Changing Teacher Roles, Identities and Professionalism: An Annotated Bibliography

Ian Hextall, Sharon Gewirtz, Alan Cribb and Pat Mahony

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Preface

The aim of this annotated bibliography is to enable researchers, practitioners, policy makers and organizations with an interest in issues of teacher professionalism and teachers’ professional development to elicit the latest evidence and understanding about teachers’ lives and professional practices. We have selected 100 texts published since January 2000 and, although it is clearly not exhaustive, we view our selection as containing some of the most recent, relevant and important work in this area. In addition to publications which focus on the experiences of UK teachers, our selection includes texts which draw on research on teachers conducted in other national settings, as well as publications which examine professional experiences in other public sector fields (for example, in the health services). Our selection also includes publications which engage with the concept of professionalism in ways that transcend particular occupational or national contexts.

Because we are aware that there are highly influential texts preceding our post-January 2000 timeframe which have shaped the development of theoretical and empirical work on teachers’ roles, identities and professionalism, we commissioned Professor Geoff Troman to produce a paper which would map the historical development of scholarship on teachers’ work and teacher professionalism before 2000 (see Annex). We hope this will provide a useful introduction to the recent history of scholarship in this area for those unfamiliar with it and that it will serve as a useful reminder to all readers of the importance
of locating contemporary writing on teachers’ work and professionalism in the context of longstanding scholarly debates.
Acknowledgements

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Annotated Bibliography


Introductory textbook on the sociology of the professions, which has been updated to include discussion of the impact of recent welfare reforms on the health and social care professions. Locates specific analyses of these professions in the context of generic debates about professionalism, deprofessionalisation, managerialism and the idea of a vocation.


This chapter is in a book which brings together personal and historical reflections from two international leaders in science education on the processes and challenges of educational change. The chapter uses a number of ‘stories’ about contrasting examples of educational innovation to explore the gaps between the world of policy and the world of classroom teachers and concludes by outlining some principles for effective working. In particular, the authors stress the importance of change agents working responsively and sensitively with teachers and of teachers having continuous learning opportunities. These factors, the authors argue, are more important than whether the overall approach is ‘bottom up’ or ‘top down’.


Explores a range of factors that may be important for effective Continuing Professional Development (CPD), including teacher collaboration, the impact of school senior management, the quality of the CPD delivery and whether the content of the CPD is worthwhile.


Offers a critique of Sachs' (2003) and Hargreaves’ (2003) ‘activist’/‘transformative’ professionalism theses, arguing that these focus too narrowly on the realm of ideology and neglect the economic structures and relationships which provide the context for struggles over professionalism. The substantive example of the English further education (FE) sector is used to develop the argument.

Discusses how the ‘policy technologies’ of performativity and management transform teachers’ identities, relationships and values. Although the author argues the effects of these technologies are mediated by the particular settings in which teachers work, he nevertheless identifies some general effects, including a shift in emphasis in the concerns of teachers from ethics to efficiency, a reconstruction of teachers as technicians, the production of feelings of uncertainty, instability and ontological insecurity and a growing emphasis on presentation and ‘fabrication’.


This chapter is in a volume which examines the complex intersection between the forces of globalization and nationalism and how these forces are reflected and responded to within education systems. Bash argues that ease of access to information via the internet necessitates a re-examination of the role and professional identity of teachers and of the nature of their professional knowledge.


An updated version of Becher’s highly influential book first published in 1989. This work combines research findings, an analysis of existing literature and theoretical work on the nature of academic knowledge to provide a map of academic disciplines and cultures and the relations within and between distinct disciplines and cultures. It thereby traces the perceptions that diverse academics have of themselves and one another. This edition also seeks to reflect policy changes in the sector, including the expansion and diversification of higher education (HE) institutions, and incorporates an interest in issues of gender and ethnicity.


Builds on conceptual tools derived from Bernstein to examine the relationship between ‘structurings’ of knowledge and the formation of occupational identities, and, more specifically, looks at the challenges to the professional identities of academics posed by two trends: the ‘regionalization’ of knowledge (reflected in the formation of cross-disciplinary areas of study) and ‘genericism’ (reflected in the current fashion for teaching ‘key skills’, ‘core skills’, ‘thinking skills’, etc.).

Argues for a reconsideration of the relationship between education and work, arguing that educationalists have too often ignored the contribution of work to education. Drawing upon classic and contemporary scholarship in the philosophy of education on the subject of ‘know how’ and practical judgement, along with empirical examples, the authors argue that both paid and unpaid work contexts provide powerful educational experiences which should form the basis of a reassessment of what is truly educational in life. Their approach challenges what they see as modernist conceptions of education that associate education with formal study in educational institutions; it reflects postmodern insights about the de-centering of traditional education in favour of experiential, informal and reflective epistemologies.


Mounts a critique of how leadership has been treated as the solution to educational challenges and not a problem in itself, and of how the technologies of management dominate over substantive ethical and educational issues when leadership is presented as the solution. This is in the context of the shift to a performative state which, Blackmore argues, increasingly seeks to ‘manage professionalism’, to quieten critical voice by positioning it as disloyal, and to dumb down the professional's advocacy role in relation to ‘the public’ (as opposed to the client). The chapter also explores the implications of the literature on performativity, the ‘new professionalism’ and a risk society for feminist practices in leadership.


A report of research on the value and feasibility of the idea of ‘Professional Learning Communities’ (PLC). Based on a literature review and empirical research in a range of school settings, the authors argue for the promotion of PLC in schools, suggesting that such communities have a variety of key characteristics, including shared values, collective responsibility for pupils’ learning, collaboration based on learning, inclusivity and mutual trust and respect.


Examines the status, training and CPD of teachers in the UK and internationally. The authors argue that the global ‘modernisation’ of the teaching profession entails
teachers being both deprofessionalised and reprofessionalised. On the one hand, teachers are experiencing the erosion of their professional autonomy, while, on the other, new forms of professionalism are being encouraged through new regulatory structures and cultures. The book’s thesis is that these new forms of teacher professionalism are deficient. Reprofessionalisation agendas, it is argued, are preventing the kind of adaptability and reflective practice essential for the empowerment of pupils, parents and local communities, and detract from the possibility of teachers playing a valuable role in shaping the future direction of society.


A contribution to applied professional ethics. Drawing on empirical accounts of teachers’ beliefs and practices, the book begins with an overview of the nature of ethical agency and ethical knowledge in relation to teaching and teachers. The author then analyses the kinds of dilemmas that schools and individual teachers have to wrestle with and, in a concluding section, sets out and explores the respective contributions that codes, cultures and ethical professionalism can make to addressing dilemmas and enacting ethical knowledge in practice.


Taking the National Union of Teachers (NUT) as a case study, this paper explores whether union renewal is possible within the context of New Public Management which, over the last twenty years, has decentralized employment relations. Carter concludes that ‘there is no crisis of unionism’ and highlights the durability of traditional relations between the NUT’s local associations and local education authorities.


A review of 15 studies of collaborative CPD for teachers of students aged 5–16 conducted since 1998 in a range of national settings. In the studies reviewed, ‘sustained and collaborative CPD was linked with a positive impact on teachers’ repertoire of teaching and learning strategies, their ability to match these to their students’ needs, their self-esteem and confidence and their commitment to continuing learning and development’ (p.8). Sustained and collaborative CPD was also linked to gains in student learning, motivation and outcomes.

Reports on a study of teachers in New South Wales, Australia conducted during 2003–04. Crump explores the changing nature of teachers’ work in the context of the ‘flurry of reforms’ they have experienced. He argues that not only has the curriculum become ‘crowded’, but that teaching has become a ‘crowded profession’ due to the increasing and varied demands being made upon teachers.


This edited collection brings together critical, conceptual and empirical research on the effects of change on teachers’ lives and work. Drawing on scholarship from around the world, the book charts the changing policy contexts of schooling, the lived experiences of change and the potential contributions of school leadership to change. It thus seeks to draw internationally relevant lessons not only about teachers coping with mandated change but also about successfully shaping schools and teaching to protect and create quality learning opportunities for students.


Examines debates and issues around the theory, policy and practice of CPD. The editors outline two discourses which shape CPD provision and practice. The first, that of ‘managerial professionalism’, is seen as the more dominant. Counterposed to this is the alternative discourse of ‘democratic professionalism’ which emphasizes ‘collaborative, co-operative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders’ (p.7). From this *Handbook* we get a good sense of how these discourses are playing out in policy and practice in a range of very different national contexts.


Based on a study, funded by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), of 300 teachers in 100 primary and secondary schools in England, this book offers a detailed account of influences on and the nature of the teachers’ lives, work, identities and commitment, and in doing so highlights the relationship between teachers’ sense of wellbeing and their effectiveness in the classroom.

Using data from the authors’ DfES funded project involving 300 teachers in 100 schools, this paper challenges conceptions of identity that suggest it is intrinsically stable and those that suggest it is intrinsically fragmented, arguing that ‘teacher identities may be more, or less, stable and more or less fragmented at different times and in different ways according to a number of life, career and situational factors’ (p.601).


This international reader draws on a range of theoretical perspectives to explore the nature of professional identities, knowledge and practice in performance-related work cultures within which issues of regulation, autonomy, accountability and trust have become key points of contestation.


The research upon which this article is based was undertaken in Tasmania between 1984–94. It indicated that teachers were finding that their workloads were increasing and becoming more intense as a consequence of schools becoming increasingly complex workplaces. The complexity was exacerbated by teachers’ attempts to reconcile their professional commitments with the ‘economic rationalist policies’ they were confronting.


Considers the implications of globalisation – and new information and communications technologies as a key dimension of globalisation – for the curriculum, pedagogy and the role of the teacher in different sectors of education, including HE.


This wide-ranging special issue consists of six case studies of accountability practices in education drawn from England, Australia, South Africa, Chile, Austria and Hong Kong. The contributions illustrate differences amongst these national
systems but also elements they have in common. As guest editor, John Elliott provides a firm framework for comparative analysis and also sets each individual contribution within its own particular context.


Presents a complex analysis of the concepts of non-formal learning and tacit knowledge. The paper identifies three different types of non-formal learning – ‘implicit learning’, ‘reactive on-the-spot learning’ and ‘deliberative learning’ – and argues that too much attention tends to be paid to the latter. It then discusses the difficulties of detecting and conceptualizing tacit knowledge, before going on to explore the ways in which different kinds of tacit knowledge and modes of cognition are combined in professional work and to discuss the role of formal and informal social knowledge and the nature of situated learning.


- Report I. ‘Initial training of teachers and transitions to professional life’
- Report II. ‘Supply and demand’
- Report III. ‘Working conditions and pay’

These reports consist of comparative analyses undertaken by the Eurydice European Unit, based on contributions submitted by national partners and experts in relevant fields. Taken together, these reports illustrate both the difficulties of undertaking comparative analyses of national systems (even within as delimited a context as Europe) and the insights that can be gained by endeavouring to draw out generic trends and patterns from such diversity. The reports provide a wealth and range of argument and evidence, including statistical data.


Building on the author's previous work, this article explores job-related attitudes among education professionals. Findings from studies of schoolteachers and academics are compared in order to explore the impact of leadership on morale, job satisfaction and motivation, and the implications of these findings for policy and practice in education leadership are drawn out.

Presents an historical overview of sociological debates on professionalism, contrasting conceptions of professionalism which focus on its normative dimensions with those that focus on its ideological dimensions. In the final section of the paper Evetts compares the relationship between the normative and ideological dimensions of professionalism across different occupational groups.


Reviews key questions in current sociological work on professionalism, arguing for a pragmatic approach to issues of definitional uncertainty and drawing attention to new directions in the sociology of the professions that focus on the operation of the discourse of professionalism as a mode of control.


Presents the findings of a large-scale survey of teachers’ attitudes to performance-related pay (PRP) in Wales. The teachers surveyed were hostile to PRP as it was felt that ‘it would be problematic to isolate the performance of individual teachers and deleterious to collegiality and teamwork in schools’. The teachers were also concerned about ‘the potential for subjectivity and favouritism, the negative effect on morale and the bureaucratic burden’ (p.81).


This special issue, which ranges broadly across the field of state education, includes articles by Mary Jane Drummond, Sheila Dainton, Patrick Yarker, Derek Gillard and Helen Gunter that focus on the nature of professionalism and ‘its struggles to retain its collective memory, voice and … educational integrity’ (p.65) in the context of contemporary British policy formations.


A critique, from North America, of the negative impact that top-down reforms may have on practice. Drawing on case-study material, the paper reports on the unintended effects of systemic reform on the work and lives of teachers and principals at one secondary school in Ontario, Canada, concluding that ‘at a time when teacher shortages and teacher morale are growing problems for many
educational jurisdictions, [there is] an urgent need to build better bridges of understanding between policy makers and policy implementers, and for researchers to provide research that is more sensitive to the work and lives of “real” people in “real” schools’ (p.105).


Builds on Freidson’s earlier work on the sociology of the professions. In this book Freidson explores both ‘ideal types’ of professionalism and the real world organizations and contingencies in which professionals operate. Whilst surveying a wide literature, Freidson develops a distinctive theory of professionalism as embodying a particular institutional ‘logic’ – one which is different from, but has to be developed and practiced in interaction with, the logics of bureaucracy and the market.


An empirically grounded account of the origins, implementation and consequences of the controversial reforms in teacher education in England and Wales during the 1990s. The book draws on national surveys and detailed case studies conducted as part of two ESRC-funded projects to map and evaluate changing relationships between central government, HE institutions and schools in the provision of initial education for teachers and transformations in the content of that education. The authors consider whether a new form of professionalism was being created during this period and how a more democratic professionalism might be developed.


This chapter is in a book which considers the role of intuition in professional practice and the implications of this for professional education and development. Furlong considers challenges to teachers’ professional autonomy and the contribution of these challenges to what the author considers to be a crisis of confidence in teacher professionalism. Furlong argues that the notion of intuition has much to contribute to the task of rebuilding teacher professionalism but that attention to the intuitive dimensions of professional practice must be combined with an acceptance of the need for accountability in education and for critical debate about educational goals and practices.

Following a critique of the pervasive influence of market and managerial ideologies on educational processes and practices and of top-down approaches to policy-making, the authors advocate new forms of democratic leadership and new forms of teacher professionalism aimed at increasing the influence of educators’ voices at all levels of decision making in education, enabling teachers to engage in meaningful ways with their surrounding communities, and challenging social inequalities.


This book reviews the impact of managerialism, marketization and other post-welfarist policy currents on English secondary schooling. It has both explanatory and evaluative agendas. First, drawing on in-depth interviews with teachers and other ethnographic data, it charts the reconstruction of English schooling brought about by post-welfarism, addressing, amongst other themes, shifts in conceptions of leadership, values and ethics and the nature of teachers’ work. Second, it analyses and appraises the post-welfarist policy settlement, considering and comparing Conservative and New Labour education policies and subjecting them to a critical audit from a social justice perspective.


Examines the rise of performance management cultures and their impact on teachers’ work and schooling. The chapters in Part 1 focus on implications for school leaders, those in Part 2 look at implications for teachers and teaching, and Part 3 analyses the policy frameworks that promote the culture of performativity in education.


Draws on ESRC/TLRP funded research on the transformation of learning cultures in FE. Using interviews with 16 tutors drawn from four FE colleges, tutors’ reflective journals and observational data, the authors critically explore the ways in which teacher professionalism is being reworked in the FE sector both as a consequence of external policy change and practitioners’ own creative agency.

A critique of dominant constructions of what constitutes appropriate professional knowledge for teachers. Goodson challenges the current emphasis on practical knowledge and the neglect of disciplinary knowledge, and argues for an approach to developing teachers’ professional knowledge which strives to connect stories about teachers’ lives and work to wider social structures, processes and relationships.


The authors draw on examples of life-history research to investigate the reasons for its popularity and to argue that it has a unique and powerful contribution to make to the understanding of the nature of schools, schooling and educational experiences. The theoretical, epistemological, methodological, practical and ethical dimensions of life-history research are analyzed, and the relationship between life histories and professional practice is explicitly addressed.


Uses labour process theory to examine recent changes in teachers’ work in developed countries. The author argues that these changes include a decline in teacher control over curriculum content and pedagogy, a growing emphasis on management and administration tasks, new pay structures, a diminished role for the teacher unions, changing conditions of service and new regulatory controls over teachers’ competence and behaviour. She challenges views of teaching which reduce it to a technical activity and, in contrast, seeks to emphasise the complex moral, cultural and intellectual nature of teachers’ work.


Harber, whilst acknowledging that schooling can be used for good ends, concentrates on reviewing and analyzing the harms that schools can do to pupils and societies. Drawing upon examples from across the world, he reviews the many ways in which schools are implicated in violence of various forms. The themes of the book include surveillance and control, authoritarianism, the teaching and learning of hatred, sexual abuse, mental ill health and militarization. Harber concludes with a consideration of schooling for democracy and peace.

Distinguishes between four phases in the development of teacher professionalism – ‘the pre-professional age’, ‘the age of the autonomous professional’, ‘the age of the collegial professional’ and the ‘post-professional or postmodern’ age. Hargreaves argues that contemporary discourses and experiences of teacher professionalism borrow features drawn from all four ages and seeks to connect professional projects to wider social movements for the transformation of public education.


Containing original insights and ideas concerning the concept of ‘the knowledge society’ and its implications for teachers and schools, this book includes examples of schools that operate as ‘creative and caring learning communities’.


   Volume I: ‘The historical aspects of teacher education 1797 to 1914’
   Volume II: ‘The historical aspects of teacher education 1914 to 1990’
   Volume III: ‘Teacher education: curriculum and change’
   Volume IV: ‘Teacher education: professionalism, social justice and teacher education’
   Volume V: ‘Globalisation, standards and teacher education’

This exhaustive five-volume edited collection is directly focused on historical and contemporary developments in teacher development and education. The last three volumes are of particular pertinence to contemporary debates both in the UK and internationally.


Reports on a survey of academic staff in social science and business-related disciplines which revealed that despite significant hostility to the 2001 UK Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), including a widespread belief that it produced practices which ‘violate’ traditional academic values, there was a high degree of compliance with its demands. The author argues this compliance is a consequence of the high ‘identity value’ associated with RAE success.

Considers the implications of the UK RAE for women academics and explores the possibility that women may be advantaged by a system of independent and standardised monitoring which might ‘render visible research contributions hitherto overlooked by male-dominated institutional hierarchies’ (p. 377). The author concludes that only a minority of female (and male) academics are likely to be advantaged by research selectivity processes and practices.


Reviews and analyzes the changes in academic identities consequent upon the HE policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s in the UK. The analysis is focused around case studies of quality assurance related policies, including the RAE, but opens up generic issues including the possible shifts and tensions between disciplinary and institutional identities. The processes of becoming and evolving as an academic are considered in relation to the roles of teacher, researcher and administrator/manager and the differences among different disciplines and different kinds of institutions are incorporated into the analysis.


An article exploring changes in academic identities and values arising from the changing policy climate of higher education. Using the case of biological scientists, Henkel examines the impact of policy on the role of the discipline in academic life and on the nature of academic autonomy.


A Marxist critique of neo-liberal education policies, which draws on eleven international case studies commissioned by the International Labour Organization to map the impact of these policies on teachers’ pay and conditions and trade union rights and powers.

Drawing on a qualitative study of the workplace learning of secondary school teachers in England, this paper critiques ‘acquisition’/‘technical rationality’ conceptions of teacher learning that the authors argue underpin government policy for the professional development of teachers. Using insights from the teacher development and workplace learning literatures, the authors argue for the construction of more expansive learning environments based on a view of teacher learning that emphasizes how learning is accomplished through social and workplace participation and personal construction.


Based on in-depth study of the workplace learning of teachers in four subject departments of two English secondary schools, this paper re-examines the concept of community of practice and explores the ways in which communities of practice can sometimes operate at ‘close-knit’ group levels to mediate wider organizational influences on individual practice.


Hoyle argues that as a result of concerns about the recruitment, retention and morale of teachers there has been a renewed interest in the notion of ‘status’. He suggests a more sophisticated analysis is needed which differentiates between the dimensions of prestige, status and esteem and considers the implications of the ‘new professionalism’ for each of these dimensions.


A book putting forward an ironic perspective as a conceptual device for analyzing how reforms may increase endemic ambiguity in school education, pointing to ironic consequences of reforms, and arguing a case for more temperate policy making and leadership and management.


Explores gendered patterns of employment in the teaching profession, pointing to imbalances: for example, men tending to work with older pupils and women with
younger ones and a disproportionate number of men in management and in the teaching of science, mathematics and information technology. Hutchings argues that such imbalances are a cause for concern in that education is not just one of the many occupations divided along gender lines, it is also an institution which contributes to the reproduction of gendered divisions, and she identifies ways in which policies could address these issues.


This DfES-commissioned study explored teachers’ experiences of, attitudes towards and future expectations of CPD. From a questionnaire survey of 2,500 teachers and in-depth study of teachers’ experiences in 22 schools, the researchers found that most teachers were satisfied with their CPD experiences, that teachers valued CPD they saw as relevant to their own schools or classrooms and that took into consideration their existing knowledge, and that teachers were critical of ‘one size fits all’ standardized approaches. The teachers felt that school and national priorities had been prioritized in recent years and that a shift in balance was needed in favour of CPD opportunities that enabled teachers to develop their personal interests.


Explores the contemporary ramifications of the ‘troubled history of the apartheid inspection system’ and distrust of state surveillance at a time when the South African government is trying to establish a new system of evaluation for its schools. The article raises important questions about the implications of state actions for teachers’ identities and agency.


Drawing on ethnographic research conducted in six English primary schools, this paper examines shifts in the discourses that structure teachers’ work and their relationships with each other and their students. The authors argue that a ‘humanist’ discourse is under threat from the growing dominance of a ‘performativity’ discourse but suggest that there is some space for teachers to ‘reconstitute’ the performativity discourse ‘through the maintenance of humanist relations’ (p. 531).

In addressing the problematic of teacher recruitment and retention, this collection reviews research evidence and makes policy recommendations on the issues of teacher supply and demand, 'teacher returners', supply teachers, ethnic and gender inequalities in the teaching profession and the role of 'elite universities' in teacher recruitment. It also considers how the occupation of teaching might be made more attractive by rethinking the nature of teacher professionalism.


An historical analysis of the post-1979 reconstruction of schooling, teachers' work and teacher professionalism in England. Written from a Gramscian perspective, the chapter illuminates the ways in which global policy orthodoxies are not imposed on passive populations but rather struggled over and as a consequence take on different forms in different national and local contexts.


Drawing on surveys, interviews and focus group discussions with serving teachers and other education professionals, the book explores why so many teachers are leaving the profession. The author argues that existing, and outmoded, organizational structures are at odds with the demands made on teachers to prepare their students for the future and that a new model of the teaching profession is needed which values the 'human face' of teaching over the organizational one and which provides teachers with greater professional autonomy.


Based on a collaborative research project in England and New Zealand which examined the impact of education policy on primary teachers’ work and professional identities. The researchers describe a shift in policy discourse from a 'professional-contextualist' conception of teacher professionalism towards a 'technocratic-reductionist' conception, associated with an increase in constraints on teacher autonomy. They argue that teachers’ perceptions of the implications of this shift for their sense of professionalism were largely dependent upon how extrinsic accountability demands 'were filtered through the profession's defining quality, namely teachers' altruistic concerns for the welfare of the children in their care' (p.555).

While recognizing that professionalism is a contested concept, Locke draws on ‘the classical formulation of teacher professionalism, based around notions of expert knowledge, altruism and autonomy’ in order to explore processes of deprofessionalization amongst teachers. Using survey data collected from teachers in New Zealand and the UK, Locke paints a complex picture suggesting that while many teachers have a sense of their professionalism having been eroded in the course of the 1990s, partly as a consequence of the curriculum and assessment reforms to which they have been subject in both countries, teachers have responded in diverse ways to the reforms. Locke argues that these responses are shaped by different modes of professional identification.


Provides a useful conceptual analysis of professionalism and ‘professional erosion’ (or ‘de-professionalization’) and asks whether professional erosion has occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. Drawing on research from England and Wales, Australia and New Zealand, Locke’s analysis suggests that the answer to this question is not straightforward. Locke concludes by exploring, in practical terms, what can be done about the problem of professional erosion.


Designed to encourage and support a reflective approach to the ethical dilemmas facing university lecturers, this book focuses on everyday professional ethics and the practical dilemmas that arise in relation, for example, to teaching and assessment or committee tasks. It reviews the strengths and weaknesses of recourse to codes and guidelines in relation to ethical decision-making while advocating an approach that is centred on the development of professional virtues rather than a reliance on bureaucratic models.


A critical analysis of New Labour’s deployment of the discourse of modernization in relation to its ‘teacher reformation’ project. Uses three policy documents to explore New Labour’s discursive attempts to construct a new common sense around the value of managerial notions of performance management, the
management of learning and target-setting. Argues that one implication is the sidelining of alternative constructions of teachers ‘who sometimes need to resist the tyranny of central imposition in the longer term interests of those they work with and for’ (p.133).


Examines the role of social class in the formation of teachers’ identities and in shaping their daily lives through in-depth exploration of the case of one secondary school teacher who self-identifies as working-class but who has ‘crossed classes’ as a consequence of her education and occupation. Uses data from an interview with this teacher to illustrate and illuminate some of ‘the micro-practices and textures of class that are woven into the fabric of everyday life in school’ (p.440).


A critical evaluation of recent reforms to teacher education and the governance of teachers’ work, showing how national teaching standards and the wider currents of performance management in which they are embedded serve to fundamentally reshape both the form and content of teaching. The empirical focus of the book is the Teacher Training Agency but the work of this agency is examined through the lens of broader shifts in patterns of governance and accountability. The values and assumptions lying behind these shifts are analyzed and critiqued and the process of reform is illuminated by setting the reforms in the international context of changes in the structures of work.


This reader considers the implications of the enterprise culture, new managerialism and credentialism for the caring professions, including health, social and community care and the probation services. It provides valuable perspectives on the relationships between professional and personal values, the contemporary complexities and contradictions of the ‘new’ professionalism in its many different guises and the difficulties of negotiating boundaries between different professional groups and also between professionals and their client groups.


The contributions to this wide-ranging special issue on research and teachers’ professional practice include discussion of how the gap between research and practice-based knowledge might be bridged, what can be learnt from the wisdom of Native Americans in the evaluation of public education, using students’ views to
develop teachers’ practice, and the argument that instrumental rationality and experiential wisdom need to be combined if teaching practice is to be enhanced.

McCulloch, G., Helsby, G. and Knight, P. (2000) *The Politics of Professionalism: teachers and the curriculum*, London: Continuum. Based on ESRC-funded research, this book maps the history of the politics of professionalism in the second half of the twentieth century in the UK, with a particular focus on the impact of the national curriculum on secondary school teachers in the 1990s. The authors draw on a range of primary and secondary sources as well as interviews conducted with teachers and policymakers. Their analysis highlights both the limits to and the possibilities of the exercise of professional autonomy within the context of a national curriculum and engages with the question of whether teaching is still a profession.


Challenges traditional notions of academic professionalism which revolve around the ideas of professional autonomy, professional self-regulation and the status of academic workers and urges the academic community to re-think academic freedom in more inclusive ways that emphasize ‘freedom for all’ rather than ‘freedom for academics’. The paper also rejects the emphasis on standards and outcomes in contemporary discourses of academic professionalism.


A critique of managerial and commercial discourses and practices in higher education and a call for academics ‘to reclaim a public and inclusive language for education that reflects the moral ends and purposes of academic practice’ and that embraces the ‘traditional’ academic virtues of truthfulness, respect and authenticity (p.245).


Explores changes in teacher professionalism in England and Wales in the light of shifts in government policy, especially the emergence of the ‘new professionalism’ and the changing demands of schools and their wider communities. Includes discussion of professional development issues, recent developments in integrating services for young children, workforce remodelling and the role of research. The articles come from a rich variety of institutional bases, including the General Teaching Councils for England and Wales, the Commission for Racial Equality, Voluntary Services Overseas, the Association of Teachers and Lecturers, the Specialist Schools’ Trust and the Local Government Association.

Draws on a longitudinal study conducted between 1989 and 1997 which examined the impact of the National Curriculum and assessment reforms on English primary schools. The book explores how teachers ‘recreated’ these policies on the ground, focusing on their values, their relationships with colleagues and students and their curricula and pedagogic practices. It has both a descriptive and an explanatory agenda, and highlights the crucial role headteachers can play in mediating and softening the pressures of external demands on teachers.


A research-based textbook designed to support the development of individual and collective learning in order to improve the effectiveness of schools in a context of reform. It is aimed at practicing teachers, both newly qualified and experienced, and for all those involved in the CPD of teachers and it is intended as an interactive resource text with links to other resources and websites.


This edited collection draws on international case studies of the workplace to provide a critical analysis of theories and practices of workplace learning. Original research and critical vignettes relating to a broad range of different countries and kinds of organizations are combined in order to develop a more contextualized understanding of the possibilities of, and constraints upon, workplace learning. The chapters are organized under four themes: ‘the context of workplace learning’, ‘the workplace as a learning environment’, ‘skills, knowledge and the workplace’ and ‘research and policy’.


Reid argues that the labour process approach to analyzing teachers’ work has become marginalized due to its association with Braverman’s thesis of proletarianization. This thesis, he argues, was based on a particular model of control and regulation which laid the theory open to accusations of determinism. In the light of the specific ways in which the contemporary state is exerting control and imposing purposes on teachers’ work, Reid attempts a ‘theoretical renovation’ of labour process theory.

Draws on personal experience and research, which involved tracking the progress of over 50 students during their initial teacher training and interviewing teachers, teacher trainers and government agencies, to examine the backgrounds of those who go into teaching and the factors influencing the decision of many to leave the profession shortly after qualifying. A range of issues are discussed including the 'kind of teacher we want in our schools' and whether teaching can be defined as a profession in the current context.


This is a collection of Robin Richardson's conference lectures, which are designed to celebrate the imaginative gifts and inspirational qualities of teachers. In his lectures Richardson draws on novels, poems, satire and other literary and symbolic resources to pay tribute to teachers' professional virtues including their courage, commitment and energy. Through this means he critiques the deficit constructions of teachers embodied in UK government reforms since 1988. By contrast, he reaffirms constructions of the teacher not only as an artist, craftsperson and performer but also as a maker of communities and of history.


Analyses the effects of the raft of performance and standards regulations on the work of teachers in both FE and HE, bringing out some of the commonalities and contrasts between the two sectors. The effects of regulative change, particularly the pressures of new forms of accountability, on teacher autonomy, collegiality and identity are reviewed. Robson argues that the relatively poorer working conditions of the FE sector needs to be understood as a product of the status gap between the vocational and the academic, and she argues for a fairer balance between these two currents and the two sectors.


Sachs argues for a radical conception of teacher professionalism in which teachers take the lead in defining their own work and the transformative contribution that they can make to society. The book is not merely aspirational but considers examples of real-world policy and structural change that have the potential to achieve more collaborative and democratic models of working. Teacher inquiry is discussed as one means of developing teacher professionalism as a social and
political strategy. More widely, Sachs advocates and proposes methods for re-establishing the moral and intellectual leadership of the teaching profession.


Provides a historical mapping and comparison of Anglo-American and continental approaches to the sociology of the professions and offers a critique of contemporary continental approaches and their foregrounding of cultural and social psychological variables at the expense of invariant structural qualities. Sciulli argues for ‘a structural and institutional turn in the study of professions that distinguishes professions from middle-class occupations and reveals the consequences that professions uniquely introduced into civil society’ (p.915).


Sennett explores the relationships between changing workplace structures and cultures and the meaning of workers’ lives. Focusing in particular on the organizational forms associated with flexible capitalism, he suggests that in practice 'flexibility' undermines the relative stability needed for the cultivation of personal virtues and for individuals to achieve coherent narratives for their lives. In this critique of the more upbeat claims for the humanizing potential of 'post-Fordism', he draws both upon philosophical arguments and upon direct accounts from workers in a variety of settings.


This paper reports on the conceptual work undertaken as part of a project designed to develop and apply the ‘Fostering a Community of Learners' (FCL) model. It elaborates the idea of 'teacher learning communities' especially in relation to the goal of 'theory-rich, open-ended, content-intensive classrooms' and proposes a framework for analysing the components of teacher learning in communities, a framework which encompasses teacher-student relations, institutional factors and policy contexts.


Uses two ethnographic case studies to explore the implications of economic globalization for the labour process of teaching, highlighting the profound impact of neo-liberalism on teachers’ work as well as teachers’ creative responses to the new forms of surveillance and control they are experiencing.

This international edited collection offers a social anthropological exploration of new accountability practices and their cultural implications, with a number of the contributions focusing on implications for intellectual work and professional ethics in the academy.


Considers interactions and tensions between the ‘economy of performance’ and ‘ecologies of practice’ discourses that shape the professional identities of teachers and nurses. Stronach seeks to offer a ‘nuanced account of professional identities, stressing the local, situated and indeterminable nature of professional practice, and the inescapable dimensions of trust, diversity and creativity’ (p. 109).


Mounts a critique of the UK government’s recent ‘workforce remodelling’ policy in terms of its implications for the professional status of teachers in England. The article explains how the policy has led to teaching assistants (without Qualified Teacher Status) taking over teaching activities. It investigates why all but one of the teachers’ trade unions accepted a position which risked eroding the professional status of their members and argues that the ‘formal knowledge’ of teachers should be re-asserted as the basis of teacher professionalism.


Explores teachers' perceptions of the causes of their stress, the experience and effects of stress and the process of recovery and self-renewal. The book is based on interviews with English primary school teachers clinically diagnosed as suffering from stress-related illness. These interviews are complemented by organizational studies of two primary schools. The findings are used to inform policy recommendations aimed at preventing occupational stress in teaching and other ‘caring’ professions at source as well as advice to individuals suffering from stress.


In this book Urban reviews teacher professionalism in the USA through the lens of the history of the National Education Association (NEA), the largest teacher
organization in the world. The book is organized chronologically, from the foundation of the NEA in 1857, but concentrating on its reform and evolution from 1917 up until the end of the 20th century. This broad sweep thus encompasses the impact of the Great Depression and the Second World War on teachers’ work. Urban uses this lens to analyze the relationship between professionalism and unionism and to explore the themes of, and intersections between, gender and race in teaching.


Written by academics from a range of disciplines from computing to German studies, this book is a record of their attempts as university teachers to improve their practice and develop their professionalism. It tracks the outcomes of an HE teaching and learning programme and associated action research projects undertaken over a one year period. In regular meetings and through open dialogue the teachers discuss a range of issues confronting HE including the teaching of large classes, developing autonomous learning and encouraging critical thinking. They argue that the process enables them to explore the notion of ‘critical professionalism’ in university education which includes consideration of ‘what counts as “good” teaching and learning, and how we might work for a fairer society through education’ (p.x).


This edited collection draws upon international scholarship to offer an alternative vision for higher education. Beginning with a review of the ‘Dark Times’ produced by contemporary HE policies, it explores competing conceptualisations of the purposes of universities, focusing in particular on HE as a space for reaffirming difference, deliberative dialogue and the intrinsic good of learning. The concluding part of the book is dedicated to exploring concrete proposals for reworking management, teaching and scholarship in ways that might better serve these ideals.


A conception of the characteristics of complexity embodied in major educational change that renders it complex to manage and a critique of the UK’s highly centralized central government reform strategy.

Drawing on case-study research conducted in England and Finland, this article explores the implications of educational reforms for teachers’ work and their perceptions of teaching as a profession in both countries. The authors identify positive factors influencing teacher retention – commitment to children, professional freedom and supportive colleagues – and negative ones – work intensification, low pay, deteriorating pupil behaviour and a decline in public respect. The paper concludes with policy recommendations aimed at enhancing teacher commitment and promoting retention.


A comparative analysis of policy makers’ and teachers’ conceptions of teacher professionalism in England and Finland, drawing on interviews with teachers in each country. The authors argue that while in England policy agendas were shaped by a standards-focused ‘commercialized professionalism’, in Finland notions of ‘teacher empowerment’ were more dominant. They suggest that in both countries teachers’ conceptions of their professionalism were changing but in different ways, reflecting ‘past and present ideology, policy and practice’ (p.83).


This book applies insights from the sociology and politics of education to the process of understanding education policy in England and Wales during the 1990s. The substantive topics covered include curriculum change, teacher professionalism, school improvement and school choice. Through this means New Labour’s approach to education is analyzed and critiqued. Although the focus is on England and Wales, comparisons are drawn with other systems and, more generally, the author sets out to show how sociological analysis can shed light on the possibilities and limits of educational change. The chapter which focuses on professionalism asks ‘how far sociological discourses about professionalism and the State can help us to understand the contemporary condition of teachers’ and also ‘speculates about the forms of teacher professionalism that might develop in the early years of the twenty-first century’ (p.64).
This chapter considers the impact of New Labour’s educational policies on primary school teachers. It charts a shift in official policies from liberal egalitarian views to ones based more on concerns about increasing global economic competitiveness, and evaluates the research evidence on whether this policy move is de- or re-professionalizing primary school teachers.


Examines the dilemmas that the authors suggest primary teachers are having to confront in the face of challenges posed to an ‘old Plowden self-identity’ centred on notions of ‘holism’, ‘humanism’ and ‘vocationalism’ by reforms in primary education. The authors explore the ‘identity work’ and emotional and intellectual strategies that teachers engage in when responding to these dilemmas.
Annex

Research on teachers’ work and teacher professionalism: a short history
– Geoff Troman

Early writing on professionalism concentrated on listing and defining the features or traits of a professional group, building on the ideal-type methodology developed by Max Weber. Two classics in this functionalist tradition are Flexner’s *Is Social Work a Profession?* (1915) and Carr-Saunders and Wilson’s *The Professions* (1933). Whitty (2001) describes the sociological ‘trait theory’ of the 1950s and 1960s as an attempt to:

establish what features an occupation should have in order to be termed a profession. Lists were compiled of the characteristics that any group worthy of the label ‘professionals’ needed to have. A typical list included such items as the use of skills based on theoretical knowledge, education and training in those skills certified by examination, a code of professional conduct oriented towards the ‘public good’ and a powerful professional organisation.

(Whitty, 2001: p.159)
Davies (2005) reminds us that a dominant ‘traditional definition’ of ‘professions’ (incorporating notions of ‘professionals’ and ‘professionalism’) has proved to be enduring in its application to teachers and teaching:

A profession is classically defined as a form of work organization which includes some central regulatory body to ensure the standard of performance of individual members; a code of conduct (also known as ethics, practice, and as standards); careful management of knowledge in relation to the expertise which constitutes the basis of the profession’s activities; and control of numbers, selection and training of new entrants. Max Weber regarded professions as the paradigm form of collegiate activity, in which rational-legal power is based on representative democracy and leaders in principle are first among equals.

Status, accountability, the common good, these pursuits and the criteria for a profession all point to the classical model: medicine and the law. Entry, training, knowledge, conduct, all are controlled by members who also have the power of sanction. It is this last authority which is crucial because it allows the profession itself to police its members, to strike off, or disbar, an erring member whose conduct, professional and sometimes personal, brings the profession into disrepute.

(Davies, 2005: p.1)
Despite Weber’s advocacy of professions and the bureaucratic organizations necessitated by the complex division of labour in ‘modern’ society (what has come to be known as ‘bureau-professionalism’), it is his critique of professions in terms of their potential tendency toward occupational closure which has predominantly informed sociological approaches to the professions, including teaching. Such approaches were particularly strong in the 1980s.

During the 1970s researchers had focused on the concepts of ‘professionalism’ (referring to a professional groups’ conduct, demeanour and the standards which guide it) and ‘professionalization’ (referring to an occupational group improving status and standing) (see Goodson and A. Hargreaves, 1996). In the same decade and beyond paradigmatic schisms in the sociology of education occurred, exemplified by the emergence of the New Sociology of Education (Young, 1971). These coincided with the weakening of the post-Second World War liberal-democratic welfare settlement and the subsequent (post-1979) imposition of the Thatcherite economic and social project involving the dismantling of welfarism and an attack on public sector workers and professionals for their alleged ‘producer capture’. In this period the study of teachers’ roles, identities and professionalism increasingly took two directions. There were extremely important theoretical and empirical developments in the areas of, on the one hand, interpretivist/interactionist perspectives on teachers’ work and the social processes of schooling, for example, *Teachers’ Lives and*
Careers (Goodson and Ball, 1985) and The Divided School (Woods, 1979), and, on the other hand, neo-Marxist perspectives on professionalism, work and teachers’ relations with the capitalist State, for example, Ozga and Lawn’s Teachers, Professionalism and Class (1981), Lawn and Grace’s Teachers: The Culture and Politics of Work (1987), Ozga’s Schoolwork (1988) and Dale’s The State and Education Policy (1989). The urgency of developing a sociology of teachers’ work was clearly called for in the edited collection Schools, Teachers and Teaching (Barton and Walker, 1981) which contained a range of chapters utilizing both of these perspectives.

In the USA there had been a long tradition of empirical work on teaching as an occupation. Becker’s studies focused on teachers’ work and their workplaces and set this work in the context of general occupational analysis (see, for example, The Teacher in the Authority System of the Chicago Public School, 1953), while in The Semi-professions and their Organization Etzioni (1969) questioned the appropriateness of applying the concept of ‘professional’ to the occupational groups of teachers, social workers and nurses and developed the alternative conception of ‘semi-profession’. Waller (in The Sociology of Teaching, 1967) and Lortie (in the Schoolteacher, 1975) used ethnographic methods to illuminate the ‘realities’ of teachers’ work.
In a similar way, interpretive/interactionist studies in the UK sought to empirically examine the ‘black-box’ of schooling, focusing on such phenomena as teacher strategies (e.g. Woods, 1980) and teacher/school cultures (e.g. Pollard’s *The Social World of the Primary School*, 1985). The growing importance of ethnographic methodology for the study of teachers and teaching was reflected in the publication of classics such as *Beachside Comprehensive* (Ball, 1981) and *Two Cultures of Schooling* (A. Hargreaves, 1986). It was also becoming evident that such studies had huge theoretical significance in understanding teachers’ identities and work. Goodson and Hargreaves (1996), for example, emphasize the importance of teachers’ narratives, autobiographies and life histories in relation to their professional work of teaching.

In this interpretivist/interactionist view the meaning of professionalism was defined in terms of what teachers did and the characteristics and processes of the cultures and organisations they worked in. This work highlighted the saliency of the teacher’s self in engaging with the work of teaching and their professional role(s). Later developments of this perspective on the subjective experience of teaching using life-history methods led to an exploration of teacher career trajectories by Sikes *et al.* (*Teacher Careers: Crises and Continuities*, 1985) and Huberman’s massive study of the teaching ‘life-span’ and socialization in teaching (*The Lives of Teachers*, 1993).
Work on teachers utilizing concepts such as ‘labour process’ benefited from Braverman’s (1974) neo-Marxist analysis in Labour and Monopoly Capital. Ozga (1988), for example, placed discussions of teachers and professionalism in the context of work in the capitalist state. Along with other fields, teaching was seen to be in crisis with central government exerting greater control over teachers and the labour process of teaching. Ozga argued that these policy initiatives:

include alterations to the pattern of initial teacher training and retraining, changes in the content of training which are intended to promote technical competence and shift the emphasis away from general intellectual development; changes in the contractual relationship between teachers and employers; in teachers’ negotiating rights (their abolition); in their control over the content of curriculum and examinations; changes in the structure of pay and promotion in teaching; and the establishment of a clear demarcation between staff and line members of the teaching force.

(Ozga, 1988, p. ix)

In Ozga’s Schoolwork professionalism was defined as an ideology (which could be utilized by or against professionals) and teacher professionalism was seen as a form of state control with teachers being subject to ‘direct’ or ‘indirect rule’ by the state as political, economic, social and cultural circumstances
determined. In *The State and Education Policy* Dale (1989) described a marked shift in the mode of state regulation of teacher professionalism from a 'licensed' form of autonomy to a more tightly controlled 'regulated' autonomy. These views were in direct tension with 'trait theory' and taken for granted assumptions that teachers had been moving steadily towards professional status in terms of comparison with more established professions such as medicine and law. (See Tropp’s *The School Teachers*, 1957, for a statement of this latter position.) By placing the emphasis on deteriorating conditions and increased control of teachers’ work, one major analytical concern was the issue of whether teachers were becoming de-professionalized or even proletarianized (see, for example, Apple’s *Work, Class and Teaching*, 1983).

Ozga’s *Schoolwork* mapped out a future research agenda on teachers’ work and professionalism which remained relevant throughout the 1990s:

Among the lines of enquiry which are suggested by looking at teaching as work, and critically considering the meaning of professionalism in teachers’ work, are those which direct attention to the organization of teachers’ work and the workplace context, to teachers’ formal and informal groupings and networks, to the division of labour both by function and by gender in teaching, to the role of management and supervision, to performance appraisal and efficiency, to strategies of compliance and resistance, and to job design and quality control in education work.

(Ozga, 1988, p. xii)
As noted above, work on ‘professionalism’ in the sociology of professions has a long history in the USA (see Larson’s *The Rise of the Professionals*, 1979). Theoretical work paralleling these developments in the UK included Evetts’ (1987, 1990, 1993) important work on a number of professional occupations and professional careers (including a focus on women teachers) and Hoyle’s (1974 and 1986) work on the roles and tasks teachers engaged in and the levels of commitment they attached to them. Hoyle developed the concept of the teacher as an ‘extended’ or ‘restricted’ professional, based on notions initially derived from Stenhouse (1975). Schön’s (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner: how professionals think in action* was highly influential in these and subsequent developments and in the idea of teachers being reflective professionals. Pollard and Tann’s *Reflective Teaching in the Primary School* (1987) advocated this model of ‘professionalism’ in primary school training and teacher development. That reflective practice should embody notions of teachers researching their own practice, thus facilitating reflection, was central to the increasing popularity and utility of action research conducted by teachers during this period (see Elliott’s *Action Research for Educational Change*, 1991, for example). The closely associated notions of ‘reflection’ and ‘research’ still underpin the theory, policy and practice of the continuing professional development (CPD) of teachers. Paralleling these developments was a research interest in teachers’ thinking and learning (Eraut, 1994), and their practices, effectiveness and improvement
(Reynolds et al. 1996), with a renewed emphasis on the influence of teachers’ personal and professional lives on these (Day, 1993).

In the UK education system, restructuring as part of the dismantling of welfarism and involving centralization and the introduction of managerialist forms of control in education (Gewirtz, 2002) had been well under way since the late 1970s but gained massive impetus in England through the Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA). This restructuring, which was in part a response to a perception that the education system was inadequate to meet the (social and economic) demands of the modern world, was accompanied, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, by a ‘discourse of derision’ (Ball, 1990) within which teachers were blamed for a whole variety of educational and social ‘ills’. As a consequence, Dale (1989), amongst other commentators, predicted that the restructuring would have major implications for teachers' work and their workplaces. Indeed, policy prescriptions since the 1970s have consistently had teachers as their focus for change and have redefined and reworked teachers and teaching (Seddon, 1991). The new roles and responsibilities teachers were expected to take up went well beyond classroom teaching (Webb and Vulliamy, 1996). The reforms seemed, to some, to be geared to producing efficient classroom technicians who were capable of 'delivering' centrally defined pre-packaged curriculum and tests (Apple, 1986). At the beginning of the 1990s not only were teachers and teaching set to change but so were teachers' work cultures. Advocates of restructuring
aimed to ‘reculture’ schools as workplaces through the introduction of new ways of managing teachers and the installation of work cultures they believed were likely to lead to successful implementation of the reforms (D. Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991).

In the 1990s the study of teachers' work became a more prominent field of enquiry in social science research as researchers charted the impact of official education policy on teachers and their work. In some ways this emphasis brought together the two divergent theoretical and empirical approaches to researching professionalism and teachers' work, outlined above. Some previous research had viewed teachers as oversocialized agents of the capitalist state – little more than ‘cultural dupes’ (for example Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Gewirtz’s reaction to this position was to:

emphasise the subjective conscious responses of teachers to the objective conditions which shape their work. This genre of work ... focuses on resistance, struggle and the impact that teachers themselves can have on the activities of their employers (for example Lawn, 1988). In other words teachers are not the passive dupes of classical Marxism, unwittingly co-opted as agents of the state: they are active agents resisting state control strategies and forcing their employers to refine and rework those strategies.

(Gewirtz, 1996)
Empirical ethnographic research in the primary phase in England, for instance Woods et al.'s *Restructuring Schools, Reconstructing Teachers* (1997), charted the adaptations of 'creative teachers' to the National Curriculum and other policy changes during the 1990s, showing teachers both responding to policy prescriptions and playing a creative role in its implementation. Since 1995 three allied projects focused on teachers developing creative teaching and learning (reported in Jeffrey and Woods’ *The Creative School*, 2003), school restructuring involving new social constructions of professionalism (reported in Troman's *The Rise of the New Professionals*, 1997) and the impact of Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) inspections (reported in Jeffrey and Woods' *Testing Teachers*, 1998). This research pointed to a growth in external constraint on teachers’ work, the proliferation of managerial practices, workload intensification and increasing occupational stress (Troman and Woods, 2001).

This work paralleled large-scale survey research, complemented by qualitative studies, of teachers’ and pupils’ adaptations to the National Curriculum, new assessment regimes and modes of organization in primary schools (Pollard *et al.*, 1994). While showing the creative adaptations of primary teachers, the Primary Assessment and Curriculum Experience (PACE) research also identified worsening morale amongst teachers and teachers’ more negative views on teaching as an occupation and a profession. Menter *et al.* (1997) used qualitative investigation and labour process theory to examine the impact of
reform on primary teachers’ work and identity and the interaction between processes of ‘marketization’ and teachers’ work. Webb and Vulliamy (1996) concentrated on the roles and responsibilities of Key Stage 2 teachers (i.e. teachers of children aged 7-11) and headteachers and their responses to the management of change. Acker (1999) used comparative ethnographic research in two primary schools to explore the gendered dimensions of teachers’ work and to show the impact of rapid change from work in ‘progressive’ primary schooling to the new ‘realities’ of managerialist restructuring. Nias’ (1989) *Primary Teachers Talking: a study of teaching as work* showed how the teacher’s substantial self is invested in both personal and professional life and explored the bases of primary teachers’ commitments to child-centred progressive principles and practices.

Feminist educational thinking was also developing analyses and critiques of teaching and educational leadership as feminized occupations (see, for example, Blackmore’s *Troubling Women: feminism, leadership and educational change*, 1999).

Some commentators on secondary school policy and practice saw the policy changes being implemented as offering new challenges and opportunities with the potential to enhance professionalism and improve schooling (see, for
example, D. Hargreaves’ (1994) ‘The New Professionalism: the synthesis of professional and institutional development’). However, empirical work on the secondary school phase such as Helsby’s (1999) *Changing Teachers’ Work* and A. Hargreaves’ (1994) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times* placed teaching in the context of global restructuring and reform, with Hargreaves arguing that these had ‘created constraints and imposed excessive bureaucratic requirements which often diminished both the confidence and the capacity of teachers to perform to the best of their ability’ (p.6).

The mid to late 1990s saw a major shift, too, in the control and content of teacher ‘education’ (now referred to as ‘training’) and increasing moves towards the codification of ‘professionalism’ (centred on the Teacher Training Agency) through the generation of state-sponsored schemes of teacher preparation (e.g. see Furlong *et al.*’s *Teacher Education in Transition: re-forming professionalism*, 2000). This represented a marked departure from ‘traditional’ modes of preparation which tended to emphasize reflection and some engagement with social justice issues. In addition, the organization and implementation of performance threshold assessment became a principal means of controlling teachers and their work and has had adverse (sometimes devastating) affects on teacher ‘professionalism’ and their social, psychological, occupational and emotional states, in some respects fundamentally restructuring the nature of teaching (e.g. see Mahony and Hextall’s (2000) *Reconstructing Teaching:*
standards, performance and accountability). The technologies of new managerialist forms of control and the role of 'standards' in defining and controlling 'professionalism' demonstrates that a redefinition of the 'professional' teacher has taken place, with some commentators arguing that being 'professional' has come to mean being 'compliant' with state mandates on 'professional standards' and processes and procedures for their measurement (Mahony and Hextall, 2000). Others, however, have been more optimistic about the positive spaces for creativity and the emergence of a 'new professionalism' which they suggest policy changes have provided (for example, D. Hargreaves, 1994).

While this paper has concentrated on developments in schooling in the period under review, it must be emphasized that the kinds of policies under consideration, concerning how institutions and professionals are governed, managed and controlled, have also had an impact on further and higher education. Avis (2000) for example, has charted shifts in the meaning of 'professionalism' in the post-compulsory sector and the impact on the lived-experience of lecturers and learners; Beck (1998) applies a Bernsteinian critique of the proliferation of managerial pedagogies and identities; and Hartley (1995), Smyth (1995), Nixon (e.g. 1996, 1997), Strathern (e.g. 2000) and others have engaged in detailed analysis and critique of the impact of the audit culture on work, identities and professionalism in higher education.
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