘practice’ above ‘theory’ in ITE.
- Two female tutors identified that there was an unequal power balance between men and women in the institution. In addition to the gendered distribution of work cited above, incidents of men devaluing women’s work at a variety of different levels were cited, including men being given preferential career opportunities, dominating meetings, and interrupting women’s discussions.
- Two tutors mentioned that the education department functioned in isolation from its parent faculty, with no opportunities for academic collaboration across departments available.

v) Perceived valuation of professional resources

At both Avonbridge and Brecon clear patterns across the interviewees’ responses on this question were apparent. At USW there were no such clear patterns, rather a picture of divergence and difference emerged. Lydia and Rebecca, for example, had both stated earlier in their interviews that they worked closely together and had formed a sense of

communal identity with another colleague as the ‘A team’. Both of these tutors felt valued within this small and close knit professional team they had created. From this structure they received the professional validation and recognition which they felt they needed, but both expressed doubts about how highly their knowledge would be rated in other parts of the department. Their responses identified a sense of factionalism in the department which Mike reiterated when he said

It would depend on who you talked to, some people I can imagine would value me highly, would see me as highly professional and knowledgeable, but other people, well, you should know that there's a lot of divisions here, even within the primary team it's bad, although it's even worse outside

For Stephen, a Novice tutor at USW with two years of experience at USW, it was his school experience which he perceived to be valued most highly by his colleagues. Sandra, another Novice tutor, expressed felt a similar sense of professional recognition through her school experience, but in other ways she gave an unequivocal sense of feeling devalued,

No, no, that was my first reaction when I saw that question on the sheet (*reference here is to the advance notification of the interview questions sent out to all interviewees*) school experience apart and I am definitely valued for that, I know I am, but I really don't feel professionally valued here, and I've thought about it since, and I still feel no, no, I feel more like a dogsbody than a valued professional.

For Sandra her feelings of devaluation were linked to her statements about the gendered division of work at USW (see 9.4.4v above), with women undertaking the majority of the ‘nitty-gritty’ work of keeping the courses going.

9.5. Similarities between the findings of the literature review and the distribution of tutor types across the three university settings

Certain studies of teacher educators, analysed in chapter 2, have particular significance for this research in that they show tutors in similar institutional settings constructing some similar professional resources to those found in this study. Relevant findings from these studies are briefly reviewed here to indicate these similarities.

The studies of Maguire (1993, 1994, 2000) and Hatton (1997) on ITE tutors report some similar findings to my findings on practitioner bond professionalism; and in these studies the institutional settings also had some similarities with the Universities of Avonbridge and the South West. Both Hatton's Australian CAE / new university and Maguire's diversified, English, denominational college, Sacred Heart, had their origins in teacher training colleges which diversified and expanded; both had long histories as teaching only institutions, not funded for research; and both recruited the majority of their teacher educators into HE with extensive experience of school teaching.

In Maguire's research (1994, 2000) tutors at Sacred Heart, like Novice and Defender tutors, placed a high valuation on their experience of school teaching, emphasised reflective practice, and felt a sense of division between tutors working on ITE courses and staff regarded as more 'academic'. Chapter 8.2.10 has already indicated that, like the Novice and Defender tutors at the three case study universities, the primary ITE tutors, working in the professional setting of Sacred Heart College, could celebrate their practice, devote themselves to teaching and nurturing their students, and generally engage in a 'hyper-performativity of practice and the practical' (2000:158). These findings have additional significance for this study for two reasons. Firstly, the structural factors in place at Sacred Heart, which Maguire argues worked to exclude the tutors from participation in the academic world, including long teaching hours and high student numbers, had some similarities to institutional factors which tutors at Avonbridge and USW have cited as affecting their work. The study also shows tutors' perceptions of the academic hierarchy and the status differentials present at Sacred Heart, with teacher educators positioned as and positioning themselves as of low status, non-academics. Secondly, Maguire's empirical research was conducted between 1989 and 1992. At this time the staffing base of Sacred

Heart would almost certainly have included a considerable number of 'recent and relevant' recruits, following the implementation of Circulars 3/84 and 24/89 (DES 1984; 1989).

There are then some likely biographical similarities between her sample group in the 2000 study of primary ITE tutors and the sample group for this research.

Hatton's findings stated that her sample group, again like Novice and Defender tutors in this research, had mainly experiential knowledge bases, made limited use of theoretical knowledge, and showed anti-intellectual tendencies. Hatton states that her findings might result from the constraints of the teacher educators' work situation within their teaching-orientated institution. Their professional identities are therefore described as a 'rational, though often limited, response to circumstances' (p.246).

Chapter 8 has already indicated some of the similarities between the findings of Reynolds' (1995) and the findings of this study on the reconstructed professionalism of the Education Academics. Many research-active teacher educators in Reynolds' study were employed at high status Research Universities in the USA. As chapter 9 has indicated, Brecon can in many ways be regarded as one of the English equivalents of such American universities. Certainly these American universities would share some of the features of Brecon's long-established reputation and its emphasis on research as part of teacher educators' work.

The broad similarities between the micro and meso level findings of these studies and the findings of this research provide some superficial corroboration of the findings of this study. But, as chapter 2 has already identified, in studies where the institutional setting is foregrounded as determinative of teacher educator professionalism, then other complex inter-relationships and processes involved in ITE as the (re)production of professional knowledge and practices may be overlooked. This thesis argues that the institution provides

the setting within which certain ways of understanding the tutor's functions as an agent for the processes of teacher (re)production can be understood and legitimated, and as such it is certainly important in how professionalism is constructed and valorised by individual tutors. But the findings of this research indicate that rather than being solely attributable to the institutional setting, teacher educator professionalism is constructed through a complex web of relations between individual, setting and the macro level of the field. At the centre of this web are the ways of understanding the role of the primary school teacher, the processes of (re)production involved in primary ITE, and the functions of tutors as the agents of those processes.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided institutional or meso level contextualisation for the two forms of professionalism found in this empirical research. It has presented case histories of the Universities of Avonbridge, Brecon and the South West and their education departments in the mid 1990s. I have shown how the discourses, practices and imperatives from the macro level of the field of ITE were instantiated in the three universities. Each institution was attempting to accommodate imperatives from the state which included making ITE more school-focused, and from the field of HE which included placing greater emphasis on research. The case studies have given insights into how these imperatives impacted on the three UDEs. All three universities were understood by the interviewees to be generating more research-focused cultures, at the same time as requiring tutors to undertake more school-focused, partnership work to meet the requirements of Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993). In all three universities primary ITE was strongly gendered with tutors inducting predominantly young, female students into the female dominated profession of primary

school teaching. Further data on the institutions has also been provided from the perspectives of the interviewees themselves, including their perceptions of how their forms of professionalism were felt to be valued within their institutions.

The chapter has also shown the distribution of the forms of professionalism and the tutor types with which they were associated across the three different institutional settings. The field of ITE in the mid 1990s, as instantiated into these institutional settings then, provided enough affinities between settings and the habitus of Novice tutor types to 'enable' all tutors with limited experience of HE work to construct their practitioner bond form of professionalism. Being a relatively inexperienced teacher educator could then be understood and legitimated in the same way across the three different settings. At Avonbridge and USW, Novices shared this form of professionalism with the more experienced Defender tutors. But it meant a different thing to be an experienced teacher educator at Brecon than at Avonbridge or USW. I have shown that in the established University of Brecon, with its long history of both teaching and research in primary ITE, Education Academics constructed the reconstructed form of professionalism. But at the same university it was also possible for a Novice tutor with only two years of HE experience to construct the practitioner bond form of professionalism.

The theoretical framework in chapter 3 has indicated that in order to understand how and why these forms of professionalism occurred and were recognised as legitimate within each institutional setting, it is necessary to analyse the inter-relationships between macro, meso and micro levels of the field of ITE. In chapter 7 Novice, Defender and Education Academic tutors have been shown to have distinctive habitus, developed in part through their careers in primary schooling. The theoretical framework has outlined that the tutors' habitus has an important part in the construction of tutor professionalism. Tutors find

affinities and disaffinities between the discourses and practices of ITE accepted as legitimate within their institutional settings and the ways of understanding primary schooling and primary ITE which are part of their habitus. In order to construct their own forms of professionalism, and to be accepted as legitimate teacher educators within those settings then, tutors draw upon those elements of the professional resources which are available and legitimised by the ways in which ITE is understood at the institutional level *and* which accord with their habitus. The availability of the professional resources is then both constrained and enabled by the affinities and disaffinities between habitus and institutional setting. This analysis is now extended in chapter 10 to identify the inter-relationships between the three levels of ITE in the formation of tutor professionalism.

CHAPTER 10 ARTICULATING THE MICRO, MESO AND MACRO LEVELS OF THE FIELD OF ITE

10.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the affinities and disaffinities between the habitus of the tutor types and the institutional settings within which they worked. In order to illustrate and analyse these affinities and disaffinities and to relate them to the tutors' professionalism, the chapter draws on the findings from the micro level findings (see chapters 6-8) and the meso level findings (see chapter 9), alongside the discourses and practices identified in the mapping of the macro level of the field (see chapter 4). As part of this, I also consider the final research question posed in chapter 1: how does teacher educator professionalism relate to the national context for ITE at the time of the empirical research?

In previous chapters I have shown that in *practitioner bond professionalism* tutors claimed dual professionalism as both teacher and teacher educator, achieving this by effectively reconstructing themselves as 'primary school teachers in the ivory tower'(s) (Maguire 2000: 158) of their various university settings. In this chapter I establish how and why this construction of professionalism could occur and be valorised within these settings. In section 10.2 I show that practitioner bond professionalism drew on various discourses at the macro level of ITE, as instantiated into all three universities.

In section 10.3 I identify the disaffinities within the institutional settings for Novice and Defender tutors. These disaffinities focused particularly on the growing research cultures within each of the universities. Section 10.4 identifies the institutional specific factors in each of the universities. These resulted in a particularly strong valorisation of practitioner bond professionalism at Avonbridge, a less strong but still important valorisation at USW,

and a sense of only temporary valorisation for the one Novice tutor in the research sample at Brecon.

As earlier chapters have shown, in *reconstructed professionalism*, research and teaching were seen as inter-related and integrated into the tutor's function as an agent of (re)production of the principles and practices of primary ITE. In section 10.5 I argue that these ways of understanding professionalism were valorised by the affinities and disaffinities between the *subject-centred habitus* of the Education Academic tutors and the instantiation in the university setting of a diversity of discourses¹⁴⁷.

I conclude that teacher educator professionalism is relational, formed by complex inter-relations between individuals, institutional settings and the historical and contemporary national context. A key factor is that professionalism is integrally related to how the processes of (re)production in ITE and the tutors' function within those processes are understood. With reference to the findings of Becher (1989), section 10.6 argues that the two forms of professionalism found in this research study can be attributed to fundamentally different ways of constructing primary teacher educators' work and missions. These in turn can be traced back to deep-rooted tensions and fault-lines within the gendered field of primary ITE.

10.2 Affinities between habitus and settings for Novice and Defender tutors

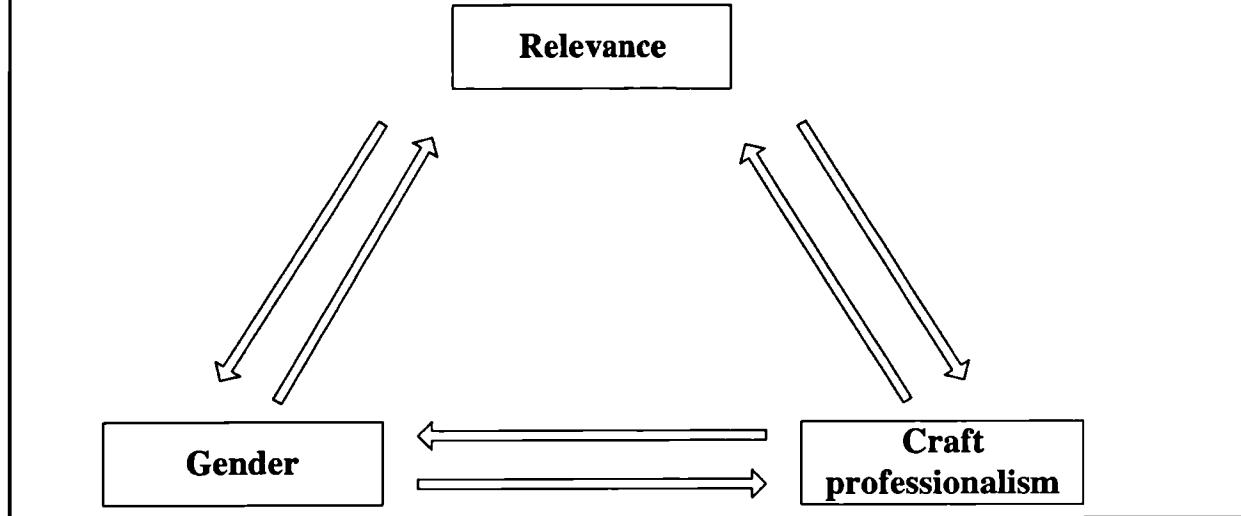
10.2.1 Overview

In this section I argue that practitioner bond professionalism drew on various discourses at the macro level of ITE. In the mid 1990s I identify that what I have termed the *cumulative convergence* of these discourses, instantiated as structures, practices and principles in the

meso levels of the three universities created powerful affinities for the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors. The term cumulative convergence is used to refer to the ways in which these discourses, superficially ‘distinct’ and relating to differing areas of the field of primary ITE, in fact mutually reinforced one another during the time frame of this research.

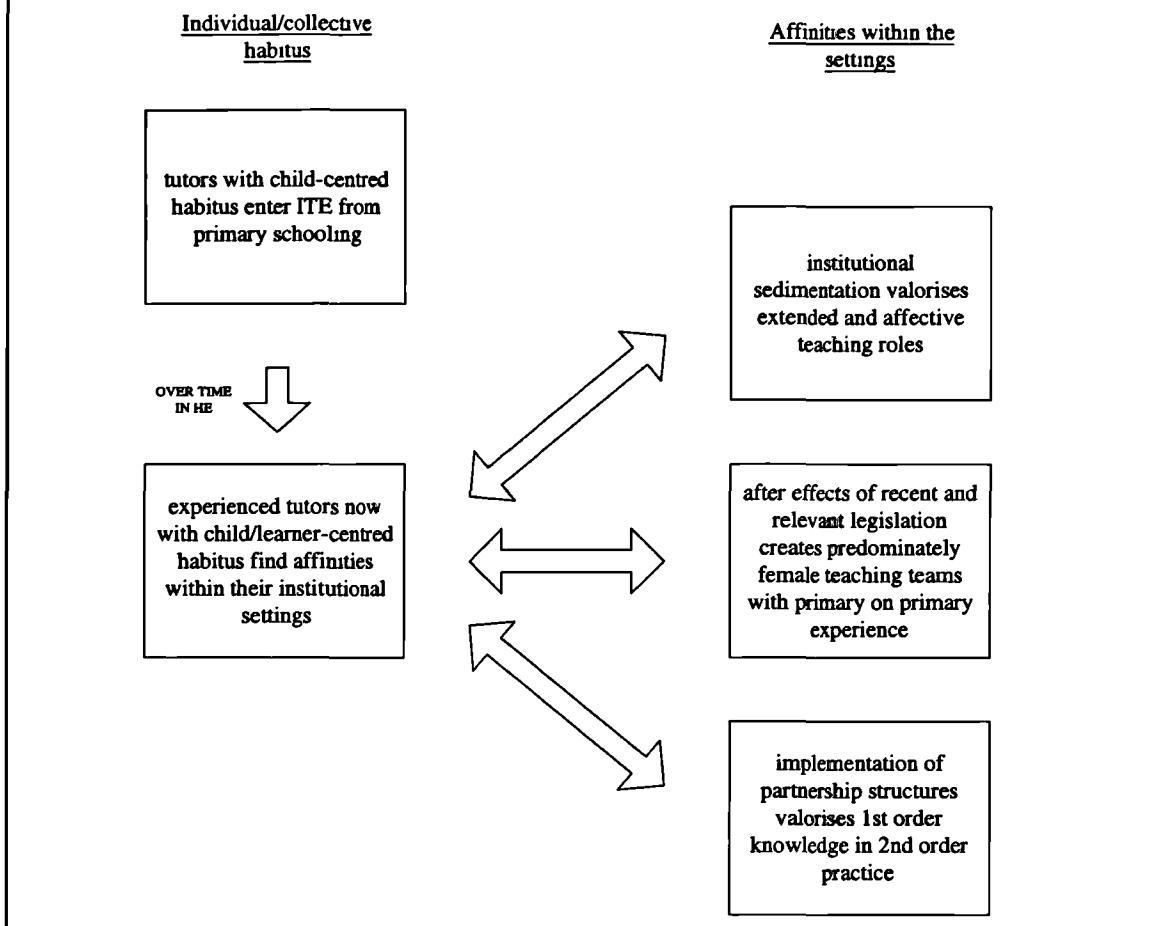
As figure 10.1 shows, these converging discourses included both historical and contemporary *gendered discourses* of primary schooling and primary ITE, what I have termed the *discourses of relevance* (following Maguire and Weiner 1994:132), and *discourses of craft professionalism*, including *reflective practice*.¹⁴⁸ To this convergence, the gendered discourses contributed child and learner-centred ways of understanding the roles of primary school teachers and primary ITE tutors, including feminised practices of nurturance to facilitate the development of the learners. Discourses of craft professionalism contributed ways of understanding professional practice, and the experiential knowledge created through that practice, as central to processes of professional theorising. These discourses also contributed ways of understanding professional practice as the arena in which professional responsibility and autonomy are forged and continually renewed. As a further part of this convergence, the discourses of relevance - particularly those related to the concepts of *recent and relevant* and *partnership* - emphasised the centrality of experiential knowledge of primary schooling in teacher educators’ professional identities. As section 10.2.5 explores in more detail, this cumulative convergence created the conditions for the valorisation of *professional practice* and *experiential knowledge* of both schooling and HE-based ITE work in tutor professionalism.

Figure 10.1: The cumulative convergence of discourses within the field of primary ITE



I argue that the result of the *cumulative convergence* of these discourses was that Novice and Defender tutors found strong affinities between their habitus as feminised, child-centred school teachers and learner-centred ITE tutors, and the institutional settings of the universities of Avonbridge, the South West, and to a lesser extent, Brecon in the mid 1990s. Essentially, the principles and practices of their professionalism as school teachers continued to be valorised within gendered discourses, structures and practices of nurturance, relevance and experiential learning in HE. The instantiation of this cumulative convergence in institutional structures, practices and principles and the general affinities which this created for the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors is shown in figure 10.2.

Figure 10.2: Affinities between Novice and Defender habitus and institutional settings



The ways in which this *cumulative convergence* occurred and its effects on the institutional settings and tutors' habitus were inevitably complex and intricately interwoven. But for the sake of clarity in the sub-sections below I have chosen to discuss separately each 'grouping' of discourses and the institutional affinities which illustrate their instantiation. Artificial as this structure may be, it enables me to illustrate and analyse each 'grouping' and its effects clearly. I have then brought these ideas together in a summarising and holistic analysis.

10.2.2 Gendered discourses of primary ITE

I argue that practitioner bond professionalism draws on feminised discourses about the tutor's role as the agent of (re)production in ITE. This thesis sees the *institutional sedimentation* (see Kirk 1986) of all three case study universities as including historical, gendered discourses of primary ITE teaching. These remained instantiated in the principles and practices of the institutions in the mid 1990s. These discourses also survived in individual and collective memories and historical resonances of 'what once was' within the institutions, and particularly in the valorisation of gendered ways of practising and being as teacher educators (see section 3.5).

Earlier in this thesis I have identified that primary ITE in England has long been a low status, heavily gendered enterprise, associated with the (re)production of a low status and feminised career (see chapter 4). Although now managed largely by men within the university sector, ITE in the training colleges once had a 'distinctive occupational feminised culture' (Maguire and Weiner 1994:127).¹⁴⁹ I have also analysed how the colleges instantiated gendered discourses of pedagogy in often tacit principles and practices which established the tutor's role as diffuse, affective and morally responsible (see chapter 4). I have identified the long traditions of progressivism within the colleges providing primary

ITE courses (see chapters 4 and 9), and the existence of historical discourses which advocated child-centred practices in schooling and learner-centred practices in HE (see chapter 4). Chapter 9 has shown that Brecon, and to a lesser extent, Avonbridge shared a history reaching back to the feminised cultures of these colleges of education. From these origins their *institutional sedimentation* therefore included learner-centred, feminised discourses, principles and practices of primary ITE, linked to and congruent with child-centred discourses of primary schooling.

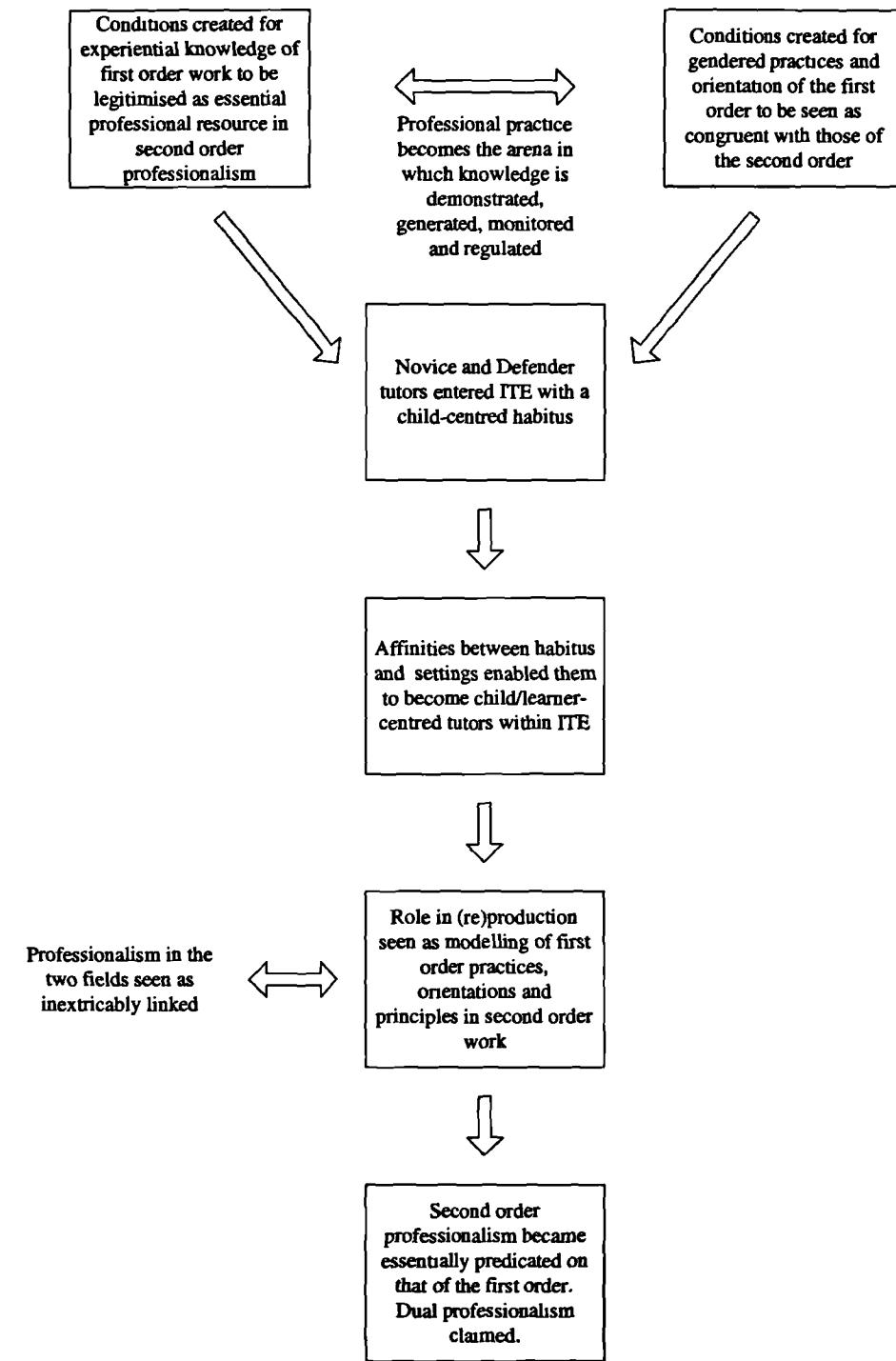
Both Avonbridge and USW shared previous institutional identities as polytechnics or CHEs, that is as public sector institutions (see chapter 9). Ex-public sector institutions at this time were settings in which teaching was likely to have been privileged because it had historically been the focus of teacher educator work (see chapter 4). In both the new universities the *institutional sedimentation* therefore included this historical emphasis, and organisational structures which, until just before the empirical research was conducted, had enabled tutors to engage in the extended, gendered, pedagogical and pastoral roles they described.

As chapter 9 has indicated, primary ITE at all three case study universities was still heavily gendered in the mid 1990s. It was about tutors who were predominantly female and in their mid to late careers in education inducting student cohorts, composed mostly of younger women, into the highly feminised occupation of primary schooling.¹⁵⁰ Primary ITE and all the activities and interactions it involved at the universities were then positioned within gendered discourses, principles and practices. Contemporary discourses and practices, such as modelling and individualism, offered further reinforcement of the historical, gendered principles and practices accruing through the institutional sedimentation. The cumulative effects of these discourses was to continue to position the often female ITE tutor's function

as taking on the extended and diffuse work of monitoring and supporting the development of her individual students. Just as the ‘good teacher’ in primary schooling could be constructed as child-centred (see Walkerdine 1984), then the ‘good teacher educator’ in ITE could be constructed as learner-centred.

I draw on Maguire and Weiner’s (1994:133) idea of *congruence* between the ‘tutor’s role in ITE and the teacher’s role in school (see chapter 2) to further identify the affinities between practitioner bond professionalism and the institutional settings in which it is found.¹⁵¹ I argue that the gendered discourses found in ITE established a sense of *congruence* between the functions of the (usually female) primary school teacher and those of the (often female) primary ITE tutor as teacher and nurturer of her children/students. Through its inescapable associations with the ‘enduring discourses of maternity’ (1994:133), this congruence was deeply and inevitably gendered. For Novice and Defender tutors, entering ITE with child-centred habitus (see chapter 7), this congruence meant that the tutors could continue to locate the validating principles, practices and orientations of their professionalism as feminised, child-centred school teachers within gendered and learner-centred discourses in HE, as figure 10.3 shows.¹⁵²

Figure 10.3: Congruence between primary school teaching and primary ITE



If, as in practitioner bond professionalism, part of the tutor's understanding of her function as an agent of (re)production was to model 'good primary practice' and to monitor student development, then this positioning of tutor-as-class-teacher acquires double significance. The tutor's gendered and extended teaching role could be made visible as both a model of the pedagogical practices and professional orientations required of primary teachers *and* an example of her own 'good practice' in ITE teaching. *Congruence* between the functions of the primary teacher and the tutoring role in primary ITE was thus achieved (see figure 10.3), and *dual professionalism* as both primary teacher and primary teacher educator could be claimed. For these tutors then both modelling and individualism in primary ITE were doubly gendered as pedagogical practices.¹⁵³

10.2.3 The discourses of relevance

As figure 10.1 indicates, all aspects of this gendered congruence were further valorised by other historical and contemporary discourses converging in primary ITE in the mid 1990s. Of particular importance in this valorisation were the *discourses of relevance*. These discourses have their origins in fundamental debates about the forms which ITE should take (see chapter 1), but at the time of this empirical research had been reinforced by both the 'recent and relevant' criterion (Circular 3/84, DES 1984) and the primary partnership legislation of 1993 (Circular 14/93, DfE 1993). Instantiated into institutional structures and pedagogical practices, these powerful discourses of relevance offered further affinities for the habitus of the Novice and Defender tutors, and reinforced the gendered associations between first order experience as a primary school teacher and second order work as an ITE tutor.

At the macro level of ITE there are historical discourses and unresolved tensions about the place of school experience in ITE tutors' professional knowledge (see chapter 4). At various points in history either school experience or level of academic qualifications have been privileged as entry and retention criteria. The most notable of these points is the introduction of the 'recent and relevant' criterion (Circular 3/84, DES 1984) in 1984 which required all tutors working on ITE courses to have contemporary and relevant knowledge of schooling.¹⁵⁴ The evidence presented in chapter 4 has shown that nation-wide the discourses of 'recent and relevant' were taken up as a powerful way of understanding and legitimating ITE professionalism within all English and Welsh institutions, and instantiated into overt structures and practices.¹⁵⁵ Many of the prescriptive practices and structures associated with the criterion and its implementation were, however, less dominant nation-wide by the time of this empirical research in the mid 1990s.¹⁵⁶ The findings of this research reflect in part then what might be termed the *after effects* of the criterion on the staffing structures and practices of the three case study universities.

One nation-wide effect of the criterion, identified in commentaries, is that it altered the staffing bases of the teacher education institutions by bringing large numbers of teachers from the school sector into HE work (see chapter 4). At the three case study universities in the mid 1990s the staffing structures of all three primary ITE teams certainly followed this pattern. In all three institutions Novice and Defender tutors worked in ITE teams staffed by fellow 'recent and relevant' recruits. At Avonbridge, for example, the primary team consisted of 13 tutors (87% of the total teaching team), recruited since 1984. At Brecon and USW 66% of the primary ITE teams were 'recent and relevant' recruits (see Appendix 2).

At all three universities the 'recent and relevant' criterion meant then that the Novice and Defender tutors - who had entered their institutions between 1985 and 1994, recruited in

part because of their school experience - worked in predominantly female teams of ex-primary teachers. At USW and, particularly at Avonbridge, there were indications in the data collected that this had led to senses of communal endeavour and a shared ethos of learner-centred practices in ITE for the interviewees. At these two new universities it had also created potentially insular and parochial primary teams.¹⁵⁷

With the most prescriptive 'recent and relevant' practices beginning to wane, the mid 1990s. might have been a time when the claims to professionalism of school-focused, 'recent and relevant' teacher educators were also fading fast. This thesis argues, however, that the effects of the *cumulative convergence* of the 'recent and relevant' discourses with partly state-imposed discourses of partnership created new and powerful discourses of relevance at the macro level of ITE.¹⁵⁸ These in turn, when instantiated within the case study institutions, created a powerful set of conditions for the recognition and valorisation of first order experiential knowledge and pedagogical practices as key professional resources for teacher educators.

In chapter 4 I have shown that the mid 1990s were a time of intense school-focused activity for all ITE providers, following the publication of Circular 9/92 (DfE 1992) for secondary ITE and Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) for primary.¹⁵⁹ Partnership was the 'dominant professional and political orthodoxy' of ITE (Furlong et al 1990:87). The findings of this research have shown that in the mid 1990s partnership discourses at the macro level of ITE were instantiated in the case study universities as new partnership structures, principles and practices (see chapter 9). These strongly school-focused practices continued to emphasise the centrality of experiential knowledge of schooling in tutor professionalism. They thus offered further affinities for the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors, and in turn

facilitated the construction and valorisation of the practitioner bond form of professionalism.

The near hegemony of partnership discourses at the macro level of ITE, instantiated in partnership structures at the meso level, meant that the ‘populism of being an experienced teacher’ in ITE was re-iterated and privileged once more within the universities. Novice and Defender tutors were able to recognise and participate in what one Defender tutor at Avonbridge termed ‘the partnership game’ by deploying repertoires of professional resources which included the knowledge and experience generated in their first order careers. For these tutors this ‘partnership game’ then was, in part at least, a re-play of the ‘recent and relevant’ game under whose rules and regulations they were recruited to ITE. But this tactic of effectively merging their professional identities with those of serving primary school teachers was potentially dangerous, given the political and educational contexts of the time (see chapter 4). As section 10.3 below indicates, partnership offered disaffinities as well as affinities to these tutors.

In the mid 1990s then at the three universities the combined discourses of relevance and their associated structures and practices were inevitably powerful elements in tutor professionalism. In cumulative convergence with gendered discourses of primary schooling and ITE, these discourses of relevance reinforced the importance of first order knowledge and practices in second order work (see figure 10.5).

10.2.4 Discourses of craft professionalism and reflective practice

In chapter 8 I have argued that practitioner bond professionalism draws on discourses of craft professionalism, particularly those of reflective practice.¹⁶⁰ In this chapter I extend this

argument to identify that in cumulative convergence with other discourses (see figure 10.1), these discourses provide further emphases both upon *professional practice per se*, and upon the importance of *experiential knowledge of primary schooling* for ITE tutors. Professional practice as a tutor is valorised as the arena for the investigation of practice and the potential generation of personal theory about ITE work; similarly, professional practice as a primary school teacher becomes the arena in which knowledge of schooling has to be acquired and theorised. Drawing on discourses of reflective practice therefore gives additional legitimisation to the experiential, school-focused epistemology found within practitioner bond professionalism.

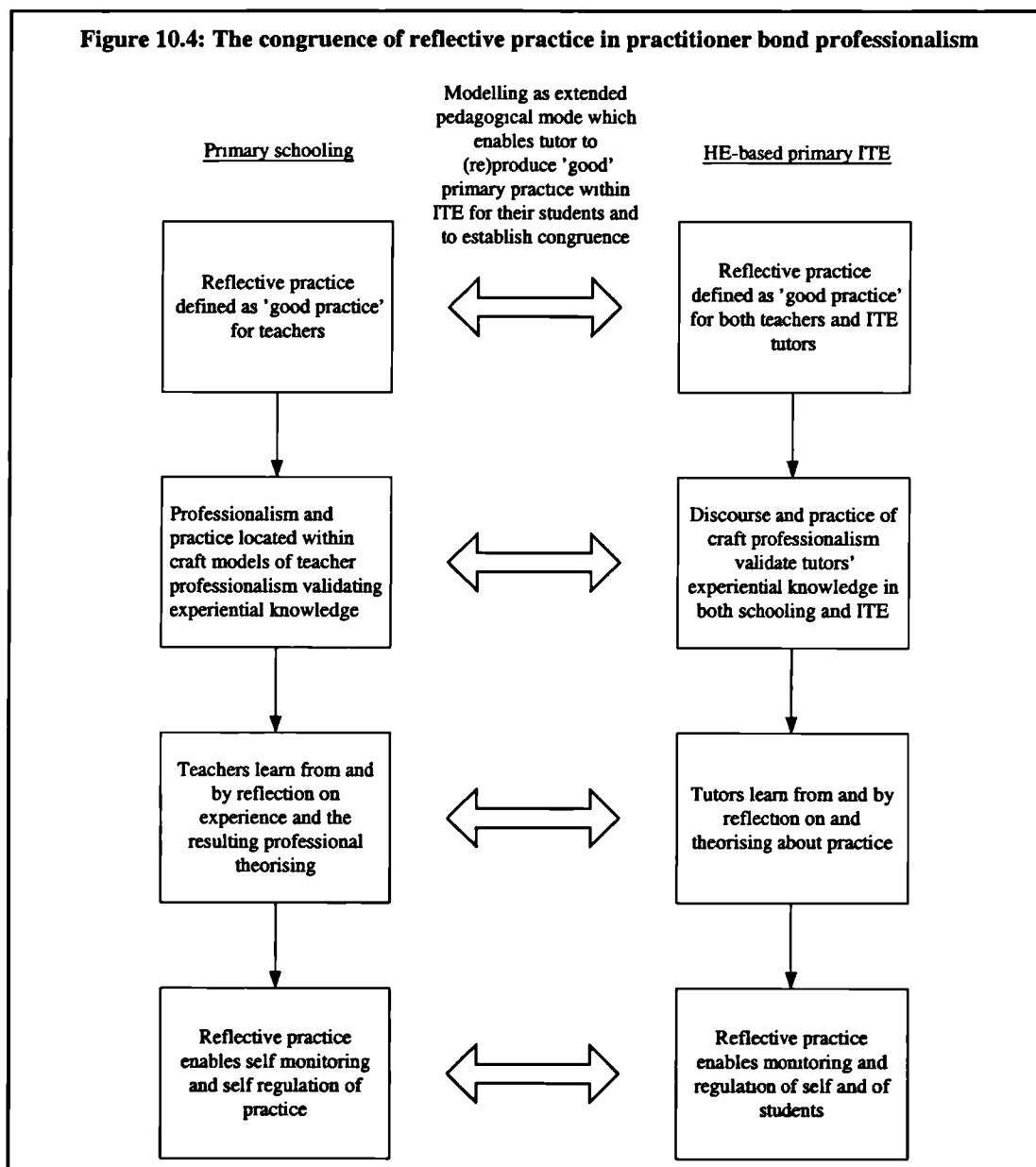
In chapter 8 I have indicated that practitioner bond professionalism draws on liberal progressive models of professionalism in which regulation of teachers is achieved through 'self-regulation, socialisation and internalisation of norms' (Osborn et al 2000:236). This thesis sees a further *congruence* between the functions of the Novice or Defender tutor in discourses of reflective practice as the self-appointed regulator of students' practice (see chapter 8), and the gendered roles of the learner-centred tutor (see figure 10.4).

A number of commentators (see, for example, Hey 2001) have argued that such modes of surveillance in teaching are inevitably gendered, since teaching is a feminised profession and women live their lives under the 'classifying gaze' (Skeggs 1997, cited in Hey 2001). In this thesis the practices which Novice and Defender tutors described using to induct their students into reflective practice are seen as a sophisticated, gendered form of pastoral regulation.

Novice and Defender tutors in this research move from primary school settings in which discourses of reflective practice were part of the definition of the 'good practitioner'

into institutional settings in ITE in which these discourses were arguably of even greater importance (see chapter 4). As figure 10.4 shows, constructing themselves as reflective practitioners in their own work enabled them to be self reflective models for their students.

Figure 10.4: The congruence of reflective practice in practitioner bond professionalism



Drawing on the ideas of Hunter (1994:13), I argue that these tutors became ‘pastoral technicians’ modelling the gendered practices of surveillance and self-surveillance in primary ITE and school teaching for their students. Their practices indicate affinities with some of the earliest discourses in teaching and teacher education, those of the teacher/tutor as a moral person and the teaching/tutoring role as centred on the (re)production of explicit moral principles. These discourses were instantiated in the gendered, pastoral practices of the pre 1963 colleges of education (see chapter 4).

The gendered pastoral practices within practitioner bond professionalism enabled the regulation and (re)production of ‘good practice’ in teaching through either external surveillance by the tutor or self-surveillance by the student practitioner (see chapter 8). In these guises reflective practice may therefore be seen as offering an explicit ‘technology’ for both external surveillance of student by tutor and student self-surveillance. This technology can be compared to the child-centred practices found within progressive discourses of primary schooling which Walkerdine (1984) has identified provided explicit ways of monitoring, regulating and normalising the developing child.

As chapter 8 identifies, Novice and Defender tutors also used reflective practice to monitor and regulate their own practice as teacher educators. Metaknowledge of reflection functioned in practitioner bond professionalism as an extended and elitist form of reflective practice which gave it a ‘status ethic’ (Hunter 1994:90). As I have indicated, discourses of reflective practice provided powerful valorisation for the experiential epistemology and ethical dimensions of practitioner bond professionalism. At a time when ITE was becoming increasingly regulated by the state, reflective practice also had the additional advantage of asserting professional autonomy, and offering countering actions and practices to the

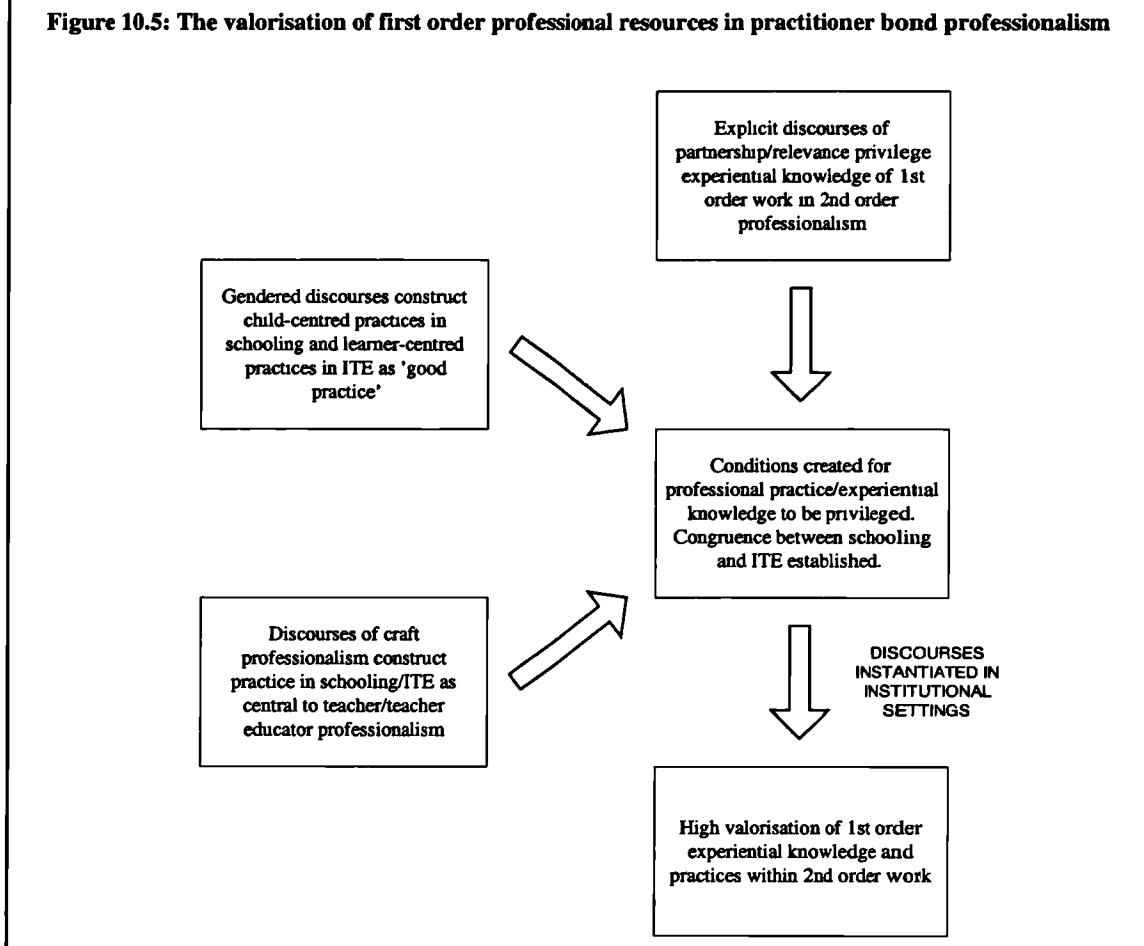
implied devaluation and restriction of teacher educator professionalism within state legislation in the mid 1990s.¹⁶¹

10.2.5 Cumulative convergence and practitioner bond professionalism

In the preceding sections of this chapter I have shown how different discourses in the field of ITE in the mid 1990s converged. I have indicated how these discourses were instantiated in the three universities, creating powerful affinities for the habitus of the Novice and Defender tutors as child/learner-centred ex-primary practitioners.

As figure 10.5 shows, the cumulative convergence of these discourses at the macro level of the field of ITE created the conditions for the valorisation of *experiential knowledge* of both schooling and HE-based ITE work in tutor professionalism. They also created the conditions for congruence between first and second order work to be recognised. As discussed previously, discourses of gender and craft professionalism in ITE could be tacit, but the discourses of relevance as partnership were of near hegemonic status in the mid 1990s. The status of these discourses constructed *first order experiential knowledge and practices* as essential in second order work. This emphasis in turn created the conditions for significant aspects of second order professionalism to be predicated on first order professional resources.

Figure 10.5: The valorisation of first order professional resources in practitioner bond professionalism



As outlined previously, this cumulative convergence of discourses, instantiated into institutional structures, practices and principles, created affinities within the universities for the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors. This thesis sees these tutors, both male and female, bringing the child-centred habitus they acquired within the feminised occupational cultures of primary schooling, into ITE. Within the universities the affinities they found between those habitus and the institutional settings enabled them to continue to locate their professionalism within the diffuse, affective and participatory principles shared by both progressive pedagogy in primary schooling and feminised, learner-centred discourses in ITE.¹⁶² Child-centred teachers became child/learner-centred tutors who constructed their roles in the (re)production of primary schooling as the modelling of the gendered practices and principles of primary schooling for their students. The modelling of primary school teaching in HE, advocated as good practice for teacher educators (see chapter 4), is taken beyond pedagogy to include the modelling of the extended professional orientations and practices seen as common to both primary school teaching and primary ITE. As previously stated, privileging their first order experiential knowledge and valuing their experiences of second order work enabled these tutors to claim the *dual professionalism* of being both teacher and teacher educator. And the life-blood of this professionalism was ‘the emotional commitment, the investment of self which is at the heart of being a teacher’ (Osborn et al 2000:228).

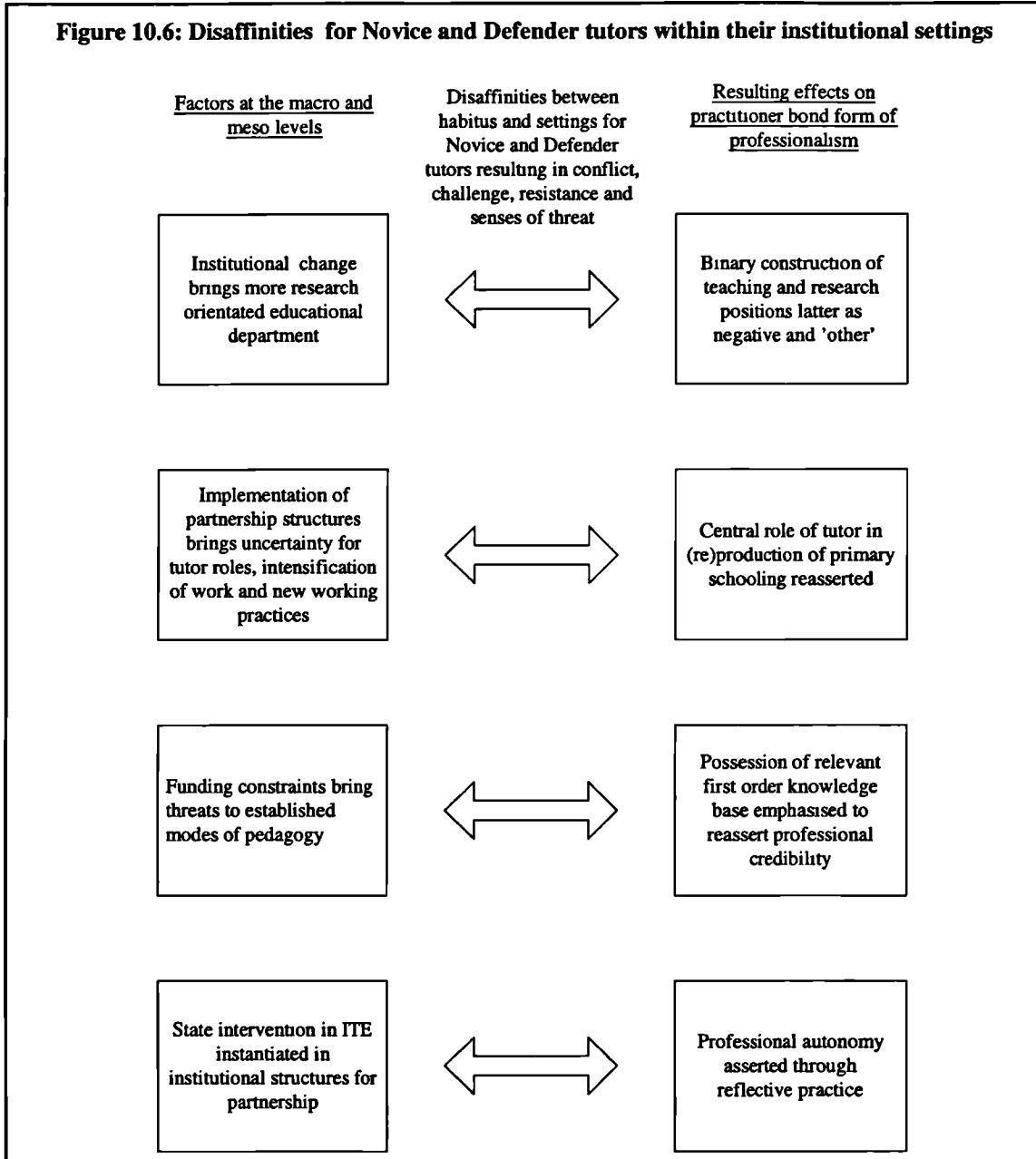
The findings of this research indicate that in the professionalism of these tutors the essentially gendered practices of *pedagogical pastoralism* (see chapter 4), lived on in the ways in which these tutors nurtured, monitored and regulated the professional development of their students. To a limited extent, some aspects of *extended pastoral practices*, in particular the assumption of responsibility for students’ personal development, also lived on

in their practices. These findings indicate then a resurgence or re-valorisation of the feminised values, modes of practice and professional orientations, traditionally associated with both primary schooling (see chapters 2 and 7) and with earlier eras of primary ITE,¹⁶³ into the education departments of the universities of Avonbridge, the South West, and to a lesser extent, Brecon in the mid 1990s. The possible wider significance of these findings for primary ITE in general is discussed in chapter 11.

10.3 Disaffinities between habitus and settings for Novice and Defender tutors

Analysing practitioner bond professionalism within its institutional settings identifies some complex and seemingly contradictory issues: tutors rejected engagement in research when this would be professionally advantageous for them; they celebrated their extended teaching roles and professional responsibility when these established modes of practices were under threat; and they proclaimed their professional autonomy when this had just been reduced by state diktat. These seeming contradictions can be explained by looking at the disaffinities between the habitus of the Novice and Defender tutors and their institutional settings, and the tutors' responses to these. Disaffinities occurred in four key areas (see figure 10.6): growing research-related discourses and practices; changing modes of pedagogy; the discourses and structures associated with partnership; and the limiting of tutor autonomy through state legislation.

Figure 10.6: Disaffinities for Novice and Defender tutors within their institutional settings



As the analysis of chapter 4 has identified, many of the institutions providing primary ITE have been through what Pratt (1997) has termed an 'academic drift'.¹⁶⁴ Chapter 9 has summarised the ways in which these institutional changes, in tandem with the state imposed changes to ITE courses, impacted on the education departments of the three case study universities.¹⁶⁵ Discourses of research increased in importance across the entire field of ITE between 1992 and 1994, with even established universities also feeling pressure. But as chapter 4 has indicated it was in the new universities that the tensions were generally greatest. At all the case study institutions then, new or increasing institutional valuations of these discourses, new research-related structures and practices, and enhanced valuations of research-focused professional resources occurred. For the interviewees at Brecon and Avonbridge, in particular, these changes were seen as establishing a new sense of hierarchy in which research engagement brought increased status and prestige for research-active individuals, deploying these 'new' professional resources.

There were definite disaffinities for the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors within these increasingly research-orientated aspects of their settings. In chapter 8 I have shown that practitioner bond professionalism constructed teaching and research as dichotomous, with research seen as 'Other' to good teaching in ITE. Partly through this dichotomous construction, practitioner bond professionalism operated to restrict opportunities for research engagement. Novices and Defenders tutors at all three universities stated their personal senses of alienation and opposition to these increasingly research-orientated cultures within the universities (see section 9.5). Faced with the obvious disaffinities between their changing institutional settings and their habitus, they adopted defensive tactics, continuing to construct their professionalism as practitioners in *resistance* to these new discourses and practices. This involved the tutors in defending and promoting the value

of their own experiential knowledge resources and implicitly devaluing research orientated resources.¹⁶⁶ As in the findings of Maguire (2000:158), for such tutors the practical became ‘a powerful leit motif to be set against theory’.

The *discourses of relevance*, instantiated in the principles and practices of *partnership* within the institutions, have been identified in section 10.2 as creating affinities for Novice and Defender tutors. But these same partnership structures also brought disaffinities, because they implied a devaluation and restriction of teacher educator professionalism. Notably, they implicitly questioned the particular contribution of HE-based ITE tutors to ITE, their long term survival, and their rights to be self-monitoring and self-regulative (see chapter 4). These factors inevitably created uncertainty and senses of insecurity for the tutors in some aspects of their work.

Further disaffinities for all the tutors came from the ways in which funding constraints had changed or threatened to change the established pedagogical modes for primary ITE (see section 9.4).¹⁶⁷ As chapter 4 has identified, these constraints were in part attributable to general changes within the HE sector and in part to the specific effects of the *partnership* legislation of 1992 and 1993 on the funding available for education departments. Changes to the established pedagogical modes threatened the gendered discourses and practices which were at the very heart of practitioner bond professionalism. The tutors’ reactions to these changes were to *resist* the changes and to reiterate the importance of the knowledge, practices and professional orientations explicit in their form of professionalism.

As I have indicated previously, the state legislation of 1993 implied the devaluation and limitation of teacher educator autonomy. This also created potential disaffinities for practitioner bond professionalism, but the discourses and structures of *reflective practice*

provided the tutors ways of attempting to defend and reassert their professional autonomy as teacher educators.

10.4 Institutional specific factors

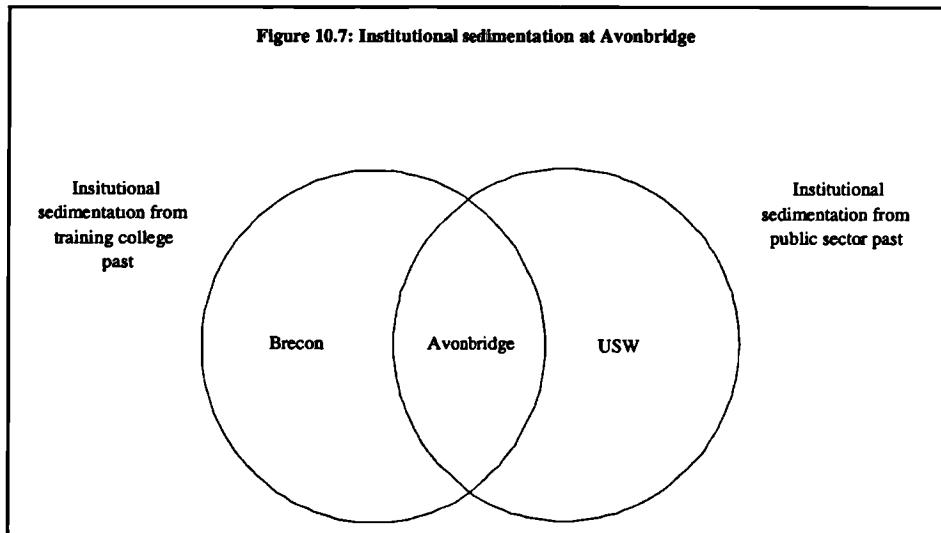
Chapter 9 has identified the ways in which the changes within the field of ITE were instantiated within each of the case study universities in the mid 1990s. In this section I briefly review the particular affinities or disaffinities for Novice and Defender tutors within their three different institutional settings.

10.4.1 Avonbridge specific issues

The sample group at this university all placed a high communal value on their constructions of the practitioner bond form of professionalism (see chapter 9). Practitioner bond professionalism at Avonbridge had this high valorisation because there were both many affinities between individual and collective tutor habitus and long established features of the institutional setting, *and* also new and powerful disaffinities caused by the fast changing institutional structures and values.

In section 10.2 I have argued that the instantiation of gendered discourses of nurture and care in primary ITE occurred in part through institutional sedimentation. Avonbridge had accrued more institutional sedimentation from its dual institutional heritages than the other two universities (see figure 10.7). Of the three universities, it was therefore the most likely to have instantiated gendered, learner-centred discourses in its structures, practices and ways of understanding ITE. Specific institutional structures identified at Avonbridge included intensive teaching timetables, diffuse and affective pedagogical practices, and lack

of recognition and/or development of areas of tutor expertise. For the tutors who undertook part of their own ITE and/or professional development at Avonbridge, there were also the historical resonances or memories of ‘what once was’ in primary ITE. As section 7.5 has argued, these resonances were part of the tutors’ habitus as their engrained and engraining ways of understanding ITE.



The instantiation of the *discourses of relevance* also created strong affinities for the Novice and Defender tutors there. The *after effects* of the recent and relevant criterion were stronger at Avonbridge than at the other two universities. For example, the discourses of relevance had been instantiated in the official structures of the university in the form of a 'recent and relevant' staff development policy until the year of the empirical research. And, as section 10.2 has shown, the teaching team there had the highest proportion of 'recent and relevant' recruits from 'primary on primary' backgrounds of the three universities (87%). Working within a team of tutors from similar backgrounds and shared common ways of understanding ITE, the tutors could form a powerful collectivity which constructed and valorised its professionalism in the same ways. Discourses and structures of *partnership* were also seen by the tutors as providing affinities for their work. As chapter 9 has shown, the strength of the primary education department's relationships with its local schools was cited by all the tutors. At a time when partnership was one of the dominant discourses of primary ITE, this may have given some additional valorisation to the tutors' construction of their professionalism¹⁶⁸.

But there were also many disaffinities for these tutors at Avonbridge, and these were perceived to be increasing in number. The pace of institutional change had been fast; at Avonbridge Pratt's (1997) 'academic drift' might be better termed an 'academic tidal bore'. As chapter 9 has shown, within the space of three years there (1989 - 1992) a CHE had been amalgamated with a polytechnic which then became a university. Tutors entering either Avonbridge CHE (1985 - 1989) or Avonbridge Polytechnic (1989 - 1992) would therefore have experienced many institutional changes since their recruitment to HE.

Tutors at Avonbridge expressed a strong sense of conflict between the new institutional valuation of research-related professional resources and their own form of professionalism; they also expressed strong resistance to the growing research culture¹⁶⁹. As section 9.3 has shown, in the four years 1992 - 1996 there was a massive rise of 150% in levels of research activity. As in Maguire's (2000) analysis of the growing 'academic' culture at Sacred Heart College, the hierarchy of the 'academic' world had been transferred into the UDE at Avonbridge, and to be an 'academic' had quickly become the preferred status.

Within this institutional setting there had been few chances for the education department or the individuals within it to make a gradual adjustment to the imperatives of the university sector. Like the teacher educators at Sacred Heart, the tutors at Avonbridge had 'a strong interest in decrying academic attributes (and engaging) in a hyper-performativity of practice and practical' (Maguire 2000:158). The speed of the institutional changes had intensified the differences between their practitioner values and the growing research culture, resulting in increasing disaffinities between setting and habitus for the Avonbridge tutors. This made the continuing valorisation of their form of professionalism in the wider UDE increasingly fragile and uncertain, as section 10.6 discusses.¹⁷⁰

10.4.2 Brecon specific factors

The existence of the reconstructed form of professionalism at Brecon, existing alongside the practitioner bond professionalism of Linda Hussein, the one Novice tutor, indicated that the work of ITE tutors could be understood in very different ways there. As chapter 9 has shown, however, Linda had a strong sense of the unstable and temporary kudos of her professionalism at Brecon. Despite the power which she perceived she had in playing the

game of ‘recent primary practitioner’, she had few of the valorised professional resources, which the Education Academic tutors possessed, to deploy in the increasingly research-orientated setting.

The cumulative convergence of discourses, shown in figure 10.1, was instantiated differently at Brecon than at Avonbridge. I have indicated that the institutional instantiation at Brecon included gendered discourses of ITE and commitment to progressive discourses of primary schooling through its past as a college of education (see section 10.2). But Brecon’s specific institutional traditions were as an ‘academicised’ and prestigious primary ITE institution which historically took considerable pride in its tutors’ contributions to the primary school sector through research and publications (see section 9.3). Its institutional sedimentation therefore also included traditions of tutor professionalism being constructed across and between academic and professional discourses, practices and principles.

Section 10.2 has also indicated that *gendered discourses* of care and nurture were instantiated in the institutional setting at Brecon as principles and practices which offered limited affinities to the child/learner-centred habitus of Linda Hussein in her first years of HE work. As at Avonbridge, primary ITE was a heavily gendered enterprise, with the sample group working in a team staffed predominantly by women who were recent and relevant’ recruits, to induct a predominantly female student group into primary teaching. But the power of some of the historical, gendered discourses of ITE, and their associated institutional structures at Brecon, was waning by 1995/6. Ways of being and practising as a teacher educator which might have been accepted as legitimate even five years previously, were being increasingly challenged by other discourses, instantiated into new structures. Section 9.3 has shown that increasing funding constraints and pressures to increase research productivity by reducing teaching ‘loads’ had already impacted on teaching roles at Brecon.

Previously well established, learner-centred modes of pedagogy had already undergone some changes, and were subject to on-going challenges from senior managers. These factors created disaffinities for Linda Hussein, and the valorisation which her practitioner bond form of professionalism placed on affective and diffuse teaching roles.

Further disaffinities for Linda were created by the instantiation of the discourses and practices associated with increasing research engagement at Brecon. As chapter 9 has shown, these were seen as bringing a new sense of hierarchy to the department in which research engagement gave increased status and prestige for research-active individuals.¹⁷¹ The ways in which these discourses were instantiated at Brecon is discussed in more detail in section 10.5 below.

10.4.3 USW specific factors

The institutional setting at USW emerges from this research as less distinctive than either of the other two settings. There are a number of factors which contribute to this sense of institutional ambiguity. These have been flagged in chapter 9, but are briefly recapped here.

USW has a shorter and different institutional history of ITE provision than either Avonbridge or Brecon. The university's history is rooted in its polytechnic origins and, since little is known of the history of the development of ITE solely within this sector, the institutional sedimentation is inevitably more difficult to define. But the polytechnic was a public sector institution prior to 1992, placing high value on teaching functions. And, as chapter 9 has shown, learner-centred values were dominant at USW in other ways through the institution's history of commitment to supporting ethnic minority and socio-economically under-privileged students in ITE.

At USW, I have indicated that some institutional changes occurred rapidly as the institution made its transition from public sector institution to new university in 1992. But USW had been a large and diversified institution for more than twenty years before this date, the general pace of change there between 1989 and the mid 1990s would therefore have been less rapid than at Avonbridge (see section 9.3).

Although the RAE gradings show a fast growing research culture at USW, research activity was seen as less of an institutional imperative by the interviewees (see section 9.4). In a number of ways the sample group worked within a primary team which seemed to share many of its characteristics with those of the team at Avonbridge; 86% of the staff were female, 66% had recent and relevant experience; all the sample group had links to the institution prior to recruitment and all worked solely on primary ITE. But whereas at Avonbridge, these factors had contributed to a strong sense of the communal valuation of practitioner bond professionalism, at USW there was a sense of departmental fragmentation and disunity.

10.5 Affinities and disaffinities and reconstructed professionalism

Section 10.4 has already analysed the ways in which various discourses at the macro level of ITE were instantiated within the institutional setting of Brecon, an established university which placed high value on research *and* on its reputation as a prestigious primary ITE provider. This section draws on and extends that analysis to illustrate the many affinities and few disaffinities created between that institutional setting and the habitus of the Education Academic tutors working there. The predominance of these affinities enabled these tutors to valorise their reconstructed form of professionalism. Figure 10.8 below identifies these affinities; figure 10.9 identifies the disaffinities. In the sections below

affinities and disaffinities are discussed alongside one another, with references to these diagrams.

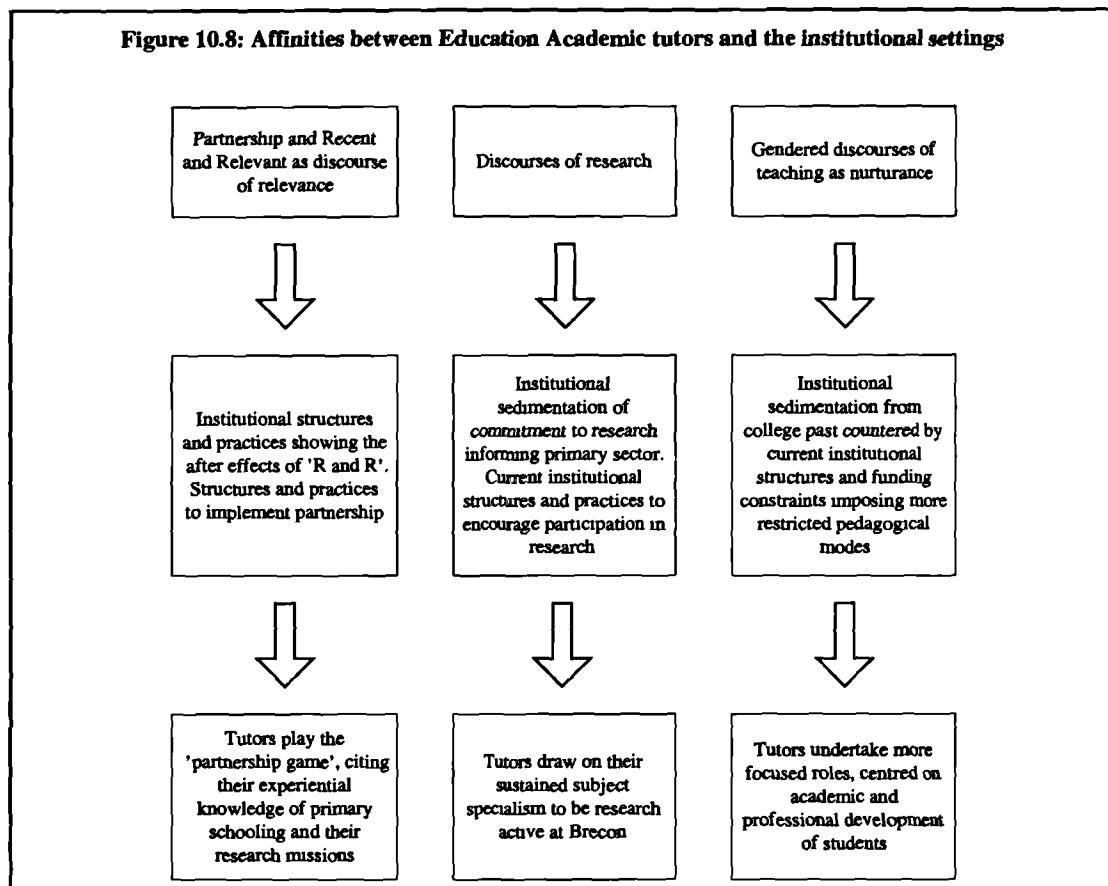
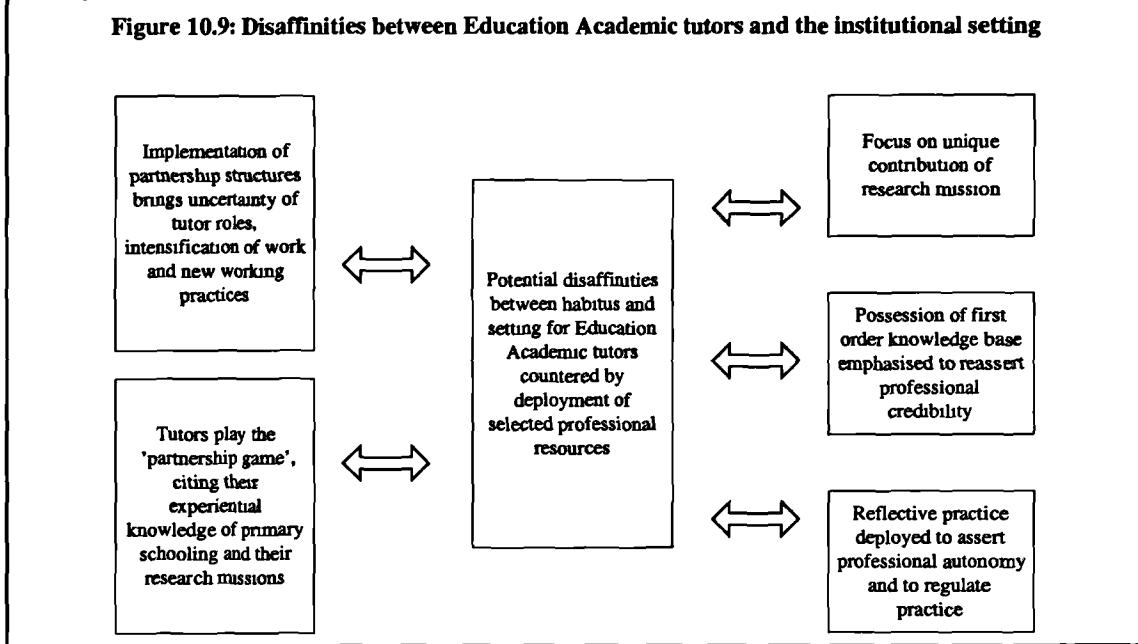


Figure 10.9: Disaffinities between Education Academic tutors and the institutional setting



The instantiation of the *discourses of relevance* created both affinities and disaffinities for the Education Academic tutors at Brecon (see figures 10.8 and 10.9). Section 10.2 has already indicated that the instantiation of these discourses at Brecon had, by the time of the empirical research, resulted in well established partnership structures and practices. Education Academic tutors found some affinities between their habitus as ex-primary school teachers and these aspects of the institutional setting. Like the Novice and Defender tutors, the ‘recent and relevant’ game they had played on their entry to ITE in the 1980s could be reinterpreted as the ‘partnership game’ of the mid 1990s by deploying the professional resources they had gained through the experience of having once been a primary school teacher (see chapter 8.3).

As figure 10.9 indicates, partnership brought disaffinities for the habitus of the Education Academic tutors in much the same ways that it also brought disaffinities for the Defender and, to a lesser extent, the Novice tutors within their institutional settings. The particular contribution of HE-based tutors to the (re)production of primary schooling, and their long term survival in ITE were both questioned by aspects of the discourses of partnership, embodied in the state legislation of 1993 (see chapter 4).¹⁷² Education Academic tutors, however, had an additional defence against these disaffinities through their research activities, as explained below.

Section 10.2. has also indicated that the composition of the primary ITE teaching team at Brecon showed the same *after effects* of the ‘recent and relevant’ criterion as the teams at Avonbridge and USW. But the Education Academic tutors had opportunities to work in areas of teacher education outside ITE (see chapters 7 and 9). This, together with their experiences of working in other HEIs, gave them broader perspectives on teacher education work, and reduced the intensity of their focus on ITE work.

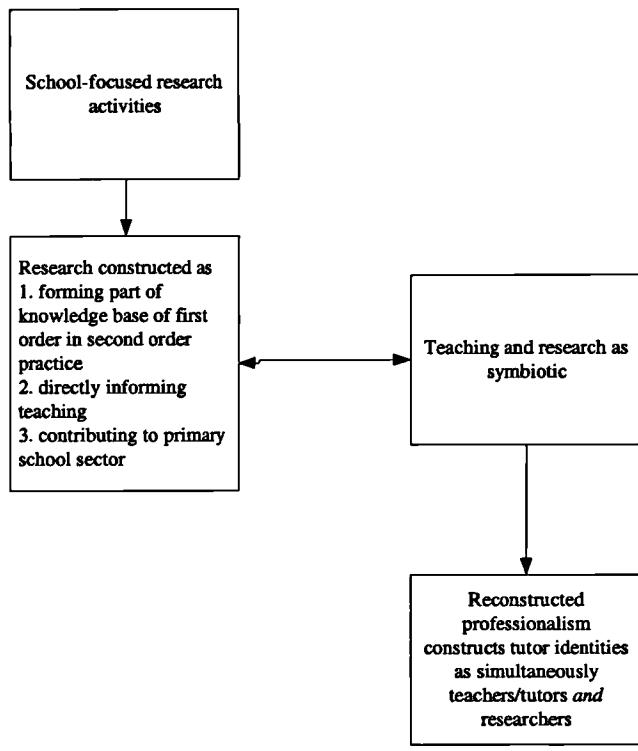
Superficially, the instantiation of the *gendered discourses* of nurture at Brecon (see section 10.2) would seem to offer few affinities to the subject-centred habitus of the Education Academic tutors. But, as figure 10.8 indicates, these gendered discourses and their associated institutional structures at Brecon were changing rapidly. These changes created affinities for the habitus of the Education Academics, giving increased valorisation to the narrow and focused pedagogical modes and tutor roles constructed as part of reconstructed professionalism.¹⁷³

In section 10.4 I have indicated that the instantiation of *discourses of research* at Brecon created disaffinities between the institutional setting and the habitus of the Novice tutor there. As figure 10.8 indicates, these same research-orientated structures, practices and principles created affinities for the subject-centred habitus of the Education Academics, and provided legitimisation for research activity as an integral element of their professionalism. Drawing in part on the sustained subject specialisms they had brought with them from primary schooling and from their previous HEIs, these tutors were able to participate in the flourishing research culture at Brecon. They were also sustained by their engrained ways of seeing themselves as life-long scholars or academics, and by their ways of understanding both primary ITE and primary school teaching as research-inflected enterprises (see section 8.3).

As chapter 8 has indicated, research for Education Academic tutors was constructed as instrumental; it was school and curriculum subject focused, and clearly had 'use value'. As figure 10.9 indicates, for these tutors, research generated their academic knowledge bases, that is their 'subjects'. These were their knowledge of the teaching and learning of a subject from the school curriculum in primary classrooms.¹⁷⁴ This type of research was seen as

directly informing ITE teaching, and enabling tutors to induct students into research-inflected models of primary school teaching (see chapter 8.3).¹⁷⁵ With research identified as informing teaching in this way, teaching and research could be constructed as symbiotic within reconstructed professionalism (see figure 10.10)

Figure 10.10: Research and teaching as symbiotic in reconstructed professionalism



This research also enabled tutors to fulfil their missions of contributing to the primary school sector, as figure 10.10 indicates. In this way Education Academics tutors could claim to be making distinctive contributions to primary ITE. This in turn gave tutors further defences against the disaffinities caused by the instantiation of the discourses of partnership.

The reconstructed form of professionalism may be seen in this thesis as a practical and instrumental product of the affinities and disaffinities between institutional setting and Education Academics' habitus. As such, it is also a product of the multiplicity of sometimes conflicting demands placed upon these tutors at Brecon at the time of the empirical study. They were required to be research active, to meet the institutional research imperatives *and* to have the professional credibility within the fields of primary schooling and primary ITE to be involved in the day to day intensity of the processes of professional (re)production. The reconstructed form of professionalism reconciled the institutional and personal tensions about the places of research and teaching in ITE, in the everyday professionalism of this group of tutors.

In chapter 8 I have shown the similarities between reconstructed professionalism and discourses and models of professionalism from the fields of both schooling and HE, particularly those of *craft professionalism* and *reflective practice*.¹⁷⁶ There were, however, fewer identifiable similarities between these discourses and reconstructed professionalism than with practitioner bond professionalism.¹⁷⁷ But drawing on these discourses to even a limited extent enabled four aspects of Education Academics' professionalism to be valorised . Firstly, discourses of *reflective practice* valorised the tutors' definitions of reflection on primary schooling as 'good practice'. It also valorised their participation in the same essentially gendered 'technologies' of student surveillance, as those found in

practitioner bond professionalism. Secondly, similar reflective discourses and practices valorised the monitoring and regulation of tutors' own practices as teacher educators. This in turn enabled them to use the practices and principles of reflective practice to assert their professional autonomy at a time when state legislation implied a devaluation and restriction of teacher educator professionalism. These discourses therefore provided some mitigation of the disaffinities created for the habitus of Education Academic tutors (see figure 10.9) in much the same ways as they provided mitigation for Novice and Defender tutors. Thirdly, drawing on discourses of craft professionalism and reflective practice enabled the second order experiential knowledge which Education Academic tutors gained through their professional practice as ITE tutors to be valorised.¹⁷⁸ Fourthly, drawing on these same discourses, facilitated the valorisation of experiential knowledge of primary schooling, and its synthesis with theoretical knowledge as integral elements of second order professionalism for Education Academics.

10.6 Differing effects on tutor types

Primary ITE was an unstable and changing field in which to work in the mid 1990s. As chapter 4 has identified, there was an increased dichotomy within the field between school-focused and HE-focused imperatives. In section 9.1 I have recapped the findings of Furlong et al (1996) that the many changes to the macro level of the field had differential effects on both institutions and individuals. Chapter 9 has explored some of the differential effects on the case study institutions; this section goes on to explore some of the issues raised by the differential effects on the tutor types working within those university settings.

Chapter 4 has reported the findings of Furlong et al (1996) and Bridges (1996) that in the preparations for the RAE of 1996 the 'recent and relevant brigade' of tutors, working on

ITE programmes, suffered most pressure and disadvantage, and were less likely to be classified as active researchers. This research has shown that not all of this brigade found themselves in this position. For Education Academics, who entered HE with subject-focused habitus, there were strong affinities between those habitus and the ways in which different discourses at the macro level of the field of ITE had been instantiated in the setting of the University of Brecon. Consequently, these tutors found themselves in strong positions there.¹⁷⁹

Reconstructed professionalism may be seen then as a form of piebald professionalism which integrated the dimensions of teaching and research within the tutor's roles as an agent of (re)production in ITE. Day (1995) has referred to the need for teacher educators to create 'research identities' which they can live with; Education Academic tutors in the findings of this research succeeded in creating a form of professionalism which gave them integral research *and* teaching identities they could live with in the institutional setting of Brecon in the mid 1990s.

The reconstructed form of professionalism enabled Education Academics to work with confidence in both school-focused and HE-focused aspects of ITE work, to be both teachers and researchers. Their professionalism therefore accommodated the increased dichotomy of ITE as both school-focused and HE-focused at the time of the empirical research. Their form of professionalism combined and 'reconstructed' elements of both the professionalism of the school teachers they had once been and the academics they had become. In the process it accommodated the changes within the field in the mid 1990s, and bridged two of the 'fault lines' (Rowlands 2001) of the field of ITE: the separation of teaching and research; and the dichotomy between school-focused and HE-focused imperatives. To borrow Taylor's (1983:41) famous phrase, Education Academics at Brecon could be seen as

Janus-faced; their professionalism enabled them to face both the worlds of the school and of the university. Their professional resource repertoires enabled them to defend and justify themselves when faced with the calls of serving teachers and ITE students for evidence of primary practitioner credibility, but they also gave them academic kudos in the research-led world of their UDE.

This chapter has shown that there were many affinities and also some disaffinities for Novice and Defender tutors within the institutional settings of Avonbridge and USW, and to a lesser extent, Brecon. Superficially, this form of professionalism, with its emphasis on the knowledge bases, pedagogies and orientations of schooling in ITE work, had distinct advantages at a time when ITE was rapidly becoming more school-focused. But, as this thesis has shown, this form of professionalism failed to accommodate the growing importance of discourses of research in ITE at this time. If Education Academics were Janus-faced, then Novices and Defenders were unilateral in constructing their professionalism around only school-focused aspects of ITE.

For both Novice and Defender tutors the affinities and disaffinities they encountered within the institutional settings of Avonbridge, Brecon and USW resulted in professional lives which were increasingly difficult to live. These tutors were faced with balancing compliance in meeting state regulations for ITE courses, and institutional expectations of research activity, with the caring agendas, complex pedagogies, moral responsibilities and diffuse tutoring roles of their practitioner form of professionalism.

In chapter 2.2 I outlined the arguments of Davies (1996) that definitions of professional encounters as fleeting and impersonal draw on masculinist discourses of professionalism, and devalue the often hidden and extensive nature of the necessary work, frequently

undertaken by women, in facilitating such encounters. These arguments can be applied to a consideration of Novice and Defenders' professionalism and the extended roles which this thesis has shown that they adopt in relation to their students. In state diktats and managerialist discourses ITE tutoring is often positioned as a practical and instrumental activity, involving simple models of tutor 'transmission' and student 'acquisition' of clearly defined knowledge and understanding about school teaching. These reductive discourses imply that teaching and tutoring are about impersonal, fleeting and easily managed encounters with students.¹⁸⁰ The complexity of the diffuse and affective roles adopted by Novice and Defender tutors is devalued by these discourses which fail to recognise that 'the caring script' (Acker 1997) is for some teachers/tutors, particularly women, in all sectors of education a fundamental part of their work, (see Heward 1996; Noddings 1992).¹⁸¹

In this research the devaluation of the often 'hidden' and feminised professional work of the Novice and Defender tutors was perceived to go unrecognised and unrewarded outside their primary teams; at the time of this empirical research their established modes of pedagogy were threatened, and 'performance' within their institutions was increasingly measured in terms of sustained engagement in research. Their career progression looked uncertain, and aspects of their claims to professionalism fragile and vulnerable in their changing institutional settings. At the very least the balancing acts which they had to perform to satisfy both their 'caring scripts' and the institutional imperatives involved individual tutors in intensive and often emotionally demanding work, achieved at high personal and professional costs to individuals. In these research findings then, Novice and Defender tutors worked within a labyrinth of gendered institutional structures, and pedagogical, personal and social expectations which 'bound' them into their practitioner

roles. In the words of Maguire (1994) these tutors really were attempting to do the impossible job.

The professionalism of Defender tutors was in some situations even more fragile than Novices. Chapter 8 has illustrated that in all three institutional contexts Novice tutors, despite their limited experience of HE, constructed themselves as professionally legitimated by the practitioner bond of professionalism, and in particular by their *recent* and practical knowledge of schooling. Within practitioner bond professionalism then, Novices could occupy powerful places in any notional hierarchies differentiating the value attached to this form of tutor professionalism. In certain contexts, their professionalism could even be seen as more legitimate than that of their more experienced tutor peers.

Chapter 8 has also identified that in some contexts Defenders struggled to maintain their credibility, judged in terms of the relevance and contemporaneity of their knowledge of primary schooling.¹⁸² This was because the power of experiential knowledge of schooling as a professional resource for teacher educators was constructed as having an inverse relationship to the amount of time spent in HE. With their professionalism constructed entirely within the practitioner bond and with this declining credibility as school practitioners, Defenders risked becoming part of the reference group of discredited tutors (the ‘old fossils’ or ‘dinosaurs’ without recent and relevant school experience) cited in their own narratives.

Defenders tutors were caught between a rock and a hard place in terms of their professional development. They struggled to maintain key aspects of their dual professionalism, as both school teacher and HE-based ITE tutor; and, as I have illustrated, the development of research related resources was effectively barred by their construction of professionalism

within the practitioner bond. Their professionalism is therefore conceptualised as being in stasis, or caught between the ‘chalk-face’ of their past experiences in primary schooling and their current work in the ‘ivory towers’ of their university settings.

10.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how the two different forms of professionalism found in this research were affected by complex patterns between the discourses, practices and principles valorised at the macro level of the field both contemporaneously and historically, the ways in which these became instantiated in the institutional settings, and the affinities and disaffinities which these instantiations created for the individual and collective habitus of the tutors at each of the three universities.

In the conclusions to chapters 8 and 9 I have indicated the similarities between some of my findings and those of other researchers analysing teacher educator professionalism. My findings indicate, for example, that, in their constructions of practitioner bond professionalism, Novice and Defender tutors had ‘a tendency to look back to the school sector for their knowledge base and pedagogy’ (Ducharme 1986:31), like many of the tutors in the research studies analysed in chapter 2. As that chapter has shown, a number of these studies attribute such tendencies to a deficit model constructed for teacher educators. Other studies (see, for example, Reynolds 1995) account for differentiation in teacher educators’ professional identities through the effects of the institutional settings. The findings of this research indicate that, rather than being attributable in straightforward ways to either of these factors, teacher educator professionalism is relational. By this I mean that it is not simply responsive to shifts at the macro level of the field, neither is it determined solely by the institutional setting, nor is it subject only to the whims of individual biographies and

practices. Rather teacher educator professionalism is affected by the complex inter-relationships between all of these levels of the field of ITE.

In chapter 2 I cited Atkinson and Delamont's (1985:314) contention that the processes of cultural transmission and knowledge management needed to be considered, alongside institutional factors, in analyses of teacher education. In the same chapter I have shown that few studies of teacher educators, apart from those of Maguire (1994), and to a lesser extent of Hatton (1997), acknowledge the issue of the place of ITE tutors in the processes of (re)production, and the effects which this may have on professionalism. The research presented in this thesis has shown that teacher educator professionalism is integrally related to how those processes of (re)production, and the functions of tutors as central agents in the processes, are understood and valorised both by the tutors themselves, by the institutional cultures within which they work, and by the stakeholders at the macro level of the field. As Maguire (1994) states, the (re)production of the discourses, practices and principles of primary teaching is an integral and inescapable part of the work of ITE tutors.

This thesis has shown that the two forms of professionalism found in this study are attributable to fundamentally different ways of understanding primary teacher educators' work. These understandings in turn can be traced back to deep-rooted tensions and fault lines within the field of primary ITE (see chapter 4). These tensions and fault lines include:

- the functions of HE-based teacher educators in the (re)production of the practices and knowledge of schooling through teaching and / or research;
- the balance created between the processes of (re)production taking place in universities and those taking place in schools;
- the place of experiential and theoretical knowledge in both first order work as a primary school teacher and second order work as a primary teacher educator;

- the place of first order knowledge of schooling in second order work in teacher education;
- the organisational and pedagogical modes of (re)production deployed at the meso and micro levels of HE-based ITE;
- the ideal model of the primary school teacher which is seen as the end product of the processes of (re)production.

The findings of this research reflect in part the ways in which these tensions have been played out through the constructions of professionalism of primary ITE tutors working within the professional arenas provided by the education departments of three English universities in the mid 1990s. This study also gives a picture of teacher educator professionalism at a time of great change in teacher education in England.

In chapter 2 I identified that the research of Becher into academic professionalism found clearly identifiable patterns between academic cultures and the knowledge forms found in each discipline, that is ‘between academic tribes and the territories they inhabit’ (1989:5).

Adopting Becher’s terminology, my findings may be seen as showing two different ‘academic tribes’ of teacher educators, constructing different forms of professionalism and inhabiting different ‘territories’, in one case within the same institutional setting.¹⁸³

Becher’s findings indicated that there were inter-relationships between the ways in which knowledge is organised in academic disciplines and the professionalism of the academics working within those disciplines. Similarly, my findings indicate that there are complex inter-relationships between the ways in which primary ITE is understood and organised within its institutional settings, and the professionalism of the teacher educators working within those settings. My findings, however, indicate that other factors, beyond those

identified by Becher, are also important in the construction of teacher educator professionalism. As chapter 2 has indicated, Becher's study focused only on academics' involvement in *research*. It paid little attention to academic involvement in the processes of *teaching*, that is to the ways in which the tutors aimed to (re)produce the knowledge and practices of their HE-based discipline for and through their students. It made only cursory references to *gender* issues in the lives of academics. And it did not account for the ways in which the personal histories or *habitus* of the academics concerned might also influence their individual and communal professional lives.

This thesis has shown that teacher educator professionalism for the sample group of tutors was formed through a complex web of relations between the individual and collective *habitus* of tutors, their particular settings in the English university sector, and the macro level of the field of primary ITE in the mid 1990s. At the centre of this web were different ways of understanding the processes of (re)production involved in primary ITE, integrally influenced by gendered discourses, practices and principles within both the fields of primary ITE and primary schooling. As chapter 11 will discuss, in order to research teacher educator professionalism, future studies will need to take account of all of these factors.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSIONS

11.1. Introduction

This chapter returns briefly to the original research question and identifies the ways in which this has been addressed. It then provides an overview of the thesis, identifying the achievements of each chapter. Subsequent sections identify and discuss the limitations of the empirical work undertaken, and the contribution made by the thesis as a whole. Finally, possible directions for future work are discussed.

11.2. The research question and its relevance

This research had its origins in my professional life as a teacher educator, new to HE-based teacher education work, and perplexed by both the lack of explicit definitions of professionalism amongst my more experienced colleagues, and the relative lack of empirical research into teacher educator professionalism. The main focus of this research then has been how ITE tutors construct their professionalism as teachers of teachers. I have investigated how these constructions relate to relevant biographical factors, to the institutional settings within which the tutors work, and to the macro level of the field of ITE, both historically and at the time of the empirical research. I have explored these questions through the analysis of interview data and relevant biographical information for the sample group of tutors, the construction of case studies of the sample institutions, and the analysis of research and commentaries on the macro level of ITE.

I commenced this research at a time of great change and contestation in the field of ITE, conducting the empirical research when imperatives from the state and university sector

were impacting in differentiated ways on the institutions providing ITE programmes and individual tutors. In the time since then HE has continued to be ‘a world of supercomplexity and rapid change’ (Barnett, cited in Watts 2000:11). ITE has remained high on the political agenda for educational change. The power of the TTA, Ofsted, and the effects of two further government Circulars on ITE (Circular 10/97, DfEE 1997; Circular 4/98, DfEE 1998) have brought about a growing compliance culture. The funding and regulation of ITE, together with some other aspects of teacher education, have effectively been separated from the rest of HE provision. And there is on-going concern from various stakeholders about the quantity and quality of student teachers emerging from ITE courses. Given that teacher educators, as the agents involved in (re)producing and legitimising the discourses of schooling, are a vital part of the processes of ITE, the foregrounding of their professionalism in this research study remains apposite.

11.3 Achievements of the thesis

The first chapter stated the main focus of the research question, and established its autobiography and rationale. It also described key features which characterised primary ITE as a gendered field of contestation, positioned between the fields of schooling and HE, and as ‘Janus-faced’ in consequence. The second chapter provided an analysis of the findings of the small number of empirical studies into either the professionalism or the professional identities of teacher educators. This chapter demonstrated that previous studies of teacher educators presented recurring themes and tensions in professionalism / professional identity. These included issues of teacher educators’ senses of commitment and responsibility to their students and to the school sector, the relationship between tutors’ experiences and knowledge of schooling and their HE work, their attitudes to and

engagement in research, and gender issues. But, as the analysis identified, these studies rarely explored the complexities and contradictions found in depth.

Many of the studies also found differences in the types of professional identity, but made limited attempts to explore their findings in terms of either the time or the space of ITE. They offered limited theorising about how and why such differentiations occurred. Differences were variously attributed to the diversified nature of work within teacher education, gender factors, time spent in HE, deficient socialisation into the norms and expectations of the HE sector, the continuing effects of early professional socialisation into schooling, or the effects of the institutional setting on individuals. These factors were often addressed in isolation, with limited attempts to consider the inter-relations between individual biography and professional practices, gender, the institutional settings and the fundamental aspects of teacher education at a macro level, either historically or at the time of the empirical research. Nor did most of these studies address questions of how professional identity might be affected by the central involvement of teacher educators in the (re)production of the knowledge and practices of schooling. It is argued that this absence was of particular significance in studies of the professional identity of ITE tutors, given that such tutors are required to meet the imperatives of both the school and HE sectors in their daily work.

Within the existing research on teacher education then, I found limited starting points for my research. This absence meant that I had to devise my own theoretical framework for the thesis (see chapter 3). I established an apposite theoretical framework for the thesis and what Bernstein (1996) terms a language of description with which to analyse teacher educator professionalism. The framework drew on the concepts of field and habitus from the work of Bourdieu. It conceptualised ITE as a field, within the social space of education,

which could be analysed at three inter-related levels - the individual or micro, the institutional or meso, and the national or macro level. I argued that analyses of professionalism needed to be located in time through a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis.

I gave a definition of professionalism as a 'socially constructed, contextually variable and contested' concept (Troman 1996:476), which drew on Bourdieu's work, but also had some grounding in traditions of research into school teacher professionalism. This definition of professionalism incorporated the term 'professionality', as employed by Hoyle (1975). Professionalism was seen as drawing on reservoirs and repertoires of professional resources which were potentially available to teacher educators. At the macro level of ITE I argued that there were discourses and legitimating principles which provided the conditions for the recognition of what could be seen as legitimate elements of a reservoir of professional resources. The institutional context was seen as instantiating the macro level, and providing the meso level setting or professional arena in which professionalism was contested and valorised by individuals and collectivities of teacher educators. It was argued that individual tutors entered the field with distinctive professional histories and orientations which had in part formed their habitus, as their engrained and engraining ways of understanding primary schooling and primary ITE. These teacher educators then found affinities and disaffinities within their institutional settings which enabled them to valorise, assert and contest their professionalism. I then identified the relationship between this theoretical framework and the empirical research for this study, giving an initial indication of how the framework informed the research design, its implementation and the modes of data analysis used.

I then presented a mapping of the field of ITE at the macro level, with a specific emphasis on primary ITE (see chapter 4). This mapping achieved a number of purposes, firstly, it enabled the empirical work to be located within both space and time at the macro level of the field of primary ITE; secondly, it analysed how this macro level had been variously instantiated into the meso level of the institutions providing ITE courses over time; thirdly, the mapping enabled relevant selection criteria for the institutions and individuals involved in the empirical research to be established (see chapter 5).

Part 1 of chapter 4 analysed the macro level of ITE and its instantiation into the meso level of the providing institutions in the thirty years between 1963 and 1993. It demonstrated that the history of the field of primary ITE during this time was characterised by rapid changes, and by consequent discontinuities and fragmentation in its discourses, practices and knowledge bases. Within the college of education/public sector institutions where most primary ITE courses were provided until 1992, the analysis showed that changes to the institutions and the curricula, together with the effects of state intervention in ITE, meant that the knowledge and experience required of primary teacher educators changed significantly over time, as did the specifications of tutor roles. This part of the chapter demonstrated that primary ITE has a history of pedagogical traditions in which knowledge, practices, values and orientations were inter-twined. It was argued that some of these traditions were covert and implicit, others were heavily gendered.

The second part of the chapter demonstrated that primary ITE in the time frame 1994 - 1996 was essentially school-focused, although it continued to be located in education departments within HEIs. These departments were increasingly influenced by the imperatives of the university sector, particularly the inclusion of all universities in bidding for research funding from 1992 onwards. The chapter showed that the changing nature of

ITE, particularly the requirements in Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) eroded areas of teacher educators' professional autonomy, required ITE tutors to engage with a school-focused ITE curriculum, and enforced the generation of new partnership arrangements with schools. These changes inevitably meant accommodating many of the imperatives of primary schooling. I argued that in the mid 1990s the UDEs and the ITE tutors working within them needed to accommodate the often dichotomous imperatives of two different fields of education within their work.

I also indicated that the changes at the macro level of ITE impacted on all HE institutions providing primary ITE, but with differentiated effects. Most pressure fell on the new universities, facing the full force of the imperatives of the university sector for the first time. As I have shown, it was within these new universities that much primary ITE provision was located in 1994 -1996. I also indicated that these changes to the field had differentiated effects on individual tutors, with many of the 'recent and relevant brigade', recruited to HE, because of their experience of school teaching, facing new demands which intensified their work, required them to become research active, and implicitly devalued their experiences of schooling.

Building on the outline of the research design presented in chapter 3, I then detailed further features of the research design, including the sample (see chapter 5). Following Yin (1988:46) the research design was defined as a 'multiple-case embedded study' which enabled the interviews and questionnaires conducted with individual tutors, to be analysed within the meso level settings of the three universities. This design enabled a focus on ITE at both micro and meso levels. Selection of the sample individuals and institutions was informed by the mapping of the field. I also detailed relevant factors in the implementation of the research design.

Chapter 6 outlined the initial procedures used for analysing the narrative data, including the categorisation of recurring types of narratives and the creation of data summaries. Using these narrative types as contexts, the network analysis was first described, and then employed as a procedure for translating between theory and data. This procedure resulted in the construction and presentation of two networks which were used to code the reservoir of all the professional resources utilised by the tutors within the interviews. The development and use of these networks enabled the interview transcripts as texts to be described in a theoretically informed way. The networks accounted for and mapped the complete set or reservoir of professional resources used across all the interviews. This set of resources represented the initial findings of my empirical research at the micro level. They indicated the complete reservoir of professional resources which teacher educators drew upon in discussing their professionalism, within the immediate contexts of the interviews. These initial findings indicated that teacher educator professionalism had epistemological, interpersonal and ethical dimensions.

I then presented a typology of three types of primary ITE tutors, named Novices, Defenders and Education Academics (see chapter 7). Novice tutors all had less than three years of HE-based ITE experience; Defenders and Education Academics were two types of more experienced teacher educators. The chapter presented the resource repertoires used by each tutor type, illustrating that Novice and Defender tutors shared broadly similar resource repertoires, predicated on knowledge of schooling and the deployment of pedagogical practices and professional personae associated with primary schooling. Education Academics had a distinctive repertoire of resources based around the integration of teaching and research.

The chapter also showed the distinct biographical differences between the tutor types. These differences were particularly pronounced between Education Academics and the other two types. Differences were identified in the tutors' teaching experience prior to entry to HE, the total time spent in HE, and the career patterns and work experience as teacher educators. The chapter established that there were strong similarities between the professional resources deployed by Novice and Defender tutors, and the professional attributes defined as characteristic of child-centred primary school teachers in the 1980s and early 1990s (the period during which all of the tutors had been teaching in primary schools). The chapter argued that these tutors had a child/learner centred habitus, generated in part through their first order careers in schools, and developed further through their HE work.

I showed that the distinctive biographical profiles and resource repertoires of the Education Academics indicated that these tutors had had different career trajectories within primary schools and in HE from the other two tutor types. The findings of this chapter indicated that the habitus of Education Academic tutors - termed subject-centred - was distinctive from that of the other two tutor types.

Following on from this analysis, I then identified and analysed how the tutor types deployed their professional resource repertoires in constructing their form of professionalism, and in negotiating and asserting its legitimacy (see chapter 8). The two forms of professionalism found in this research - the professionalism of the practitioner bond and reconstructed professionalism - were identified, as being predicated on different epistemological, ethical and inter-personal professional resources, deployed in different ways.

I showed that in practitioner bond professionalism tutors placed themselves at the centre of the processes of (re)production in ITE. They did this by attempting to model the extended attributes of the good primary practitioner for their students through aspects of their own knowledge, pedagogy and professional personae. The ITE tutor's function as teacher of teachers became seen as the pivotal point for student induction, and consequently for tutor professionalism. As part of this modelling process, tutors adopted an extended, affective and learner-centred teaching role with students, in order to demonstrate and embody through their own professionalism, the good primary teacher's perceived attributes as child/learner-focused, nurturing, reflective and mutualistic. Because of this emphasis, knowledge of schooling - together with the pedagogical models and professional personae perceived to be involved in primary school teaching - became privileged in practitioner bond professionalism. Engagement in research and this construction of teaching were positioned as dichotomous by these tutors.

The same chapter demonstrated that in reconstructed professionalism tutors constructed personal engagement in research focused on the school sector, and research-inflected teaching as central to tutor professionalism. (Re)production of the discourses and practices of primary school teaching was seen as taking place through these two mediums. Consequently, the teaching role in ITE, although still important, was constructed as less central both to tutors' work and to the induction of students, than in practitioner bond professionalism.

This chapter also showed that tutors perceived their professionalism to be contested by others involved in the field of ITE, particularly students and school teachers. These groups were perceived to draw on the discourses of relevance (Maguire and Weiner 1994) to judge teacher educators' professional credibility and legitimacy. Teacher educator

professionalism was seen as inter-twined with the perceived values of these stakeholders in ITE. The chapter argued that professionalism was integrally related to the processes of (re)production in ITE, and to how tutors construct their functions as agents of those processes. Underpinning the two different forms of professionalism were fundamentally different ways of understanding these processes and functions.

Chapter 9 provided the institutional - meso level - contextualisation for the forms of professionalism found in this empirical research. It presented case histories of the three universities involved in this research, the Universities of Avonbridge, Brecon and the South West, and their education departments in the mid 1990s. The case studies outlined the history of the institutions and gave insights into how discourses from the macro level of ITE were instantiated in the three UDEs. Further analysis of the institutions was provided from the perspectives of the interviewees themselves. The chapter also showed how the interviewees perceived their forms of professionalism to be valued within their institutions.

The distribution of the forms of professionalism and the tutor types with which they were associated across the three different institutional settings was also presented in this chapter. The analysis identified that in the established University of Brecon, with its long history of both teaching and research in primary ITE, Education Academics created the reconstructed form of professionalism. But at the same university it was also possible for a Novice tutor with only two years of HE experience to construct her professionalism around the practitioner bond. At the Universities of Avonbridge and the South West, both Novice and Defender tutors constructed their professionalism around the same practitioner bond form.

This thesis argued that in order to understand how and why these forms of professionalism occurred and were recognised as legitimate within each institutional settings, it was

necessary to analyse the complex inter-relationships between macro, meso and micro levels of the field of ITE. Chapter 10 argued that practitioner bond professionalism drew on various discourses at the macro level of ITE, as instantiated into all three universities. The chapter identified a cumulative convergence of these discourses during the mid 1990s, and argued that one of the results of this was a resurgence of the feminised values, modes of pedagogy and professional orientations, associated with both primary schooling and with an earlier era of primary ITE, in varying ways in the education departments of the three universities. The instantiation of these discourses created strong affinities for the child/learner-centred habitus of the Novice and Defender tutors, enabling their practitioner bond form of professionalism to be valorised within those settings. I also identified the disaffinities for Novice and Defender tutors, focused particularly on the growing research cultures within each of the universities, within their institutional settings.

The analysis indicated that institutional specific factors in each of the universities resulted in a particularly strong valorisation of practitioner bond professionalism at Avonbridge, a less strong but still important valorisation at USW, and a sense of only temporary valorisation for the one Novice tutor in the research sample at Brecon. The chapter argued that both the affinities and disaffinities within the institutional settings resulted in professional lives which were increasingly difficult to live for Novice, and particularly Defender, tutors. This occurred for two reasons: firstly, the often ‘hidden’ and feminised professional work of these tutors was often perceived to be devalued and unrecognised within their institutional settings; secondly, their form of professionalism failed to accommodate the growing importance of the discourses of research in ITE at this time.

I argued that Education Academic tutors' ways of understanding and validating professionalism were valorised and legitimised by the many affinities and the few disaffinities between their habitus and the instantiation in the university setting of the University of Brecon of a diversity of discourses¹⁴. Discourses of relevance, research and, to a limited extent, discourses of craft professionalism, contributed to this valorisation, as did the long institutional traditions of sustaining engagement in both school-focused research and teaching in primary ITE at Brecon. I argued that reconstructed professionalism succeeded in integrating the dimensions of teaching and research within the tutor's role as an agent of (re)production in ITE. It enabled Education Academic tutors to work in both school-focused and HE-focused aspects of ITE work, by 'reconstructing' and combining elements of the professionalism of the school teachers they had once been and the teacher educator academics they had become.

The chapter concluded that teacher educator professionalism was relational, formed by a complex web of inter-relations between the individual and collective habitus of tutors, their particular institutional settings, and the historical and contemporary macro level context for primary ITE in England. It argued that at the centre of this web were different ways of understanding the processes of (re)production in ITE and the tutors' function within those processes. These ways of understanding were shown to be integrally related to the gendered discourses, practices and principles within the fields of both primary ITE and primary schooling. The chapter argued that the two forms of professionalism found in this study could be traced back to deep-rooted tensions and faults within the gendered field of primary ITE. I also demonstrated that this complex analysis of professionalism contrasted with the limited analyses offered by many previous studies.

11.4. Limitations of the study

11.4.1 Sample size

This was a small scale study which places limits on any claims to generalisability I can make. Selection of the institutions was driven by the focus of my research intentions to explore the forms of primary teacher educator professionalism within the university sector, and the potentially rich patterns of institutional difference found there. As chapter 4 has shown, behind the homogenising labels of 'established' or 'new' university, are diverse institutions, each with its own history and contemporary incarnation. It was clearly not possible then to select three institutions which could 'represent' the larger population of universities. I therefore used purposive sampling to select the three case study institutions as the best possible sample for exploring the research questions.

In selecting the interviewees I again used purposive sampling to ensure that the sample accords with the focus of my research on a particular cohort of primary teacher educators. The tutors were selected to meet a set of basic criteria, including being recruited to HE after the publication of Circular 3/84 and having *primary on primary* experience. The tutors in this study therefore obviously did not represent the entire population of primary teacher educators, just as the three institutions did not represent the diversity of universities providing ITE. But I have shown that my sampling techniques were methodologically rigorous and substantively appropriate, allowing the research questions to be explored in-depth through this small scale study. In particular, these techniques enabled the inter-relationships between the micro and meso levels of the field to be explored and theorised. The findings of this research are therefore valid, given the design of the study. I have indicated throughout this thesis that my findings are related to this particular sample group

of teacher educators and their constructions of their professionalism within their particular institutional settings. A larger scale study would obviously be required, however, if I wanted to establish that these findings are generalisable to the professionalism of the wider population of teacher educators.

11.4.2 Research tools

The use of interviews as a major part of the data collection exercise raises a number of issues about the study. In chapter 5 I addressed a number of these issues. I acknowledged the interviews as contexts for the recontextualisation of professionalism in which the interviewees position themselves as teacher educators. I also acknowledged that the interviews were contexts in which I, as a teacher educator, interviewed other teacher educators; they were thus bounded by the common professional background which we shared. The interviews were the products of what it is possible for teacher educators to say to another teacher educator within a specific context. I also emphasised that the findings indicated the repertoires of professional resources which the interviewees used in response to this particular interview context. As such they were not necessarily representative of the total repertoires on which these interviewees *could* draw. They were rather the repertoires on which they consciously or unconsciously *chose* to draw in the specific contexts of each interview.

I have addressed these issues methodologically and analytically through acknowledging the interviews as specific contexts for recontextualisation. What can be said is clearly and consistently related to the specific contexts in which the data was gathered throughout the research design and the analysis. The interview schedule and the cover story, for example, were designed around this acknowledgement, as chapter 5 has indicated. Part of the

methodological strength of the research design was provided by the foregrounding of my own involvement in this study, identifying that I, as the researcher, was involved in the values, ideas and experiences which emerged in it. I also addressed these issues analytically by designing a form of analysis which took account of the specificity of these interview contexts in which the teacher educators were involved in the (re)construction of themselves as professionals.

The use of interviews as a research tool inevitably relied on how the tutors could and did *articulate* their professionalism within the context of the interview. This research design was constructed to focus on the broad attributes or professional resources of teacher educator professionalism; the detailed discussion of tutors' pedagogy was not intended to be a major focus within the interview schedule. But the findings of this research showed that professionalism was constructed as integrally related to the processes of (re)production in ITE. In practitioner bond professionalism, in particular, some tutors therefore foregrounded their pedagogy in discussing their professionalism. To reflect this, in discussing my findings I have therefore emphasised that this is the recontextualisation of pedagogical practices within the interview context.

The use of interviews in the research design also assumed that professional resources, including knowledge and orientations, *could* be articulated. Ensor (1999) identifies and discusses difficulties in accessing what she terms teachers' craft knowledge. She defines this as the often tacit, practical knowledge, values and orientations which are key parts of professional practice and of professionalism. Defined in this way, craft knowledge has clear points of comparison to the ways in which I have defined professional resources in this study. Ensor's review of existing research into the accessing of craft knowledge concludes that, whilst there are undoubtedly tensions about its articulation and identification, it can be

successfully accessed linguistically. My argument is that professional resources can be articulated and accessed in the same way.

The use of interviews as a research tool in this study was clearly valid given the focus of the research question, but it might be argued that the study would have been stronger if it had included a wider variety of data gathering tools. This could have been achieved, for example, by incorporating observations of tutors' teaching, followed up by further interviews discussing the observed practice, into the research design. This inclusion might have enabled more detailed and immediate observation of pedagogical practices, and clearer identification of the personal and tacit knowledge guiding it.

The questionnaires enabled me to gather data on the career trajectories of the interviewees through their own ITE, their school careers, the transitions they made from the school sector to HE, and their HE-based ITE work. This data enabled me to construct the biographical profiles for analysing tutors' professional histories. In retrospect, there were other areas of data which could have been included in the questionnaire. For example, for Education Academic tutor types it would have been valuable to know the details of the previous HEIs in which they had worked before arriving at Brecon. It might also be argued that the study would have been stronger if other research tools had been used to explore tutor habitus as the engrained and engraining orientations which the tutors acquired in part from their first order careers in primary schooling. This could have been achieved by including in the research design interviews which focused on the details of the first order career in primary schooling in depth. Such interviews would inevitably have resulted in retrospective recontextualisations of the experiences of primary schooling, permeated by knowledge and experience of ITE work, but might have provided interesting, alternative

data sources. Aspects of the tutors' personal lives, including their professional personality 'types' and their family educational histories, could also have been explored.

11.4.3 Perspectives on the institutions

In chapter 9 I presented the interviewees' perspectives on the institutions, not as indicative of the actual structures and conditions within the institutions concerned, but as accounts of how these factors were represented to be within the bounded context of the interviews. I acknowledged that using interviewees' perspectives in this way had a potential self-referential quality. Within the framework of this research, however, this referentiality was defended and justified.

I also included external indicators of research productivity to give further perspectives on the factors affecting the institutional contexts in 1994 - 1996. This gave additional and external perspectives for consideration as part of the analysis of the institutional settings. It also enabled me to cross reference between these different perspectives. At Avonbridge, for example, this cross referencing showed increasing levels of research engagement as a factor identified by both external indicators and interviewees' perspectives. This cross referencing was not about attempting to establish 'the truth', as in triangulated research methods; rather it was about strengthening and extending understanding about the settings. It might be argued that the study would have been strengthened if a greater variety of different perspectives on the institutional settings had been provided. This could have been achieved by including, within the research design, interviews with a greater diversity of teacher educators within each institution, including teacher educators teaching on a range of different courses and senior managers with responsibilities for ITE. It could also have been achieved by conducting a longitudinal, ethnographic study of each institution, observing

events such as management meetings at which changes were identified and discussed. This would have enabled a more exact and conclusive identification of the changes and tensions impacting on ITE tutors' work within the institutions at the time of the research study.

In chapter 10 I cross referenced between findings at the micro level of the study, the perspectives from the institutional settings and findings from the mapping of the macro level of the field. This enabled me to inter-relate, for example, gendered and often tacit discourses of ITE to the practitioner bond form of professionalism, as found in each of the universities. It might be argued that this aspect of the study would have been stronger if further evidence of these tacit discourses had been made available. This could have been achieved through an ethnographic study and analysis of the practices and structures within the institution, using observation, interviewing and analysis of relevant texts about ITE programmes. But it is inevitably problematic to access such discourses since by their very nature they are rarely made explicit.

I could also have incorporated into the research design the collection of data on modes of pedagogy, particularly tutor modelling and reflective practices, in use at the three universities. This could have been achieved as part of an ethnographic study through observations of teaching sessions, and documentary analysis of a variety of written sources, including teaching and learning strategies, course descriptions, student handbooks, and the criteria used for assessing students .

11.4.4 Professionalism and the compliance culture in ITE

ITE in the 1990s was characterised by a growing 'compliance culture' (Rowlands 2001). State legislation regulating ITE was a very significant factor in this culture. Compliance with this legislation was achieved in part through the regulatory bodies of the TTA and

Ofsted which have exerted - and continue to exert - very significant influences over the field of ITE. The research design did not, however, take account of the effects of the ways in which the regulatory and monitoring mechanisms used by these two bodies might have impacted on teacher educator professionalism. This was because of the timing of the planning and implementation of the empirical work. In 1994 when this research design was constructed, the TTA had only just been formed, and the extent of its power in ITE was yet to become clear. Ofsted inspections of primary ITT courses had also only just commenced, and again their impact on the lives of teacher educators was not yet apparent. As chapter 5 has indicated, the exact timing of my interviews at each institution meant that inspections were not on-going at the time of the interviews. Perhaps as a result of this, tutors' responses to questions on changes in their working lives did not identify inspections as a significant factor. This lack of emphasis may also in part be attributed to the curriculum subjects which the tutors in my sample group taught. The 'primary' sweep' inspection of 1994 - 1996 focused mainly on the teaching of English and mathematics, and therefore would have had its strongest effects on tutors in those subject areas. Most of the tutors in the sample worked outside these two subject areas.

But clearly, the regulatory bodies of the TTA and Ofsted could have impacted on tutor professionalism, and the inclusion of a discussion of their impact in the interview schedule would have enabled me to analyse a further dimension of the growing state regulation of ITE. The findings of this research indicate some of the ways in which the new public discourses of managerialism (see Hey 2001) in HE impacted on teacher educator professionalism, but these discourses were only in emergent forms in the mid 1990s. In part then because of the timing of the empirical research, this thesis has not been able to address the development of teacher educators' construction of their professionalism in what Osborn

et al (2000:235) define as 'a 'performance'-orientated system of education based on external measures of quality'.

As section 11.1 has already indicated, there have been significant changes in the macro level of the field of teacher education since 1994. The TTA has exerted its power to monitor and regulate teacher supply and demand issues, and to determine funding for ITE courses¹⁸⁵, the nature of ITE programmes, and some aspects of research into schooling. Ofsted have followed the 'primary sweep' inspections by three further inspection rounds (the Primary Follow Up Survey 1996-1998; and the Primary Initial Teacher Training Inspections (PITTI) rounds 1 and 2, 1998-2000 and 2000-2002.) There have also been two further government Circulars (Circular 10/97, DfEE 1997; Circular 4/98, DfEE 1998) which have specified in detail the structures, curricula and assessment mechanisms for ITE courses. At the time of writing in 2002, a third document has just been published (DfES 2002) which is only slightly less prescriptive. This research has not been able to capture any new emerging forms of professionalism in 'response' to these changes. The impact of state regulatory bodies on professionalism would thus be a vital aspect to consider in any future research.

11.5. Contribution of the work

11.5.1 Introduction

This thesis has made original contributions both theoretically and empirically to the field of ITE and to the broader area of professional HE. It has identified a theoretical framework for the analysis of teacher educator professionalism, and operationalised this in an empirical research study. It has made a substantial contribution to the area of empirical research on

teacher educators, with particular reference to the previously unresearched aspect of the professionalism of primary ITE tutors in the English university sector. It has identified some previously unaddressed, but important, questions about the work of these tutors, and posed further questions about gendered aspects of the field of ITE in the mid 1990s.

Through its findings on teacher educators, the thesis makes a more general contribution to understanding the work of second order practitioners in professional HE, and indicates a theoretical framework for future studies of this group.

11.5.2 Contribution to empirical research on teacher educators.

As chapter 2 has indicated, there are no other empirical studies of the professionalism of primary ITE tutors working in the English university sector. This thesis therefore establishes an empirical knowledge base about a previously unresearched group of teacher educators. It gives a unique perspective on how some primary teacher educators, all members of the 'recent and relevant brigade', constructed their professionalism in the mid 1990s, a time of considerable change and contestation for ITE in England. Given that there are a limited number of empirical studies on all groups of teacher educators' professionalism, this thesis provides a valuable contribution to the overall knowledge base about the professionalism of these second order professionals¹⁸⁶.

Although my findings are in some aspects similar to the findings of previous studies, this thesis has offered an original analysis and theorisation of the different forms of teacher educator professionalism. For example, this research has identified a similar dependence on the first order professional resources of schooling for some teacher educators, to that found in previous studies (see Ducharme 1993). But this thesis has gone beyond the simple attribution of this factor to a deficit model for teacher educators, as offered in Ducharme's

study. It has identified that the importance of school-based knowledge in professionalism was related to the ways in which the ITE tutor's function in the processes of (re)production were understood¹⁸⁷. It has shown that these ways of understanding ITE were linked to discourses at the macro level of the field, as well as to the institutional settings, and to the habitus of individual tutors. The explanation offered here takes into account contemporary and historical discourses, practices and orientations at these three levels of the field of ITE. Importantly, it has taken into account the gendered nature of primary ITE and primary schooling,

The importance of school-based knowledge in these findings is also seen as related to the ways in which teachers and students as key stakeholders in ITE were perceived to recognise and value tutor professionalism. This finding has been presented as a consequence in part of the time frame for the empirical research, when tutors were setting up partnership structures in which their responsibility for student induction was partly devolved to teacher-mentors in schools.

This thesis found that teacher educator professionalism was relational. The complex analysis of professionalism presented here is in contrast to the limited theoretical analyses of how and why differentiated forms of teacher educator professionalism or professional identity occurred, offered by many previous studies.

11.5.3 Contribution to knowledge about the field of ITE in England

The significance of the 'recent and relevant' criterion (see Circular 3/84, DES 1984) in changing the staffing bases of the HEIs has been noted by various commentators (see, for example Whitty et al 1987; Fish 1995). The criterion has also been widely recognised as privileging the importance of a particular type of experience of school teaching for teacher

educators (see, for example, Fish 1995). But no empirical studies have been conducted on the wider effects these changes brought to ITE, nor on the subsequent careers of the individual tutors who constituted the ‘recent and relevant brigade’. This omission means that many aspects of ITE in England and Wales from the mid 1980s onwards have remained unexplored.

It is not known, for instance, whether the criterion brought more women, from the traditionally female dominated field of primary schooling, into HE-based primary ITE work from the mid 1980s onwards. As this thesis has shown, at the three case study universities the primary ITE teams were predominantly staffed by women. If this pattern was replicated nation-wide, then the consequences would have been the presence of large numbers of women in primary ITE work for the first time since the late 1960s (see chapter 4.3).

When the effects of the criterion *are* considered by commentators, they tend to be seen as bringing a new breed of pragmatic, school-focused teacher educator into HE work. The more complex ways in which the criterion might have affected the field of ITE, in convergence with other discourses, have remained unresearched and untheorised (see, for example Furlong 1996). In chapter 10 I have contributed to knowledge about the history of the mid 1990s in English ITE by theorising that the discourse of relevance (Maguire and Weiner 1994), associated with the criterion, in cumulative convergence with other discourses associated with the rhetoric and reality of partnership, discourses of craft professionalism, and gendered, contemporary and historical discourses of ITE reinforced the feminised professional values associated with both primary schooling in the 1980s and with an earlier era of ITE in the education departments of the three universities. Based on these findings, this chapter speculatively suggested that the criterion, as part of this

cumulative convergence, may have brought about the 're-feminisation' of ITE in the mid 1990s. This speculation clearly requires further research (see section 11.6).

11.5.4 Issues raised about the fundamental aspects of ITE

This study was not intended to contribute directly to on-going debates about the form and organisation of ITE, but it has clearly raised a number of important issues relevant to this area. In practitioner bond professionalism I have shown that sets of experiences and ways of working privileged in the first order field were used to legitimate professionalism in the second order field. I have related this privileging to the continuing power of the discourses of relevance at the macro level of ITE. I have also shown that all tutors in my findings perceived students and teachers to privilege knowledge of schooling in tutor professionalism. Underlying these findings are unexamined assumptions of the unproblematic transferability of knowledge and practices from one pedagogic site to another, from a first order area of work to a second.

The relationships between first and second order knowledge and practices need to be opened to debate. As part of this, the knowledge of schooling which ITE tutors require need to be analysed and identified. Issues such as whether this knowledge is primarily gained through the *experience* of being a school teacher, how first order knowledge relates to competence and credibility as a teacher and teacher educator in HE, and issues of the contemporaneity of both knowledge and competence are part of this debate, as is the place of research and scholarship in the knowledge base of both primary school teachers and teacher educators.

The findings of this research have indicated that for Novice and Defender tutor types, teaching was positioned as an extensive and complex act, central to tutors' professionalism. In chapter 10 I identified that gendered discourses of ITE were important in legitimising this positioning. These findings raise further issues about gendered forms of pedagogy in ITE. These need to be analysed, taking into account the often tacit and gendered discourses of the field. Such an analysis would help to identify and - if necessary - revalue the complexity of the place of tutor pedagogy and practices in the professional preparation of teachers¹⁸⁸.

Furlong et al (2000:143), quoting Anthea Millet, the then chief executive of the TTA, suggest that pedagogy is 'the last corner of the secret garden'. They argue that pedagogy was indeed the only medium of influencing student teachers left to ITE tutors in the 1990s. Certainly the findings of this study have indicated that all these tutors constructed their pedagogy as a key element of their professionalism, precisely because they believed that it could and did influence their students. These findings suggest directions for future research (see 11.6). They also suggest that the pedagogy of ITE and its relationships with primary school practice need to be opened to discussion and considered in the contexts of increasing state regulation of ITE, the evolving structure of the HE sector, and the developing potential of schools as training sites¹⁸⁹.

The separation of research and teaching has been identified as one of the 'fault lines' of HE in general (see Rowlands 2001). Teacher education, as chapters 1 and 4 have indicated, has existed with tensions between these two dimensions of the field since its establishment in HE institutional bases in the early twentieth century. The rhetoric of teacher education states that all teacher educators are involved in research (see Fish 1995; Day 1995), but as my findings and those of other researchers (see, for example, Ducharme 1993; Hatton

1997) have indicated, there is a gap between this rhetoric and the 'reality' of research engagement for some tutors.

This study has shown that in practitioner bond professionalism teaching and research were constructed as dichotomous; in reconstructed professionalism teaching and research were constructed as symbiotic, with research focused on the school sector. None of the tutors in this study drew extensively on research-based knowledge into ITE practices. This finding is replicated in other studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Hatton 1997; Tomlinson and Swift 1992). This finding may not seem surprising, given the overall lack of value placed on HE pedagogy, at least until the publication of the Dearing Report (1997). There is an overall deficiency of research into the pedagogy of HE (see Trigwell and Prosser 1998). There is however, some particular irony in finding tutors whose areas of expertise are education and the teaching of teachers, relying solely on their experiential knowledge bases, rather than research, to inform and develop their professional practices.

My findings indicate that further issues for consideration in ITE are as follows: the relationships between research, scholarship and teaching in ITE work; the feasibility and desirability of ITE tutors' engagement in published research which meets the criteria of the current RAEs; the focuses of ITE tutors' research (whether this should be on schooling or on their own second order work in HE, for example); the on-going importance of conducting research into the principles, processes and pedagogies of ITE; and the consideration and 'application' of this pedagogical research in the second order practices of ITE tutors.

These issues can be identified through the following series of questions. How are research and scholarship in ITE defined? How do scholarship and/ or research involvement inform

practice in primary ITE? Is it possible in the current context of HE-based ITE for an individual to be a good teacher educator and a non-researcher? If so, what does this say about the legitimisation of experiential knowledge of both schooling and ITE in teacher educator professionalism? If research is important, how can this be balanced with demands for ITE tutors to have on-going credibility with their students and the teacher-mentors in their partnership schools? Do the dual demands of being both an ITE tutor, wrapped in ‘the cloak of busy practicality’, (Day 1995:365) *and* an active researcher reinforce the sense of teacher education as the impossible job (Maguire, 1994)? What kind of research is it appropriate and useful for primary ITE tutors to conduct? Should their research be focused on their own practice or on primary school teaching? Should teacher educators’ research contribute to knowledge and understanding of the school sector? Is such research a part of teacher educators’ missions, and a way of continuing their contributions to the school sector? If research is focused on schooling, it clearly has the potential to serve a number of relevant purposes, including extending knowledge of primary schooling for different audiences, and the pragmatic use of research findings to inform tutors’ teaching, as demonstrated by Education Academic tutors. Focusing only on schooling, however, neglects the rich potential for professional growth and understanding potentially offered by research on second order practices. This point is discussed in more detail below.

In terms of induction for teacher educators moving from schools to HE, what kind of job pattern and induction structures would support a novice or reluctant researcher? What are the experiences of a teacher educator in the process of becoming involved in the world of research? In terms of later professional development, can the notion of research be so constructed that its potential for professional enrichment, intellectual stimulation and the development of pedagogy is reinforced? Can involvement in research become an integral part of the definition of the good ITE tutor? In other words is it possible for teacher

educators to be in Taylor's (1984) terms 'Janus-faced', addressing the needs of the fields of both school and HE through their research-inflected practices?

The challenge for teacher education in the future could be reclaiming a language of learning (see Rowlands 2001) and scholarship about ITE. This could be achieved by forging educational discourses and organisational structures to enable all staff to engage in a reflective and critical pedagogy in which the complex and sometimes contradictory relationships between first order and second order knowledge and practices are opened to analysis. Ideally, this pedagogy needs to emphasise the place of research in professional development, in ways which are not at odds with personal constructions of professionalism, but which still result in the production of research meeting the criteria set by future RAEs.

One of the alternatives to this kind of deep level analysis of ITE could be the polarisation of ITE institutions between research orientated universities and teaching only institutions. This would recreate the old dichotomy between university and public sector institutions which the 1992 expansion of HE aimed to break down. It would mean lost opportunities in the development of primary ITE as a research-inflected enterprise, and a consequent loss to the primary school sector. A second alternative is that tutors' work within institutions could become increasingly differentiated, with some tutors researching and teaching, and others 'only' teaching. This enforced narrowing of some tutors' functions would result in intellectual impoverishment and marginalisation for tutors with 'teaching only' roles, for their students, and ultimately for the fields of ITE and primary schooling.

This section has raised a number of inter-related issues about the organisation of the field of ITE. At the root of many of these issues is the question about the on-going location of the majority of ITE programmes in HE bases, where students are still taught in the main by

teacher educators not involved in regular teaching in schools. The unique contribution of these teacher educators to ITE and the continuing relevance of the HE setting for the (re)production of teachers needs to be re-formulated by a series of intra-professional initiatives. This is an urgent need within the field given that, at the time of writing, there are on-going challenges to the HEIs as training bases and to the two traditional training routes¹⁹⁰ through the Graduate Teacher Programmes (GTPs) and the creation of flexible routes into teaching.

11.5.5 Contribution to understanding university-based professional education

Professional and vocational education is now part of the mainstream of the academic enterprise for many universities (see Bridges 1996; Pratt 1997; Watson 2000). Whereas, once teacher educators were the only academic group involved in professional education in many universities¹⁹¹, they have now been joined by many other types of professional educators or second order practitioners, as I have defined them in chapter 1. These include tutors who educate social workers, nurses, occupational therapists and a range of other professionals, involved in what Schon (1983:42) has termed the ‘swampy lowland’ of professional practice¹⁹².

Like teacher educators, these second order practitioners are involved in the (re)production of both academic discourses and professional practices. Like teacher educators, they have often moved from one occupational setting to another, exchanging daily work as practitioners in the first order setting for work as professional educators in the second order setting. In this latter setting they may be involved in ‘gate keeping’ functions for the first order profession by regulating the quality of new entrants, as part of the processes of (re)production.

The professionalism of many of these groups has not been researched, and understanding of university-based professional education is still in the developmental stages (Watson 2000; Walker 2001). Through its focus on teacher educators as one type of second order practitioner, this thesis contributes to knowledge and understanding of this broader group of professional educators. It indicates many of the challenges which working in HE settings poses for these second order practitioners.

This thesis has shown that the professionalism of this group rests in part upon their ways of understanding and knowing about first and second order practices. In simplified terms their subject or discipline in HE is their knowledge of the first order arena of practice; their second order knowledge is their ways of understanding their own HE-based practices in the (re)production of the knowledge and practices of the first order¹⁹³. This thesis has contributed to understanding of the issues and tensions around the inter-relationships between first and second order practice for many second order practitioners.

A number of the issues raised about teacher educators working on HE-based ITE courses in section 11.5.4 are relevant to consider for other second order practitioners. For example, what is the required knowledge base of first order practice? Is it experiential knowledge - gained through being or having been a practitioner or theoretical knowledge - gained through scholarship and research in the area, or is it a balance of all these forms of knowledge? If it is the balance option, then how are the different forms of knowledge synthesised and recontextualised in the professional practices of these educators in their HE settings?

Once in HE how does the second order practitioner develop or maintain this knowledge? Should maintenance and development occur through research and scholarship? If so, how is such knowledge valorised within the first order community of practice? Or should first order knowledge be ‘renewed’ through returning to practise in the first order professional arena, either on a concurrent model or on a model of periodic ‘top-up’ model?¹⁹⁴ If the ‘renewal’ of first order experience is a professional requirement for HE-based second order practitioners, what does this indicate about the intra professional valorisation - and possible privileging - of experiential knowledge?

The findings of this thesis indicate that having a first order knowledge base alone does not constitute a second order practitioner as a professional in her/his own eyes. Rather knowledge and understanding of second order practices are also key aspects of professionalism. As I have already discussed, these aspects are sometimes neglected and perceived to be devalued in universities, and certainly specific research into the pedagogy of professional HE work is not extensive.¹⁹⁵ The current emphasis on the development and accreditation of teaching in HE (see Watson 2000:13) may go some way to redress this situation. But there are still tensions about the forms which this second order knowledge takes, and about how it is used in the processes of the (re)production of the knowledge and practices of the first order. In particular, there are on-going tensions for many of these HE-based professional educators about who should be undertaking those processes and in which sites¹⁹⁶. This thesis has made a contribution to understanding of the broad area of professional education in HE by identifying these issues.

11.5.6 Theoretical frameworks for understanding professionalism

The theoretical framework for the analysis of teacher educator professionalism across three different levels in this thesis drew, as chapter 3 has identified, on a model provided by the work of Bourdieu. A similar model had been used previously in the studies of educational researchers such as Grenfell (1998) and James (1998), but it had not been fully operationalised in analyses of professionalism. To this basic model I added the analysis of professionalism in time through a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis. I deployed coding networks which enabled distinctions between first and second order knowledge and orientations to be made. These distinctions in turn enabled the relationships between tutors' construction of their professionalism and their understandings of ITE as processes of (re)production to be identified. The networks also enabled the identification of the varied epistemological, ethical and inter-personal components of professionalism.

The model used in this research has provided an exemplar for the sociological study of teacher educator professionalism. In contrast to the limited theoretical frameworks of many previous studies of teacher educators, it provides a rigorous way of analysing and understanding the complex factors at play in the professionalism of this group. It therefore makes a valuable contribution to the area of research into teacher education in general, and into teacher educator professionalism specifically.

The model could also be employed to analyse professionalism in other spheres of work. It could, for example, be used to analyse the professionalism of school teachers in various sectors of education, or of youth workers in community settings. But I see the model as particularly applicable to the analysis of the professionalism of other second order

practitioners working in HE, because of its potential to open up aspects of first and second order resources and their inter-relationships.

The model of professionalism used here could be applied, for example, to the study of the professionalism of nurse educators in HE. This would involve mapping the history and contemporary form of the macro level of the field of nurse education, including the analysis of major changes within the field, on-going debates about the location of education programmes in HEIs or in the first order settings of hospital wards, broad issues about the past and present instantiation of the macro level in the meso level of HEIs, and any overt definitions of the tutors' practices and knowledge bases. At the meso level it would involve selecting and analysing particular HEIs as the institutional settings, identifying relevant factors affecting institutional sedimentation and the current incarnations of each institution. Research at the micro level would involve using a range of research tools to trace the professional biography of a sample of nurse tutors through from their own training, into their first order careers in nursing and onto their second order careers in HE.

I would speculate that, like the teacher educators in this study, professionalism for nurse educators would involve issues about the (re)production of first order practices and knowledge in second order settings, not least tensions between theoretically authorised knowledge and experientially generated practices. The research tools used to identify the tutors' professional resources would therefore need to take into account these factors.

11.6. Directions for further research

A number of possible directions for further research within and beyond teacher education have already been indicated in previous sections of this chapter. It would, for instance, be useful to initiate a large scale study of the professionalism of primary initial teacher educators, building on the achievements of this study. A further study could involve a larger

sample group of both institutions and individuals, using a wider range of research tools to facilitate the identification of tutors' professional resources and professional biographies. This study could also address other variables such as the impact of state regulatory bodies, such as Ofsted and the TTA, on professionalism. It could also analyse how the managerialist discourses dominant in HE in the early twenty first century, have impacted on teacher educators' constructions of their professionalism.

Studying gendered pedagogy in ITE could also be achieved, in more depth than has been possible in this study, through a research design which enabled the discourses instantiated in each institutional setting to be identified, and related to both the institutional settings and the habitus of both female and male tutors. Such a study would enable a more detailed and extensive exploration of the gendered inter-relationships between the various levels of the field in the construction of tutor professionalism.

This study has focused specifically on primary ITE tutors, who were part of the 'recent and relevant brigade', and worked within the university sector. The sample group of a future study could be extended to include primary tutors working in ITE prior to 1984, and tutors currently teaching in primary ITE, but with secondary training and/or school experience.

This would enable a more detailed exploration of the different factors involved in the relationships between professional biographies and professionalism, and between first order and second order careers.

Further research could also include a wider cross section of the staff of UDEs, including those involved in secondary or FE ITE programmes, those teaching on CPD, Masters degree and doctorate programmes, and those involved in research only work⁹⁷. This would enable the exploration of a greater range of variables in relation to the work undertaken and

the phase of education within which tutors specialised. Chapter 4.9 has shown that a significant percentage of primary ITE programmes take place in institutions outside the university sector where the imperatives of teacher education may differ from those found within universities. Including such institutions in a future study would give additional perspectives on the effects of institutional settings from different sectors of the field of HE on professionalism.

Some aspects of my findings, notably the fine grained distinctions between the resource repertoires of the Novices and those of the Defenders (see chapter 7.2.3), hinted at the development of different forms of teacher educator professionalism over an extended time spent in HE. This study has also identified the sense of temporary valorisation of Linda Hussein's practitioner bond form of professionalism within the institutional setting of Brecon, and posed questions about her future at the university. As chapter 2 has demonstrated, a number of self-studies of teacher educators (see, for example, Chung 2002) and the empirical research of Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995) have identified developmental continua for teacher educators' professional knowledge and practice. A longitudinal study could be designed to look at the development of teacher educators' constructions of their professionalism over time. Alternatively, the study could ask older teacher educators to create timelines of their careers in teacher education, retrospectively constructing their professional biographies in teacher education, and identifying the changes which occurred.

In section 11.5.3 I have speculatively suggested that the 'recent and relevant' criterion brought about the 're-feminisation' of ITE in the mid 1990s. A further study could be undertaken to explore this speculation. Such research could identify shifts in the gender balance of the staffing within UDEs. It could also explore any previously hidden, gendered

changes to the micro, meso and macro levels of the field which such shifts brought about. The study would enable the impact of the 'recent and relevant brigade' on English ITE to be understood from new and different perspectives.

A small scale study could also be undertaken to analyse the career trajectories of members of the 'recent and relevant brigade' have remained in HE work. This would enable the further exploration of how the tensions between individual orientations, constructions of professionalism - including ways of understanding ITE as processes of (re)production - and institutional expectations are played out in the careers of individuals. A further factor to consider here might be the age of many tutors who formed the 'brigade' in relation to their espoused forms of professionalism and their career development (see Maguire 2002).

The findings of this research indicate significant tensions between constructions of professionalism and institutional expectations for some tutors, particularly in terms of pedagogy and research engagement. For Novice and Defender tutors there was a gap between the 'reality' of their lack of engagement in research and the rhetoric of teacher education which attempts to position all teacher educators as researchers (see Fish 1995a; Day 1995). The place of research in tutor practice certainly needs to be clarified. It would be useful to have more research on this possible gap, its origins and whether or not it represents a growing trend in ITE (perhaps accelerated by a sense of alienation from the explicit criteria of the RAE for measuring research outputs in conventional academic terms) or a situation which has existed over a long period of time, albeit largely unacknowledged in some institutions.

This study has deliberately focused on teacher educators' perspectives of their own professionalism and their metaperceptions of how students and teachers see this. A further

study could be conducted with students and teacher-mentors involved in school-based elements of ITE courses to ascertain their views on teacher educator professionalism. Such a study could identify factors such as the relative importance which students and teachers place upon first and second order knowledge, and their views of the relationships between experiential and theoretically derived knowledge, including the place of research activity in the work of ITE tutors. Some existing research (see, for example, Menter 1988) has shown that tutors are sometimes placed in positions where they lack power in relation to teacher-mentors within school-based settings. Further research could explore some of these dynamics by analysing how tutor professionalism is seen, negotiated and valorised by teacher-mentors and students across and within a variety of interactions in both school and university settings.

Within one type of tutor professionalism in this study, tutors' pedagogy and professional orientations are perceived to be models for the professionalism of their students. But a number of studies of ITE (see, for example, Ensor 1999; Woods 1997) have shown that the 'acquisition', (re)production and 'transfer' of professional practices and knowledge from one setting to another for intending teachers is far from straightforward. A further study could explore the inter-relationships between what the tutors perceive the effects of these models to be and how the students experience them, both within the university settings and as they begin work in schools.

Finally, this study has argued that teacher educator professionalism is relational, influenced by complex patterns of affinities and disaffinities between the macro level of the field at various points in time, the institutional setting and tutor habitus. It has argued that ITE is a field of (re)production for the discourses and practices of primary schooling, and that professionalism for ITE tutors in this research is integrally related to those processes of

(re)production and to the functions of tutors as the agents of (re)production. These findings reinforce my conviction that whilst focused analyses of single levels of teacher education make a valuable contribution to research in the field, integrated analyses which consider the inter-relationships between micro, meso and macro levels are vital.

As Apple (1996:212) states,

There is a world of difference...between emphasising the local, the contingent and non-correspondence and ignoring any determinacy and any structural relationships among practices. Too often important questions surrounding the state and the social formation are simply evacuated and the difficult problem of simultaneously thinking about both the specificity of different practices and the forms of articulated unity they constitute is presumed out of existence as if nothing existed in a structured way (Hall 1992:537-8). In my mind it is exactly this issue of simultaneity of thinking of actively enabling the tensions within and among them to help form our research, that will solidify previous understandings, avoid the loss of collective memory of the gains that have been made, and generate new insights and actions.

Teacher education cannot be fully opened to enquiry without inter-related analyses of its different levels. One of the charges which can be levelled at writings about teacher education is that they have largely aimed at understanding the macro level, without making the complexities of teacher education at the meso and micro levels the focus of the researcher's gaze. This study has gone some way to redressing this lack. In the process it has made a significant contribution to the field of teacher education in particular, and to general understanding of professional education within the HE sector.

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Appendix 1 List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Terms Used

ATO	Area Training Organization
B.A. (QTS)	Bachelor of Arts with Qualified Teacher Status (also known as BA (Education))
B. Ed.	Bachelor of Education
CAE	College of Advanced Education (Australian HEI)
CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
Cert. Ed.	Certificate of Education
CHE	College of Higher Education
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DENI	Department of Education Northern Ireland
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
Elementary education	in the UK in the first half of the twentieth century this term referred to the education of children aged 5-14 in elementary schools
Elementary education	in the USA includes Kindergarten through grades 1-6 and is equivalent to primary schooling in the UK
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
FE	Further Education
GTP	Graduate Teacher Programme
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council England

HEFCW	Higher Education Funding Council Wales
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectors
IHE	Institute of Higher Education
INSET	In-Service Teacher Education
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
MA	Master of Arts degreee
MOTE	Modes of Teacher Education Project
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
PACE	Primary Assessment Curriculum and Experience project
PCFC	Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council
PFUS	Primary Follow Up Survey
PG	Post Graduate
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PITTI 1/2	Primary Inspection of Initial Teacher Training round 1/2
Primary Sweep (the)	Colloquial term for the Ofsted primary inspections of all primary ITT providers between 1994 and 1996
PSW	Polytechnic of the South West (pseudonym)
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
RATE	Research About Teacher Education (surveys in USA)

Recent and relevant	colloquial term for requirements of criterion of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984). Also referred to as 'R. and R.'
Recent and relevant brigade	colloquial term for tutors who entered HE-based ITE after 1984, recruited mainly for their school experience
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SCITT	School-Centred Initial Teacher Training
SHEFC	Scottish Higher Education Funding Council
SSR	Staff Student Ratio
SWTC	South Western Technical College (pseudonym)
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCET	University Coucil for the Education of Teachers
UDE	University Department of Education
UFC	University Funding Council
UG	Under-graduate
	University of Avonbridge (pseudonym)
	University of Brecon (pseudonym)
UGC	University General Council
USW	University of the South West (pseudonym)

Appendix 2 Principles and Procedures of the Research Design

A2.1 Overview of the appendix

This appendix is intended to provide supporting evidence of the rigour of the research design, outlined in chapter 5. The appendix material describes in more detail the selection criteria for the case study universities (section A2.2) and the principles and procedures designed for negotiating access to these institutions in appropriate ways (section A2.3). Section A2.4 describes the selection of the individuals within each university; an example of the approach letter sent to individual teacher educators is included in section A2.5. Section A2.6 shows the interview schedules and the questionnaire format used with all tutors in the sample group.

A2.2 Selection criteria for the institutions

As described in chapter 5 two criteria were used to define an initial target group of institutions:

- i) the institutions should be University Departments of Education (UDEs).
- ii) the historical and contemporary settings of the selected universities should be varied in order that the final institutional case studies could potentially offer richness, diversity and difference to the empirical research

These criteria were defined firstly, by analyses of institutions offering some form of primary ITE in 1994; secondly, by references to the research on institutional change presented in chapter 4; and thirdly, by my analysis of relevant research on teacher educators

(see chapter 2). Once the target group of universities had been established, a third criterion was used to select the final sample. This criterion was that all the institutions used should be within a fifty mile radius of a major conurbation. This criterion was a pragmatic one to enable me to complete the fieldwork in the very limited time I had available.

The decision to use only institutions within the expanded university sector was made for three reasons. Firstly, as shown in chapter 4, by 1994 the majority of primary ITE courses were offered by these institutions. Secondly, the implied homogeneity of the term 'university', obscured the very different histories, traditions and cultures which the institutions within the expanded university sector in 1994 had. Through basing my research in a sample of these universities I could therefore look at potentially rich patterns of institutional difference. Thirdly, in my analysis and general reading of both British and international texts a recurrent theme was the academic status of teacher education within HE. This theme was often part of a general debate about the tension between academic and professional knowledge in HE.

In the piloting process I explored this theme with teacher educators from different types of institutions, taking the questions of the relationship between theory and practice and the individual's involvement in research or other forms of scholarly activity as starting points. In a number of interviews the theme also occurred spontaneously in comparisons between the school sector, the UDE and the rest of the institution. From these starting points some of the interviewees gave complex, and often contradictory, responses about the relationships they saw as existing between practical and academic knowledge. The reoccurrence of these narratives convinced me that this theme was an important element in my work overall. I therefore made the decision that all the institutions used for my fieldwork should be in the

university sector, accepting that by selecting only these institutions I would be sampling only one, newly converged category of ITE provider.

In order to select a sample of different types of university primary ITE providers I completed a simple analysis of the universities, categorising them, as in chapter 4, into 19 established and new 24 universities. But these obvious categories tended to obscure the different histories of individual institutions. A further analysis gave three sub-categories of institution:

category 1: new universities with a long history as HEIs or monotechnics prior to attaining university status in 1992;

category 2: new universities which were polytechnics for at least ten years prior to 1992;

category 3: established universities with a tradition of primary ITE.

This level of analysis was not converted into a count of the total number of institutions offering ITE, but in selecting the final sample of institutions for the research design I aimed to select one institution from each of the above categories. Within the geographical limitations I had defined, there were thirteen institutions offering ITE courses. I sorted these institutions into the three categories defined above and found the following distribution:

in *category 1* there were two new universities (the first of these had made a straight tradition from being an HEI to becoming a university; the second had been an HEI with a strong tradition of primary ITE, before merging with a polytechnic, had then spent a very brief time as a polytechnic before attaining university status. Because most of its history, prior to attaining university status, had been as an HEI, this second institution was placed into this category.)

in *category 2* there were six new universities with long histories as polytechnics prior to attaining university status;

in *category 3* there were five established universities.

Aiming to select one institution from each of the categories, I then re-analysed this list of institutions to identify any which were clearly inappropriate for inclusion in the empirical research. In *category 2* I found one institution with a very small primary education department where the immediate future of the ITE course offered was doubtful. This institution was therefore not considered for selection. In *category 3* there was one institution which was unusual in that it was only concerned with education courses. I also had existing professional and academic links with this institution. The institution was also therefore not considered for selection. In *category 2* there was one further institution with which I also already had some professional links. On ethical grounds I ruled out this institution to prevent any conflict of interest. Approach letters were sent to the Heads of Departments in the remaining institutions as described below.

A2.3 The principles and procedures of negotiating access to the institutions

In the research design, the following stages of negotiating access were identified.

- i) The possible target institutions were selected, using the identified criteria
- ii) A letter was sent to the Head of Department in each institution, outlining the research design, requesting permission to conduct the empirical work at the institution, providing assurances about confidentiality and indicating the next steps in the process.

- iii) If permission was granted, then the Head of Department provided a list of staff teaching on the primary ITE courses. The name of a contact person with whom the possible sample group of tutors could be discussed in more depth was also provided.
- iv) The possible sample group and the selection criteria were discussed with the contact person. Any individuals who did not meet the basic criteria were excluded from the sample group at this stage.
- v) A profile of the possible sample group was drawn up using the head of department's list and the discussions with the contact person. The profile included the following information: gender, number of years in HE and level of qualifications. From this profile, a list of staff who were broadly representative of the sample group in terms of three further dimensions was created (see A2.5).
- vi) A letter was sent to individuals on this list. The letter fulfilled the following purposes: it outlined the research; it provided assurances about confidentiality, and requested confirmation of the individual's suitability for the study. It also requested an interview if all the basic criteria were fulfilled and indicated how to contact me.
- vii) When individuals gave permission for an interview a further letter was sent, confirming the time and place for the interview. This letter also gave the main questions to be addressed and included a copy of the questionnaire.

The ways in which these stages were applied in the study, the problems encountered in negotiating access to the institutions, and the necessary adaptations made are described in detail below.

A2.4 Selection of the sample group

In this section the sampling plans drawn up for each institution are presented to show how the final group of interviewees were selected. This section deliberately replicates some of the sampling plans included in chapter 5 in order to illustrate the rigour of the purposive sampling techniques used. For each institution, the following plans are included here:

- i) plans of all the primary ITE staff at each institution and the number of years they had been working in HE. These plans used information supplied by the Heads of Department after stages 3 and 4 of negotiating access, as outlined above. These plans enabled me to identify staff who were ineligible for inclusion in my research because they had either been recruited to HE before 1984 or they had less than one year of experience in HE.
- ii) further sampling plans which showed primary ITE staff eligible for inclusion in the study, their levels of qualification and the number of years they had spent in HE. Again, this information was supplied from staff records by the Heads of Department. The aim of these sampling plans was to ensure that my purposive sampling techniques (see chapter 5) enabled me to interview tutors with a broad range of experience and expertise.
- iii) a final sampling plan to show the five interviewees at each institution, indicating their years of experience in HE-based ITE work, their level of qualification and their gender. Pseudonyms were used to ensure the anonymity of all the individuals interviewed. These plans are also included in chapter 5.

The University of Avonbridge

Table A2.1: Primary education staffing at Avonbridge

Total number of primary staff	15
Female / male tutors	12 / 3
Number of primary staff recruited pre 1984 ¹⁹⁸	2
Number of primary staff in post for less than one academic year	1
Total number of staff meeting criteria set	12

(Table based on information provided by the Head of Department after stages 3 and 4 of negotiating access).

From the total primary staffing group, nine women and two men appeared to meet the criteria specified above. In order to select potential interviewees who would be broadly representative of the range of experience and expertise within this group, profiles were created from staff records showing the level of academic qualification held and the number of years each individual had spent in HE. These profiles showed the following distributions:

Table A2.2: Academic qualifications of possible sample group at Avonbridge

Qualification	First degree	Masters degree	Ph.D.
Number of staff	2	8	2

Table A2.3: Number of years of HE experience of possible sample group at Avonbridge

Number of years in HE	1 - 2 years	3 - 5 years	6 - 9 years
Number of staff	3	4	5

Following the completion of these profiles I then discussed the selection of interviewees with a contact person working in the institution. Using her information a further two members of staff had to be excluded from the potential sample group, one because she was then working on an alternative, off-site project, and one because she had just moved to another institution. From the remaining sample group of ten, five individuals who were broadly representative of this group were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified.

The Interviewees

With reference to the selection criteria of level of qualification and years in HE the profile of the five interviewees selected were as follows:

Table A2.4: Profile of interviewees at Avonbridge: qualifications and years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Sarah Carter	F	Ph.D.	9
Bridget Eaton	F	Masters	5
Tom Heyes	M	Masters	7
Mary Reynell	F	First degree	3
Sam Whitehouse	F	Masters	2

With reference to tables A2.1 and A2.2 it can be seen that the interviewees were broadly representative of the group of all primary tutors at Avonbridge eligible for inclusion in the research in terms of the distribution of years of experience in HE and of levels of qualifications.

The University of Brecon

Information supplied by the Head of Department at Brecon indicated that there were 18 full time or established part time members of staff working on the primary ITE courses at the time when the interviews commenced.

Table A2.5: Primary education staffing at Brecon

Total number of primary staff	18
Female / male tutors	15 / 3
Number of primary staff recruited pre 1984 ⁹⁹	2
Number of primary staff recruited post 1984 but with secondary school teaching experience	1
Number of primary staff in post for less than one academic year	2
Total number of staff meeting criteria set	10

Table based on information provided by the Head of Department after stages 3 and 4 of negotiating access.

From the total primary staffing group then, 8 women and 2 men appeared to meet the criteria specified. In order to select potential interviewees who would be broadly representative of the range of experience and expertise within this group, profiles were created from staff records showing the level of academic qualification held and the number of years each individual had spent in HE. These profiles showed the following distributions:

Table A2.6: Academic qualifications of possible sample group at Brecon

Qualification	First degree	Masters degree	Ph.D.
Number of staff	0	8	2

Table A2.7: Number of years of HE experience of possible sample group at Brecon

Number of years in HE	1 - 2 years	3 - 5 years	6 - 10 years
Number of staff	3	2	5

Following the completion of these profiles I then discussed the selection of interviewees with a second contact person working in the institution. After this check on the sample group, five individuals who were broadly representative were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified in chapter 5. Three responded positively, two asked to postpone their interviews due to pressure of work. Of these two respondents, it proved possible to interview one at a later point; the other could not be re-contacted. Consequently I selected an alternative respondent with similar qualifications and time in HE who was approached and interviewed successfully.

The Interviewees

With reference to the selection criteria of level of qualification and years in HE the profile of the five interviewees selected were as follows:

Table A2.8. Profile of interviewees at Brecon: qualifications and years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Linda Hussein	F	Masters	2
David Jones	M	Masters	10
Siobhan Kennedy	F	Ph.D.	6
Lisa McDonald	F	Masters	5
Deborah Pacitti	F	Masters	9

With reference to tables A2.6 and A2.7 it can be seen that the interviewees were broadly representative of all the primary tutors eligible for inclusion in the research in terms of the distribution of years of experience in HE and of levels of qualifications..

The University of the South West

Information supplied by the Heads of Department at USW indicated that there were 21 full time or established part time members of staff working on the primary ITE courses at the time when the interviews commenced.

Table A2.9: Primary education staffing at USW

Total number of primary staff	21
Female / male tutors	15 / 6
Number of primary staff recruited pre 1984 ²⁰⁰	7
Number of primary trained staff with secondary ITE	2
Number of primary staff in post for less than one academic year	2
Total number of staff meeting criteria set	10

This table is based on information provided by the Head of Department after stages 3 and 4 of negotiating access. USW showed an unusual recruitment pattern in that the five of the seven staff recruited pre 1984 had been in post for at least 20 years at the time of the interviews. There was then a 'recruitment gap' between this group and those who had been in HE for ten or less years. The reasons for this pattern were unknown to both Heads of Department.

From the total primary staffing group then, 7 women and 3 men appeared to meet the criteria specified. In order to select potential interviewees who would be broadly

representative of the range of experience and expertise within this group, profiles were created from staff records showing the level of academic qualification held and the number of years each individual had spent in HE. These profiles showed the following distributions:

Table A2.10: Academic qualifications of possible sample group at USW

Qualification	First degree	Masters degree	Ph.D.
Number of staff	2	8	0

Table A2.11: Number of years of HE experience of possible sample group at USW

Number of years in HE	1 - 2 years	3 - 5 years	6 - 9 years
Number of staff	1	5	4

Following the completion of these profiles I then discussed the selection of interviewees with a second contact person working in the institution. Using her information one further members of staff had to be excluded from the potential sample group, because of long term sickness. From the remaining sample group of nine, five individuals who were broadly representative of this group were approached with requests for interviews, following the procedures identified in chapter 3. They all responded positively.

The Interviewees

With reference to the selection criteria of level of qualification and years in HE the profile of the five interviewees selected were as follows:

Table A2.12: Profile of interviewees at USW: qualifications and years in HE

Interviewee	Gender	Level of Qualification	Years in HE
Stephen Goldberg	M	Masters	2
Sandra Lascelles	F	B.Ed	3
Mike O'Donnell	M	Masters	5
Lydia Shohet	F	Masters	9
Rebecca Shutz	F	Masters	6

With reference to tables A2.10 and A2.11 it can be seen that the interviewees were broadly representative of the total group of primary tutors eligible for the study in terms of the distribution of years of experience in HE and of levels of qualifications. It was not possible to achieve a strictly representational balance of the gender profile of the sample group as two men out of the three possible candidates were interviewed.

A2.5 Approach letter sent to individual tutors within possible sample groups at each institution

School of Education
University
Campus address

Date

Dear (name),

I am a lecturer in education at (name of my employing University) and a student undertaking a part time research degree at the Institute of Education. I am currently researching how teacher educators who work on primary Initial Teacher Education courses construct their professionalism. I am interviewing a number of tutors in three different institutions who work on such courses, have undertaken a primary Initial Teacher Education course themselves, and have worked in primary schools full time before entering HE.

I have obtained permission from (name of Head of Department) to undertake part of this research study at (name of university). From the information I have been given by (name of the Head of Department) you meet all of the criteria outlined above. If this is so, would you be prepared to be interviewed by me at a time and location of your choice? The focus of the interview would be your views about your professionalism as a teacher educator, and the professional resources or attributes which you feel underpin it. The design of the interview asks you to discuss your work in ITE at your university, particularly the interactions you have with students, teacher-mentors and your colleagues. There are two interviews, each of which usually takes between one and one and a quarter hours. I would ask your permission to tape the interviews, but all the results would, of course, be strictly confidential. Working from the perceptions of past interviewees, the interviews are not stressful, and can even be mildly therapeutic.

I would also ask you to complete a short questionnaire on aspects of your own ITE, your career in primary school teaching and your current work in HE-based teacher education. If you are prepared to take part in the research, I will send you this questionnaire to complete in advance of the interviews. Any queries you have about the questionnaire can then be discussed after the second interview.

If you would be prepared to take part in the research, please contact me at your earliest convenience to arrange a suitable time for the first interview. My phone number at work is, but as I am often out in school or teaching, it may be easier for you to reach me on my home phone number where there is an answerphone. I can then give you more details about the interview. If you do not meet all the criteria outlined above or you do not wish to be interviewed, I would appreciate knowing this as soon as possible so that I can approach another potential interviewee.

Many thanks for your time.

A2.6 The interview schedule and the questionnaires

A2.6.1 The Interview Schedule

Interview 1

1. Introduction

Purpose of research and research ethics: explanation of purposes of research, including likely outcomes

Discussion of confidentiality and anonymity issues

Permission for interview to be taped, as indicated in approach letter

Outline basic nature of research

Checklist

- semi-structured interview format
- aim to achieve balance between research agenda of researcher and personal interpretations of interviewee
- reminder of broad areas to be covered (as indicated in letter)
- emphasis on narratives as illustrations of points about teacher educator professionalism
 - request specific examples, stories, incidents, accounts etc. where possible to illustrate and clarify

Cover story

- explain my job, including ITE aspects
1. stress my knowledge about ITE in general but research agenda focused on interviewees' understanding of their own professionalism
 2. the attributes which they see as comprising that professionalism, including those attributes which are seen as giving professional credibility and legitimacy
 3. the forms of their work within the university

4. institutional factors which may have affected their work or professionalism

2. Current forms of work in Teacher Education?

Checklist

- ITE teaching commitments in university
- Other teaching commitments
- Management/academic administration
- Work in schools (supervision)
- Contact with students (beyond teaching and supervision)
- Scholarship, research and publication
- Other commitments / work within university

3. Prioritisation of these elements? Why prioritised in these ways?

Checklist

- tensions between different elements of work?
- explore origins of tensions

4. Construction of own professionalism as an ITE tutor?

Checklist

- explore constructions of personal professionalism
- explore specific attributes cited - investigate any emphases on knowledge bases, responsibilities, commitment, values, autonomy
- explore why these perceived as important
- explore sources of attributes

5. Institutional factors?

Have any of the following factors -

resource constraints,

the RAEs of 1992 (retrospective) and 1996 (in preparation),

government legislation on ITE -

impacted on the department in general?

and/or own work / professionalism?

If so, how? Explore any identified references to knowledge, responsibilities, autonomy

- Any other departmental / institutional factors which have affected your work / professionalism?
- How do you feel you are valued as a professional within your department?

6. Conclusion

- brief recap of points covered
- invitation for interviewee to make additional comments
- explanation of procedures for second stage of interview process
- thanks

Interview 2

1. Introduction and recaps

Checklist

- purposes of research
- ethics of research
- cover story
- research agenda
- recap and review of areas covered in interview 1
- outline of areas to be covered in interview 2

2. Interactions in ITE

Checklist

- with students
- with teachers in partnership schools
- with other teacher educators
- with other university tutors

Identify tension points and points of consensus / affinity in such interactions.

3. Identify professional attributes

- as used in these interactions to maintain professional legitimacy / credibility of teacher educator (where possible relate back to key points made in interview 1. Explore any emphases on knowledge bases, responsibilities, commitment, values, autonomy.)

4. Perceived sources of professional attributes (explore and where possible relate back to points made in interview 1)

5. Metaperceptions:

- how does interviewee think students perceive professional attributes of teacher educators? (encourage discussion of both personal professionalism and that of teacher educators generally)
- how does interviewee think school teachers perceive professional attributes of teacher educators? (encourage discussion of both personal professionalism and that of teacher educators generally)
- explore interviewees' metaperceptions of where students and teachers think legitimacy as a teacher educator derives from

6. Check questionnaire completion:

- check all relevant details completed

- check interviewees' understanding of purposes of questionnaire
- clarify any necessary points

7. Conclusion

- brief recap and review of points covered in interview 2
- invitation for interviewee to make additional comments
- thanks

A2.6.2. The questionnaire

As stated in chapter 5, in structuring the questionnaire, my aim was that when completed it would give a biographical profile of each tutor in terms of the following aspects of her / his experience and expertise:

- her/his work in HE
- her/his previous work in the school sector
- her/his own ITE

A completed example of a questionnaire is included below.

RESEARCH INTO TEACHER EDUCATOR PROFESSIONALISM

QUESTIONNAIRE: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Please complete this questionnaire, as specified in the approach letter by the time of the second interview. Any queries you have about the questionnaire can be discussed then.

Name:	Tom Heyes
Institution:	University of Avonbridge

Higher Education Work Profile

Time in HEIs: 7 years

Number of HEIs in which employed: 1

Current post: Lecturer in Primary Education; BA Year and Course Tutor

Defined areas of responsibility: Management responsibilities within BA team

Type(s) of work in primary ITE: Teaching on mathematics education and Educational Studies components of BA; organising Year Group and Educational Studies component

Involvement in CPD: None

Involvement in other areas of work in HEI: None

Subject or educational expertise in HEI: Mathematics Education

Age range expertise in HEI: Teaching and tutoring across primary age range

Research activity: Some publications in Professional Journals on entry to HE; not currently an 'active researcher'

Qualification level on entry to first HEI: MA (Ed)

Other factors relevant to current work: Originally recruited to teach Philosophy of Education; Educational Studies teaching a substantial part of timetable; management and course administration defined as the most time consuming and least rewarding aspect of work.

School Sector Profile

Total teaching time in primary (or nursery) schools: 12 years in primary

Other teaching time in school sector: None

Time in advisory work: None

Subject or educational expertise in school: None identified

Age range expertise in school: Key Stage 2 (ages 7 - 11)

Other factors relevant to work in school: A number of years away from teaching in mid career; Deputy headteacher on leaving school

Own Initial Teacher Education Profile

Type of ITE: PGCE

Approximate date: 1975

Type of HEI(s): first degree and PGCE in university sector

Subject or education expertise within ITE and/or first degree: first degree in Philosophy; no subject specialism within PGCE

Age range expertise in ITE: Junior schooling (now Key Stage 2 - ages 7 - 11)

Other factors relevant to own ITE profile: None

Appendix 3: The Piloting Process

In this appendix I present the piloting process I undertook to ensure that the final research design for the meso and micro levels of the empirical research had methodological rigour. The piloting process consisted of seven pilot interviews. The purposes of these were to determine the form and content of the final interviews, to provide data used to refine the criteria used for selection of individuals, to facilitate the development of appropriate interviewing techniques, and to develop structures to support the initial analyses of the interviews. The profile of the individuals interviewed was as follows:

Table A3:1 Individual profiles for the pilot interviews

individual	nature of post	institution	years in HE	qualification	years in primary education	gender
CS	full time, permanent	new university (B)	10	MA	12	F
TL	full time, permanent	new university (A)	8	MA	12	F
CF	full time, permanent	diversified HE institution	6	MA	15	F
MF	temporary full time	new university (A)	1 (at end of academic year)	first degree	10	M
EJ	full time, permanent	old university	2	Ph.D.	9	M
WI	temporary full time	old university	4	MA	13	M
NN	part time, temporary	new university (B)	9 (in two institution)	MA	11	F

CS and NN came from a new university, previously a polytechnic. TL and MF came from a diversified Higher Education Institution which had just become a university at the time of the interviews. CF came from a diversified HEI with a long history of involvement in teacher education.

I used the pilot interviews to explore and define key aspects of the final research design (see Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Powney and Watts 1987; Robson 1993; and Hitchcock and Hughes 1989). These were as follows:

- i) as part of a developing interest in reflexivity, I considered my own part in the research process and the relationship between me as researcher and my interviewees
- ii) technical aspects of the research design, including refining the selection criteria to be used for individuals and types of institutions, refining the interview schedule in terms of the substantive content areas to be included and the technical appropriateness of the questions, experimenting further with transcription of the interviews and rudimentary analysis of the data, ways of cataloguing the interviews, and learning the skills of interviewing.

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) state that the process of piloting question construction is a continuing interaction between research question, the researcher and the pilot questions. They see this process as having many 'feedback loops' (p.66) rather than being a linear progression from research question to pilot interviews to final research design. I added to Glesne and Peshkin's definition of the process the element of asking my pilot interviewees for their opinions of the form and content of the interviews (see Powney and Watts, 1987). This extended process was translated into basic processes of cataloguing and analysing the interviews. After each interview I wrote a memo describing the context of the interview and giving my immediate impressions of its dominant themes. I then either re-read my

interview notes or transcribed the tape, noting relevant technical and substantive issues. In the case of the transcribed interviews (5 out of the 7) I then analysed the transcript for a second time by adopting a simple form of coding (following procedures identified by Glaser and Strauss 1967) to identify recurring themes and emerging discourses. The exact form of these memos changed and developed over the period of the interviews.

The semi- structured pilot interview schedule changed between the interviews. The schedule, together with a brief questionnaire, was initially designed to gather the following information:

- to ascertain the nature of the individual's professional practices
- to explore the knowledge, values and orientations behind these practices
- to look at the range of professional knowledge used
- to discuss the nature of individual work in ITE
- to discuss the transition made between working in schools and in HE
- to discuss how the current changes to ITE had impinged on the institutional context within which the tutor worked

In use this interview schedule was too long (approximately three hours plus time for the gathering of basic information) and too diffuse in its focus. Over the course of the pilot interviews the interview schedule gradually became more compact and manageable, although by design, it still visited many aspects of ITE work. The substantive focus of a number of the questions was refined and clarified by the basic processes described above. I also used questions focusing on the interviewees' metaperceptions of themselves, that is the attitudes and perceptions which others held towards them.

The following themes were identified in the interviews of the interviewees, CS, TL, CF, EJ, WI, and NN:

Construction of the 'good teacher' and centrality of this to ITE work

Learner-centredness of teaching act

Acts of nurturing, developing, regulating and facilitating student learning

Construction of students as needy

Importance of gate keeping acts for the profession as a whole

Attribution of 'street credibility' in ITE to recent school experience

Metaperceptions of ITEs from students and teachers validate tutor/teacher model

Transfer of pedagogical skills from school to HE

Definition of pedagogical skills and other professional attributes, allied to essential, positive personal qualities

Nature of knowledge in ITE as uncertain, student induction into this

Feeling of masquerading in HE

Pace of work and pressure of institution

Freedom and lack of 'boundedness' in ITE in contrast to school

Demoralisation

Membership of a hidden and devalued sub profession

The themes in the interview of MF who had less than one year's experience in Higher Education were distinctly different from those of the other interviewees. They were summarised as

Construction of pedagogical skills specific to HE vague

Little awareness of or in-depth engagement in ITE in the institutional context

Sense of 'space' in current job

No long term commitment to HE work

The findings from this interview were eventually used to justify excluding teacher educators with only one year of experience in HE from the final sample. The analyses of the themes emerging from the other six interviews were used to inform the definition of the criteria for selection of these individual interviewees.

As chapter 5 outlines two sets of information used to select individuals for interview. The first set, termed 'basic criteria', was used to establish the basic sample group in each institution. The second set, termed 'further dimensions', was used to select particular individuals within the basic sample group. I aim to show how these criteria were derived from the piloting process; the mapping of the macro level of ITE, as described in chapter 4, also influenced the selection criteria for the empirical research.

The basic criteria were that all interviewees had to

- i) have been recruited to HE after 1984;
- ii) have more than one year's experience of working on primary ITE courses in an HE institution;
- iii) be either a permanent member of staff or working on a long term temporary contract (of two or three years duration);
- iv) be teaching for at least half of her/his allocated teaching time on ITE primary courses;
- v) have had at least five years experience of teaching in primary schools prior to entering HE;
- vi) have undertaken a primary ITE course as part of professional induction

The three further dimensions were:

- vi) the number of years spent in ITE;

vii) the level of academic qualification held;

viii) gender.

The further dimensions were used to attempt to select a sample which would give a purposive sample of the target group. The target groups within each institution were small and diverse, and there were a number of possible criteria potentially available for differentiating between individuals. Attempting to obtain a rigorously representative sample from such groups was impossible. I therefore identified these three dimensions used in the pilot interviews which I considered to be valid ways of sampling a cross section of the target group in each institution.

Appendix 4: Data Analysis: the biographical profiles and the construction of the typology

This appendix is structured as follows: in section A4.1 I show the initial stages in the analysis of the biographical data; in section A4.2 I show summary tables for the biographical profiles resulting from the analysis of the questionnaires for each types of tutor; in section A4.3 I indicate the analytical stages and procedures used in defining the typology of teacher educators presented in chapter 7.

A4.1 Initial stages in the analysis of the biographical data

The biographical data collected in the questionnaires was catalogued as soon as it was received into a biographical profile record for each individual. The majority of this data was factual and lent itself to straightforward categorisation. There were, however, parts of the data which required some further categorisation to facilitate comparison of the data across interviewees. These data areas are recorded in figure A4.1.

Figure A4.1: Biographical data areas and their categorisation

Data Area	Nature of categorisation
Subject or educational expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • generalism - no consistent, defined area of expertise across own ITE, school and HE teaching • generated specialism - area of expertise generated through school and / or HE work but not related to own first degree • consistent specialism - area of expertise from own first degree carried through into school and HE work
Research activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inactive researcher - no involvement in formal research • limited engagement - some involvement in research, not necessarily resulting in publications and individual not likely to be entered for RAE • active researcher as defined in RAE of 1996, publishing minimum of 4 works in 4 year period
Age Range of School Teaching Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key Stage 2 (Junior) teaching only • Foundation Stage and Key Stage 1 (Infant and/or Nursery) teaching only • Junior, Infant and Nursery (through primary teaching, with children of ages 3-11)
Exit Point from school sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • class teacher • senior manager (head or deputy head teacher) • advisory teacher
Types of work in HE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ITE tutor only - teaching only on ITE courses • ITE and CPD tutor - teaching on both ITE and CPD courses • ITE manager and tutor - teaching on and managing only ITE courses • ITE manager and tutor + CPD tutoring - teaching on ITE and CPD courses and managing ITE courses

As a preliminary step to the classification of the typology presented in chapter 7 the biographical profiles were compared and contrasted, using each element in turn as a criterion for analysis, in order to find recurring patterns across groups of individuals.

A4.2. Analytical Procedures for the Construction of a Typology of Teacher Educators

This research presents a typology of teacher educators which was created by combining the analysis of the professional resource repertoires used by each tutor in the sample group and the analysis of their biographical profiles. Chapter 6 has described the basic procedures used for these analyses. The findings for each research element, as shown in chapter 7, represented clear patterns, themes and relationships within the data. An account of the processes of further analysis leading to the construction of the typology is included here.

The construction of the typology, like the analysis in chapter 6, was governed by the broad principles and procedures of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). It also drew on the potential of network analysis to describe and compare the resource repertoires of individual tutors (see chapter 6). The stages in the construction of the typology are represented in figure A4.2 and briefly discussed below.

Figure A4.2: Analytical stages in the construction of the typology

Element 1 - Complete professional resource reservoir across all interviews identified, as indicated in chapter 6.	Element 2 - biographical profiles collated and analysed
Nature of specific elements of the professional resource repertoire for each interview transcript determined	Emerging biographical profile patterns for each individual determined

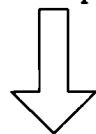
In the analysis of element 1 a tracking record of the professional resource repertoires used and their occurrence across each transcript was developed. This was then compared with the biographical profile for each interviewee. The analytical procedures aimed for rigour and validity so that the resulting typology could provide a language of description

(Bernstein 1996) for all the cases in the empirical data. This was in line with the aims of all the analysis of the empirical data, as stated in chapters 5 and 6, to provide a comprehensive and rigorous research account.

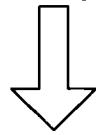
As figure A4.3 illustrates, this was achieved through the following stages:

Figure A4.3: Analytical procedures for the typology

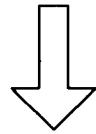
Repeated reading of the two elements within and across transcripts



Initial identification of tutor types which provided a rigorous analytical account for the majority of empirical cases



Refinement and validation of types through cross checking their correspondence with the empirical data



Final identification of typology of teacher educators (by combining categories of professional resource usage and the biographical details of tutor types constructing them)

2. Processes for identifying the patterns of the professional resources used within tutor repertoires

The potential of network analysis techniques to provide both qualitative and quantitative descriptions of the interview transcripts as texts has been identified in chapter 6. This potential was used in the construction of the typology. After Element 1, I completed a qualitative analysis of all the transcripts to identify the patterns of professional resource usage by each type. I then undertook a quantitative analysis of the resource usage for the two knowledge resource categories (either SK or PK), counting the number of times each resource was used. For each tutor type I therefore identified the total percentage of resources which were classified within each of these knowledge categories. I then followed these steps for further analysis:

step 1: within each of these categories I then identified the percentage of the defined resources which were either first or second order.

step 2: once this had been completed I then looked *within* these resources at what percentage of those resources were either SK1, 2 or 3 for the substantive knowledge analysis or PK1 or 2 for the processual knowledge analysis.

This cumulative process of identifying the patterns of resource usage can be illustrated by showing how the findings for the Defender tutor type's usage of substantive knowledge were established.

step 3: 52% of Defenders' use of substantive knowledge was first order whilst 48% was second order (total 100% of all substantive knowledge resources used by this type)

step 4: *within* that first order usage, 35% was SK1; 58% was SK2 and 7% was SK3 (total 100% of all first order substantive knowledge resources analysed)

within the second order usage 45% was SK1; 49% was SK2 and 6% was SK3 (total 100% of all second order substantive knowledge resources analysed)

Endnotes

- ¹ In writing about teacher induction there is always the decision of the nomenclature to be used: should the enterprise be referred to as Initial Teacher Education or as Initial Teacher Training? The decision made unavoidably makes a statement about the writer's views. In writing much of this thesis I have chosen to use Initial Teacher Education as my preferred term, following Judge et al's (1994:240) symbolic use of the term to denote teacher induction as a process of education rather than training. There are, however, points at which I have judged it more appropriate to refer to Initial Teacher Training (ITT).
- ² Following Brown (1999) and Dowling (1998), this term is used 'to signify the dialectical nature of production/reproduction' (Brown 1999:11).
- ³ In 1998, for example, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) recorded that 86% of all students undertaking primary ITE courses were female (TTA 1998).
- ⁴ In chapter 3 I discuss and define the 'social geography' (A. Hargreaves 1995) of ITE further.
- ⁵ Personal reflexivity permeates my research from its origins in my curiosity and need for professional guidance about the world of ITE, through the formulation of my research question and every successive stage to the final sentence of writing for this thesis. I have reflected the centrality of this reflexivity in my decision to write largely in a direct and personal style, using the first person singular. As I outline in chapter 5, the stylistic decision also reflects my conviction that the researcher's stance is always important in research. As a teacher educator researching the professionalism of other teacher educators, I am obviously approaching this research from a position of interest and involvement. Using 'I' in my writing is one way of making this clear rather than 'pretending that the 'I' is not involved in the values, ideas and experiences which stand behind the text' (Day 1995:357).
- ⁶ In the years since 1988 the world of ITE has changed significantly, and my work as a teacher educator has inevitably altered also. At an institutional level, the IHE I joined in 1988 has changed its name and structure by merging with an established university. Along with my colleagues, I have experienced the significant institutional changes associated with that merger. My work in ITE and the nature of the institution in which I now teach have also been profoundly affected by State intervention in ITE in the last fourteen years.
- ⁷ The analytical language devised for the empirical analysis includes the terms 'first order' to refer to knowledge of schooling and 'second order' to refer to knowledge of ITE. This usage obviously differs from that of Shutz (cited in May 1997) where first order constructs are those created by direct experience of every day life, whilst second order constructs are those created by researchers analysing that life. My usage of the terms reflects a distinction sometimes made in teacher education between schooling and teacher education (see, for example, Acker (1997) who identifies teacher education as a second order profession).
- ⁸ Judge et al (1994), for example, explored the origins of the academic / professional dichotomy in the earliest training routes. Wilkin (1990) saw the discourse of partnership in the late 1980s as a reconceptualisation of this academic / professional or theory / practice dichotomy.
- ⁹ The analysis of Alexander (1984:148), for example, illustrates this point by delineating the ways in which the theory / practice dichotomy which dominated debates about ITE in the 1960s and 1970s was multi-dimensional rather than the 'single procedural problem' it was often made to appear. As a dominant public discourse of its time, the dichotomy clouded debate about the epistemological, attitudinal, pedagogical, structural and institutional complexities involved.

¹⁰ Graham (1997) states that government reforms of education are predicated on the re-definition of teacher professionalism with an emphasis on a technicist discourse of teaching. Barton et al (1994:531) argue that government intervention 'may legitimate a model of the professional teacher in terms of a competent practitioner thereby moving to a model of 'restricted' rather than 'extended' professionalism.'

¹¹ Intra professional developments in HEI-school partnerships included the Oxford University Intern scheme (see McIntyre et al 1993) and a school-based secondary PGCE established at Sussex University.

¹² The reasons for this homogenisation are difficult to establish. It may have happened as part of a deliberate de-emphasising of heterogeneity, particularly understandable in a sector of education beleaguered by divisions and changes since 1963. As chapter 4 identifies, it almost certainly reflects the historically low status of elementary / primary education and the association of this type of ITE with the lower status training institutions (training colleges, colleges of education, diversified institutes or colleges of education). In such institutions published research and analyses of practice were not major areas of activity for tutors, as a survey of the public sector institutions in the 1980s (see DES 1987) identified. This stands in contrast to the predominant association of secondary ITE with the university sector and its more research active and academic staff. For whatever historical reasons, there are few analyses which directly address the nature of primary ITE.

¹³ In Hoyle's definitions, *restricted professionalism* is associated with a knowledge base which tends to be insular and experientially based. In contrast, *extended professionalism* defines teachers as knowledgeable, intuitive and placing value on their autonomy. Teaching is seen as a rational activity which includes a consideration of the broader social context of education (Hoyle 1975: 318). *Extended professionalism* includes the use of theoretical perspectives to develop the practitioner's experiential knowledge base. This model also places value on collaboration with colleagues.

¹⁴ The terms professionalism and professionalism are used interchangeably by a number of commentators. To illustrate their model of *extended professionalism*, for example, A. Hargreaves and Goodson cite Hoyle's (1975) definition of *extended professionalism*. Woods et al (1997) also replace Hoyle's original term with that of *extended professionalism*.

¹⁵ Following Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:20) these social changes may be summarised as 'increasing organisational complexity, economic flexibility and scientific and moral uncertainty'.

¹⁶ Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) identify problems with the search for a bounded and explicit body of knowledge about teaching. They cite the work of Shulman in codifying 'pedagogical content knowledge', as an example of attempts to ground teacher knowledge in a sense of scientific certainty. But they then argue that such attempts to codify knowledge ignore the inter-related nature of teachers' intellectual and social responsibilities. Because teaching involves complex social inter-actions, teacher knowledge is often ill-defined, tacit and changeable.

The question of teacher autonomy also poses difficulties in considering the traditional or classical model of professionalism (see Hoyle and John 1995). Education is a major element in social control and change; teachers are the key agents involved in this social enterprise. Key elements of teaching as a profession, including the nature of teacher training and criteria for admissions for entry to the profession, are often in state control. Teachers are also responsible to a wide range of other stakeholders in education, including local government, and parents and children as the 'consumers' of education. Teachers' autonomy can therefore be said to be limited by the very nature of the work.

¹⁷ Following this view gender is socially constructed; historically and culturally constructed masculinities and femininities provide one of the resources from which ‘subjectivities, identities and behavioural regularities emerge’ (Davies 1996:663). Gender relations can be understood as power relations that take a binary form. Language, discourses and practices associated with the masculine are privileged, whilst those associated with the feminine are constructed as negative and ‘Other’ (see Weedon 1988; Walkerdine 1988, 1990).

Understanding gender as a relation in these ways allows for the analysis of multiple levels of social identities, interactions and organisations (see Davies 1996). Gender relations are also seen as in a constant state of flux.

¹⁸ Davies’ usage tends to conflate these two terms. I have signalled this in my use of the dual term at this point, but have then reverted to the use of the word professionalism for the purposes of this section of the thesis.

¹⁹ Primary school teaching is a highly feminised occupation. Not only do women form the majority of the primary teaching workforce, but ‘it is commonly seen as a job which requires many of the same skills as those found in child rearing’ (Skelton 1989:57). Acker’s (1994:23) analysis identifies that there is a sexual division of labour within primary teaching, with men and women likely to hold different responsibilities for different functions, to have different opportunities and rewards within their schools. In particular, women are more likely to remain in the class teacher role, ‘to teach younger children (and) to have pastoral responsibilities’. Burgess (1989) comments that ‘the rhetoric of primary education and what it means to be a woman primary school teacher are inexorably intertwined’ (1989: 80) since the role of the class teacher is often equated with that of the mother (see Walkerdine 1984; Steadman 1982, 1987). Acker (1994) states that many feminist analyses of primary schooling are, however, limited in their theoretical approaches.

²⁰ Internationally, writing on teacher professionalism has looked at issues of the definitions of professionalism and its changing form in current social contexts (see A. Hargreaves 1994). Many of these studies have tackled the question of deprofessionalisation, discussed briefly in chapter 1. The analysis of A. Hargreaves and Goodson, for example, identifies international trends for states to promote teacher professionalism, and to attempt to codify and standardise teacher knowledge and practices. Ironically, such promotions of professionalism often take place alongside initiatives which seem designed to deprofessionalise teachers in a number of ways, including refocusing the form of teacher training on a technical-rational model, and constraining teachers’ responsibility and autonomy. A. Hargreaves and Goodson conclude that ‘Persuasive rhetorics of professionalisation all too often seem to be accompanied by conditions where professionalisation is actually being dismantled’ (1996:3).

In contrast D. Hargreaves (cited in A. Hargreaves and Goodson 1996) argues that state intervention in the English school sector since 1988 has brought about a ‘new professionalism’ for teachers, characterised by professional collaboration, pre-set curriculum outcomes and new forms of professional development. But A. Hargreaves and Goodson present counter arguments that English school teachers have been deprofessionalised by these ‘reforms’ because the significant areas of curriculum decision making and professional autonomy have been taken away from them. This kind of deprofessionalisation / reprofessionalisation debate occurs in many analyses of teacher professionalism in the 1990s (see, for example, Furlong et al 2000).

²¹ Primary schooling, from at least 1967 to 1988, was powerfully influenced by child-centred discourses, many of which related to developmental psychology and to earlier

gendered traditions of childcare and nurture (see Walkerdine 1984, 1988, 1989), as well as to Judaeo-Christian pastoral traditions (see Hunter 1994). Walkerdine (1984) argued that the ideology of child-centredness provided the dominant discourses of primary education, and as such it saturated definitions of 'good practice'. Although child-centred pedagogy may not have been explicitly practised in all classrooms, the discourses provided the norms and the expectations for the good primary teacher. And, as the analysis in chapter 2.3 indicates, studies of primary teacher professionalism in the 1980s and early 1990s show that teachers' professional identities at this time had strong resonances with some of the key ideals of child-centredness. But these ideals also drew on other discourses within primary education, including the discourse of reflective practice, with its emphasis on the teacher's moral, ethical and social responsibilities to the pupils in her/his care, and to her/himself as a 'good', self-monitoring practitioner. Alongside the child-centred ideals, other discourses related to more traditional, didactic models of teaching and learning, and to subject-centred curricula models continued to thrive in the 1980s primary classroom (see Pollard 1985; Burgess 1989). At the end of the decade the introduction of the National Curriculum (DES 1988) and its implementation in primary schools in 1989 is widely seen as emphasising subject-centred discourses, (see, for example, Acker 1997; Osborn, Pollard et al 1991) and changing the form of English primary schooling radically.

²² Recent categories of empirical research and commentaries on teacher work and professionalism, include the changing nature of teachers' work (see, for example, Busher and Saran 1992; Lawn 1988; Menter et al 1997; Ozga 1988; Woods and Jeffery 1996); the impact of state intervention on professionalism (see, for example, Chawla-Duggan and Pole 1996; Mac an Ghail 1992; Helsby and McCulloch 1997); and studies of how teachers construct their own professionalism, including the knowledge, autonomy and responsibility they perceive themselves to have (see, for example, Taylor and Miller 1996). Some of these studies address the issue, identified above, of whether state changes have acted to deprofessionalise or reprofessionalise teaching by attempting to codify knowledge, to limit autonomy, to regulate professional practice, and to alter teachers' professional responsibilities (see, for example, Woods and Jeffery 1996).

²³ Acker (1996) attributes the tendency for studies of teacher educators to give generalised and abstract views of their subjects to the difficulties of researching individuals within the differentiated and heterogeneous field of teacher education.

²⁴ As Maguire (2000) points out teaching across the whole HE sector is highly differentiated and internally divided.

²⁵ Becher's (1989) study employed semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 221 academics, from all career stages, in 12 different disciplines in the UK and the USA. The central body of the data was provided by studies of the disciplines of biology, history, law, mechanical engineering, physics and sociology. The interview schedule included a focus on six categories of questions. These were as follows: the characteristics of the discipline, including its nature and content; epistemological issues, for example, the role of theory in the discipline; career patterns, including recruitment, induction and progression; the nature of reputations and rewards, including the criteria for professional recognition; the nature of professional activity, including professional networks and communications, and publication rates; and the value systems held, for example, the aspects of work which were seen as rewarding or unrewarding, and the degree of personal involvement in work. The resulting data was analysed using grounded theory techniques.

Becher identifies that this methodology had a number of limitations. His interviews were not designed to focus on the nature of the teaching role within academic work, neither did they address tensions between teaching and research. Becher argues that teaching was omitted because 'membership of the academic profession - at least in elite departments - is defined in terms of excellence in scholarship and originality in research and not to any significant degree in terms of teaching capability' (1989:3). Since his sample concentrated only on academics employed at prestigious universities, this focus on research was judged to be appropriate. The study does not include a detailed consideration of the effects of the different institutional contexts or the different national scenarios on the findings.

As Becher acknowledges, the study also did not address the gender issues involved in academic work. This was partly because of Becher's sample of 221, only 22 academics were female!

²⁶ From his findings Becher created a taxonomy in which disciplines or specialisms (sometimes termed 'segments') could be categorised as either hard or soft, and as either pure or applied. Disciplinary communities or academic networks could be categorised as either convergent or divergent, with the former category associated with intellectual unity and strong senses of collectivity and mutual identity, and the latter as divided and ideologically fragmented, riven with disputes about the nature of its knowledge. Communities and specialisms could also be categorised along the dimensions of either urban or rural

Specialisms located within the disciplines emerged as a significant dimension in the findings; there were distinct similarities between specialisms in different disciplines and corresponding contrasts between specialisms within the same disciplines. The specialism was the domain in which the relationships between cognitive and social aspects of academic life were most clearly shown.

²⁷ Becher's work offers a powerful analysis of the professional work and identity of an elite and predominantly male cadre of academics engaged in research-focused work. For this cadre, it addresses important issues about how the processes of knowledge production and the organisation of academic work are inter-connected in academic professionalism. Since his analysis does not address the nature of academic teaching, however, it cannot account for the tensions between teaching and research, as key aspects of the academics' professional responsibilities, which are experienced by many academics (see Halsey 1992; Fulton 1996). It also cannot provide an account of the issues of professional identity which women academics face.

²⁸ Ducharme's (1993) research used semi-structured interviews with 34 individuals in eleven institutions to explore the experiences and perspectives of teacher educators. His interviewees were involved in different types and stages of teacher education, working across both ITE and INSET teaching, and at different career stages in HE-based teacher education from professors and senior managers to new teacher educators. Whilst the stated intention was not to aim for a strictly representative sample group, Ducharme claims that his sample was broadly representative of the definitions and proportions of teacher educator work given in the RATE surveys.

Ducharme's study, however, has a number of methodological and analytical weaknesses. He states, for example, that his study involved a number of individuals within his network of professional links and affiliations, but does not acknowledge this as a significant factor

in his findings. The research interviews obviously generated a rich data base, but the method of analysis is not given in detail. The differentiated nature of the teacher educators in his research and of the teacher education community in general is not discussed, with the exception of gender differences and involvement in ITE which are both discussed briefly. These assumptions of homogeneity, together with the method of presenting the findings, do not allow the 'voices' of individual teacher educators or sub-groups to emerge, as Ducharme states is his intention. The analysis remains at a largely descriptive level. Dichotomies and tensions within teacher educators' professional identities are stated, and although Ducharme makes some hypotheses about why these occur, the issues raised in the study remain largely unexplored and untheorised.

²⁹ Halsey (1992) states that the academic profession in general is under-researched and little understood; he identifies the irony of this situation in a research-focused occupation. Clark, quoted in Halsey (1992:3), questions the whole notion of academics as a homogeneous profession asking

What does it mean for a profession to be a loosely coupled array of disciplines and professional fields, each having a history, a sense of nationhood, and a momentum that makes it a going concern in its own right?

Halsey's work (1992) aimed to analyse the changing structure and functions of the university-based academic professions since 1963. The analysis was based on the findings of large scale surveys of academics in 1964, 1976 and 1989. Fulton's survey of approximately 1 900 British academics was conducted in 1992, as part of the Carnegie Foundation's international survey of academics in fourteen countries (see Boyer 1994). Halsey's work, in particular, identified complex inter-related factors in the career development of academics. Fulton's analysis included a focus on differences between academics in the two sectors of British HE which still existed in early 1992.

³⁰ In studies of academic professionalism, Fulton (1996), for example, states that academics in his survey were committed to both teaching and research. They cared about their teaching and their students, but sharp increases in teaching loads had made it difficult for some to balance the demands of teaching, administration and research. Fulton commented that there were 'few academics in any sector for whom it could be said that scholarship is not the primary concern of their work' (1996:418). Most of the academics in Halsey's survey were also stated to be focused on research and scholarship, but remained committed to the tradition of simultaneous interest in teaching and research. Despite this commitment, teaching loads were defined by the majority as the obstacles to undertaking more extensive research.

³¹ The MOTE surveys (see Furlong et al 2000) included analysis of the changing scenario for ITE in England and Wales and its implications for teacher education work. These findings are analysed more fully in chapter 4.

³² Both Fulton (1996) and Halsey (1992) addressed the issue of the changing nature of academic professionalism. In this way both surveys are part of a body of research attempting to analyse how changes in the structure of HE in the UK have impacted on the work and professional identities of academics. Fulton (1996:393) identified that British HE was engaged in processes of rapid change in the decade between 1982 and 1992. He stated that key elements of this change were growth in student numbers, decline in per capita funding, changes in resource allocation, and structural changes to the institutions, notably the abolition of the binary divide between universities and polytechnics / CHEs. Dearlove

(1997) also identifies changes in the context for all academic work in the 1990s. Dearlove's (1997) analysis states that these changes altered the nature of academic professionalism away from collegiality and towards managerialism. Halsey (1992) argued that academic work has been proletarianised as a consequence of the expansion in student numbers and the increasingly market led orientation of HE. Fulton, however, argues that despite such accusations of the deprofessionalisation or proletarianisation of some aspects of academic life, the findings of the Carnegie survey showed a strong sense of continuing professionalism among its sample group.

³³ 'Main subject studies' tutors taught the students' specialist subjects at degree level. 'Teaching studies' tutors were involved in curriculum methods courses, general professional studies and supervision of school experiences.

³⁴ Cited examples of these structural factors include the number of teaching hours, large student numbers, and marking and preparation duties (Maguire 2000:163). These tutors could then be seen as working in a 'teaching factory' (Maguire 2002:23).

³⁵ The work, as reported in the 1997 article, does not offer a precise definition of the term *bricolage*, but the Oxford French-English dictionary defines it as *do-it-yourself* or *handiwork*. Both of these terms have strong connotations of amateurism, possible lack of consistent and appropriate knowledge, and haphazard problem solving skills.

³⁶ Tomlinson and Swift's (1992) study of British teacher educators' practice in supervising their students in schools also found that tutors made no references to research on supervision in discussing their supervisory pedagogy. The authors conclude that 'the indications appear to be that craft and intuition characterise not only school teaching, but also the preparatory supervision aspect of teacher education' (p.168). They refer to these teacher educators' practices as 'patchwork pedagogy'.

³⁷ Being educated at a local or State University in the USA is often taken as an indicator of either lower social class, lower financial status of parents, or lower level of academic achievement. Such institutions often have a lower academic ranking than other categories of American university.

³⁸ As chapter 4 indicates, in England and Wales, since 1984 teacher educators involved in ITE programmes have needed to have some degree of 'recent and relevant' experience of schooling. The writings of ITE tutors about this experience frequently demonstrated the teacher educators' perceptions of the professional rewards inherent in such 'renewal' of school teaching experience (see, for example, Ingram 1989; McIvain 1991; Thomas 1993). Other accounts of the 'recent and relevant' experience are more ambivalent about its value (see, for example, Beattie's (1990) account entitled 'The Bomber and the Flak: a personal response to recent, relevant experience'). The issues surrounding the mandatory renewal of school experience required by Circulars 3/84 (DES 1984) and 24/89 (DES 1989) were identified in a subsequent article by this author (Beattie 1990). Chapter 4 discusses the 'recent and relevant' criterion in more detail since it is of considerable significance in the design, findings and interpretation of this research.

³⁹ A historical perspective on teacher educators in England and Wales is given by the work of Taylor (1969a) who studied the motivation for entering teacher education of tutors in 1963/64. His study included one in four of all new entrants to colleges of education in that year. Leaving the school sector and seeking a new lease of professional life were powerful motivational forces for his research subjects. As in Carter's (1984) study, Taylor's respondents cited opportunities to pursue subject-centred interests and commitments and /or a particular interest within the schools sector as significant factors for entering teacher education work.

⁴⁰ Self analytical accounts of returning to school teaching to renew professional knowledge are also written by teacher educators in other national contexts (see, for example, Russell 1995 writing from a Canadian perspective)

⁴¹ These findings are confirmed in self-analytical accounts written by teacher educators, see, for example, Guilfoyle et al 1995; Pinnegar 1995).

⁴² Grundy and Hatton (1995) conducted this small scale study of teacher education tutors in an Australian university with the aim of investigating their ideological discourses. Using a broadly Foucauldian definition of discourses as central to the construction of power and knowledge, they defined the discourses occurring in their study through an investigation of the beliefs and practices of eight tutors. The empirical work consisted of two interviews and a video taped observation of a teaching session by each tutor. There were four themes to the study; the beliefs and opinions which the tutors held about the social status quo; their ideas about persons in society; their definitions of the knowledge-power dynamic; and their beliefs about theory, practice and pedagogy. Some points about the methodology of the study are not clear from the article. This study seems to have been part of the same large project as the study conducted by Hatton (1997), analysed earlier in this chapter.

⁴³ Historically, Taylor's (1969a) research with university based teacher educators established the same kind of findings for English teacher educators in the 1960s.

⁴⁴ There is, however, a small body of studies focused on teacher educators' knowledge bases, as demonstrated during school supervision of students (see, for example, Zeichner and Tabachnick 1982; Tomlinson and Swift 1992; Mansfield 1986). I have discussed relevant studies from this body of research at appropriate points in this thesis.

⁴⁵ Similar kinds of developmental continua in which teacher educators become more reflective, open-minded and 'expert' with increasing time in HE can be found in self-studies of teacher educator development (see, for example, Chung 2002).

⁴⁶ Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995) identify that school experience is not pre-requisite for recruitment as a teacher educator in Israel. They also acknowledge the influence of Schon and the professional development model of Diamond (1988) on the methodological and theoretical frameworks for their research.

⁴⁷ Another example of a study of teacher educators which adopts a Schonian perspective, is that of Zeichner and Tabachnick (1982). In this study, mentioned briefly in chapter 2.7.2, university supervisors in an elementary student-teaching program at a US university adopted one of three types of supervisory-belief systems. These types were termed technical-instrumental, personal growth-centred or critical.

⁴⁸ Tomlinson and Swift's (1992) study of British teacher educators' pedagogy whilst supervising their students in schools identified two main clusters of tutors in its findings. *Student-centred dualists* respected student autonomy, and adopted student-centred pedagogical strategies to 'bring out' students' innate abilities. *Reflective practitioners* aimed to promote student reflexivity through discussion.

⁴⁹ Guilfoyle, Hamilton and Pinnegar (1997:197-198), for example, state 'experience is key to a teacher's development experience before theory We come to understand something through experience'. Similarly Russell (1997:39) states 'the learning is in the experience'.

⁵⁰ This moral aspect of reflective practice is analysed , with particular reference to English primary school teaching. Appendix 2 also analyses the impact of the discourse of reflective practice on English ITE programmes.

⁵¹ Russell's memorable phrase to describe the modelling within his own professional practice is 'I try to be a teacher educator who walks his own talk' (1997:34)

²² Again, a historical perspective on the English and Welsh teacher education system can be offered by considering the typology created from empirical data in Taylor (1969a). In the late sixties Taylor categorised UDE staff as tutors identifying with schools and retaining links to the school classroom and curriculum; tutors identifying with the subject field of their first degree; and tutors working in the educational applications of the social sciences (for example, sociology of education or educational psychology).

²³ This study draws on data also presented in Maguire's 1994 research. This has been discussed in section 2.6.1.

²⁴ The sample group for this study was 10 female teacher educators, all aged over 50. Four of the tutors worked in old universities (established pre 1992, see chapter 4 for further definition of this term) and six in new universities (established post 1992). These teacher educators worked across secondary and primary ITE and CPD, some were course managers. The findings draw on interview data.

²⁵ This category of work included serving on committees and undertaking junior and middle management roles.

²⁶ Parallels may be drawn between the analysis of these teacher educators as semi-academics and Etzioni's (1969) analysis of teachers and other highly feminised occupational groups as semi-professionals.

²⁷ In Ducharme and Agne (1989), for example, the authors state that limited opportunities for socialisation into the norms of HE, make it more likely that teacher educators will cling to the expectations of their previous professional identities in schooling.

²⁸ Since teacher educator professionalism is an under-researched area, it is difficult to trace sustained influences of the discourses and models of teacher professionalism, indicated in section 2.2 and 2.3 within relevant empirical research studies. One of the exceptions to this is the study of Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky (1995) which is clearly influenced by a Schonian model of professionalism as based on reflection on professional actions (see chapter 2). On first sight, most empirical research on teacher educators has more similarities with research on the professionalism of academics than with research on school teachers. As I have indicated in chapter 2, however, many self-studies of teacher educators do adopt perspectives influenced by the discourse of reflective practice (see, for example, Loughran 1996).

²⁹ In devising this theoretical framework I followed Atkinson and Delamont's (1985; 1990) recommendation that analyses of professionalism would benefit from consideration of Bourdieu's theories. The creation of my theoretical framework has also been influenced by Grenfell's (1998) analysis of secondary ITE and James' (1998) analysis of students' learning in HE. Both studies are cited in Grenfell and James (1998); both use theoretical frameworks influenced by Bourdieu's work.

³⁰ The concepts of habitus and capital provide the keys ways in which Bourdieu conceptualised agents within a field as confronting 'each other, with differentiated means and ends' (1998:32). Capital was seen as defined by the structural relations, discourses and rules of the field. It had its source in the reservoir of all the possible knowledge, orientations and (subject) positionings which can be created within and by the structures of that field. In this sense capital may be seen as the 'products' of the field, and as manifested in a variety of ways including modes of practice, knowledge, orientations and values employed by the agents of the field. But Bourdieu warned that capital should not be reified since it was essentially arbitrary; it had value and power only as it was understood firstly, within and through the structures of the field in which it was produced, and secondly, by the value which the agents of that field gave it. Grenfell and James (1998:22) commented that

capital should be understood in terms of its 'practical consequences'. In their analysis of Bourdieu's work, capital 'buys' prestige and power within the field.

Bourdieu's definitions of capital (see, for example Bourdieu 1998) included economic capital (which was concerned with financial wealth and position) symbolic capital (which created networks of social positioning, relations and contacts within fields), political capital (which enabled 'the private appropriation of public goods and services', p.16) and cultural capital (which was produced and within by educational fields). Grenfell and James (1998:20) in further defining cultural capital, indicate that it may take three forms: it may be related to individuals and their education; it may be connected to institutions of education; and finally, it may be connected to learning objects.

Bourdieu employed the concept of 'reconnaissance' to reinforce his argument that the value of capital was crucially dependent on the degree of recognition accorded to it by individuals and collectivities within the field. Just as the discourses and structural relations within any field were not static, the capital of the field was also seen as in flux and subject to on-going revaluation. The nature of the valued capital in a field varied then over time. Because it was in flux, it was open to contestation by different agents, particularly in a field which was ambiguously defined (Bourdieu 1987). Capital was then open to on-going and repeated processes of valuation and revaluation as the field and the position of the agents within it changed. Only in these ways can capital be seen as meaningful concept, and as legitimate and powerful knowledge and understanding within the field.

Individuals were seen as possessing different types of capital which in turn were valued differentially within the field. This differentiated capital permitted agents to play the 'games' of the field in different ways and to assume different positionings within it. Individuals were seen as entering the field with different quantities and types of the relevant capital created through the processes of habitus formation (see, for example, the explorations of this idea in relation to privileging of individuals within the French education system, Bourdieu 1988). In devising the theoretical framework for this thesis I eschewed the use of capital as a concept, since this high level, theoretical concept was not judged to be suitable for the multi-level, empirical study which I wished to pursue.

⁶¹ Other researchers have also found the concept of capital unwieldy in analysing and theorising empirical data. In Brown (1999), for example, its use is eschewed in order not to underplay the differential effects or 'value' which particular experiences have in relation to the class positioning of parents.

⁶² Grenfell(1998) cites as examples of the *institutions of the field* the HEIs in which his Bourdieuan study of secondary ITE took place.

⁶³ As chapter 2 has illustrated, some commentators, notably Hoyle (1975), have referred to the professional attributes, actions and practices which teachers draw upon in their everyday professional practices⁶³ as 'professionality' rather than professionalism.

⁶⁴ This thesis follows James (1998) in seeing English HE as a diverse and fragmented field. Each HEI occupies relative positions of dominance, subordination and equality in relation to all other HEIs; these positions relate not only to the current forms of the institutions, but also to their histories, through the institutional sedimentation they have accrued.

Differential holdings of prestige and honour are associated with teaching, research and academic management as different types of academic activity within each institution.

⁶ As chapter 4 indicates, this type of challenge happened in 1984 when a group of universities challenged the 'recent and relevant criterion' in the government's Circular 3/84 (DES 1984), on this occasion without success.

⁷ This definition of strategies as both conscious and unconscious reflects a tension which Grenfell and James (1998) identify in Bourdieu's work about whether or not strategies are the results of objective and conscious calculations of how to operate within the field or the results of a more complicated process of both conscious and unconscious 'game playing'. They conclude that 'strategies are ... the result of combining practical good sense and commonly accepted practices, often in an implicit, semi-automatic manner' (p.19).

⁸ The establishment of day-training colleges under the auspices of universities in 1890 aimed to strengthen the elementary training system. This was the first point at which elementary education training touched the mainstream of HE (see Gardner 1996). But as they evolved into UDEs in the 1920s, the day-training colleges opted out of elementary training, preferring to focus instead on one year training for intending grammar school teachers.

⁹ Concurrent courses of ITE are those in which professional education for teaching takes place alongside the student's personal education. Consecutive courses are those in which professional education follows on from and is seen as separate from degree level study.

¹⁰ Heward (1993) analyses the changing gendered authority in ITE, identifying four stages: the nineteenth century when male clerical authority was dominant; 1910 - 1960 when women managed and taught throughout the college sector; the erosion of women's legitimacy and authority from the early 1960s onwards as increasing numbers of men entered ITE; and the mid 1970s onwards when ITE was absorbed into large diverse HEIs and masculinist managerial authority became dominant.

¹¹ Some of the differences between the two sectors in the 1960s can be seen in Taylor's research (1969a) and in the debates published in the Colston Papers (Taylor 1969b). The analyses of Heward (1993; 1996) and Maguire and Weiner (1994) see the universities' stance towards the colleges at this time as motivated by attempts to devalue and pathologise the feminised culture and management of the sector.

¹² Maguire and Weiner (1994:127) argue that the colleges pre 1963 had a 'distinctive occupational feminised culture (which) developed around the job of educating teachers'.

¹³ Two patterns of university involvement in primary ITE post war can be traced. Some UDEs established their own primary PGCE courses, typically in the 1960s (see Gilbert and Blyth 1983). Original numbers were very small. In 1968 archive material from the University Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) showed only 3% of all primary students (187) studying for the PGCE in the university sector, but these numbers expanded considerably in the 1980s. Other UDEs gained primary provision through amalgamation with a college of education already offering under-graduate (and possibly PGCE) provision. Such amalgamations typically happened during the re-organisation of the college sector in the 1970s. At this point these UDEs began to offer both PGCE and under-graduate courses. Again, PGCE provision expanded in the 1980s. By 1988 14% of all primary ITE students were studying on either PG or UG routes in established universities (sources: Paper 11/ED/84 University Grants Committee: Education Sub-Committee 11.11.84 UCET archive material).

¹⁴ These dates are chosen for the following reasons: 1963 - after the publication of the Robbins Report - is judged to be the date at which major changes in the college sector began; 1992 was the year in which the binary line in HE was abolished and the university sector expanded.

⁷⁴ There are limited similarities between the academic drift of the institutions providing primary ITE within the English HE sector, and the trajectory of Finnish ITE towards the university status over the last century (see Jauhianinen et al 1998).

⁷⁵ UCET archive material (minutes of the committee meeting of 30.5.68) includes the comment of Shirley Williams, the Minister of State for Education in 1968, that the five polytechnics were part of an experiment to provide an alternative form of ITE.

⁷⁶ Similarities included the use of CNAAs validation procedures, common funding mechanisms through LEAs until 1989 and then through the PCFC until 1992, and funding only for teaching.

⁷⁷ In many ways from the 1970s onwards the development of ITE in the polytechnic sector can be seen as inextricably linked with the history of the developing colleges of education. But the label of 'public sector institutions' given to all of these ITE providers also implies a homogeneity at the meso level which ITE provision within these many and varied and institutions did not have, despite common structural factors. Some commentators (see, for example, Alexander 1984; Hencke 1978) have indicated some of the possible differences between ITE in the polytechnics and the CHEs / IHEs, for example, but the institutional differences between and within these two types of HEI are generally poorly explored in the recent history of teacher education in England and Wales.

⁷⁸ Like the dominant discourses of earlier decades, partnership could hid a divergence of values and perspectives. Wilkin (1990) for example, saw partnership as representing a reconceptualisation of the theory / practice divide. But the consensus which the term, taken at face value, could generate, was undeniable. As an example of this, Hill (1992:9) cites evidence that of 400 responses from HEIs to the consultation paper for the secondary ITE Circular 9/92 (DfE 1992), there were no expressions of opposition to the concept of partnership itself.

⁷⁹ These tensions were exemplified in debates on the Licensed and Articled Teachers Schemes and the School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITTs) initiative, as forms of ITE which challenged the ITE/HE hegemony.

⁸⁰ By the late 1980s analyses indicate that reflective practice had become a dominating discourse of ITE (see the first MOTE survey Barrett et al 1992),

⁸¹ In section 9 of this chapter I look at how the criterion affected the form of primary ITE work and the staffing within ITE by the mid 1990s.

⁸² Again, there are few empirical studies of these roles in primary ITE to draw upon; there are also few overt statements about tutor roles. In this section and in appendix 2 I have therefore worked from the available evidence. A brief analysis of tutors' roles at the time of the empirical work is presented in section 4.9.3.

⁸³ Pastoralism is defined here as the exercising of vocational guidance by the tutor as to the integrated professional and personal qualities needed to undertake primary teaching .

⁸⁴ Very small numbers of primary ITE courses were located in School Centred Initial Teacher Training Schemes (SCITTs) at this time.

⁸⁵ These terms refer to the following types of institutions: *Established universities*: also known as 'old' or charter universities. These institutions had university status, granted by charter, at some point in time before 1992. The limited history of primary ITE courses in such institutions is included in section 4.9.4. *New universities*: also known as 'statute universities'. These institutions were previously polytechnics or expanded Institutes of Higher Education (IHEs) and gained university status in 1992. The origins of ITE in the polytechnic sector and its expansion during the re-organisation of the college of education

sector in the 1970s has been outlined in section 4. 4. The 'academic drift' of these institutions has been stressed. *Colleges of Higher Education* (CHEs): also known as university colleges or IHEs. These are institutions providing ITE outside the university sector; almost all are now diversified HE providers. All stress their close association with the university sector.

⁸⁶ An emphasis on competencies as the desired outcomes of ITE had first been introduced as part of circular 24/89 (DES 1989) In many cases, however, teacher educators' implementations of such assessments aimed to escape the narrowness of the government's conception of competence, with its sub-text of a non-academic and craft orientated profession. The models implemented attempted to incorporate the definitions of professionalism held by teacher educators. Hextall and Sidgwick (1991), for example, aimed for reflection-based competencies. For Naish (1990:43) professional profiles, used to document and assess competence, often had more to do with learning and self-reflection than with assessment.

⁸⁷ The second MOTE survey (see Furlong et al 2000) identified three ideal typical models of partnership at this time, ranging from HEI led, through the collaborative model to the separatist (school-dominated) model.)

⁸⁸ Modal averages for the Education cell of the RAEs of 1992 and 1996 are shown here based on figures from the UFC for 1992 and HEFCE, SHEFC, HEFCW and DENI for 1996.

Year	Established universities	New Universities	CHE / IHE
1992	4	2	1/2*
1996	4	3b	2

* Equal numbers of HEIs in this category gained 1 or 2 grades.

⁸⁹ As with the new universities, RAE gradings within the CHE sector were modest in 1992 (modal average for these institutions 1/2). By the 1996 RAE this average had risen to 2; like the new universities then the CHEs showed a rising profile of research engagement.

⁹⁰ Limited resistance to the centrality of 'recent and relevant' experience ('R. and R.') continued but was tempered by the rhetoric of partnership and the accompanying recognition of school teacher's potential expertise in ITE tutoring (see, for example, Alexander 1990 and Fish 1995).

⁹¹ All of these emphases are also apparent in self-studies of teacher educators, and in tutors' accounts of their pedagogy in ITE (see, for example, Loughran 1996; Northfield and Gunstone 1997 and Jamieson 1994).

⁹² Very similar themes can be traced in John's (1996) study of the pedagogy of secondary tutors. The beliefs of John's tutors tended 'to cluster around the progressive end of the traditional-progressive continuum' (1996:124). Experiential learning was seen as superior to other modes of learning since students could learn from and through their experiences of teaching. Reflection was a central element in practice, rooted in the students' teaching, their personal and professional histories and their subject knowledge. John identified three types of modelling: *direct*, in which the tutor conducted a demonstration lesson with the students as children; *stylistic*, in which tutors encouraged students to analyse the form and content of the session; and the general sense of the *tutor as role model* for professional practice, including for self reflection.

⁹³ The first MOTE Report (Barrett et al 1992) showed that in 1990/91 primary provision was still concentrated in the public sector institutions, but by 1995/96, the second MOTE

Report indicated, there had been a significant shift in provision (cited in Whitty, Furlong et al 1998). The majority of primary ITE provision had then moved from the public sector institutions in the 1980s into the university sector in the 1990s.

⁹⁴ It should be noted that the empirical work cited here either predated or was not designed to focus on two additional factors affecting teacher educators' work from 1994 onwards. These were firstly, the Ofsted inspection barrage of 'the primary sweep' (1995/96); and secondly, the establishment of the Teacher Training Agency in 1994 and its growing power over all aspects of teacher education. The implications of this aspect of the research design are discussed again in chapter 11.

⁹⁵ Perhaps the closest established tradition of narrative analysis is that of social psychology, which emphasises the narrative as a site for the reproduction of the self as teller. Diamond (1991), for example, sees the opportunity for narratives research to enable 'a reconstruction that involves a conscious and reflexive elaboration of much of the author's life, including personal and professional experiences' (quoted in Cortazzi 1993:12).

⁹⁶ The decision to analyse only institutions within the expanded university sector was made for a number of reasons which are detailed in Appendices 3 and 4.

⁹⁷ Pseudonyms have been used for all the universities and for all individuals to ensure confidentiality and anonymity (see Appendix 3).

⁹⁸ For example, this is not literary analysis of narratives like that undertaken by Barthes (1980). Rather it draws broadly on uses of narrative analysis in educational research which aim to explore teachers' views of their professional lives and their pedagogy (see, Goodson 1992; Connolly and Clandinin 1988).

⁹⁹ Examples of assertions during the interviews included statements of self-identity such as, 'I am still a teacher' or 'I don't see myself as a researcher'. Other assertions included statements about the nature of work such as 'I still find that aspect of the teaching very hard,' or about student teachers, such as, 'There are a lot of very assertive mature students on this course'.

¹⁰⁰ The use of the term Novice for this type of tutor is not intended to imply a developmental continuum for teacher educator professionalism. The term is intended only to reflect the limited time which all of these tutors had spent in HE-based ITE work.

¹⁰¹ Tutors in the sample group were asked to classify their level of research activity by reflecting on their own research activity and by considering the definitions of 'research active' staff used by their institution (see Appendix 4). Chapter 4 has indicated that definitions in both these areas would inevitably have drawn on the externally imposed criteria set for the RAEs of 1992 and 1996.

¹⁰² As Appendix 4 outlines, the term *generalist* is used in this research to denote a pattern of no consistent, defined expertise in one subject or area of the primary curriculum. The term *generated specialist* is used to indicate that a tutor has generated or acquired an area of expertise through his/her school teaching or HE work. This area does not however relate to knowledge and expertise acquired through a first degree. The term *consistent subject specialism* is used to describe tutors who had developed a subject specialism from their first degree through into their work in the primary school and HE sectors.

¹⁰³ Novices' and Defenders' biographical profiles had some elements in common. These were

- experience of working in only one HEI
- no advisory teaching experience prior to entry to HE

-
- links with that HEI before commencing work there
 - limited work profile in HE since they were inactive researchers and taught only on ITE courses

Defenders and some, but not all, Novices also shared the following elements of the profiles

- generation of a subject specialism on entry to HE
- leaving the school sector from high status posts in primary schools.

Despite these similarities, a key factor in differentiating between Novice and Defender tutor types is the limited time which Novices had spent in HE. Some Novice tutor types also had diverse biographical profiles. This means that whilst some Novice tutors had profiles similar in many aspects to those of Defenders, others had different and diverse profiles. These differences were particularly noticeable in the areas of subject specialism, and levels of qualification. Some Novice tutors had biographical profiles which were not like those of any of the tutor types found in this research. One Novice tutor, for example had only a first degree at the time of the interviews, had no advisory teaching experience, and no research record. She was defined in this research as a generated subject specialist, according to the criteria I used (see Appendix 4) but made the self-judgement that she had the potential to generate a subject specialism similar to that of the Education Academics. Her biographical profile as a Novice therefore had some unique features.

¹⁰⁴ The ‘recent and relevant’ criterion and its impact on staff recruitment policies has been outlined in chapter 4. This chapter has outlined that between 1984 and approximately 1993 the possession of ‘recent and relevant’ knowledge of primary schooling was widely regarded as the dominant recruitment criterion in primary ITE.

¹⁰⁵ The biographical profiles show that the earliest date at which the tutors in the sample group started teaching in primary schools was 1968. The latest date at which they left the school sector was 1993.

¹⁰⁶ A key difference here between the tutor types was that Novices and Defenders, unlike Education Academics, had no exposure to teacher education work outside ITE, and thus were likely to have less exposure to the potential diversity of teacher educator work, and the broad nature of education as a discipline.

¹⁰⁷ In chapter 7 I have also shown that Defenders used second order substantive knowledge resources more extensively than Novices did. Some of the issues arising from this finding are discussed later in the thesis.

¹⁰⁸ The positive note of many of these narratives focusing on the satisfaction of working with students and on teaching contrast strongly with the negative tone of many of the other narratives describing ITE work in the universities. The tutors’ views of working conditions within their universities in chapter 9, for example, describe some of these tensions.

¹⁰⁹ Although some of the resources used in the interviews were defined as theoretically generated second order knowledge (SK3), most of this referred to tutors’ use of knowledge of government legislation on ITE, particularly to Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) which was the legal framework for the design of primary ITE courses at the time of the interviews. Apart from knowledge of such legislation, tutors drew on no theoretically derived knowledge of ITE. This issue is discussed in more detail in chapter 11.

¹¹⁰ Examples of this perceived devaluation included conflicts between tutors and teacher-mentors in partnership schools. In such narrative contexts tutors often used the strategy of asserting their generalised knowledge of ITE and particularly of students' progress and achievements, but found that their expertise was not valued. In one such narrative, during a meeting about the progress of a student, Jenny, on School Experience, the Novice tutor, Mary, recommends that Jenny be 'pushed' to achieve higher standards. The teacher-mentor questions this and defends the student by saying 'Jenny's doing fine, she's good'. In response the tutor argues her case by citing her knowledge and experience of previous students, '(I) more or less said straight out that I'd seen a lot of students and knew what I was talking about'. This knowledge is rejected by the teacher, and the tutor's perception is that 'As far as she (the teacher) was concerned all my so called knowledge was not relevant here'. The tutor in this and other such narratives is left feeling that knowledge of ITE has little currency with teachers.

Students were also perceived to devalue the tutor's expertise in teaching in HE, either by explicitly dismissing such knowledge or by valuing first order knowledge more highly, as identified later in this section. Another type of narrative described how tutors saw their expertise in ITE as generally overlooked and devalued. This is illustrated in a narrative where Sarah, a Defender tutor expressed concern about the rest of her career.

Sometimes I think 'Look at me now. What do I know about?' I know about primary teaching or I used to but who'd want me back in school now? and I know about teacher education, teaching students, so who's interested in that, where else could I work in education?

Sarah held a Ph.D. in education but she did not perceive her experience in ITE to provide valued or marketable knowledge in the rest of the education sector; ironically, her knowledge of schooling was also perceived to be valueless. She was therefore left feeling that her future prospects were limited. These tensions between the value which the tutors placed on their knowledge of ITE and the perceived devaluation of such knowledge by others were clear in narratives of this type. They were perhaps a result of the temporal context of the interviews; as cited in chapter 4, this was a time of great uncertainty for the future of HE-based ITE and consequently for continuing employment prospects for teacher educators.

¹¹¹ As stated in section 8.2, the interpersonal aspect of the professional persona of Novice and Defender tutor types was defined as integrated. This meant that, as part of their form of professionalism, these tutors stressed the importance of values such as communalism and mutualism in inter-personal interactions with their peers. Being able to work as part of a close-knit and co-operating team and supporting colleagues, both professionally and on a personal level, were recurring themes in these narratives.

In one narrative using this professional resource Lydia described how she and a colleague supported one another through their first year in HE work. This relationship had continued and developed so that,

We still have that kind of supporting network now along this corridor, me, Rebecca and Anna we call ourselves the A team, together against the world on the bad days here, and there are plenty of those.

The mutual support given in the induction year has developed into ‘the A team’, a defined support network characterised by senses of commitment and caring for one another, and cohesion (‘together against the world’). In this and other similar narratives such mutual support systems were seen as important and entirely positive.

The boundaries between positive, personal and the professional attributes of a good colleagues (mutualistic, sharing professionally caring) became blurred in some of these narratives. As one interviewee, Sam, stated about a colleague who had supported her during a stressful time ‘he’s a good colleague, a good person, a good friend’.

A further illustration of this professional resource usage was given in a narrative where the interviewee told of a group of tutors meeting in the evenings to re-write a degree course. The work was done as ‘a team thing, a team effort’. The team effort and spirit which these meetings epitomised were eulogised by the narrator, Bridget.

It was hard, hard work but really good for us, one of the best things we’ve done, to really thrash all the ideas out together like that, you know. Yes, that was a good time.

The implication of the narrative is that the process of working together in this fashion has had benefits beyond the production of the new degree. Such celebration of communalism was a key feature of the way in which tutors described interacting with their peers. As one Novice tutor, Stephen stated, ‘We always say here that there is no ‘I’ in team.’

¹¹² A number of tutors interviewed stated that they aimed to teach in primary schools regularly, fitting this in as an informal, additional activity alongside their HE work; others had recently been involved in formal ‘recent and relevant’ school teaching experiences designed by their universities to update their levels of experience.

¹¹³ Examples of such aspects included school routines such as wet playtimes or dinner time, the workload involved in teaching, or dealing with difficult children.

¹¹⁴ First order knowledge and this ‘advice strategy’ were frequently used with the aim of supporting students. This was apparent in a number of narratives, including those where tutors described their pedagogy, their interactions with students and teachers, and their metaperceptive narratives. When discussing their pedagogy, for example, Novice and Defender tutors stated that they often gave students advice on teaching, based directly on their own knowledge and experience. This is exemplified in a Novice narrative told by Linda where she related attempting to persuade students of the advantages of her approach to mathematics teaching. Linda stated that she told the students an anecdote about using the approach with her own primary class of two years ago. In conclusion, she related that, ‘I said to them (the students) ‘It worked for me so I think it’ll work for you.’’ The advice giving strategy was also used to assert legitimacy with teachers. In one example of this, a tutor recounted giving a teacher advice on teaching mathematics to an able child.

¹¹⁵ School Experience for students used to be widely called Teaching Practice. Since the introduction forms of HEI/school learning patterns outlined in Circular 14/93, (DfE 1993) the former term has replaced the latter in most ITE institutions.

¹¹⁶ Of the two tutor types Novices made more use of first order knowledge than Defenders. Defenders used second order processual knowledge resources more extensively than the equivalent first order resources. This contrasts with their use of substantive knowledge resources where first order resources were used more extensively than second.

¹¹⁷ As chapter 8 explores practitioner bond professionalism included a sense of mission to produce the 'good teacher' from the ITE programmes which were the focus of teacher educators' work. This leitmotif of the 'good teacher' was used throughout the interviews to describe approved primary practitioners. It is therefore relevant to state briefly how this entity was constructed by Novice and Defender tutors. The 'good primary practitioner' was defined as being more than just a competent teacher; s/he went beyond the level of 'competence' in the basic knowledge and skills of teaching which the 'competencies' in Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993) defined. The three areas in which the good practitioner needed to exceed basic competence were as follows

- i) the ability to be reflective about personal practice
- ii) the ability to know the children in her/his class
- iii) the ability to work well with colleagues, offering and receiving professional support (possessing mutualistic values)

Of these three attributes, mutualistic values were defined as desirable, but not essential; reflexivity and knowing children were constructed as essential attributes of the 'good practitioner'.

¹¹⁸ In section 7.2 I have indicated that Defenders made more extensive use of this second order knowledge than Novices. In particular Defenders used metaknowledge of reflection more extensively (2nd order PK2).

¹¹⁹ In this research metaknowledge narratives largely focused on the practice of ITE tutors, although some of the interviewees' responses indicated that exceptional teachers in schools could also possess this resource. One narrative on this subject gave an example of Rebecca, a Defender tutor, relating how a schoolteacher demonstrated this type of first order PK2. The teacher co-mentoring a student with Rebecca was judged to have metaknowledge. The teacher stated to the tutor that she saw metaknowledge as centrally important in the development of 'good practice'; 'it is 'the most important thing of all, knowing that reflection is so important, isn't it?' she asked the tutor by whom her emphasis was eagerly approved.

¹²⁰ As I have shown, the practitioner form of professionalism was predicted not only on a sustained, experiential knowledge base of primary schooling, but also on views of 'good practice' in both schooling and ITE as based on common, learner-centred pedagogical modes and values.

¹²¹ In this thesis reflective practice is seen as serving both knowledge generating and regulatory purposes. Its function in regulation is analysed in more depth in chapter 10.

Chapter 4 also address the place of reflective practice in the generation of teacher knowledge.

¹²² These definitions are adapted from those of John (1996).

¹²³ The term ‘tips for teachers’ was used pejoratively by all the interviewees in my research. The term was seen to denote a form of ITE teaching which was superficial and inadequate because of its emphasis on the transmission to students of specific, skills-based knowledge. Despite this explicit dismissal of transmission-based models of teaching, a number of narratives told of tutors giving specific advice to students with the implied aims of students reproducing practice in their own classrooms (see, for example, Linda’s narrative in section 8.2.4).

¹²⁴ There were tensions around the tutors’ conceptualisations of how student knowledge developed through the processes of ITE; for example, knowledge of how to teach in schools was seen as both imparted by the tutor to the students through the use of the direct modelling strategy, and generated by the students through their reflections on teaching experience.

¹²⁵ One Defender tutor at Avonbridge, for example, has a Ph.D.; another tutor states that he has published in professional journals for teachers.

¹²⁶ In the telling of this narrative the tutor concerned emphasised by her tone of voice and facial expression that her friend had used the term ‘academic’ in a pejorative way. In a number of narratives told by Novice and Defender tutors this term was implicitly emphasised as pejorative. Because these emphases were often conveyed through body language and voice intonation not all of them have ‘survived’ the transcription process, (see chapter 5).

¹²⁷ The professional resource repertoires used by these two types of tutor also indicated a further factor underlining their lack of engagement in research. As identified in this chapter, for both types their professionalism was grounded in their experiential knowledge of primary schooling and ITE rather than in any theoretical knowledge. Promoting such experiential knowledge as a key part of teacher educator professionalism has already been discussed. And for the most part this knowledge stood the tutors in good stead, but in formal settings such as job interviews or appraisals it tended to be less successful. An illustration of this is a narrative where Bridget, a Defender tutor told of going for an interview for a course leadership at a research orientated university.

‘I’ve been teaching for years, years of experience in schools, then years here (in her present HEI) so I feel I have a very good, solid background in education, practical knowledge of schooling and ITE both, but at my interview it was ‘Where’s your publication record? What’s your research specialism? What are you focusing on?’ I said my specialisation was primary education but that wasn’t what they wanted to hear.

In this case the strategy of promoting her experiential knowledge of schooling was unsuccessful. The interviewers wanted to know about her scholarship, and specifically and pragmatically about her research productivity. Her experience as a teacher educator was not

recognised, and she failed to get the job. As chapter 10 explores in more depth practitioner bond professionalism could be subject to challenge in the field of ITE.

¹²⁸ Divisions between teaching and research are identified as prevalent both specifically within the discipline of teacher education (see, for example Hargreaves 1994) and in HE as a whole (see, for example, Rowlands 2001; Fox as cited in Grenfell and James 1998). Chapter 11 discusses this issue in more depth.

¹²⁹ Chapter 2 has shown, for example, that Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky's (1995) work indicates that professional knowledge for more experienced teacher educators was built up through an on-going process of reflection on practice and experience in teacher education.

¹³⁰ There are very strong similarities between the practitioner bond form of professionalism and some teacher educators' self-studies and analyses of their pedagogy. For example, the principles for teacher education stated in Northfield and Gunstone's (1997) self-study are that

Teacher education programs should model the teaching and learning approaches being advocated and promote the vision of the profession for which they are preparing teachers Teacher educators should maintain close connections with schools and the teaching profession Learning about teaching is a collaborative activity ... Teacher education involves the personal development, social development as well as the professional development of teachers.' (p.49)

¹³¹ Two of Ducharme's interviewees in his 1993 study provide very close parallels to my findings. One woman cannot ignore her students' needs and adopts a diffuse and extended role in caring for them (p.100). Another interviewee echoes almost exactly the angst of Rebecca (see 8.2.2) about whether or not she has prepared her students properly for teaching (p.55), and her on-going support for them even in their first posts.

¹³² Chapter 4 has also presented evidence from the work of Bell (1981) to show that, despite the overall changes to the teacher training sector in the 1970s, these discourses and practices survived, particularly in the pedagogy of teacher educators working in the early years (infant or Key Stage 1) sector of primary ITE.

¹³³ This narrative contrasts neatly with a Defender narrative, also about starting a Masters degree. In the Education Academic narrative the tutor, Deborah, started the MA course with a strong sense of her own knowledge and with confidence in the academic work she is about to attempt. The Defender tutor, Bridget, started from a sense of exclusion from this academic world. She described herself as saying to her head of department, when he suggested commencing a Masters degree as part of her professional development in HE, 'Come on, you know, you don't do an MA when you're a primary teacher, especially if you're in quotes (*sic*) an infant teacher'. Bridget then struggled with insecurity about her own ability in relation to that of her fellow students feeling 'Gosh, they're all really bright, what am I doing here?'

¹³⁴ Education Academic tutors stated that all the empirical research which they conducted focused on the primary school sector; it was also subject focused, enabling them to consolidate their consistent subject specialisms.

¹³⁵ Chapter 7 has already established that the biographical profiles of Education Academics showed that they worked on a variety of education courses, including ITE and CPD awards, and were involved in personal research which was integrated into teaching.

¹³⁶ Education Academic narratives about pedagogic interactions shared with Defender and Novice narratives the use of the techniques of individualisation, such as knowing and naming students. Typically, for example, in this narrative the student is named and his levels of both academic and professional competence are known to the tutor. But in the Education Academic narratives the aim of using these techniques was narrower, in that the monitoring which the tutor accomplished through individualising students in this way was intended to focus only on the academic and professional competence deemed necessary to be a teacher.

¹³⁷ As detailed in section 8.2, Education Academics were defined as separatists for the interpersonal aspect of their professional persona. This meant that in their interactions with their HE peers and with other colleagues (for example, teachers in partnership schools) they accepted individual autonomy and effort, and de-emphasised values of communalism and mutualism.

This is illustrated by a narrative, told by David, a course leader, which involved his search for colleagues to contribute to a teaching programme.

I'm trying to organise the Teaching Studies programme for year 2 and I went round the team last week, casting around and asking people 'Could you do this session on assertive discipline or circle time or whatever?' and the responses were 'No, sorry, can't do that. No time' or 'No, not me, don't know anything about that. Special Needs is my thing.'

But he was philosophical about these rejections and concluded the narrative by saying, 'That's just how it is here, everyone doing their own thing in their own time and their own way.'

Other Education Academic narratives repeated this theme, using phrases such as 'Everybody's in their own little boxes' or 'Everyone looks after their own interests really.' These separatist stances were either tolerated or praised. This aspect of the professional persona of Education Academics therefore contrasted strongly with that of the Novice and Defender tutor types, where the form of professionalism included an emphasis on communal values and supportive peer inter-actions.

¹³⁸ Earlier in section 8.2 I have indicated that the pattern of first order processual resource usage by Education Academic tutors was closer to that of the Defenders than to the Novices. Both of the tutor types with more extensive experience of HE teaching used second order processual knowledge resources more than the equivalent first order resources. In the research interviews they emphasised the importance of reflection on their own practice more than they discussed its importance in the school context, although encouraging students as prospective school teachers to be reflective remained an important area of professional activity. In the deployment of both first and second order processual knowledge resources there were then some notable similarities between this aspect of the

repertoires of these two tutor types with more than three years experience of HE-based work.

¹³⁹ There were two areas in which the good practitioner, as defined within reconstructed professionalism, needed to exceed basic competence. These were as follows

- i) the ability to be reflective about personal practice
- ii) possessing a scholarly (research-orientated) approach to teaching

¹⁴⁰ For example, 70% of Defenders second order processual knowledge resources were PK2, 58% of the equivalent Novice resource usage was PK2, whereas only 15% of Education Academics' second order processual resources were of this type.

¹⁴¹ For example, all the tutors have 'primary on primary' experience of working in primary schools and then transferring pedagogic sites to work in primary ITE, and all are involved in the same enterprise of (re)producing professional knowledge.

¹⁴² Other external indicators of ITT courses include the grading produced by Ofsted inspections. But, as indicated previously, my empirical research in many ways pre-dated and was not designed to address the barrage of inspections which began with the 'Primary Sweep inspections' in 1995. The RAE gradings purport to be judgements by peer assessment of the research productivity of each institution, in terms of both quality and quantity of research. I have deliberately not commented on the 'validity' of these RAE indicators, nor on the processes by which they were obtained.

¹⁴³ Brecon staff had established reputations as promoters of child-centred teaching, well before the publication of the Plowden Report in 1966 (see examples given of this in Dymond 1955; Firth 1991).

¹⁴⁴ Actual numbers for staff participating in the RAEs were as follows -

Institution	1992	1996
Avonbridge	8	20
Brecon	29	32
USW	9	19

¹⁴⁵ In line with the interpretative framework for this research, these responses are presented not as indicative of the actual structures and conditions within the institutions concerned, but as accounts of how these factors were represented to be by the interviewees within the bounded context of the research interview. It is acknowledged that using interviewees' representations in this way has a potential self-referential quality. The interviewee cannot but 'narrate' institutional life and values through her/his own frame of reference. Within the framework of this research, however, this referentiality is defended and justified.

¹⁴⁶ The pedagogical structure described by this tutor sounded very similar to the 'mother hen syndrome' (see chapter 4).

¹⁴⁷ Chapter 7 has indicated some of the arguments about the distinctive habitus of Education Academic tutors. I concluded in this chapter that these tutors had a different habitus from that of Novice and Defender tutors on leaving the primary sector. I have also indicated that Education Academics did not enter the field of ITE at Brecon but have moved there from other HEIs. In making this move they may have been seeking an institutional setting which had affinities with their habitus.

¹⁴⁸ Maguire and Weiner's (1994:132) precise reference is to the 'discourse (singular) of relevance'. I have taken this reference and used it to refer to the 'discourses (plural) of relevance', meaning those discourses associated with both the 'recent and relevant' criterion of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) and partnership between schools and HEIs in ITE.

¹⁴⁹ Taylor's (1969a:12) stereotyping of this as an ethos of 'social and literary romanticism', with values including a commitment to the social, emotional and professional development of students, has been indicated in chapter 4.

¹⁵⁰ The figures given in Appendix 3 show that 80% of all the primary tutors at Avonbridge, 83% at Brecon and 86% at USW were female. At Avonbridge approximately 96% of all primary students were female at around the time of the research, and 68% of the undergraduate students were under 25. This predominance of female students was also found at USW and Brecon. At Brecon the student cohorts also had approximately the same age profile as at Avonbridge (see section 9.3).

¹⁵¹ Chapter 2 has analysed Maguire and Weiner's (1994) contention that there is a powerful *congruence* between child-centred, progressive pedagogy in schooling and feminised discourses of teacher education. As indicated in chapter 2, Maguire and Weiner's analysis does not identify the specific implications of this congruence for women *primary* ITE tutors. This thesis applies and extends their analysis to primary ITE to identify the affinities between practitioner bond professionalism and the institutional settings in which it is found.

¹⁵² Earlier in this thesis I have identified the importance of progressive discourses within primary schooling in defining the habitus of Novice and Defender tutors.

¹⁵³ Evidence of this can be seen in the nation-wide advocacy of pedagogical methods such as modelling, learner-centred teaching techniques, experiential learning and ways of defining the quality of ITE teaching by comparing it directly to primary schooling (see chapter 4). Scrutiny of Ofsted reports from the Primary Sweep inspections of 1994 -1996, the Primary Follow Up Survey of 1996 - 1998 and the Primary Inspections of ITT 1998 - 2002 (PITI 1 and 2) show that modelling continues to be a strongly advocated mode of pedagogy (see for example Ofsted 2000).

¹⁵⁴ In chapter 4 I have indicated that this criterion of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) linked the professional knowledge of teacher educators firmly to that of practising school teachers by requiring all tutors working on ITE courses to have recent and relevant knowledge of schooling.

¹⁵⁵ In the 1980s and early 1990s identifiable structures included recruitment policies specifying recent teaching and experience, and staff development policies to ensure regular renewal of school experience.

¹⁵⁶ At Avonbridge, as chapter 9 has shown, institutional policies reportedly still included a 'recent and relevant' recruitment policy requiring new staff to have school experience, and a staff development policy, in place until 1994, enabling existing staff to return to school at regular intervals to update their experience. In all three universities discourses privileging school experience as an entry criterion were still powerful enough to allow all the Novice tutors in this study to take up their posts between 1991 and 1994, with only their school teaching experience and their qualifications at Masters level or below.

¹⁵⁷ As the biographical profiles in chapter 7 have shown, all the tutors at Avonbridge and USW, and the Novice tutor at Brecon had had links with the institution prior to recruitment, either through working in local schools, through part-time tutoring or through undertaking

their own ITE at the university. These were the only HEIs in which they had worked, indicating a potentially restricted experiential knowledge of other teacher education institutions. Within the university they worked only on primary ITE courses, and were therefore not involved in other areas of teacher education work (for example, CPD) which might have provided them with broader patterns of experience.

This study did not collect evidence on the biographical profiles of the rest of the primary ITE teams at the universities. At Brecon there is clearly diversity in the biographical profiles of the primary team (see Appendix 5). But at Avonbridge and USW, if the patterns of restricted experience found within the sample group, were repeated across the entire teams, then the result would have been insular and potentially parochial groups, reinforcing one another's views on good practice. The data presented in chapter 9 indicates that this parochialism may have occurred at Avonbridge in particular, where there was a strong, collective ethos about primary ITE amongst the interviewees, and perceptions of a closely knit team, with a strong sense of shared values about what constituted 'good practice'.

¹⁵⁸ Chapter 4 has indicated that partnership had many of its origins in intra professional initiatives, generated by certain HEIs, but it was also imposed by the state on ITE courses. Earlier Circulars (Circular 3/84, DES 1984; Circular 24/89, DES 1989) had prescribed ways in which schools and HEIs must work together. But, through Circular 14/93 (DfE 1993), detailed and prescribed partnership structures became statutory for all ITT courses, often to the financial detriment of the HEIs.

¹⁵⁹ As chapter 4 has indicated, the primary Circular embodied a view of ITE as an instrumental enterprise in which it was possible to achieve stated competencies as the outcomes of 'training'.

¹⁶⁰ As I have identified in chapters 2 and 4 the ideas of Schon (1983;1987), particularly those of reflective practice, have been influential in creating models of teacher professionalism. which construct the teacher as an extended professional, operating in a world in which the nature of knowledge is endemically uncertain. Chapter 2 has shown that in such models the teacher is involved in on-going processes of theorising about the nature of her/his practice. In the late twentieth century discourses of reflective practice therefore valorised experiential knowledge and positioned it as the source of professional theorising. Use of the discourses of reflective practice in teacher education were seen as enabling the 'theory/practice divide' to be bridged. The processes and practices associated with reflective practice gave definition to the curriculum and pedagogy of ITE and the professional role of the tutor at a time of growing state intervention. They valorised practice by emphasising the importance of practitioner autonomy in the monitoring of her/his professional actions. In doing this they drew on links to democratic and emancipatory discourses in education. Teacher educators, drawing on these discourses, were therefore able to assert the importance of democratic legitimating principles in education as a way of opposing state intervention.

Appendix 1 has shown the importance of reflective practice in definitions of 'good primary practice' during the 1980s. Chapter 2 has illustrated that commentaries and self-analyses in teacher education have stressed the importance on reflection on and in teacher education. In the same chapter I have also shown that some empirical studies of teacher educators' knowledge and practices have identified a similar importance placed on discourses of reflective practice (see Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995; Zeichner 1995).

¹⁶¹ A. Hargreaves (1995) offers an alternative explanation of the emergence and dominance of discourses of reflective practice in teacher education. He identifies the evolutionary pattern of teacher education institutions towards university status. In his analysis this means that teacher education has had to enter into a 'devil's bargain' (Goodson 1991, quoted in A. Hargreaves) to accommodate the demands made on it as an essentially school-focused enterprise, increasingly located within the university sector. In Hargreaves' analysis reflective practice becomes

a contemporary realisation of the devil's bargain, grounded in and sustained by a continuing historical struggle to establish and expand the professional status of teacher educators (Hargreaves 1995:5-6)

¹⁶² The effects of this cumulative convergence for practitioner bond professionalism can be further explored by analysing the commentary of Alexander (1984a). He reiterates Taylor's analysis of the values of the old training colleges as learner-centred, diffuse and affective, embodying an ethos of 'social and literary romanticism', and then states

when one considers the main products of these institutions, today's primary teachers - the direct successors of those elementary school teachers for whom the early training colleges were established - the analysis rings profoundly true. Taylor was writing about a 1950/1960s college: he could equally be writing about a 1980s primary school. (1984a:152)

Alexander's analysis then follows Taylor's in pathologising the values associated with the old, feminised college structures. He associates these values with a bygone era in ITE, and implicitly rejects the premise that they might still be found amongst tutors in the ITE institutions of the early 1980s. As chapter 4 has identified, nation-wide there were relatively small numbers of teacher educators with experience of primary school teaching working on primary ITE programmes in the early 1980s. By that time two decades of change had meant that many of the institutions providing primary ITE had become larger, more diversified HE institutions. The rising status of HE-based work and changed recruitment and retention criteria emphasising the importance of academic qualifications rather than relevant school experience had brought increasing numbers of secondary school trained men into ITE work (see chapter 4).

Alexander sees the values associated with the 1960s colleges as (re)produced in the (predominantly female) students training to be teachers at this time. These students then went on to perpetuate the values in their (feminised) professional practice as primary school teachers in the 1980s. Following Alexander's argument, many such recruits, like the Novice and Defender tutors in this research, coming into primary ITE would have experienced learner-centred ITE themselves. They would then have worked in schools where in the 1980s child-centred discourses are seen by some commentators as defining and saturating pedagogic norms (see, for example, Walkerdine 1984, as discussed in Appendix 1). As I have outlined in chapter 4, in the year that Alexander was writing, the recent and relevant criterion was about to bring significant numbers of his pathologised '1980s primary school teachers' back into HE institutions.

¹⁶³ In chapter 8 I have identified that aspects of practitioner bond professionalism, particularly the adoption of extended teaching roles and the advocacy of communalities, show similarities to the pastoral and pedagogical practices and the communal values identified with the (often female) tutors working in college sector in the 1960s. I have also indicated the similarities between aspects of practitioner bond professionalism and the findings of studies of primary teacher professionalism in the 1980s and early 1990s (see chapter 7).

¹⁶⁴ As chapter 4 has shown this drift has taken the institutions from early incarnations as teacher training colleges through to being the expanded HEIs or polytechnics of the 1970s and 1980s, and on to becoming the new universities of the 1990s. Thus primary ITE in England and Wales underwent a process of almost accidental 'academicisation'.

¹⁶⁵ As previous chapters have indicated, as an established university Brecon was in receipt of research funding prior to 1992.

¹⁶⁶ It should also be noted that the Novice and Defender tutors did not have the sustained subject specialisms of the Education Academics, and might therefore be seen as lacking some of the possible professional resources for becoming research active in HE.

¹⁶⁷ As chapter 4 has indicated, all of the HE sector underwent considerable changes in the early to mid 1990s. These changes had considerable effects on the working lives of academics in all disciplines (see Halsey 1992; Fulton 1995).

¹⁶⁸ Although it should also be noted, as previous chapters have indicated, that all tutors at Avonbridge felt that their professionalism was contested by some teacher-mentors in schools.

¹⁶⁹ In chapter 7 I have shown that Novice and Defender tutors were defined as either curriculum generalists or generated subject specialists. At Avonbridge these tutors reported that they worked within a setting where economic constraints and organisational structures encouraged the diversification, rather than the specialisation, of curriculum expertise. Entering HE from primary schooling without sustained subject specialisms, then they found that institutional demands often required generalist tutors, with rapidly acquired 'expertise' in a range of subjects and focuses, rather than sustained specialisms. If a sustained area of specialisation is seen as one of the starting points for engagement in research, then these tutors were given few opportunities to achieve this. Speculatively, this may have encouraged a focus on generic pedagogical skills rather than a specialist knowledge base as source of tutor expertise.

¹⁷⁰ An alternative theorisation of the situation at Avonbridge is to see it as an example of what Bourdieu (1990) terms 'officialization'. This is where a closely knit group or a dominant individual within a group is able to establish and propagate its legitimating principles and the discourses underlying them as 'truth'. Bourdieu states that

the group..... teaches itself and masks from itself its own truth, binds itself by a public profession which sanctions and imposes what it utters, tacitly defining the limits of the thinkable and the unthinkable (1990:108)

The group is therefore caught up in a self-referential process of legitimisation which hides any recognition of its limitations and restricts opportunities for alternative courses of development. The professional resources recognised by the group become established as of high value and are unchallenged within it (see Johannesson's 1993 study, section 2.5).

¹⁷¹ Chapter 9 has already outlined the institutional value which was placed on research at Brecon in the mid 1990s. Both the rise in the staff participation rates between 1992 and

1996, and the overall ratings awarded in the RAE of 1996 indicated an increase in research activity between 1992 and 1996. This judgement is also borne out by the interviewees' accounts of the pressures on them to be research-active, and by details of the research monitoring structures in place (see section 9.4).

¹⁷² As chapter 8 has shown, playing the 'partnership game', was not always straightforward for Education Academic tutors. Like Defenders, they sometimes felt their on-going credibility as primary teachers to be implicitly or explicitly questioned by school teachers and students. Students were also sometimes perceived to question the value of Education Academics' theoretical knowledge of schooling.

¹⁷³ This role has been defined previously in this study (see chapter 8) as focused professional and academic tutoring which aimed to (re)produce research-inflected teaching for and with their students.

¹⁷⁴ In chapter 8 I indicated that there were similarities between reconstructed professionalism and the professionalism of academies in studies such as those of Fulton (1996) and Halsey (1992). Key similarities were the commitment to research above all, and the use of research to generate knowledge and understanding of the discipline.

¹⁷⁵ Arguably, given the changing field of primary schooling in the mid 1990s, Education Academics can be seen as (re)producing a more appropriate model of primary schooling for their students than Novice and Defender tutors.

¹⁷⁶ In chapter 8 I have indicated that there are similarities between reconstructed professionalism and Hoyle's (1975) model of extended professionalism which sees theoretical perspectives as developing and extending the practitioner's experiential knowledge base. Reconstructed professionalism also draws in part of liberal progressive models of progressivism in which practitioner self-regulation and monitoring are stressed (see, for example, Osborn et al 2000).

¹⁷⁷ This thesis has not presented evidence of the institutional instantiation of these discourses. I have, however, provided evidence of the prevalence of relevant practices and principles within ITE institutions nation-wide during the relevant time frame.

¹⁷⁸ As chapter 8 has identified, one of the puzzling 'absences' from the findings of this research is that there are almost no examples in the empirical data of tutors using any theoretical knowledge of ITE, except limited references to government legislation, as a professional resource. Chapter 11 discusses the implications of this finding.

¹⁷⁹ This is not imply that these tutors lived easy professional lives. Chapter 9, for example, has referred to the struggles these tutors had in managing both teaching and research, and to the institutional tensions at Brecon.

¹⁸⁰ Ironically, the pedagogical modes advocated by the official bodies regulating ITE, are often complex to operationalise. Modelling the good practice of primary schooling through ITE teaching, for example, is a complex pedagogical strategy at odds with reductionist discourses of teaching. Tutors attempting to use it were therefore placed in potentially difficult situations within their institutions. The growing power of reductive and managerialist discourses in ITE indicates that, in future, these costs could increase.

¹⁸¹ As Hargreaves and Goodson (1996:9) state 'Care as well as cognition should be at the heart of the teaching profession and for many teachers is so.'

¹⁸² Chapters 7 and 8 have shown that, as Defenders acquired more years of experience of HE work, the professional resources they developed were related to second order knowledge (of how to be a professional in ITE itself) which they did not perceive to be necessarily highly valued by students, teachers or their peers. Their professional resources therefore developed

in devalued areas of expertise, while their experience and action-orientated knowledge of schooling declined in value.

¹⁸⁴ Chapter 7 has indicated some of the arguments about the distinctive habitus of Education Academic tutors. I concluded in this chapter that these tutors had a different habitus from that of Novice and Defender tutors on leaving the primary sector. I have also indicated that Education Academics did not enter the field of ITE at Brecon but have moved there from other HEIs. In making this move they may have been seeking an institutional setting which had affinities with their habitus.

¹⁸⁵ Student numbers, and consequently funding for ITE courses, are now determined by the TTA, but these decisions use the results of the bi-annual OFSTED inspections of primary ITE programmes.

¹⁸⁶ As chapter 8 has indicated, the tensions and professional issues which this study identifies about the professionalism of teacher educators have similarities with some findings from studies conducted in other national contexts (see, for example, Ducharme 1993 in the USA; Acker 1996 in Canada; Hatton 1997 in Australia).

¹⁸⁷ In practitioner bond professionalism, for example, I have shown that the tutors' saw themselves as modelling the practices and orientations of primary schooling for students through aspects of their professionalism (see chapter 8).

¹⁸⁸ The continuing definition in Ofsted inspection reports of HE-based ITE tutors modelling primary school teaching through their ITE teaching as 'good practice' has been referred to previously (see chapter 8). Such a definition places intense pressure on teacher educators struggling to teach increased student numbers on ITE courses in ways which meet Ofsted requirements.

¹⁸⁹ As chapter 2 has identified the field of primary schooling underwent radical changes from 1988 onwards, becoming increasingly focused on the teaching of subjects and increasingly influenced by managerialist discourses. As the analysis of Osborn et al (2000) indicates, the liberal progressive models of primary school teacher professionalism dominant in the 1980s had changed by the mid 1990s. Analysing these changes in relation to my findings raises the question of whether or not the Novice and Defender tutors in this study were attempting to (re)produce outmoded models of primary school teaching.

¹⁹⁰ The Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) 1 year course and the three or four year Under Graduate (BA Education or B.Ed.) teaching degree (see chapter 4).

¹⁹¹ Academics involved in the training of other professional groups such as doctors and lawyers have of course been part of the mainstream of HE for many decades. These groups have not had the same low status in academic hierarchies as teacher educators, possibly because they involve students in the acquisition of clearly defined, often scientifically-based knowledge bases or 'hard knowledge'. These groups belong to what Schon (1983:42) defined as the 'high, hard ground (of professional practice) where practitioners can make effective use of research-based theory and technique', whilst teacher educators belong to 'a swampy lowland where situations are confusing 'messes' incapable of technical solution'. Whitty et al (1987) have termed the low status of teacher educators in the university sector the 'Cinderella' syndrome.

¹⁹² Most of these professions, like teachers, belong in the terms of Etzioni (1969) to the semi-professions rather than being 'real' professionals. This, and similar perceptions of the nature of the work these first order professional groups undertake, may in part account for

the on-going low status of many of these second order practitioners as academic groups within the university sector. Just as the first order practitioners in these professions were defined as semi-professionals by Etzioni, so it is possible to see the marginalisation and devaluation of the second order practitioners in HE as being relegated to semi-academic status. Since most of these first order professional groups are predominantly female occupations, often engaged in caring roles, and a number of the second order professional educators are also female and frequently assigned to nurturing roles in HE, there are unaddressed gender issues here (see Davies 1996).

¹⁹³ This framework extends the definitions of academic professionalism given by commentators such as Watson (2000). Watson outlines the dual knowledge and expertise of these professional educators as

- i) academic knowledge and expertise (the subject or discipline)
- ii) pedagogical knowledge and expertise in HE work

¹⁹⁴ In a concurrent model professional educators work across both first and second order settings at the same time. In a 'top up' model educators are required to return to practise in the first order setting at regular intervals. The requirements of the 'recent and relevant' criterion of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) are a prime example of such a 'top-up' model. In contrast many medical educators are engaged in a concurrent model where ongoing, regular medical practice in wards and consulting rooms is undertaken alongside their teaching work in universities or teaching hospitals.

¹⁹⁵ There are, however, some thoughtful, research-based analyses of second order professional practice (see, for example, Fish 1999; Bourne, Katz and Watson 2000; Walker 2001).

¹⁹⁶ For example, should the processes of (re)production be undertaken by first order practitioners in the professional arenas of the first order (by nurses in the wards in which they work, by practising osteopaths in their consultation rooms, or by social workers in the family homes which they visit) or by second order practitioners in HEI seminar rooms? What balance should there be between the two basic forms of professional training, implied by these distinctions in the sites and agents for (re)production?

¹⁹⁷ As Maguire (2002) identifies, the nature of teacher education work varies within the differentiated English HE sector. Changing, and newly differentiated, hierarchies of teacher education work are now emerging in many universities, however. In many established universities and in some of the 'research-aspirant' new universities, ITE work is regarded as low status. In other new universities it is still the main part of all teacher educators' work, and engagement in management of ITE brings potential career progression to senior/principal lectureships, or even to professorial levels.

¹⁹⁸ One of these tutors had had primary ITE and experience of primary schooling prior to entry to ITE; the other had had 'secondary on secondary' experience of ITE and school teaching.

¹⁹⁹ All of these tutors were reported to have had secondary ITE and to have entered HE work with experience of secondary schooling. They acquired experience of primary school teaching in the mid / late 1980s after the implementation of the 'recent and relevant' criterion in Circular 3/84 (DES 1984).

²⁰⁰ All but one of these tutors was reported to have had 'secondary on secondary' ITE and experience of schooling. As at Brecon, experience of primary schooling had been gained through 'recent and relevant' staff development programmes.

