UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Education

ENTERING THE PROFESSION(AL ORGANISATION):

TRAINEE TEACHERS CONCEPTIONS OF PROFESSIONALISM

by

Glenn Matthew Stone

Thesis for the degree of Doctorate of Education

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the way in which primary education trainee teachers in England are socialised into organisational professionalism as a result of their Initial Teacher Training experiences. It reports on research conducted within a small, post-1992 university in the South East of England. Data were collected from interviews with, and questionnaires completed by, School Direct, undergraduate and postgraduate trainees' at the end point of their Initial Teacher Training.

The main findings suggest that trainee teachers experience organisational professionalism themselves and observe other teachers working within an educational culture that fosters organisational professionalism. Qualitative and quantitative data support an argument that trainee teachers accept aspects of organisational professionalism as being part of teaching today. However, they also hold onto beliefs about teaching that may conflict with the demands of organisational professionalism.

Trainee teachers from three different routes into teaching had experienced aspects of organisational professionalism through their school-based training. This experience often relied on trainee compliance as they conformed to the expectations of a range of sources of authority, often resulting in standardised practices within schools. Practice in school was seen to be justified within a performativity agenda, with the need to raise standards and work in ways that were perceived to be acceptable by external inspection.

Findings add to the body of knowledge about teacher preparation and in particular, this thesis offers empirical support to the theoretical discussion of organisational professionalism within teachers' work as conceived by those that are at the end of their initial training.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Glenn Stone, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Entering the profession(al) organisation: trainee teachers' perspectives of professionalism

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:

   Stone, G. (2015) Organizational professional learning for performance in primary Initial Teacher Training. Paper presented at International Professional Development Association Annual Conference 2015, Conference Aston: Birmingham, 27-28 Nov

Signed:

Date: 14.9.16

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of Vivienne Palmer, a former teacher educator at University of Chichester, who will be long remembered for her dedication to students, compassion for others and general love of life.

Chapter 1: Introduction - Entering the profession(al organisation): Trainee teachers' conceptions of professionalism

The title of this thesis and introductory chapter reflects the main aim of the study. The purpose of which is to identify how primary education trainee teachers conceptualise professionalism at the end point of their training as they enter the profession as qualified teachers. Research into teacher professionalism is vast, as is research into Initial Teacher Training. However, what this project seeks to do is add to the body of knowledge by focusing upon a particular type of professionalism: organisational professionalism. As will be explored in the literature review, organisational professionalism is concerned with the interests of the organisation and has connections with the concepts of managerialism and performativity. Organisational professionalism can be seen within New Public Management structures that are generally believed to pervade the contemporary school system. It draws on a definition of organisational professionalism proposed by Julia Evetts who has theoretically considered this term within the context of public sector work (Evetts, 2009) but who also calls for empirical research in this area. Organisational professionalism is in contrast to occupational professionalism, an ideal-type traditionally associated with professional discretion, competency and trust. The research herein presents a qualitative study with a quantitative component that combine to show how the socialisation of trainee teachers through their Initial Teacher Training enables an understanding of organisational professionalism. Therefore, rather than entering the *teaching profession*, trainee teachers may be more concerned about entering a specific, school-based *professional organisation*.

1.1 Researching as a member of the research context

Data within this research were collected from primary education trainee teachers within a university in which I work as a teacher educator. Participants included trainees involved in a three-year undergraduate programme leading to Qualified Teacher Status; a one-year Postgraduate Certificate in Education programme; and one of the first cohorts undertaking the salaried and unsalaried School Direct programme. Data were collected at the end of their training programmes in the summer of 2014. Contextually, this is important as the whole thesis has been conceived, shaped, researched and analysed during the five year parliament led by a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. The trainees that participated in the research are therefore responsive to this government's policies and the ensuing educational environment.

As data were collected in 2014, the coalition's Teachers' Standards and reforms of Initial Teacher Training are a backdrop and context for research, beginning with 'The Importance of Teaching' white paper (Department for Education, 2010) and ending with the Carter review into Initial Teacher Training (Carter, 2015). Without foreshadowing reforms to Initial Teacher Training post the 2015 election, this thesis offers a snapshot of teachers who were about to enter the profession in the final years of the 2010 coalition government and therefore captures trainee teachers' views of professionalism at this time and in one particular university setting in England. The Conservative-led coalition chose to use the term Initial Teacher Training and referred to pre-service teachers as 'trainees'. Therefore, these terms are used throughout this thesis as opposed to alternatives such as Initial Teacher Education, teacher preparation or student teachers.

In view of the political context, it is necessary to outline my own position as a researcher. I am a primary education teacher educator, working within a university, and so have been watching anxiously as the Conservative-led coalition 'sought to marginalize higher education in preparation of new teachers' (Ellis and McNicholl, 2015, p.21). Such vulnerability in terms of job security, along with a lasting belief that university-led teacher training is of benefit to the teaching profession, could easily lead to a bias in the construction of this research project. As Greenbank (2003) argues, no research is value free, and so the interpretive researcher must provide a reflexive account of their research. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight that this research was carried out in the institution in which I work as a teacher educator. My position undoubtedly means that I have a vested interest in teacher training remaining within the university sector. Indeed, the research setting is a small university in the South East of England with Initial Teacher Training contributing significantly to the overall student population. Sustaining a reputation for delivering quality teacher training, alongside maintaining successful relationships with partnership schools, is considered imperative to the overall health of the university. Greenbank (2003) finds that interpretive researchers can quote selectively from the data in order to advance a particular political or social position. In an era where political emphasis is on school-led training, it may be desirable for teacher educators involved in research to construct a narrative that presents university-led courses positively. As will be seen in this thesis, any attempt to promote the university-led provision of postgraduate and undergraduate training over the school-led route of School Direct has been avoided. Furthermore, my primary position as a teacher educator is in the training of undergraduate university students, and I have been involved in the design and delivery of their programme. This means that I have a greater understanding of their course and have needed to be careful not to draw upon my experiences of these students outside of the data collection. Indeed, at the outset, I designed the study to include postgraduate and School Direct students as I felt it was important that their conceptions

of professionalism were considered as part of a rich picture of trainee teachers at the end of their teacher training. Reflecting on the research process, the voices of the postgraduate and School Direct research participants contributed more to my own development in thinking, as I was not as close to their narrative. Also, the thesis evolved to include a greater emphasis on all trainees' experiences in school as opposed to within the university, and this resulted in stories from all students, including the undergraduates that were both unexpected and illuminating.

Also important to the research context is the university's history and own organisation in relation to the training of teachers. The current university evolved following a partnership of two teacher training colleges. One of the colleges had a history of preparing school 'masters' in the 1830s before focusing on the training of women teachers from the 1870s; the second college within the merger was set up as an emergency training centre following the second world war. Once the two colleges had merged, their portfolio evolved to include other programmes of higher education, and eventually became a university. The education of teachers has therefore been part of the history and traditions that have given rise to this modern university.

However, unlike other programmes in the university, the initial teacher training pathways have become increasingly focused on external standards through their curriculum and organisation. The government's Teacher Standards are foregrounded in module design and trainee teachers are expected to create portfolios of evidence of how they are meeting these standards across their programmes. These programmes also respond quickly to government policy and Ofsted guidance to ensure compliance. For example, the English curriculum experienced on the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes are now heavily weighted towards the teaching of Systematic Synthetic Phonics (DfE, 2010); all trainee teachers are expected to teach, track and write about purported 'unseen children' (Ofsted, 2013); and, whilst behaviour management is not typically an issue within the university's partnership schools, all trainee teachers are now expected to observe and make explicit the behaviour management strategies they use in accordance with this national priority (DfE, 2010). Contextually, this is important as programme structures and emphases may be seen as being the starting point for inducting trainee teachers into a form of professionalism that is incompatible with broader theoretical perspectives that are also present within academic modules. In other words, the tensions between occupational and organisational professionalism that are discussed in this thesis may be borne out of the way that the training of teachers has evolved through this university setting.

1.2 Professionalism and the professional teacher

Freidson (2001, p.127) argues that professionalism as an ideal type for analysis involves: specialised work grounded in theoretically based, discretionary knowledge acquired through

higher education programmes; exclusive jurisdiction of work, created and controlled by occupational negotiation; being sheltered by external labour markets; and an ideology that emphasises altruism over economic gain. Whilst Freidson acknowledges that this ideal-type is not present empirically, he offers the framework for evaluating professionalism. As such, it is useful to consider the place of the teaching profession and teacher professionalism within his framework. As a result, it is arguable that much of the framework is incongruous with teaching. When discretionary knowledge founded on abstract theory learnt through higher education is replaced with a demanded pedagogy such as that proposed within national strategies or through systematic synthetic phonics, the specialised work of a teacher feels increasingly 'craft' like, a term used by a previous secretary of state to describe teachers' work (Gove, 2010). Indeed, this is not a new argument as Furlong et al. (2000) point out that the professional knowledge base that is indicative of a classical definition of professionalism has been a contentious point historically. The hallmark of professions being trained through university is also under threat as successive governments have increased the role of school-based training and reduced the input of higher education (Furlong, 2013).

Challenges to teachers' professional knowledge can also impact their professional autonomy. Autonomy can be achieved when Friedson's (2001) ideal-type is executed in the field. Teacher autonomy may be rooted in their classroom management and interactions with children. As Helsby and McCulloch (1996) propose, teachers should determine for themselves how they teach, develop and negotiate their work using their curriculum knowledge at a classroom level. Greater levels of autonomy may have been achieved between the 1950s and 1970s which is often considered a 'golden-age' in teaching (Whitty, 2008). However, through the decades since, professional autonomy has been eroded by successive governments as schools have been required to adapt to shifting expectations in society:

> Many professional groups and particularly the 'liberal educational establishment' of the 'swollen state' of post war social democracy came to be regarded as ill-adapted to be the agents of the state or entrepreneurial service providers in marketised civil society. All this supported the shift to 'regulated' autonomy, involving a move away from the notion that the teaching professions should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens to a view that teachers (and other professions) need to be subjected to the rigours of the market and /or greater control and surveillance on the part of the re-formed state. (Whitty, 2002, p. 66)

Despite opposition from unions, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, the erosion of teacher autonomy, coupled with a movement towards state compliance has been largely unchallenged by teachers themselves (Jones, 2009) and teacher educators (Ellis and McNicholl, 2015). It is

therefore difficult to use professional autonomy as a defining characteristic of teacher professionalism. Furthermore, a desire for professional autonomy can also be subject to criticism when professionals are perceived as being more interested in protecting their own work conditions and social standing (Leaton Gray, 2006). The New Right criticism of educational professionals has also argued that greater autonomy is a way of avoiding accountability (Furlong et al., 2000).

Another aspect of Friedson's (2001) ideal-type professionalism requires a focus on altruism over economic gains and this is relevant to the work of teachers when considering the ethical and moral nature of their work. Carr (2000) suggests that this is a useful way of understanding professionalism. Professionals are 'a particular class or category of occupation which is usually taken to include doctors and lawyers, [and] may well embrace teachers and clergymen…. but traditionally excludes plumbers, joiners and tradesmen' (Carr, 2000, p.22). In order to align teaching with traditional professional occupations of doctors and lawyers, Carr asserts that professions have ethical dimensions 'which serve to lend distinct character to professional as opposed to other occupational concerns' (Carr, 2000, p.23). Ethical commitment can also result in public trust of professionals (Evetts, 2009) and this goes hand-in-hand with professional autonomy:

> a concern with 'doing a good job' cannot be separated out from a concern about individual and collective teacher autonomy and teacher power because 'doing a good job' involves being in a position to fully deploy one's expertise and to shape what gets done (Gerwirtz et al., 2009, p.4).

As teacher professionalism has been shown to be a contentious issue, it is an aim of this research to explore the ways in which trainee teachers conceptualise professionalism through their experiences on teaching placements. Rather than an emphasis on comparing teaching to the classically defined professions, this research sets out to 'explore the characteristics of teaching as an occupation in the present' (Whitty, 2008, p.32). Characteristics of professionalism relevant to the present are proffered by Julia Evetts (2009) who takes into account New Public Management that is influential in the work of teachers. Therefore, Evetts' framework of organisational professionalism forms the theoretical basis of this thesis.

1.3 Why 'organisational' professionalism?

Organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2009) emphasises structures that result in the success of an organisation. Through Initial Teacher Training, trainees can be seen as making sense of teaching within organisational settings, namely their placement schools. Previous studies in

teacher identity show 'professional identity as an ongoing process of integration of the 'personal' and the 'professional sides of becoming a teacher' (Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop, 2004, p. 113). The relationship between personal and professional are considered integral to forming a stable identity as 'conflict can lead to friction in teachers' professional identity in cases in which the 'personal' and 'professional' are too far removed from each other'. (p.109). Within the context of teacher training, teachers are making sense of their professional identity, reconciling perceived professional demands with personal values and motivations (Furlong and Maynard, 2002). Furthermore, whilst teacher educators may consider trainees as tabula rasa, emerging teachers already hold many lay theories about teaching, built over time and firmly established in their understanding of teacher professionalism (Sugrue, 1997; Lortie, 2002). Yet, among teachers 'a shared sense or perception of professional identity is hard to identify' (Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop, 2004, p.119). Professionalism can shift from a development of the self, both personally and professionally when forming identity, to a shared, cultural understanding of professionalism, based on the setting and context through which it understood. This is where the organisational setting becomes important, as highlighted by Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) who find that school culture can influence how a teacher forms their professional identity. As organisational professionalism focuses on the objectives of the organisation, the meta-studies of Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) and Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) provide interesting backdrops to the teaching profession as they show how professionalism is a concept already situated within the organisation.

An ideal-type of organisational professionalism proffered by Evetts (2009) takes into account how professionalism is a concept shaped within organisational settings. If the New Public Management of schools seeks to promote organisational professionalism, then it is useful to see how this form of professionalism is conceptualised by those training to work in such settings. Evetts (2009) recognises that her theoretical models need to be researched further with empirical evidence. It is necessary to know 'to what extent trust relationships between practitioner and clients are being replaced by organizational forms of regulation, such as hierarchy, bureaucracy, managerialism, target-setting, accountability and market forms of customer relations.' (p.262). Evetts calls for research 'to move beyond ideal-typical analyses and instead try to assess the extent of change and /or of continuities in the definitions and conceptions of professionalism as an occupational value'. Trainee teachers have spent their lives as learners, learning to be a teacher through first-hand observation of teachers (Lortie, 2002). However, for most it is only through their Initial Teacher Training that they experience teaching and being exposed to the professional demands of New Public Management in education. The change and continuity that interests Evetts (2009) will be seen through the way that trainee

teachers are willing to change their understanding of professionalism in light of the organisational professionalism that they experience. Therefore, this thesis aims to understand how those becoming teachers experience and respond to the 'predominance – and possible supremacy' (Evetts, 2009, p. 255) of organisational professionalism. By researching trainee teachers' experiences and views of organisational professionalism, this thesis is able to offer a contribution to knowledge as it is showing how the 'organizational forms of regulation, such as hierarchy, bureaucracy, managerialism, target setting, accountability' (p.262) are part of trainee teachers' socialisation into professionalism.

In order to examine trainee teachers' experiences and responses to organisational professionalism, three research questions are considered:

1. In what ways do trainee teachers experience organisational professionalism through their Initial Teacher Training?

2. How do trainee teachers perceive qualified teachers through the lens of organisational professionalism?

3. What are trainee teachers' attitudes towards organisational professionalism?

Robson (2002, p.59) suggests that research questions should be 'clear; specific; answerable; interconnected and substantially worthwhile.' The above questions are interconnected in the way that they seek to understand how trainee teachers are socialised into organisational professionalism. By including the voices of School Direct trainees, along with the traditional university-led provision, this research is substantially worthwhile in its aim to add to the discourses of Initial Teacher Training and teacher professionalism, in understanding the experiences of these pre-service teachers. It is also the first time that 'organisational professionalism' has been empirically researched within the context of Initial Teacher Training.

1.4 Outline of chapters

The following literature review explores organisational professionalism as a way of promoting the objectives of New Public Management. Schools, as organisations, that are focused on organisational goals promote organisational professionalism through performativity, managerialism, hierarchical structures, and are subject to external accountability (Evetts, 2009). These concepts, being key to organisational professionalism, are unpacked in relation to complementing theories and empirical research within the literature review. Initial Teacher

Training is also explored in relation to organisational professionalism to establish how it reinforces a particular type of teacher and teaching experience.

Chapter 3 then outlines the methodological approach within this research. A mixed-method research design with a qualitative focus is explored as sitting within an interpretivist paradigm. The two methods of data collection, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, are discussed, along with an explanation of the analysis techniques that have been employed and consideration of ethics.

The qualitative analysis is presented in Chapter 4. The data are constructed to build a picture of how teachers have made sense of particular aspects of organisational professionalism through their Initial Teacher Training. Factors arising from the quantitative analysis are presented in Chapter 5 and linked to the preceding qualitative analysis. Within both qualitative and quantitative analyses, key findings are linked to the literature through short discussions.

A fuller discussion is presented in Chapter 6 and concluded in Chapter 7. These chapters attempt to bring together the qualitative and quantitative findings to make a contribution to knowledge that centres around how trainee teachers experience, observe and respond to aspects of organisational professionalism. In doing so, the final chapters consider the answer to three main research questions that are set out in the methodology. Analysis leads to an understanding of how trainee teachers may be socialised into certain aspects of organisational professionalism whilst desiring alternative pedagogies and professional practices. The final chapter also considers implications for Initial Teacher Training and reflects on the methodological approach.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review is arranged in two sections that attempt to provide a context for the research explored in this thesis. The first section defines and discusses organisational professionalism, setting it within the contemporary education context. This section provides some of the recent history and political discourse that have resulted in organisational professionalism in schools. The second section explores Initial Teacher Training as a place for developing conceptions of organisational professionalism.

2.1 The rise of 'organisational professionalism'

Professionalism within education is a highly contested concept, made more complex by a discourse that has been shaped and shifted over time (Evetts, 2009). In addition, professionalism research is varied and lacks a 'solid foundation… [because] it is inherently difficult to pinpoint the constitution and characteristics of professionalism' (Kolsaker, 2008, p.516). At a semantic level there are debates about the distinction between a 'profession' that is often considered to be a self-serving group of individuals and 'professionalism' that implies a process that could result in the advancement of such profession. However, as Freidson (2001) suggests, professionalism requires both the mechanisms of control and an ideology. Therefore, discussions of professionalism or what constitutes a profession have overlapping agendas.

The way that teachers in England situate themselves within the professional discourse has been shaped over time and modern conceptions are heavily influenced by events since the 1988 Education Act. Evans (2011, p.851) states that this was the start of 'what may reasonably be called the 'new-professionalism' era' in which teachers work currently. Successive governments have embarked on a 'modernising project' that has impacted most on teachers working within the state system in England (Beck, 2008, p.121). Beck suggests that this occurred in two phases:

> It involved, firstly, efforts to discredit teachers, for instance by portraying the behaviour of some teachers as unprofessional, and… making teachers more effectively accountable to others – especially central government. The second phase, occurring under New Labour, has centred on attempts to construct a new model of teacher professionalism and to win teachers' support for it. (Beck, 2008, pp.122-123)

The re-professionalism agenda was proposed to teachers as a way of giving them a recognised professional status. However, Beck argues that this was also a guise for bringing in further reform under a neoliberal agenda. For Beck, New Labour's attempts to 'reprofessionalise' teachers has resulted in the 'de-professionalisation' of teachers via 'governmental

professionalism'. Teachers were obliged to register with the, now defunct, General Teacher Council for England (GTCE), thereby subscribing to a particular conceptualisation of the teaching profession 'facilitating the possibility of them becoming part of increasingly taken-for-grated 'reality'' (p.135). Then, through the work of Labour's Teacher Development Agency (TDA), teachers' careers were mapped out 'from cradle to grave' (p.135). Furlong (2008) argues that the wave of New Labour reforms were successful in their own terms as teachers came to accept 'a more 'managed' professionalism, where professional goals and standards would become closely aligned to current policy concerns of the government' (Furlong, 2008, p.731). These reforms to education have resulted in 'a shift of power; whoever used to call the shots no longer does' (Evans, 2008, p.21).

Government policy is considered part of the 'macro structures' (Day et al., 2006, p.611) that affect teachers' professionalism and identity. Day et al. (2007) consider meso- and micro-structures, representing the school culture and inter-personal knowledge construction respectively. These different layers of teachers' work can have negative consequences for teacher effectiveness if the teacher does not have a strong positive identity in order to mitigate against them:

> the research indicates that many find and maintain meaning in their work through a strong sense of personal and professional agency and moral purpose; and that these contribute to their commitment and resilience which are key factors in their perceived and measured effectiveness (Day et al., 2007, p. 106)

Therefore, teacher identity is important for teachers in England as existing norms and practices are continuously threatened by successive reform (Day et al., 2006) as seen through the neo-liberalisation of education (Beck, 2008).

Throughout the educational reforms of the last few decades, the neo-liberal ideology resulted in the work of teachers being responsive increasingly to market forces:

> Market principles have become embraced so strongly by many governments, that schools (like many other public institutions) have been rationalized, cut-back, made more economically efficient, less of a tax burden and set in competition against one another for `clients'. (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 168)

The adoption of private sector values underpins the modern day management of schools, typified by New Public Management (Tolofari, 2005). New Public Management embraces private sector values, pursues markets and competition, places policy makers at a distance from managers whose own entrepreneurial leadership becomes important, and disaggregates public

services to focus on their basic functions (Osborne, 2006). The disaggregation of education can be seen through the way that 'national and regional standardized testing systems have been created in a manner that has either managerialised or displaced earlier systems… [and] have been accompanied by a major emphasis upon pupil, teacher and school performance in such tests' (Hall, Gunter and Bragg, 2013, p. 175). New Public Management therefore emphasises objectives, what can be measured and quantified, and such objectives are constructed by policy makers who sit outside of the profession itself.

The various aspects of New Public Management may be entrenched in teachers' conceptions of professionalism in England. Czerniawski (2011) explores how teachers in England are beginning to define themselves in relation to the accountability and performativity agendas that have become part of this nation's education policy. By comparing how emerging teachers in three different European countries define themselves in relation to accountability, teachers' identity in England 'emerge within tensions created when differentiating themselves from… inspectors and managers' (p.444). Notions of hierarchies of control, external regulation and managerialism, as discussed by Evetts (2009) are all apparent in the interviews conducted by Czerniawski (2011), signifying the prominence of organisational professionalism within early teachers' identity.

Underpinning New Public Management is 'organisational professionalism' (Evetts, 2009). As a starting point for the term, Evetts (2009) offers a utopian view that is not necessarily enacted in reality:

> As an ideal-type organizational professionalism is manifested by a discourse of control, used increasingly by managers in work organizations. It incorporates rational-legal forms of authority and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. It involves increasingly standardized work procedures and practices, consistent with managerialist controls. It also relies on external forms of regulation and accountability measures, such as target-setting and performance review. Professional discourse at work is used by managers, practitioners and customers as a form of occupational control, motivation and expectation.' (Evetts, 2009, p. 248)

Professionalism in this form is focused on organisational objectives and goals, set-out by people who control the organisation. Bourke, Ryan and Lidstone (2013) point out that organisational professionalism is akin to managerial professional discourse which is promoted by many governments around the world. Often the goals are synthesised with political objectives, and such objectives define the practitioner-client relationship through the use of targets and performance indicators. For school teachers, this has led to 'an explicit attempt to link the appraisal system to broader government objectives... Pupil progress also had to be taken into account in the setting of individual targets for each teacher' (Furlong, 2008, p.734).

Organisational professionalism has the potential to consume the work of schools as Clarke and Newman (2009, p.45) suggest that the emphasis on target setting, openness to scrutiny and engagement with 'quasi-competition' results in organisational imperatives becoming success focused as 'they strive to become 'high performance' organisations'. However, one consequence of emphasising such high performance is that schools could end up 'teaching to the test… other more worthy aspects of education [are] likely to be overlooked or ignored (Leaton Gray, 2006, p.88).

Evetts (2009) offers a contrasting definition to organisational professionalism by presenting an ideal type for occupational professionalism (see table 1.1).

Organisational professionalism	Occupational professionalism
• discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organizations • rational-legal forms of authority • standardized procedures • hierarchical structures of authority and decision-making • managerialism • accountability and externalized forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review • linked to Weberian models of organization	• discourse constructed within professional groups • collegial authority • discretion and occupational control of the work • practitioner trust by both clients and employers • controls operationalized by practitioners • professional ethics monitored by institutions and associations • located in Durkheim's model of occupations as moral communities

Table 2.1.1: Organisational and Occupational Professionalism (Evetts, 2009, p.263)

Occupational professionalism is closely linked to Freidson's (2001) ideal-type of professionalism as it encourages a specialised work within an exclusive jurisdiction and a commitment to doing good work over economic gain. Like Evetts, Freidson draws upon Durkheim to consider how occupations are a source of ethics and morality within society. He argues that workers and their employers can come together and 'find the source of ethics and rule-making that would give meaning and direction to their lives and establish organic bonds with others' (Freidson, 2001, p.53). An ethical and community based ideal-type professionalism is in contrast with the free market, which emphasises economic gains, and the bureaucratic division of labour that is more closely aligned with Evetts' organisational professionalism.

The jurisdictional boundaries of a profession (Freidson, 2001) are discussed as occupational controls by Evetts (2009, 2011). Within an ideal-type, or occupational professionalism, the professional group controls and creates their work, delimitating the boundaries. Freidson, for example, points out that within the profession of medicine, it is important to know when a

doctor's work ends and when the nurse's work begins. This is done through a process of negotiation that allows occupations to become highly specialised in clearly delimited work. The doctor and nurse example used by Freidson is analogous with the professional teacher and other paraprofessionals working in schools. For example, Leaton Gray and Whitty (2010) show how the role of Higher Level Teaching Assistants can result in unstable dispositions within schools:

> indication of the gradual blurring of professional boundaries can be seen in reports of HLTAs standing in for teachers with QTS and taking over teaching duties, during maternity leave (Leaton Gray and Whitty, 2010, p. 9)

Occupational professionalism is then borne out of professions being able to control and create the conditions of their work. The professional knowledge base for the profession becomes integral to the negotiation of work as a claim to their specialisations (Abbott, 1988). Abbott (1988) goes on to point out that an academic knowledge system underpins the legitimation, research and instruction within each profession and recognises that some professions can become dominated by others depending on the strength of their professional status. This is of relevance when considering the occupational – organisational divide in teacher professionalism as arguably, teachers' ability to occupationally control their work is challenging when they do not have strong professional unity. Teachers' tradition of working in cellular structures (Lortie, 2002) makes professional collegiality difficult and thus, more likely to be subjected to organisational professionalism which helps to connect them to the structural organisation of their schools. It may also be the case that teachers do not seek occupational control over their work:

> 'dominance and closure have never been a feature of their occupational strategies… [teachers] have been unable to use cultural authority to maintain dominance in their negotiations and interactions with states, managers and other occupational groups' (Evetts, 2012, p. 11-12).

And yet, 'consequences and challenges' resulting from the rise of organisational professionalism remain an issue as the discourse, control mechanisms and general movement of the public sector is now 'working more to promote organizational professionalism and to further undermine occupational professionalism' (Evetts, 2009, p.252).

Evetts (2009) argues that within New Public Management of the public sector, occupational groups are forming their professionalism within organisational settings. In doing so, teachers, for example, are needing to make sense of occupational values and ethics within the structure of an organisation that is emphasising the organisational objectives. Whilst it is not appropriate to suggest that ideal-types will be adopted holistically, Evetts' framework does show how there

are potential conflicts or considerations as a result of this professional dichotomy. As Ball (2008, p.67) suggests '[teachers] are mostly left to struggle with the difficult dilemmas involving organisational self-interests being set over and against obligations to… students'. The main consequences of the rise of organisational professionalism are related to trust, discretion and competence (Evetts, 2009). As organisational professionalism is embedded within public sector work, traditionally something that has been seen to be occupational, this can result in changing values and prioritisation of tasks to meet the organisational objectives. Professionals are also under greater scrutiny from their managers, the public, and the government as the organisational objectives are foregrounded.

Another way in which Evetts (2009) distinguishes between the two ideal types is by considering whether the work comes 'from above' or 'from within'. The ideal-type occupational professionalism defines the parameters of the role from within the profession whereas the ideal-type organisational professionalism allows the work to be directed 'from above'. Occupational professionalism gives rise to greater autonomy for the teacher but organisational professionalism seeks to standardise, regulate, rationalise and control the work of the teacher. Furthermore, the occupational professionalism concern with autonomy and legitimacy can be set against the organisational professionalism concern for success (Clarke and Newman, 2009).

As ideal types, organisational and occupational professionalism are polarised models, but in reality Evetts recognises that individuals will make sense of professionalism in their own ways, drawing upon different aspects of this criteria or being situated in between them. This echoes aspects of the meta-analysis by Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) who suggest teachers shift their professionalism and professional identity over time and dependent on situation, and therefore researchers might ask teachers to consider 'who am I at the moment?' and 'who do I want to become?' (Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop, 2004, p.122).

Different aspects of organisational professionalism included in the ideal-type will now be explored in more depth and related to teaching.

2.2 Rational-legal authority and hierarchies of decision making

Evetts (2009) suggests that organisational professionalism relies on rational-legal authority, exercised through legal, bureaucratic and rational frameworks. Freidson (2001) unpacks this concept by emphasising the hierarchy of authority that is enforced through bureaucratic frameworks:

> When rational-legal authority organizes work, formal, written rules establish the duties of each position, occupation, or job as well as their relationships. The organization of positions is pyramidal, establishing clear lines of authority leading up to the ultimate executive officer. (Freidson, 2001, p.49)

Within schools, the 'executive officer' may be perceived as being the head teacher, although it should be noted that schools are complex in their own organisational structures with head teachers being accountable to governing bodies, boards of trustees, the management of academy sponsors, local authorities, central government and the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), as well as parents and the local community. Here the boundaries between organisational and occupational professionalism will depend on the school leaders. Evetts (2009) suggests that collegiality is important within occupational professionalism and can be set against the organisational hierarchies where workers are subordinate to the decisions imposed from above. Working with other stakeholders is also associated with other forms of professionalism, such as Whitty's call for democratic professionalism (Whitty, 2008) which is another antithesis to the managerial, bureaucratic or organisational forms of professionalism. However, as Freidson (2001, p.51) argues, in modern-day bureaucratic organisations, 'the essential principles of managerial control and the deliberate creation and supervision of a division of labor to pursue administratively established productive goals' remain. As a result organisational professionalism's emphasis on hierarchy continues to be important in managing workers, albeit 'flattened' (Freidson, 2001, p. 51), and may be evidenced by the dominance of distributed leadership models in school (Parker, 2015).

The government and the public are presented by Clarke and Newman (2009) as being two key drivers for organisational professionalism. Their need for the teachers' work to be rationalised can be seen as an example of rational-legal authority in action. For example, 'Governments articulate views of reform; identify lines of social development; lay claim to particular conceptions of the public; and... develop and administer policies for public services' (Clarke and Newman, 2009, p.44). This promotes organisational professionalism as teachers begin to define their work within the context of these top-down, hierarchical policies. Larson goes further to point out the contradiction between decentralised education and governments that continue to hold the power:

> Teachers are subordinate, first of all, to the power vested in a bureaucratic structure of command that issues top-down edicts even in a system as decentralized and incoherent as ours (Larson, 2014, p.13)

Larson refers to education in the United States and continues to outline the dominance of the principal's authority in school. The rational-legal authority that this may create is found to be

easier for those who have become professionals through alternative routes into teaching. Larson (2014) cites one teacher who had previously worked for a large insurance company and finds this teacher accepting of a need for hierarchies of decision making and business-like line management. Autonomy is not eradicated but enacted through decisions made within the classroom; it is here where teachers are professionals and this is should be a realistic expectation (Larson, 2014).

Compliance with rational-legal authority can be demonstrated when teachers enact policy, whether that policy is at the macro- or micro-level. However, Ball et al. (2011) note that responses to policy vary depending upon the role of the 'actor'. Variation is also somewhat dependent on teaching experience and motivational factors. Most notably, Newly Qualified Teachers are likely to be policy 'receivers' (p.626). As they are new into the profession, these teachers are more likely to be compliant with policies and become reliant on them as they make sense of their role. There are other echoes to Evetts's definition of organisational professionalism, particularly when considering the importance of organisational hierarchies of control. Newly Qualified Teachers interpret policy as something that they have little say over as they are submissive to those that have greater power within the organisation:

> The verbs employed by these teachers are interesting. Policy is 'enforced' and 'required' of you and 'foisted' on you and you have to 'adjust', you are 'expected', 'pressurised', 'instructed', 'dictated' to, 'hammered', but also 'measured' and 'judged' by policy… compliance predominates. This is a language of assault, a sense of being battered by policy and policy expectations. Dependency means a reliance on senior colleagues, local texts, materials, guidelines, etc. (Ball et al., 2011, p.633).

Authority through the rational-legal technology of policy is key within teachers' early career. Compliance with authority can lead to standardised procedures, another aspect of organisational professionalism that will now be explored.

2.3 Standardised procedures

Evetts (2009) notes that organisational professionalism gives rise to standardised procedures or 'work standardization' (p.257). This is in contrast to discretion and occupational control over the work promoted through occupational professionalism. Evetts is less clear in her definition of this term in relation to the work of teachers, but it may be suggested that standardised procedures can lead to standardised pedagogies of practice. There is a sense that such procedures are coercive in shaping teacher professionalism as explored by Leaton Gray (2006). Leaton Gray suggests that a standardised educational model has been subsumed into the

subconscious of many of her research participants. As her own research participants commented 'There will be more uniformity in the future' resulting in 'a terrible danger of not seeing people as individuals' (Leaton Gray, 2006, p.107). This can result from delivering government directives and focusing on the success of the organisation rather than the success of the individual. Despite these fears, the education watchdog, Ofsted (2015a) claim that they do not seek particular planning or assessment formats or procedures and this is furthered by the chief inspector, Michael Wilshaw being concerned that teachers put on a show when being inspected (Barker, 2013). Nevertheless, previous inspection regimes have required inspectors to 'tick boxes', resulting in many school leaders and teachers adopting a similar practice in order to be compliant with Ofsted expectations (Baxter and Clarke, 2013), leading to standardised pedagogies.

Using the polarised terms of 'technical' and 'personal' as a model of professionalism, Lefstein (2005) argues that the technical approach requires 'instrumental rationality' through which teaching is rationalised by focusing on what can be measured. Those seeking technical professionalism will believe that teaching is orientated towards measurable objectives that result in uniformity of outcomes and practice. Teaching is then a function of method and progress is achieved via top-down regulation. Agency within this model is similar to organisational professionalism in that it is limited. To illustrate this, Lefstein (2005) uses the National Literacy Strategy as an illustration of instrumental rationality: evidence informed practice contributes to the learning objectives, teaching strategies and testing frameworks that underpin the approach. Epistemologically, the model assumes that teaching and learning is predictable and static; technical methods are replicable in all situations:

> In technical teaching, pupils are essentially alike, at least in terms of what matters for the design of instruction. Thus, instrumentalists assume that normal pupils share a uniform and consistent developmental path according to which the curriculum can be organised. (Lefstein, 2005, p.346)

Alexander (2004) goes further to link the national strategies to a form of control over pedagogy, resulting in primary teachers becoming compliant to the state. These principles are also implicit in a similar model described by Darling-Hammond (2009) as a 'bureaucratic approach' where teachers do not need to be knowledgeable about learning, teaching and the curriculum because they do not need to make major decisions about this. The alternative view offered by Lefstein (2005, p. 343) is one of 'experiential wisdom' derived from the personal components of professionalism. Experiential wisdom suggests that teachers draw upon their experience in the classroom to make decisions. There is no requirement here for top-down directives and

prescribed objectives as the teacher will intrinsically know how to get the best outcomes for pupils. Technical rationality can be linked to the managerialist, hierarchical structures and focus on performativity that exists within organisational professionalism; experiential wisdom can be associated with the discretion and autonomy that exists within occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). However, if the teacher seeks to share their experiential wisdom with others, there is the possibility that the personal can become the standardised and so there is a fine line between Lefstein's typologies.

At the time of the National Strategies, Furlong (2008, p.735) noted that 'once the educational experts have worked out what 'excellent instruction is', then it is the task of government to 'roll out' that policy for all teachers'. Today, the presence of technical rationality can still be evidenced, despite the removal of the National Strategies from primary education. For example, schools have been financially incentivised to purchase resources related to the government's preferred pedagogy of Systematic Synthetic Phonics as the main instructional method for teaching reading with the School's Minister quoted as claiming that it is "the method internationally proven to improve reading, especially in younger children" (Nick Gibb, cited in Clark, 2013). Occupational professionalism requires professionals to make discretionary judgements based on a body of knowledge that can be applied theoretically. Freidson (2001) argues that discretion is a result of formal learning in abstract concepts. It may be that Systematic Synthetic Phonics, as a pedagogic approach to reading, can be learnt formally but it is acknowledged that this one approach will not support all children to read (Dombey, 2010). Therefore, teachers' understanding of a breadth of abstract and practical theories related to early reading will enable them to make greater discretionary judgements for the children in their class. Instead, a top-down diktat requiring schools to teach just one approach can be seen as a way of standardising the practice, and assuming the technical rationality that underpins organisational professionalism.

Standardised practice is also 'rolled out' within academy chains. Junemann and Ball (2013) examine the Absolute Return for Kids (ARK) academy chain. The academy's involvement in teacher training, emphasis on outcomes and dissemination of particular teaching methods can be seen as standardising practice. Teachers are not necessarily decision makers within this model as they conform to promote the values and aims of the organisation. This can be summarised by their approach to education business:

> focus on rigorous piloting, meticulous evaluation, measurable results, impact and social returns on investments and quick scale-up if effective (Junemann and Ball, 2013, p. 431)

The quick scale-up suggests that if something is working, it should become standardised procedure through the organisation. This makes the organisation more efficient and is believed to support the organisation's objective. This is key to New Public Management. Examining ARK through the lens of organisational professionalism is not intended to single out any particular set of schools but rather to illustrate how aspects of this model are a key part the education sector today. As Junemann and Ball suggest, so many working at the government level of education have a vested interest in the ARK chain, including the Chief Inspector of Schools, Sir Michael Wilshaw who was previous director of education at ARK, that there is now a 'blurring...between state and market, public and private, government, business and third sector' (Junemann and Ball, 2013, p.424).

Further standardisation of the teaching profession has been theorised as the McDonaldisation of education. Education is presented by Wilkinson (2006) as having been standardised using the mantra of efficiency, predictability and control demonstrated through measurable testing, performance management and national centralised objectives:

> As predictability helps managers at McDonald's, so it assists the running of a McDonaldized school system since effective national inspection systems are predicated upon predictability without which they are unable to arrive at contextualized judgments and produce comparative reports. (Wilkinson, 2006, p.91)

Within organisational professionalism, teachers' autonomy seems diminished as their work is pre-destined:

> Across the education system, standardization has produced not only uniformity of curriculum content and pedagogic style, but predictable 'bastard leadership'…where head teachers cox rowers of educational boats whose fixed rudders steer the vessel to a centrally-determined mooring point. (Wilkinson, 2006, p.92)

However, if standardised procedures becomes a by-word for efficiency, this may be of some benefit to the teaching profession. The recent teachers' workload study conducted by the Department for Education found that teachers are working an average of fifty hours per week with around twenty of those hours teaching (DfE, 2013). The workload for preparing and planning sessions may be reduced if lessons are standardised to make planning efficient.

Effects of standardisation are also not experienced universally by all teachers. Stone-Johnson (2014) categorises the teaching workforce by generation and finds that the youngest teachers in his sample, 'Generation X' teachers, are more likely to accept standardisation within the

teaching profession. This generation, taken from a sample of teachers in the heavily standardised Massachusetts education system, felt that their practice improves as a result of standardisation. However, older generations of teachers were less amenable to the standardisation of their work practices. Generation X teachers may have seen teachers working within an increasingly standardised school systems and experienced this as school children themselves.

2.4 Managerialism

To achieve the aforementioned standardised procedures, managerialism may be seen as being necessary within the organisation. Managerialism is key to both New Public Management (Tolofari, 2005) and organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Wilkinson (2006) defines managerialism as a concept that makes use of business management tools, focus on outputs, fragmentation of monolithic structures, internal competition, resource management, and deployment of 'professional' managers. It assumes 'that efficient management can solve any problems...private sector enterprises can also be applied to be public sector...management is inherently good, managers are the heroes...and other groups should accept their authority' (Sachs, 2001, p. 151). Managerialism emphasises the authority of managers who use their position to place subordinates under surveillance; Jeremy Bentham's analogy of the Panoptican is used by Czerniaiski (2011) to show how teachers are under constant scrutiny as professionals in England as a result of this type of managerialism. Troman (cited in Wilkins et al. 2012, p.67) suggests that both teachers and trainees will be under constant scrutiny as school managers act as 'the ever-present inspector within'. Management becomes 'ubiquitous, invisible, inescapable' (Ball, 2003, p.223) and the links to organisational professionalism are foregrounded as school success becomes paramount:

> Increasingly, we choose and judge our actions and [managers] are judged by others on the basis of their contribution to organizational performance, rendered in terms of measurable outputs. (Ball, 2003, p. 223)

This has changed head teachers' roles in schools as they now 'spend more time on managing performance and the outward image of the school' rather than act as a 'teacher that leads a group of teaching professionals' (Tolofari, 2005, p.85).

Sachs (2001) uses the term managerial professionalism as a culture that fosters entrepreneurial identities. The competitive nature of the entrepreneur is a result of their focus being externally defined, focused on what the market place wants. Managerial professionalism suggests that managers are seen as being the problem-solvers and teachers need to work within their

frameworks. Whitty (2008) also explores the term managerial professionalism and argues that managerialism has had the most significant impact on the shape of teacher professionalism by successive governments. A key implication for teachers is to 'accept accountability' and base teaching methods on best practice research. Whitty suggests that this results in teachers being told both what and how to teach, losing aspects of autonomy in the process. Managerialism promotes this assumption as it 'sees teachers as unquestioning supporters and implementers of a competency-based, outcome-orientated pedagogy related to the world of work' (Robertson cited in Bourke, Ryan and Lidstone, 2013, p.403). Within managerial professionalism decisions are moved away from the teacher, and instead they are directed by school leaders, who in turn are enacting government directives. Therefore, managerialism is key to aforementioned standardised practices of organisational professionalism and in contrast with controls operationalised by practitioners in occupational professionalism. Evetts (2009) suggests that public service professionals have been enduringly difficult to manage and so by recreating professionals as managers, normative techniques are employed to achieve government aims. Values associated with occupational professionalism are then used, sometimes deceptively, to create the illusion that professionals have greater autonomy and control over their work whilst in reality, advancing managerialism (Evetts, 2011). The challenge for teaching, which may not be regarded as a profession in the same way as medicine or law, is that the promise of professional status requires them to accept the performative technologies of managerialism:

> Professionals are… tempted by the ideological components of empowerment, innovation, autonomy and discretion. Furthermore, attempts to measure and demonstrate professionalism actually increase the demand for the explicit auditing and accounting of professional competences. Thus, managerial demands for quality control and audit, target setting and performance review become reinterpreted as the promotion of professionalism. (Evetts, 2011, p. 412)

Therefore, occupational professionalism is difficult to achieve for teachers as the pathway to being trusted as a professional requires evidence. Unlike doctors and lawyers that have been historically classified as professions since the nineteenth century (Evetts, 2011), teachers have to earn this status, and within the modern world of New Public Management, managerialism has been conceived as a necessity to prove such status.

Organisational professionalism may therefore foster a symbiotic relationship between managerialism and standardised procedures. Managers exploit the rational-legal authority to shape the practice within a school around particular methods or curricula that are being

promoted. Whilst this should vary from organisation to organisation as New Public Management seeks to decentralise services, it can be argued that it gives rise to a homogenising of practice where managers endorse and roll out government guidance. Wilkins et al. (2012, p.67) point out that 'more often this has been seen as an erosion of teacher autonomy....in which teachers become compliant in the delivery of state-imposed initiatives.' Furthermore, Davies (2003, p.93) argues that 'any questioning of the system itself is silenced or trivialised. The system itself is characterised as both natural and inevitable.'

The impact of increased prescription for pedagogy and curriculum, and therefore lack of autonomy in teaching can be evidenced by empirical research carried out by Swann et al. (2010). They found that in 2006, teachers were 'more acquiescent towards government regulation and control of their professional practice' (p. 561) than they were in 2003. This may suggest that teachers' conceptions about their autonomy in matters of curriculum and assessment have shifted to accept the measures set out by government to control this aspect of their work.

Further, managerialism can be symbiotic with performativity as 'the work of the manager, the new hero of educational reform, involves instilling the attitude and culture within which workers feel themselves accountable and at the same time committed or personally invested in the organization'. (Ball, 2003, p. 219). Managerialism as a culture, stemming from those in authority, encourage all teachers in the school setting to be committed to their performance against the school's goals. This performative aspect will now be explored in more detail.

2.5 Performativity (accountability and externalised forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review)

Evetts (2009, p263) suggests that 'accountability and externalized forms of regulation, target setting and performance review' are a component of organisational professionalism that may be set against internal monitoring by institutions and associations themselves within the ideal-type of occupational professionalism. Within schools, the aforementioned New Right agenda has given rise to a range of technologies for monitoring teachers' performance as professionals (Beck, 2008). These dimensions of accountability are part of what Ball (2008) defines as performativity and may have implications for the way that teachers perceive their role:

> [Performativity] alludes to the work that performance management systems do on the subjectivities of individuals... Performativity is enacted through measures and targets against which we are expected to position ourselves, but often in ways that also produce uncertainties about how we should organise ourselves within our work. (Ball, 2008, p.51).

Professional ethics monitored by institutions or associations (Evetts, 2009) in occupational professionalism suggest a different way that teachers may 'position' themselves to the performative culture that Ball (2008) describes. The pursuit of ethical and moral work is important within teachers' work (Evetts, 2011). However, whilst Freidson (2001) argues that there is a struggle for the 'soul of professionalism' as ethical and public service commitment is challenged by the market and bureaucracy, Carr (2000) takes a view that the technologies of managerialism are not necessarily distinct from the moral and ethical purposes of teachers. It is more nuanced than that, and so performativity may help to contribute to the occupational values of the teacher as they too will be committed to providing children with high standards of education. As Carr (2000) suggests, the head teacher's approach is integral to developing a moral community and school ethos through which the moral and ethical purposes of education can be achieved.

Cribb (2009) proposes that the ethics of the profession shifts within managerialism to focus on target and performance, and professionals need to be seen to be performing to a high standard. 'Impression management' (Cribb, 2009, p. 33) is of great importance and becomes an ethical concern; people must believe that professionals are doing a good job, and these expectations must be managed. Troman, Jeffry and Raggl (2007, p.562) show how this can be particularly important for schools with 'middle class' parents 'demanding performance from the school in terms of test scores'. For other teachers, the need to set a particular impression is a result of trying to live up to the expectations of their managers. Ball (2003) suggests further that this can lead to a 'values schizophrenia':

> A kind of values schizophrenia is experienced by individual teachers where commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance. Here there is a potential 'splitting' between the teachers' own judgements about 'good practice' and students' 'needs' and the rigours of performance (Ball, 2003, p.221)

Here, Ball (2003) highlights the tensions that exist for teachers when faced with the demands of performativity, suggesting that performativity leads to undesired practice. However, Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl (2007) also point out that the implementation of performativity policy, amongst other initiatives, is far more complex, and some teachers may even draw what Lortie (2002) terms 'psychic rewards' from seeing their children succeed within this performativity culture.

Evetts (2009) acknowledges that lack of trust is a consequence of organisational professionalism. Trust, discretion and competence are inextricably linked but as Evetts highlights, trust in the

professions has become increasingly under threat, and complex systems of accountability, considered by some to be a solution, can now be seen as part of the problem. This theoretical notion is replicated in the Department for Education's own empirical research into teacher workload:

> The overarching concerns about the level of evidence required and the need for constant accountability measures to be in place has led to many respondents suggesting that Government, Ofsted and senior leadership teams should place trust in their professional abilities... trusting teachers [needs] to be a solution. (Gibson, Oliver and Dennison, 2015, p. 38)

In order to hold teachers to account, governments have endorsed the use of performance management, appraisal and performance related pay (Furlong, 2008). One former education advisor to Tony Blair's government, Michael Barber is a self-confessed passionate advocator of performance management and accountability in schools. These mechanisms are central to the modern professional, which he terms the 'informed professional' (Barber, 2004, p.30). Throughout his argument, Barber suggests that accountability and performance management drive standards and improvement in education and that the modern informed professional has accepted this as being a measurement of teaching as a profession. Consequently, informed professionalism requires a cultural shift from being 'comfortable' to a state which is 'demanding' and re-emphasises the qualities akin to the organisational professional such as working with 'customers' and drawing upon 'data and best practice'. As Barber was an advisor to the government behind this agenda, it is worth noting that he is probably biased in his view and has a vested interest in promoting this particular version of professionalism. Certainly, the performance-related pay aspects of New Labour's reform, of which Barber was instrumental, were met with feelings of negativity, considered to be insulting and conceptualised as being a bureaucratic exercise - a 'hoop to jump through' (Mahony, Menter and Hextall, 2004, p.443).

What Barber does present though is the reality of the educational climate in which teachers work. Some may argue that performativity and accountability are becoming ubiquitous across the world in education as New Public Management prevails:

> Standards have become a central issue of educational reform in many countries. It is almost like a mantra for school reformers, and increasingly, in many countries there is a trend towards developing a culture of performativity, borrowing frameworks and ideas, particularly from the UK and USA' (Moller, 2009, p. 39).

This can be seen as a way of reducing the autonomy of teachers as professionals, and yet 'teachers are not merely passive conduits of policy; they mediate, interpret, resist and subvert

policy imperatives, bringing their own values to bear on the implementation of performative objectives' (Wilkins et al. 2012, p.68).

The effects of performativity through 'target driven policies' may be experienced differently, depending on the demographics of any one school. Day et al. (2006) find that primary teachers working in schools with higher proportions of children on Free School Meals are more likely to discuss government and Ofsted target driven policies negatively. This is perceived to be a hindrance to teacher effectiveness. However, performativity is not necessarily opposed to other perspectives of education. Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl (2007) find that teachers have adopted performativity policies pragmatically whilst retaining their personal commitment to creativity in education. For example, this may mean that creative pedagogies are emphasised through dedicated 'creativity weeks' as an alternative to statutory assessment preparation in Year 6.

Under the UK coalition government (2010 - 2015) the emphasis on performativity and accountability within education remained: teacher appraisal and performance related pay should be linked to the outcomes of pupils wherever possible (DfE, 2014a). Performance management and Performance Related Pay have been integral to the work of class teachers since the New Labour government introduced measures in the new millennium (DfEE, 2000) but as Forrester (2011) points out, what policy makers hoped would be a 'milestone' in teacher professionalism has become regarded by many as a 'millstone: a heavy burden, which increases bureaucracy, intensifies surveillance... and potentially erodes their working relationships.' (Forrester, 2011, pp.6-7) Additionally, there is limited evidence of the benefits of performance management as an incentive for teachers (Education Endowment Foundation, 2015) and over-emphasis on accountability can lead to problems in teacher retention (MacBeath, 2011).

It is also possible that a focus on accountability leads to a focus on the core subjects of English and Maths as success is measured by pupil outcomes in these subjects (Troman, Jeffry and Raggl, 2007). Furthermore, there may be a danger that teachers become fixated on 'performance pedagogies' as described by Professor Lori Beckett (cited in MacBeath, 2011, p.378) as they focus on accountability, raising standards and school inspection, rather than providing every child with a valuable education. As emphasis on accountability is increased, so is the practice of 'teaching to the test' (Leaton Gray, 2006, p.88) and the negative consequences of accountability are felt most in schools that are in lower Ofsted categories or with lower attainment results (Hutchings, 2015). Yet it is clear from government policy related to teachers' pay that teachers should be rewarded for higher performance and this should be enforced through ongoing performance appraisals (DfE, 2012, DfE, 2014a). Arguably, another way of raising standards is to focus on teacher quality as opposed to the amount of time spent teaching core subjects (OECD,

2005; Sutton Trust, 2011). Whatever the route towards higher standards, this organisational objective remains as schools succeed by being seen to raise them.

As previously mentioned, Furlong (2008) argues that performance management policies were introduced as a covert way to manage the teaching profession. However, Storey (2009) finds disparate implementation of such frameworks in schools. In short, head teachers and teachers have responded to the reforms by taking from them what they like, notably, the mechanisms of performance management, but have not built in Continuing Professional Development (CPD) or other opportunities for training in a coherent and consistent way. Furthermore, Poet, Rudd and Smith (2010) find through their empirical research that the standards underpinning teachers' competency frameworks are more often than not ignored by teachers and that 'although the professional standards were useful initially when joining the teaching profession, or while pursuing progression through the thresholds, teachers found them less helpful in their day-to-day work' (p. 28). Professional standards become a reference point at performance review meetings but are not considered to convey the underpinning values or attitudes that inform the act of being a teacher.

Whilst teachers are collectively able to discuss aspects of organisational professionalism, it is not necessarily the case that all teachers feel the same way about it. Wilkins (2011) finds that new entrants to the profession are less likely than their more experienced colleagues to be concerned about the accountability within their work. Newly Qualified Teachers' views are found to be 'sanguine' (Wilkins, 2011, p.400), perceiving the bureaucratic aspects of the role as a 'necessary evil' (p.401). They continue to derive satisfaction from working with children but view performativity as being part of teaching.

2.6 How does teacher training contribute to teachers' conceptions of professionalism?

New Public Management has also impacted Higher Education Institutions delivering Initial Teacher Training. Ellis and McNicholl (2015) highlight how teacher education has been presented as a public policy problem through which ideological beliefs have emphasised the importance of school-based training as the market has opened up new routes into teaching. There has been an agenda to reduce the role of universities in teacher education, but this has been less easy to achieve than other aspects of the modernisation project. For example, Menter et al. (2010) find some evidence that schools cannot prioritise Initial Teacher Training as part of their day-to-day responsibilities. Whilst mentors in school are able to identify the professional needs of trainee teachers, they are also most concerned with the attainment of pupils in their

class, resulting in the training of teachers being subsidiary (Williams and Soares, 2002). This is also an administrative concern as many schools do not have the infrastructure to manage the recruitment of School Direct trainees, leading to financial resources being channelled back to Higher Education Institutions (Ellis and McNicholl, 2015). However, despite the challenges, government policy continues to seek ways in which schools can be more involved in teacher training (DfE, 2010) and so there may be consequences for the type of professionalism that new teachers are exposed to. This will now be explored by examining organisational professionalism within the context of Initial Teacher Training.

Prior to beginning their teacher training, it is generally thought that both young teachers and career changers will be motivated by a desire to work with young people (Hayes, 2004; Hobson et al., 2009; Lortie, 2002; Manual and Hughes, 2006). They tend to believe in progressive, non-didactic, teaching approaches and recognise that learning needs to be adapted for the individual child (Furlong, C. 2013, p.76). Furlong notes that these ideals are not taught as new concepts through training but are conceptions already embedded in the values of the trainee teacher and based on their own experiences of being a learner: 'Student teachers do not come to initial teacher education value free.' (Furlong, C. 2013, p.70). As Lortie (2002, p.61) argues, in America '[t]hose who teach have normally had sixteen continuous years of contact with teachers and professors', and so have been observing how to teach for a long time before becoming teachers themselves. However, prior expectations about the teaching profession have to be managed effectively in order to sustain motivation (Tang, Cheng and Cheng, 2014).

The aforementioned motivations for teaching are relational in nature. This is a key distinction between occupational professionalism, that may be associated with the traditional professions such as medicine, and organisational professionalism, that builds on private-sector practice. As Evetts suggests, 'whereas occupational professionalism emphasizes relationships, organizational professionalism is more dependent on structures' (Evetts, 2009, p.248). Relationships are also found to be key to teacher retention in the first few years of teaching. Hobson et al. (2009) identifies teachers' successful relationships with each other as professionals, with workload, and with pupils as being important within the initial few years of becoming a teacher. However, the high-performance culture of school can result in a lack of time to develop positive relationships with pupils and sometimes relationships with mentors can be unconducive to development (Chambers, Hobson and Tracey, 2010).

Whilst it has been suggested that teachers are heavily influenced by their own personal experiences and values, it can also be seen that programmes of Initial Teacher Training are designed to shape teachers through the way that courses are designed and managed in response

to government policy and reform. This has largely taken place through the design of Initial Teacher Training curricula:

> While schools were required to meet targets, have inspections, and be ranked on league tables, universities and other providers of teacher education were required to deliver teachers willing and able to embrace this centrally defined, target-driven culture. (Furlong, J., 2013, p. 40)

This may be a factor in shaping trainees' understanding of professionalism as a system of compliance has evolved from the central government model: 'less theory and more practice, implementation rather than reading and reflection, less challenge and more compliance' (MacBeath, 2012, p.74). This even affects the pedagogical models endorsed by training providers (Gilroy, 2014). Whilst Furlong, J. (2013) suggests that the coalition government minimised the teachers' standards to some extent, the legacy of state-directed pedagogy remains in the way that training providers are expected to prioritise Systematic Synthetic Phonics as a reading strategy (Davies, 2012).

For teacher education in England, there are significant consequences for those that do not adopt the delivery model offered by central government:

> Non-compliance can result for providers at best in losing student numbers and consequent funding and at worst in losing accreditation status. Because of such risks, compliance may be seen as the pragmatic option which may result in stability for providers. However, issues do arise. For example, compliance may result in predictability. It also assumes that those (in universities, and also schools) being 'required to comply' share the same values and beliefs about learning to teach as central government. (Taylor, 2008, p.65)

An emphasis on measurable outcomes further promotes the technical-rationalist approach of organisational professionalism and accountability through the Self-Evaluation Document with Ofsted emphasising the importance of this (Murray, 2012). Ofsted also emphasise the importance of English and Mathematics in primary education teacher training which can narrow the focus of Initial Teacher Training. For example, in order to attain an outstanding inspection outcome, training providers must demonstrate how their trainees are prepared to progress children's learning in these key areas:

> High-quality training enables trainees to teach reading, writing, communication and mathematics effectively to enhance the progress of children/pupils/learners they teach. (Ofsted, 2015b)

Similarly, the Teachers' Standards single out Mathematics and English as subjects that all primary trainees must be competent in (DfE, 2011) and the white paper for education also aims for 'teachers to be well equipped… [in] overall literacy and numeracy' (DfE, 2010). Emphasis on these subjects as 'competency' supports a shift to school-based training and away from philosophical discussions in universities (Browne and Reid, 2012).

A focus on technicist pedagogies, prescribed by central government has been seen to shape teacher identities where trainee teachers are unable to see beyond the prescription. Twiselton (2004, 2007) shows how some trainee teachers became entrenched in the content of the National Literacy Strategy, resulting in their understanding of English teaching being outcome driven, using the language of the strategy. Twiselton recommends:

> student teachers need time and space to be able to distance themselves from the practicalities of the school setting, which can be overwhelming in the immediacy of their demands. They need these opportunities to make necessary connections with the subject beyond the curriculum and the world beyond the classroom. Time and effort needs to be given to developing beliefs and values about the subject that will help give validity to the importance of these connections (Twiselton, 2004, p. 163).

This can take place in university settings where the focus should be on developing trainee teachers' understanding of education more broadly. Freidson (2001) argues that university training is essential for achieving the ideal-type of professionalism that contrasts with organisational professionalism:

> 'Professional training [in university settings] emphasizes theory and abstract concepts… whatever practitioners must do at work may require extensive exercise of discretionary judgment rather than the choice and routine application of a limited number of mechanical techniques.' (Freidson, 2001, p. 95).

Trainee teachers that become focused on 'a narrow 'curriculum delivery' view of their role in the classroom' (Twiselton, 2007, p. 498) may not see the importance of discretionary judgment and therefore the initial teacher training period can give way to organisational professionalism over and above an ideal-type occupational professionalism.

Analysis of official teaching standards in the past has also demonstrated how these have been designed to shape the professionalism of the teacher. Bourke, Ryan and Lidstone (2013) analyse the policy documentation relating to teachers' standards in Australia and find that the voices within the policy are selective, those that are already supporters of 'the government's accountability agenda related to the economy promoting a managerial discourse of professionalism' (p.409). This emphasis on managerial, organisational professionalism can also

be seen in the UK context. Beck (2009) and Evans (2011) both analyse the language of the Labour government's 2007 sets of teaching standards and suggest that a 'performative' professionalism emerges (Evans, 2011, p.861). This performative professionalism 'is a technicist one involving the acquisition of trainable expertise' (Beck cited in Evans, 2011, p. 861); professionalism is focused on what teachers do, what can be quantified and measured for performance management purposes. Evans (2011), who is predominately concerned with the link between professional training and professionalisation, argues that although there are now considerably fewer standards, the government rhetoric indicates that teacher professionalism will increasingly be what is demanded or required by those in power.

For the trainee teacher, compliance is also evident through models of mentorship in school settings. Furlong and Maynard (1995) conceptualise the stages of development for trainee teachers and through their model, it is possible to see how compliance may lead to standardised pedagogy. In each stage, the trainee teacher is heavily influenced by qualified teachers and may voluntarily or involuntarily mimic practice that results in a form of standardised practice. For example, when the trainees are in the first 'early idealism' stage, they are likely to replicate the characteristics of teachers who they deem to be competent from their own learning experiences. As they progress through the stages and encounter difficulties, the trainee teachers will emulate their mentor's or class teacher's practice in order to 'survive' their placement or deal with difficulties. They may be expected to adopt the same teaching style as their more experienced colleagues or they may unknowingly adopt the language and practices from being socialised into the school setting. Furlong and Maynard explain that sometimes this is a source of contention where the trainee feels that they have to adopt practices that are contrary to their own personal beliefs.

This tension is further explored by Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok (2013) who offer an insight into trainee teachers in the Netherlands. Their findings reflect the theoretical literature that tensions exist between teachers' personal and professional selves. For example, the most frequently occurring tension was teachers wanting to care for children versus an expectation that they should be tough in their management of children. Expectations are put on trainees by those that assess their ability to teach. Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok (2013) suggest that as a coping strategy, trainees endure situations where they are in conflict with their mentors out of necessity: 'final year student teachers want to graduate, without any trouble with their mentor or one of their teacher educators' (p.14). The hierarchical model of teacher training places trainees in a position that is subservient to their more qualified peers. Even when faced with the prospect of partnership through models of triads, where trainees, mentors and university tutors

are supposed to agree judgements, the mentor's authority and views are often given greater priority (Ellis and McNicholl, 2015).

Ellis (2010, p.112) suggests that one limitation of school-centred training is that trainees learn a 'professional genre' that is related to their setting. Within this model their conceptions of teaching and professional development are formed by both the historical and local 'culture' promoted by the school. Teachers become the object of training, moulded by the school setting. In this way 'they pass through the school setting (being influenced *by* it) rather than... *acting on it*' (Ellis, 2010, p.108 italics in original). This has consequences for any newcomer to the organisation:

> Beginning teachers are caught between the intense engagement with students in classrooms and the muted compliance tacitly expected of newcomers by other adults in the new school context' (Pierce, 2007, p.32)

The school culture continues to be intrinsic to teachers' professional conceptions in their early career life-phase: 'it was the influences of headteachers, colleagues and cultures in the school that were crucial to their learning about how to behave and how to be as professionals' (Day and Gu, 2007, p.434). For some, this can gradually lead to '[c]onservatism and compliance' as early career teachers lose their 'idealism' about teaching and fall into the 'routines' and 'bureaucracy' of school culture (Flores and Day, 2006, p.229). Therefore, understanding the organisation may be key to ensuring more teachers remain in the profession as transitioning from one context to another is a factor contributing to the high drop-out rate of new teachers (Wilkins et al., 2012).

There is some evidence of professionalism being experienced and conceptualised differently depending on the Initial Teacher Training route. Teach First trainees, who are high attaining graduates that spend most of their time training in school-based settings, are found to possess leadership skills earlier on in their careers (Muijs, Chapman and Armstrong, 2013). However, there are also varied experiences for those adopting school-based routes as opposed to the traditional HEI-led routes. Smith and McLay (2007) offer an insight into the expectations and experiences of two different training routes, the postgraduate certificate in education and the graduate teacher programme. Whilst only based on a small sample of trainees, there does seem to be a difference in the type of trainee selecting the different routes and differing perceptions of their experiences. Postgraduate trainees felt more supported in school and appreciated the experience of their practice. Those on the graduate teacher programme were more likely to cite learning from others as influencing their practice but felt less supported by their mentors. Therefore, it may not be the route that should be the focus but the mode of delivering training.

For example, Brooks (2006) found that a programme of structured and focused training within a Training School model in conjunction with a Higher Education Institution provider resulted in trainee teachers rating their training more favourably than a more ad hoc approach to training teachers in schools. Within the training schools they were more likely to make sense of data in order to raise standards and this can be seen as integral to the performativity strand of organisational professionalism.

Another way in which government reforms to teacher education can emphasise organisational professionalism is through limiting theory. The anti-theoretical argument lies in a belief held by the New Right that education is a 'craft' (Gove, 2010) and the necessary skills to teach can be acquired by observing best practice (DfE, 2010). As a result of this anti-theoretical position, an ideological shift of teacher training from universities to schools is central to the reforms in Initial Teacher Training in England (Whitehead, 2011). There is an assumption here that the type of theoretical knowledge required to teach can be learnt in the classrooms and not in universities. This belief may be shared by the trainees themselves as there is evidence that trainee teachers do not appreciate the theoretical components of their training (Flores and Day, 2006; Hobson, 2003). Early career teachers suggest that their Initial Teacher Training is not sufficient for preparing them to teach with the 'classic and widely cited gap between theory and practice' being a reason for this (Flores and Day, 2006, p.224). This is in part due to universities emphasising constructivism and individualisation of learning, rather than focusing on the complex management of the classroom. Further empirical research carried out by Hobson (2003) finds that trainee teachers value the practical aspects of teacher training more than the theoretical components. For example, 91% of trainee teachers found that learning from trial and error in the classroom was 'very valuable' but only 8% believed that reading books on educational theory was 'very valuable' (p.250). This position is further exasperated by the way that university teacher training courses have reduced the theoretical content over the years (Lawes, 2004) whilst school-based mentors are emphasising aspects of practice over theory (Fisher and Rush, 2008). However, trainees on the now defunct Graduate Teacher Programme that was predominantly school based are found to appreciate theory, particularly where it is relevant to the context of their schools or practice (Smith and McLay, 2007; Smith and Hodson, 2010). When considering the implications of this for professional conceptualisation, the empirical data here support the belief that teaching is a 'craft' (Gove, 2010) and not something that is theory-dependent (Freidson, 2001). Hobson (2003) finds that theory is only of value to those who are able to reflect on their practice in response to the theory that they have acquired. The purpose of such reflection by these 'understanding-orientated learners' (p.253) is to improve their classroom practice. This is echoed by Furlong et al. (2000) who also suggests that

where trainee teachers appreciate theory, they tend to refer to practical knowledge such as making sense of the National Curriculum or understanding planning.

Returning then to organisational professionalism, the findings of Hobson and Furlong suggest that theory is seen as only being of importance when it results in better outcomes in the classroom. This can lead to a technicist approach. Freidson (2001) suggests that the 'technician' is often a result of training that has been exposed to market forces. Training that has been subject to the market is likely to be fragmented and often teaches the individual to carry out the job without any deeper theoretical insight. For Freidson, university is essential for training professionals as it is a place where the abstract theory can be discussed and analysed. This is essential to professionalism as the work of the professional 'may require extensive exercise of discretionary judgment rather than the choice and routine application of a limited number of mechanical techniques' (Freidson, 2001, p.95). As has been explored previously, the technicist approach is strongly associated with organisational professionalism as it is focused on aspects of teaching that can be measured and quantified.

The technicist teaching approach, as an ideological shift is inherent within the way government wishes teachers to be trained, as outlined in the schools white paper:

> We will provide more opportunities for a larger proportion of trainees to learn on the job by improving and expanding the best of the current school-based routes into teaching – school-centered initial teaching training and the graduate teacher programme… Our strongest schools will take the lead and trainees will be able to develop their skills, learning from our best teachers. Increased opportunities for school-based training will suit career changers, new graduates and existing members of the school workforce wanting to learn on the job and receive a salary as they train. (DfE, 2010, p. 23)

From this extract, it can be interpreted that the professional teacher is one that is professionalised through the organisational behaviour of schools. Any sense of a 'calling' to teaching has been devalued in place of teaching being an occupation for 'career changers'. There are assumptions within the white paper about the types of graduates that will want to teach and Oancea and Orchard (2012) discuss the importance of understanding such assumptions. They argue for greater links between educational philosophy discourse and policy initiatives when it comes to training teachers. As such, underlying assumptions about whether teachers do have a 'calling' to teach and the moral characteristics of teachers needs to be examined further.

In order to provide an alternative to the technicist, market-driven construction of teacher professionalism, it is necessary to reconsider the relationship between theory and practice, and the role of universities, schools and trainee teachers in making sense of this. Ellis and McNicholl

(2015), building on Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that a reformed Initial Teacher Education environment could set up continuity-displacement contradictions. Trainees should be engaged in dissecting practice with their mentors to understand why it is effective but also provided with the agency to challenge the status quo and be creative where practice can be moved forward. A model such as this may not be as hierarchical in nature or result in standardisation of practice without scrutiny.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Having provided a theoretical basis for organisational professionalism, this chapter now provides a rationale for the research design. The overarching aim of this research seeks to understand trainee teachers' conceptualisation of professionalism at the end of their Initial Teacher Training. It is particularly interested in how they may experience and become socialised into what Evetts (2009) terms 'organisational professionalism' as explored in the literature review. This chapter will now outline a philosophical positioning, highlight the benefits and limitations of each method chosen and explain the approach to sampling. Ethical considerations are also outlined.

This research is a mixed-methods study with a qualitative focus, using interviews and questionnaires as the two main research instruments. The following matrix (Table 3.1.1) shows how the two methods are used to answer each of the research questions.

Research Question	Interview	Questionnaire
1. In what ways do trainee teachers experience organisational professionalism through their Initial Teacher Training?	X	
2. How do trainee teachers perceive qualified teachers through the lens of organisational professionalism?	X	
3. What are trainee teachers' attitudes towards organisational professionalism?	X	X

Table 3.1.1: Matrix of research methods

As a general overview, the matrix above shows how the qualitative data derived from interviews are central to the research findings. The quantitative data derived from questionnaire analysis seek to provide an additional insight into trainee teachers' attitudes towards organisational professionalism.

The research was conducted in one Higher Education Institution in England with 143 questionnaire respondents and 13 interview participants from undergraduate, postgraduate and School Direct programmes. All of the research participants were training to become primary education teachers. All data were collected between May and July as trainees completed their training programme. As Pierce (2007) argues, 'beginning teaching involves the suspension, even temporary loss, of professional identity' (p.31) when experiencing the 'cultural cold shoulder

inside schools' (p.32). Therefore, by conducting interviews with trainees at the end of their training, but prior to induction, it was possible to gain an understanding of how Initial Teacher Training prepares teachers before they become influenced by their new organisational settings.

3.2 Philosophical positioning and approach

The research adopts a mixed method design, drawing upon quantitative methods but with a predominantly qualitative focus. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011, p.289) suggest that Mixed Methods Research (MMR) will be underpinned by paradigm pluralism to overcome 'thorny philosophical and conceptual issues'. The polemic distinction between qualitative and quantitative research can be methodologically difficult to reconcile for some that adopt purely positivist or interpretivist world-views. However, social reality can be conceived as requiring both and opposition to either quantitative or qualitative approaches may be misplaced (Pring, 2015). Firstly:

> 'social constructions' are constantly reconstructed as new experiences force us to reshape how we understand things. Hence, the need for that interpretive and hermeneutic tradition in which we seek to understand the world from the perspective of the participants (Pring, 2015, p.72).

For this study, the perspective of the participants is necessary to help understand how they have socially constructed conceptions of professionalism. The trainee teachers' voices are required to help advance an understanding of the empirical foundations of organisational professionalism as a theory proposed by Evetts (2009). This can be achieved through the use of qualitative methods. However, it is also naïve to oppose the use of quantitative methods that are borne out of positivist world views:

> There are features of what it is to be a person which enable generalizations to be made… most persons have predictable emotions and capacities which make it possible for certain purposes to consider them the same from person to person – and thus open to quantification. The qualitative investigation can clear the ground for the quantitative. (Pring, 2015, pp.72 -73)

Building on Pring, it is possible to argue that the trainee teachers in this sample, whilst being individuals, are also bound by a shared social situation. They have chosen to be teachers and to complete their training at the same university and so, as Pring indicates, it is possible to make generalisations meaning the quantitative method also has a valid place within this research.

The mixed methods approach within this research can be described as a one-phase embedded design where 'one type of data is embedded within a design framed by the other type.' (Punch

and Oancea, 2014 p.345). Cresswell and Piano-Clark (2006) suggest that the interpretation from this type of design focuses on one data set over another. In this research, the qualitative dimension has aided the interpretation of the quantitative section in order to explore trends or themes that emerge from both data sets.

Within mixed-methods studies, it is typical to present the quantitative findings before the qualitative. Within this study, the quantitative analysis is presented after the preceding chapter for two reasons. Firstly, the two methods used to collect data were carried out simultaneously; interviews to collect qualitative data ran alongside completion of questionnaires to collect quantitative data. This meant that it was not possible to analyse the quantitative data to look for themes that could be explored through the qualitative interviews or vice-versa. Secondly, the qualitative analysis was carried out first so that it frames the discussion and focus of analysis. Whilst the quantitative findings were analysed through the Factor Analysis method and therefore, not dependent on the interview data, the interpretation of the findings are viewed and discussed in response to some of the qualitative findings. In other words, within this mixed methods study, the analysis of interviews has informed the interpretation of the questionnaire analysis.

3.3 Qualitative research through semi-structured interviews

Gillham (2005) points out that research is about discovery, and this is even more important when the researcher thinks that they already have a thorough understanding of the research context. Therefore, working within the institution under study, it was necessary to 'observe this familiar territory as if it were a foreign country' (Gillham, 2005, p.71). For this reason, semi-structured interviews were used as '[o]ne of the strengths of the semi-structured interview is that it facilitates a strong element of discovery, whilst its structured focus allows an analysis in terms of commonalities' (Gillham, 2005, p.72). The benefit of the interview is that it enabled an analysis of organisational professionalism to draw on trainee teachers' 'interpretations of the world … and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2003, p.267). The trainee teachers are actors within the 'world' of teacher training that this research project is trying to understand, and so 'discovering' their 'point of view' through interviewing was necessary.

Different types of interview, including unstructured, focus group and structured forms, were considered before deciding to carry out one-to-one semi-structured interviews. Focus groups and group interviews are beneficial because the group has the capacity to explore a topic in ways that the researcher had not anticipated (Morgan, 2006) as a result of the group dynamics.

However, dominant voices within groups can lead to some opinions not being expressed. This is not as much of an issue with one-to-one interviews because each person will have an opportunity to express their views and opinions without having to conform to their peers.

For the semi-structured interviews, the focus was on gaining qualitative data and as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003) suggest, the sample will be substantially smaller than in quantitative research. In total, 13 trainees were interviewed from the three different training routes. Six interview participants were at the end of their three-year undergraduate programme with recommendation for Qualified Teacher Status. Five trainees were interviewed from the postgraduate route. A further two trainees were from the School Direct route into teaching. The School Direct trainees were unsalaried and so were funding their own training. Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) argue that constructivist research is less concerned with validity and more concerned with authenticity. As such, it was important to fairly reflect the views of the participants on each programme to avoid any bias. Having said that, the School Direct sample is smaller and so inevitably, the number of contributions within the findings chapter is fewer than on the other programmes.

The interview adopted a semi-structured approach, following an interview guide:

> [F]lexibility is a key requirement of qualitative interviewing. The interviewer must be able to respond to issues that emerge in the course of the interview in order to explore the perspective of the participant on the topics under investigation. (King and Horrocks, 2010, p.35)

This was important to the design of this research as the trainee teachers' experiences in school were varied and it was necessary to probe further to understand their experience. Their perspectives were also informed by their own identity, and as will be seen in Chapter 4, there were historical and social factors that influenced their perspectives of professionalism. These were not always predictable and so a structured interview may not have uncovered their importance. For example, two participants spoke of the importance of religion, and this was not anticipated when designing the interview schedule.

Challenges around semi-structured interviews relate back to challenges associated with the qualitative paradigm. For example: semi-structured interviews can be unpredictable (Mears, 2011); the wording of follow-up questions may vary between respondents 'reducing the comparability of responses' (Cohen, Manion and Morrsion, 2003, p.271); there are 'no iron-clad rules of what constitutes sufficient data' (Mears, 2012, p. 173); and interviewees responses are open to interpretation (Punch, 2005). Through the interpretivist lens, such issues of interpretation need to be accepted as part of qualitative research. However, for reasons of

reliability and validity, every effort has been made to ensure that misinterpretation has been avoided and that sufficient amounts of data have been collected.

The semi-structured interview questions are presented in Appendix 1. Crano, Brewer and Lac (2015) recommend that questions should be brief, direct, use language that the respondents will understand, and avoid double-barrelled questions which could generate conflicting responses. Most of these principles are embedded in the question design with the exception of being direct. Crano, Brewer and Lac (2015, p.282) argue that 'if you want to know about something, ask about it as directly as possible'. However, the term 'organisational professionalism' and its associated components such as 'rational-legal authority' are not going to be within the everyday vocabulary of the participants. Therefore, the trainee teachers were never asked directly what they think about organisational professionalism. Instead, the questions include reference to different ways in which organisational professionalism could be seen in school. This is most notable in a question relating to performance management and the vignette scenario explored later in this chapter.

Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) highlight the importance of interview as a context for constructing knowledge. They argue that whilst many qualitative researchers try to ensure that the interview is conducted in as natural way as possible, this is not a reality. As soon as the recording device is switched on, natural conversations change tone, and the interviewer and interviewee adopt particular roles. The setting for the interview should also be considered:

> [T]he interview as a context does not just fall from the sky but is the result of numerous actors orchestrating this complex episode, which we have today come to take for granted. (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p.121).

Taking into consideration Brinkmann and Kvale's concern, it is worth noting that there are a number of factors that may influence the 'interview as context'. Firstly, as a tutor working in the institution being studied, my own role may have affected the extent to which participants were honest in their responses. Furthermore, most of my teaching is within undergraduate training and so my own relationship with the undergraduates was stronger than the other routes, made more significant by the fact that undergraduates had worked with me for three years. Finally, the interviews took place in various rooms within the institution being studied due to availability. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.119) note that even the 'arrangement of the furniture' should not be dismissed as insignificant to the interview context.

As Oppenheim (1992) notes, the interviewer can be helped or hindered by their gender, age and ethnicity. The interviewee may respond differently depending on these characteristics. This is

important as most of the interview participants were white British, female and between the ages of 21 and 30. See Appendix 2 for an overview of individual participants. In contrast, I am a male researcher who is not only older than the majority of respondents but also in a position of power as being both university tutor and researcher. The power dynamics within interview situations also needs to be carefully considered as Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) suggest respondents can modify their responses in such circumstances. To alleviate these concerns, I note Oppenheim's guidance that interpersonal skills need to be maximized in a way that makes the interviewee feel relaxed and able to respond honestly to questioning.

Misrepresentation of the data is another concern that has been avoided by audio-recording the interviews. All participants consented to being recorded and were also given the opportunity to read the transcripts for accuracy following the interview, although no-one asked to do this. The recorded interview therefore allowed for accurate transcripts to be created so that these could be coded and analysed accordingly. However, as Gillham (2005) cautions, the transcript of a recording cannot easily convey the semantic properties of speech, including emphasis, pace and tone, all of which can transform meaning. The use of audio recording devices can be distracting, or off-putting, for some research participants, but similar to King and Horrocks (2010), I found that after the initial 'I hate the sound of my voice' type concerns, the participants soon engaged in discussion without worrying about being recorded.

Hurworth (2012) asks how interviewers can encourage participants to speak freely and make the process less artificial:

> The answer can be through the use of various stimuli, as these can assist in obtaining rich data as well as making a potentially forbidding process more palatable for participants. (Hurworth, 2012, p.177)

The various stimuli that can aid interviews include the use of, visual or artistic resources, audio, film, activities and vignettes (Hurworth, 2012). For the purposes of this research, a vignette was used within the interview.

Conflating vignettes with other methods of data collection is considered to be a successful approach for extrapolating data in a variety of ways (Renold, 2002). They also enable questions and answers to adopt the third-person, and this can be a way to 'desensitise' the issue (Hurworth, 2012). The vignette provided a short scenario for the participants to consider organisational professionalism. The use of vignettes are not without their limitations, and the main challenge in using them is that participants could explain them as they 'think they should',

as opposed to how they would actually respond in a real-life scenario (Renold, 2002). To combat this slightly, the participants were asked to relate the scenario to their own training.

The final vignette scenario was created in consultation with head teachers, deputy head teachers, teachers, and Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs). This was necessary as the vignette had to present a particular scenario that could realistically arise in a school. Heads, deputies and NQTs were selected for the consultation for reasons of convenience; those that were involved in the consultation were visitors to the university in which I work, and so asked to give their views on the vignette. This process was in itself illuminating, as some believed that my originally proposed vignettes were completely unbelievable scenarios, whilst others could see the truth in them, suggesting that leadership in schools may have a bearing on the enactment of organisational professionalism. However, the consultation was also intrinsic to developing the language of the vignette and then further refined through a pilot involving a small sample of trainee teachers who were not yet in their final stages of teacher training.

The final wording of the vignette had to reflect the range of aspects of organisational professionalism as defined by Evetts (2009). This was necessary in order to extract findings related to the research question. Therefore, the scenario details a managerialist, hierarchical decision to implement standardised practice within a performance management framework. The final vignette scenario is presented in figure 3.3.1.

> In order to raise standards in reading, one infant school decides to implement a phonics scheme. The phonics scheme includes prescriptive lesson plans that must be adhered to. It also includes a systematic progression of reading books that all children must read. The children are set in abilities across Reception to Year 2, resulting in some lower ability Year 1 and Year 2 children being placed in a Reception class. As the school has invested heavily in this scheme as part of their strategic plan, each teacher is given a performance management target that is 'aspirational'. 80% of all children must make better than average progress. After just 1 year of using the scheme, reading standards have risen significantly across the school.

Figure 3.3.1: Final vignette used in semi-structured interviews

Reference to the prescriptive phonics scheme in the scenario, reflects an increased number of schools that have used governmental matched-funding to purchase such synthetic phonic schemes and is indicative of how both teacher education and schools deliver top-down pedagogic strategies (Davies, 2012). Within the locality of the research context, the majority of schools now use some sort of phonics scheme, although prescription within these schemes

exists on a sliding scale. The vignette scenario reflects the prescriptive aspects of Read Write Inc., one of the recommended schemes that many schools use. The inclusion of the prescriptive scheme is aimed to elicit a response about standardised procedures. The prescriptive lesson plans 'that must be adhered to' suggests that teaching is a mechanical process that does not require additional theoretical insight, expertise, skills or autonomy. Within the pilot stage, trainees were able to identify that the anonymised scheme was in fact based on a real scheme, and participants were able to give views about this.

Another part of the scenario refers to the performance management, or appraisal system used by schools. The target was agreed to be realistic by head teachers, although it was pointed out that there may be a difference between 'aspirational' targets and 'benchmark' targets. Some head teachers recognised that a benchmark target is often much lower than an aspirational target but that the latter form is used as a way of fostering high expectations.

3.4 Qualitative analysis

Interview data were analysed using aspects of the constant comparison method as described by Boeije (2002). This is a method that has its roots in Grounded Theory but has been recognised as being an approach towards coding and understanding qualitative data more widely. Whilst this is not a grounded theory study, some of the principles related to inductive coding have been considered. Inductive coding is important within an interpretivist framework:

> Induction starts with empirical particulars on the ground, and generate more general theories at a higher level. Consequently, induction can be seen as a bottom-up approach. (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p. 22)

Without carrying out a full grounded theory study, the use of the constant comparison method can still provide a useful way of generating theory at a higher level using a bottom-up approach. The emic perspective (derived from participants' own views as insiders) was then considered within the etic perspective (the researchers' interpretation based on wider social and cultural factors) (Fram, 2013).

Boeije (2002) illustrates the constant comparison method with a five-step process applied to patients with multiple sclerosis and their spouses:

1. Comparison within a single interview
2. Comparison between interviews within the same group
3. Comparison of interviews from different groups
4. Comparison in pairs at the level of the couple
5. Comparing couples.

Figure 3.4.1: Constant comparison process (Boeije, 2002)

As this illustration includes couples it has been adapted in order to examine the professional conceptions of trainee teachers on different routes. As such, the fourth and fifth stage were not followed. The process began with each new interview, and comparison within groups related to the different teacher training routes of undergraduate teacher training, postgraduate teacher training and School Direct training. As only two School Direct trainees were interviewed, the second and third stage of Boeije's process were more transient but certainly no less rigorous. Whilst the findings have not been presented as a comparative study, the aforementioned process afforded the opportunity for differences between groups to emerge.

Throughout the constant comparison process, inductive codes were refined and salient codes emerged. This process was ongoing with each new interview coded. To support the process, memos were written after each section of each interview. This provided a summary of the ideas and picked up on the most prominent codes. King and Horrocks (2010, p.153) suggest that interpretative codes support meaning in relation to the research questions. These can then be applied to the full data set, similarly to step two of Boeije's process. In order to provide consistency between codes, the computer software package, NVIVO was finally used to store the interpretative codes, and a process of recoding all of the interviews based on the final set of codes was carried out. The final codes used in NVIVO are presented in Appendix 3.

Having coded the data using this process, the salient codes that emerged were grouped into overarching themes as described by King and Horrocks (2010). To arrive at themes, the codes were clustered and grouped into the overarching themes. For example, descriptive codes included 'personalised learning', 'child-centred learning', and 'enquiry-based learning' were clustered to become 'idealised child-centred practice' and then themed with other codes that form 'beliefs about pedagogy'. A flowchart illustrating the inductive analysis process used and adapted from Boeije (2002) and King and Horrocks (2010) is presented in figure 3.4.2:

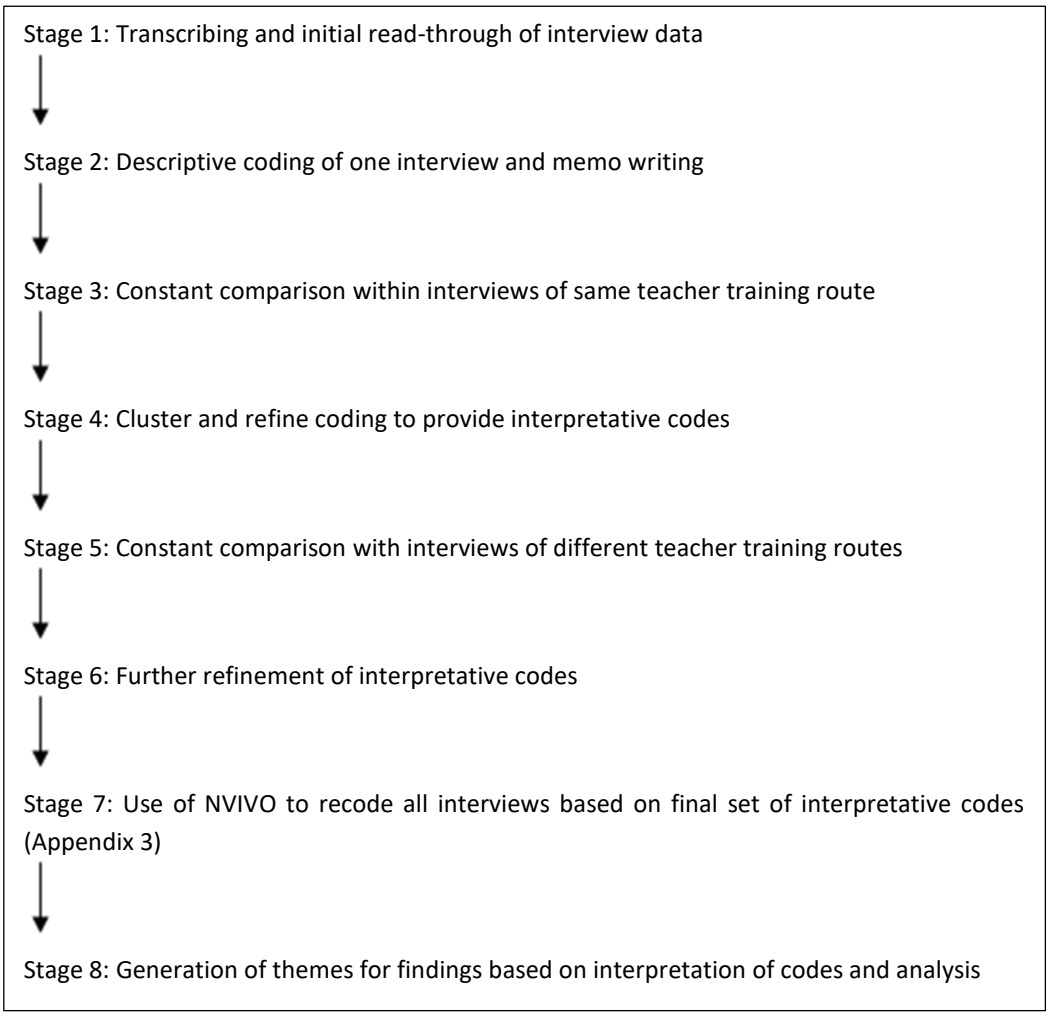

Figure 3.4.2: Final process of inductive coding

3.5 Questionnaires

Questionnaires have a benefit for respondents as they can complete them in their own time (Gillham, 2000). This was particularly beneficial as access to postgraduate and School Direct trainees was not as straightforward as access to the undergraduate trainees. However, the convenience of postgraduate and School Direct students being able to complete the questionnaires in their own time resulted in a noticeable reduction in the response rate.

Questionnaires were provided to all primary education undergraduate, postgraduate and School Direct trainees. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003, p.96) point out that some potential participants will not respond to questionnaires and therefore, the questionnaires that are returned form the sample. The overall population of primary Initial Teacher Training students in their final year at the university setting can be broken down as follows:

Undergraduate trainees:	112
Postgraduate trainees:	121
School Direct trainees:	19
Total:	252

Table 3.5.1: Trainee teachers by ITT route

As an overall return rate, the sample represents 143 / 252, or 56% of the population, if population is understood to be the total number of trainees at the end of their Initial Teacher Training at the institution where the research took place. Krejcie and Morgan (1970) suggest that for a population size of around 250, the random sample needs to be at least 152. With a sample of 143, this falls slightly short of the recommendation by Krejcie and Morgan and so the results of the findings have to be understood as having a slightly increased sampling error than the recommended 5

The questionnaire design draws upon previous research carried out by Swann et al (2010) as part of the Teacher Status Project, commissioned by the then Department for Education and Skills (see Appendix 4). One part of the project published by Swann et al. (2010) provides a useful starting point for quantitative research in teachers' professional conceptions. The main reason for adapting this questionnaire is that Swann et al. (2010) went through a series of stages to devise and refine their research questions and as such, many of the questions can be considered as being fit for purpose. Similar to my own research aims, Swann et al. (2010) sought teachers' conceptions of professionalism. In doing so, they created a broad list of professional constructs devised through reviewing the then, Labour government policies on teacher professionalism and from carrying out focus group interviews. These constructs culminated in 33 survey items on a questionnaire, using a 5-point Likert scale. The current research differs from Swann's in that there is a greater emphasis in the analysis on organisational professionalism, as defined by Evetts (2009). In order to make this analysis possible, some of Swann's survey items have been omitted and others have been adapted. From the original 33 survey items used by Swann et al. (2010), eighteen are used within the current research.

Swann et al. (2010) surveyed practising, qualified teachers and so it was necessary to have additional questions that addressed Initial Teacher Training. The eighteen questions from Swann et al. (2010) form the first section of the questionnaire competed in this study. The additional questions, focusing on teacher training are set out in the second part of the questionnaire. The third part of the questionnaire addresses the accountability and external monitoring of organisational professionalism more specifically. These questions are included in

order to support the semi-structured interview question related to accountability. The final questionnaire is presented in Appendix 5.

The use of a previously administered questionnaire is not without limitations. When considering Evetts's thesis, it is argued that organisational professionalism has dominated current policy and perceptions of professional occupations. Therefore, the fact that Swann et al. (2010) based some of their questions on New Labour's policy, suggests that they may already be skewed to presenting professionalism in this way. However, by answering on a Likert scale, it is possible for respondents to indicate strength of feeling in favour of, or against any form of professionalism. For example, one survey item that has remained from Swann et al. (2010) is presented in figure 3.5.1:

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree
A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice	1	2	3	4	5

Figure: 3.5.1: Example of Likert scale item

The survey item presented in Figure 3.5.1 invites a response of 1-5 on a Likert scale. If respondents strongly agree with this statement then this may be interpreted as being in favour of this aspect of organisational professionalism as completive practices underpin New Public Management (Evetts, 2009). However, by strongly disagreeing with this statement, the respondent could be indicating occupational professionalism.

Likert scales can be seen as more reliable than alternative scales as Likert scales support the understanding of a construct across a number of different items; individual items that are not reliable can be cancelled out by other items when the questionnaire and analysis is carried out appropriately (Crano, Brewer and Lac, 2015). However, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003) note that the use of Likert scales can be problematic due to the interpretation of the rating scale; one person's rating of 5 could correlate to another person's rating of 4. Additionally, many respondents will not want to be thought of as 'extremists' and so avoid the polar ends of the scale.

The process of conducting a pilot study is beneficial to help shape the final research approach (Phophalia, 2010). A pilot was carried out with students that were not at the end of their training but had received some training. My main focus for the pilot was to find out if the language of the questioning was consistently interpreted in similar ways. It was clear from the piloting that some trainee teachers did not understand some of the question terminology and so questions

were adapted accordingly. As the current questionnaire is based on a previously tried, tested and published survey, piloting on a large scale was not used.

Additional questions relating to aspects of organisational professionalism were influenced by the theoretical literature presented in Chapter 1. Each item required drafting and revising to ensure that a consistent tone was applied throughout the questionnaire. It was important to ensure variation in the 1-5 scale so that 'organisational professionalism' could not always be indicated by the value of 5 or 1. It was also necessary to present the same aspect of organisational professionalism through more than one question to test if respondents answered consistently. For example, 'Q.8 Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching' corresponds with 'Q.12 Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools'. Both questions focus on the idea of collaborative learning within the teaching profession.

3.6 Questionnaire analysis

In order to interpret the numerical data from the questionnaires, two stages of analysis are reported in this chapter. First a Factor Analysis of the Likert-scale items was carried out to reduce 43 variables into seven components. Secondly, descriptive statistics are used to understand the components in more depth.

Based on the approach by Swann et al. (2010), Factor Analysis was carried out to reduce the number of items on the questionnaire into meaningful components. Factor Analysis is usually carried out as a way of developing scales or test materials, early on in the method design (Pallant, 2010). However, as noted by Williams, Onsman and Brown (2010), Factor Analysis is highly useful for interpreting questionnaires:

> Factor analysis reduces a large number of variables into a smaller set of variables... Secondly, it establishes underlying dimensions between measured variables and latent constructs, thereby allowing the formation and refinement of theory. (Williams, Onsman and Brown, 2010, p. 2)

It is the reduction of variables into latent constructs that is of interest to this research. This reflects the methodology of Swann et al. (2010) on which the questionnaire was originally based; Swann et al. (2010, p.557) carried out a factor analysis 'so the outcomes of the analyses were readily interpretable, and… so that the teachers' perceptions as to the meaning of professionalism could be validated with reference to their responses from the earlier group and focus group interviews'. Within this research, the intention was the same; it was necessary to

carry out Factor Analysis to reduce the data for interpretation and then see how this compares with ideas from the one-to-one interviews.

Factor Analysis, like many other statistical models, calculates the mean of values. However, this is contentious when using Likert-, or rating scale data. Likert scales are typically categorised as ordinal data; it can be argued that on a rating scale of 1- 5, people can only select one of five categories, thus the data is ordinal. Considering rating scales as continuous data is challenging as it is not possible for respondents to choose between, for example, 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' on the scale (Jamieson, 2004). However, Factor Analysis is commonly used to analyse rating-scale data, particularly personality questionnaires (Field, 2013). Whilst the questionnaire used in this research is not a personality questionnaire, the Factor Analysis is used to establish the trainees' conceptions of professionalism by clustering variables that may be correlated into components.

In order to conduct Factor Analysis, the five-step procedure reported by Williams, Brown and Onsman (2012) was used. This procedure is presented in figure 3.6.1 and detailed with the decisions made.

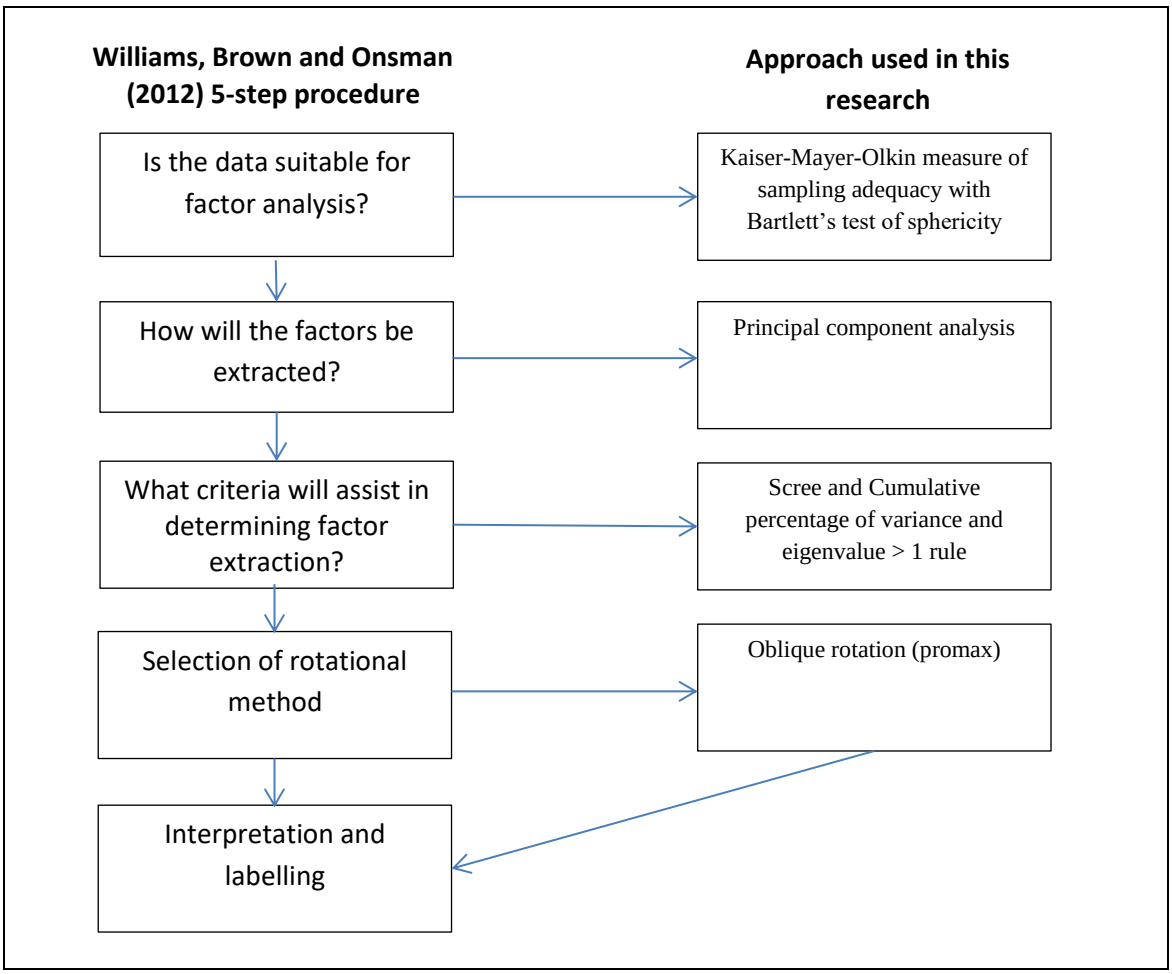

Figure 3.6.1: Factor Analysis procedure

Factor Analysis was carried out using SPSS version 22. As suggested in figure 3.6.1, the first step determines whether Factor Analysis is a suitable statistical model by determining the sample adequacy. For this, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is recommended (Williams, Brown and Onsman, 2012; Field, 2013). This returned a result of .519, which although Kaiser (cited in Field, 2013) suggest as being only just adequate, Williams, Brown and Onsman (2012) note as being acceptable. Williams, Brown and Onsman also suggest that there is much debate amongst statisticians and researchers about suitable sample sizes with some insisting on a sample greater than 300 and others carrying out Factor Analysis with samples as low as 50. The sample size for this research is 143 with 43 rating scale questions used on the questionnaire. Another test to see whether Factor Analysis is worthwhile is Bartlett's test of sphericity. This must be lower than 0.5 significance and at 0.000 from this set of data means that the items can be correlated through Factor Analysis (see fig.3.6.2 for the breakdown of this test).

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.519
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1675.808
	df	903
	Sig.	.000

Figure 3.6.2: KMO and Bartlett's test

Principal Component Analysis, as an extraction method of Factor Analysis was used because Williams, Brown and Onsman (2012) suggest that this is preferable when no priori theory or model exists. Swann et al. (2010), whilst reporting 'factors' also seem to suggest that they carried out Principal Component Analysis within the statistics software package, SPSS. Other Factor Analysis extraction methods are available, with principal axis factoring being another commonly used method in the social sciences. However, Gorsuch (cited in Williams, Brown and Onsman) suggests that there is little difference between the methods when more than 30 variables are being inputted. As Principal Component Analysis was the extraction method for Factor Analysis, the findings are reported as components instead of factors.

To assist factor extraction, the recommended eigenvalue greater than 1 was used to initially reduce the number of variables. This generated 17 different components and deemed too many for meaningful discussion within the context of the institution being researched. Pallant (2010) also suggests that the eigenvalue usually yields more factors than is necessary. Therefore, multiple criteria were used to determine the factor reduction. This included examining the cumulative percentage of variance and the scree plot (presented in Fig 3.6.3):

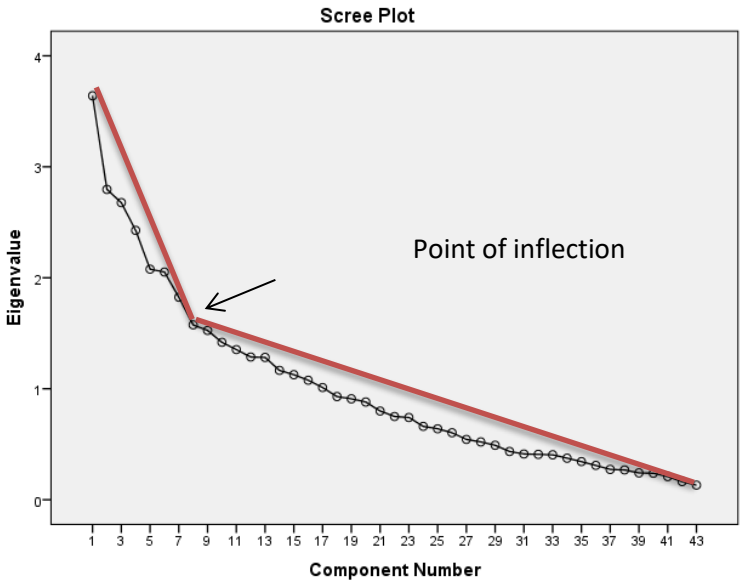

Figure 3.6.3: Scree plot for extracted components

A point of inflection indicated eight factors. However, it is important that factors are interpretable. This led Swann et al. (2010) to reduce their eight factors down to five. The data reported in this chapter include seven factors as the eighth factor could not be interpreted into anything meaningful. Seven factors were therefore selected and this accounted for around 40% of the total variance. Whilst seven factors seems to be more interpretable and meaningful within the context of this study, a note of caution must be added as around sixty percent of the overall variance has not been considered.

Field (2013) argues that it is difficult within the natural world to consider factors that do not have some sort of co-dependency and Williams, Brown and Onsman (2012) further argue that an oblique rotation is useful when data does not meet priori assumptions. Therefore, the commonly used oblique promax rotation was used in order to see how variables correlate.

The interpretation of factors can be a subjective and inductive process (Williams, Brown and Onsman, 2012) and therefore it should be noted that within the interpretivist paradigm, the data is made sense of in relation to the qualitative interview analysis that preceded it. The data could be subject to different interpretations. The full pattern matrix for the seven factors extracted is presented in Appendix 6. However, to assist in reporting the factors, extracts from this matrix are presented against each component in Chapter 5. Stevens (cited in Field, 2013) suggests that the factor loadings for a sample of 100 should be greater than 0.512 and for a sample of 200 should be greater than 0.364. With a sample of 143, loadings greater than 0.40 have been considered as this is slightly greater than the difference between the two ratios reported by Stevens.

3.7 Ethics

The research followed the University of Southampton's ethical protocols and guidance in addition to considering those principles outlined by the British Educational Research Association (2011). This included gaining informed consent, considerations of data storage, maximising benefit and minimising harm, upholding researcher integrity, and considerations of being an insider researcher.

Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) suggest that informed consent can be problematic in interviews if the disclosure of the research intentions could lead the participant into particular responses. Participants were exposed to the intentions of the interview but the phrasing of the first question was intended to encourage responses that were more generic before funnelling into ideas about the research topic. At the end of the interview, the participants were debriefed, and

at this point, ideas related to the research questions were emphasised to member-check and correct interpretation. The use of audio-recording required additional consent as this would be a form of personal data stored securely for analysis. . For the questionnaire, informed consent was gained by participants reading an information sheet and ticking boxes on the questionnaire to show that they understood the research aims. The questionnaires were all anonymous. The only identifier was the teacher training route. Other than that, no other information was sought. Further questions related to age, gender, ethnicity were rejected from the research design in part because of their ethical implications; on the primary School Direct route, there were only 19 on role and so by asking demographic-type questions, it may have meant that anonymity could no longer be guaranteed. All questionnaires were stored in a safe location until the data were transferred to a password-protected computer.

The 13 participants were all volunteers and for ethical reasons, it was important not to coerce people into taking part. A further four volunteers had initially agreed to take part but sent their apologies in advance of the interview and had changed their mind. One of the difficulties with recruiting participants was that they needed to be interviewed at the end of their training period, after completing their final teaching practice, and before they began teaching as a Newly Qualified Teacher. Potential participants seemed unwilling to be interviewed during their summer holidays, and so interviews needed to take place while trainees were available in their final days of the course. This resulted in a tight time frame for interviewing all 13 participants at the same time as trying to increase the return rate of the questionnaires. In order to minimise harm, it was important not to put pressure on participants to take part in the research.

Another ethical consideration stems from my own role of being an insider researcher. Mercer (2007) suggests that when the researcher is known to the participants, this can affect the way that respondents speak about particular topics, particularly when the views of the researcher are known:

> The same person can have multiple understandings of reality, depending on the situation, and their verbal descriptions of these various understandings (be they 'genuine' or consciously contrived) will be different at different times and with different people. (Mercer, 2007, p. 12)

This could have presented a particular ethical dilemma for the undergraduate trainees. This group of trainees are known to me as the co-ordinator of their final year of undergraduate study. As some of my own views on education will be familiar to these trainees, it is possible that they have 'consciously contrived' responses in light of my role as a tutor and assessor on their programme. The timing of the research at the end of their training when they have already passed their placements for qualified teacher status may mitigate for this somewhat.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the interview, trainees were told that I was adopting my role as a researcher and that they should speak openly about their training experiences without fear of judgement. In fact, many did express dissatisfaction with aspects of their training, suggesting the participants did not fear the disclosure of information. However, it is also possible that in my role as an insider researcher, the trainee revealed their dissatisfaction in the hope that it would change things immediately, and this raises another ethical dilemma of the need to maintain confidentially and anonymity; having revealed truths about undesired practice within the initial teacher training partnership, I was unable to report these by naming schools or head teachers as this would jeopardise the confidentiality and anonymity that had been guaranteed from the outset.

Chapter 4: Presentation of findings from qualitative analysis of interviews

This chapter presents the findings from the qualitative analysis of interviews. A full description of how the interviews were analysed is presented in Chapter 3 but as a summary, it is noted that an inductive coding of transcripts was carried out whilst considering the research questions. Therefore, the three main themes that are presented in this chapter are those that arose from the data and relate somewhat to the original research questions. Additional themes and codes that were inducted from the data have not been included because they did not relate to organisational professionalism.

Inductive coding resulted in three main themes, through which findings are presented:

Theme 1: Compliance with authority as necessity

Theme 2: Socialisation into standardised practices and box ticking

Theme 3: Accountability for raising standards in school

Within each theme, findings emerge and these will also be presented within this chapter. Consistent throughout each theme, trainees also indicated that their own beliefs are important in helping them to make sense of professionalism. Therefore, following this analysis, a fourth theme emerged relating to trainee teachers' personal beliefs and how they may affect their perceptions of the themes listed above. This finding is implicit within the three main themes but extrapolated further as a theme in its own right:

Theme 4: Navigation between own beliefs and aspects of organisational professionalism

Subsequent analysis, discussion and links to established discourses of teacher training and organisational professionalism will be presented in Chapter 6, following the presentation of quantitative findings in Chapter 5.

4.1: Theme 1- Compliance with authority as necessity

Trainee teachers made sense of their role by drawing upon a range of sources of authority. Authority is understood to be linked to power; the trainee perceives the authority as a source of expectation for their teaching practice and also shapes some of their views of the teaching profession. Expectations must be met, whether at the point of training or when working in a school as a qualified teacher and leads to compliant behaviour. Compliance, used inter-

changeably in this theme with the term conforming, is presented as teachers and trainees carrying out their work in ways that they believe others would expect. For example, a teacher is complying with the expectations of the head teacher if they are teaching a particular strategy or in a particular style that the head teacher has recommended. The teacher or trainee could be compliant because they agree with the direction given by the source of authority or they could be compliant despite disagreeing with the expectations of the source of authority. Within the latter, authority as power can be seen more prominently as the trainee is placed in a position of doing something that they disagree with.

On initial coding of the data, key stakeholders in the training of teachers emerged and were discussed by the trainees as being influential on their practice. Using the constant comparison method adapted from Boeije (2002) and explained in the methodology chapter, these stakeholders became sources of authority as the power relationship between trainee and source transpired. Seven sources of authority featured in the majority of interviews:

- Bureaucratic authority
- Government authority
- Head teacher authority
- Ofsted authority
- School authority
- Theoretical authority
- University authority

Trainee teachers respond to authority in different ways and it is evident that the impact of authority varies depending on the individual trainee and to a certain extent, the Initial Teacher Training route. Within this section, the sources of authority will be explored, examining how they have contributed to the trainees' understanding of professionalism.

Trainee teachers believe that they should comply with sources of authority

During their training, the trainees implied a necessity to comply with a range of sources of authority. These authoritative sources control the individual trainee's entry to the profession; without compliance, the trainee may not be allowed to teach:

> *I would have got in trouble with the teacher, and I would not have got on well if I had not done what she had told me to do. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee)*

When given the hypothetical, vignette scenario trainees suggested that they would be willing to challenge different sources of authority (explored within Theme 2, below) but in practice, there was very little evidence that as trainees, they had challenged any source of authority if they disagreed with them. In such circumstances, they would default to a position of complying with the given expectations because of the necessity to pass the teaching placement or Initial Teacher Training programme. Non-compliance can result in lower outcomes for trainees*: 'I would remain as a 'good' or 'requires improvement' teacher'* (Antonia, postgraduate trainee). The extent to which each source of authority has influenced their teaching at the time and their long-term vision of the role of the teacher varies between sources and situation, as will now be explored.

It was evident within the school-context, that all trainees recognised the need to comply with their school and this suggested that 'school' is a source of authority. The school became the most notable source of authority in terms of compliance. References to school authority included individual teachers or school-based mentors but also suggested a relationship between teachers and a school-culture in which practices were normalised, or standardised. These standardised practices that have grown out of the specific school culture are ones that trainee teachers are expected to follow. For some trainees, this is perceived positively as they believe that they are observing good practice and learning from the experience of others. There is an assumption that experienced teachers know best and this can sometimes devalue the ideas and experience of the trainee:

> *I suppose because those people are more knowledgeable and more experienced than you. You presume that they know best. A lot of the time you will suggest something to them and they will say, 'I tried that before and it didn't work'. So you don't do it. I suppose you are calling upon their knowledge and their professional understanding of what works in the classroom. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)*

All trainees identified teachers that they had observed and learnt from at some point. In this way, the standardised practices that are followed are ones that the trainee freely and willingly conforms to. However, many trainees also identified times where they had conformed to the school's expectations whilst disagreeing with their practice, as will now be explored.

Different schools may have different teaching practices and trainees recognised how they needed to adapt their own teaching to fit in with the expectations of each school:

> *There have been things that I have done differently from him or wanted to do differently from him, but he has said I want you to do it this way. (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

Consequently, feelings of disempowerment occur within the school as the trainee lacks agency and autonomy to teach in the way that they would prefer. This may have some lasting impact. As one trainee commented that in her NQT year she '*wouldn't feel in a position to go against the school' (Henrietta, undergraduate trainee)* and other trainees suggested a lasting belief that teachers have to conform to the expectations of others.

Reasons for the trainees' compliance also emerged through interview data. As indicated, some trainees assume that the teachers' experience must be valued and that they must learn through observing and replicating their practice. There was also a suggestion that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery:

> *they want to think that they are good themselves so they want to put their methods forward as the right way (Jenny, postgraduate trainee)*

If the trainee mimics the practices of their mentor or class teacher, they are more likely to be seen as a good teacher as this tends to legitimise the practice of that mentor or class teacher. Other reasons for conforming included teachers' concern over the standards within their class and the need for consistency.

One trainee commented on how the head teacher had a direct effect on her training and through her example, it is possible to see how head teachers can enforce compliant behaviour:

> *the children normally sit in rows and I wanted them to sit in groups and work in collaboration and there was lots of discussion. He came in and basically told me off in front of the class. It was humiliating. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)*

Andrea went on to say that she did not feel that she had the right to challenge the head teacher as she was a trainee in the school. The alleged humiliation also contributed to Andrea lacking confidence in challenging the status quo of the school-culture that reinforces a particular teaching and learning approach that Andrea does not agree with. In order to pass the placement, she complied with what she describes as 'boring' teaching methods, teaching didactically from the front of the class to children in rows. Furthermore, she suggested that compliance results in higher outcomes from the placement, even though her definition of *'outstanding'* teaching differs from those in authority:

I: Did the way that the head teacher believe maths should be taught impact on your outcomes on this placement?

A: For me, outstanding practice is the way that I described. Lots of discussion, working together, problem solving, reasoning, group work, short activities and that wasn't really allowed to happen. So in a way, I guess it did, but I still got an outstanding overall.

Extract from Andrea's interview (undergraduate trainee)

Other trainees saw the head teacher's authority as being linked to the wider school ethos and practices that, as trainees, they needed to work within. Trainees understood the head teacher to be a powerful figure in the school and in some cases creates *'fear'* amongst the staff, affecting said school ethos (Catherine, undergraduate trainee).

School personnel, including head teachers and mentors, acting as sources of authority for trainees enforce expectations. As has been seen in the examples above, this can be about socialisation into the school ethos. However, it is not only authority figures that shape trainees' practice. Analysis of transcripts also showed that trainees are influenced by a faceless source of authority; a source of authority that almost cannot be questioned because it does not afford any sort of dialogue:

Obviously, I do try to stick to the teacher standards as far as possible throughout every lesson. (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)

with the standards we are given we are always aiming to be that high standard so that gives you the drive to always want to be outstanding. So you will take that into your teaching. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)

The Teachers' Standards were referred to by almost all of the trainees as being essential to their progression throughout their training and therefore has become a bureaucratic source of authority. This is sometimes because other sources of authority, most notably the university, endorse their use:

I: You've spoken a lot about teacher standards. How do you know that the teaching standards make good practice?

L: More than anything I guess it is because we are told that by the university and link tutors.

Extract from Lucy's interview (postgraduate trainee)

Mentors, based in school, also use the Teachers' Standards to grade lessons and when observing other teachers, the trainee uses the standards as a checklist for noting down good practice. They

recognise the content of the standards as being indicative of good practice and act as a framework for planning their professional practice:

> *The standards have to be met. If I don't meet the standards in my observations then I won't get an Outstanding. (Antonia, postgraduate trainee)*

Even if the composition of standards could be questioned, trainees are likely to continue to comply with them as they are endorsed by those responsible for their training:

> *you could give us any set of standards and tell me anything and I would have to agree with them. (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

The Teachers' Standards are also connected to the government, suggesting that the work of teachers is being directed from above:

> *I think it has come from Michael Gove and people high up. ... I hope they have taken ideas of what works in schools and put them into Ofsted and put them into the standards. (Antonia, postgraduate trainee)*

Antonia's use of *'they'* recognises that she needs to be compliant with an expectation of professional practice set by government ministers and others who are *'high up'*, who in turn have a relationship with the external regulator of schools, Ofsted.

It may also be the case that the Teachers' Standards are not accepted as a source of authority but acknowledged as a necessity for successful completion of pre-service training. Teaching standards are therefore a way of controlling entry to the profession. In this way, some trainee teachers go beyond compliance and accept the role of the Teachers' Standards in shaping the type of teacher entering the profession:

> *The teaching standards are there and people that do not meet the teaching standards are no longer teachers and that is how it should be. (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

Again, the link to authority as power can be seen in Katie's response. She believes that the standards should be adhered to and those that cannot meet the expected standard should not be allowed to continue training.

Interestingly, neither of the two School Direct trainees referred to the teaching standards during their interviews, even though through standard-related target setting, they had made progress in their development as teachers.

Conforming to the expectations of the source of authority is not straight-forward as different sources may give different, sometimes even contradictory, guidance. When asked if different sources of training have a shared understanding of teaching and learning, just under half of the interviewees (6/13) believed that they did not and the remaining students believed that the relationship was more nuanced. Other comments in interview suggested times when the trainee had to make sense of teaching by synthesising the demands of different sources of authority:

> *In university you learn how to do something but then in schools they say 'we don't do it like that but…this is what university has told you to do.' So you have to find middle ground. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee)*

This relationship between university-based and school-based training was understood differently according to teacher training route. Undergraduate trainees more frequently referred to university as being intrinsic to their development as a teacher and also suggested that as a source of authority, the university should be trusted as presenting good practice, even if this practice was situated in *'utopia'* (Catherine, undergraduate trainee). There was a suggestion amongst many of the trainees that this utopian, almost fantastical practice is something to strive for in future teaching as it is the epitome of child-centred, progressive education that all teachers should believe in:

> *I choose to believe in the fairy tale sometimes. I believe that the classroom can be a place of enquiry learning. Otherwise we could be just teaching through a screen or through a web cam. It would make me redundant if I can't be me, if I am just spouting stuff at children. They don't learn in that way. (George, undergraduate trainee)*

Enquiry-based and child-centred learning featured in all of the trainees' interviews and was also understood to be informed by theory. Theoretical authority, the influence of academia, was believed to be important on all teacher training routes, including for the School Direct trainees who had limited time in university. Trainees made links between teaching theory and university, sometimes implying that they are synonymous in building up a picture of best practice. However, when in school, trainees are likely to side-step the utopian fairy tale as sometimes it seems far removed from what is achievable within their classrooms at the point that the knowledge would be of use:

> *On reflection, you would say they are aligned but when you first go into school you forget everything that you have done in university and you are only going on what the teacher tells you. Only on reflection can you see how it fits with the modules or something you have done for an assignment. You come to realise that practice is reflecting what it should be from university. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)*

This retrospective application of theory was common amongst the trainees. Some trainees would *'try out ideas'* from university but no-one suggested that they consciously considered theory on a daily basis when planning or delivering lessons. As implied in the previous quote, there is a fail-safe mechanism of reverting to the practice of the school, thus conforming to school authority in place of theoretical authority where it is not seen as relevant.

In contrast, one School Direct trainee indicated that the way in which their training was structured around an alliance of schools has meant teaching expectations were consistent between schools but remains different to expectations at university:

> *The university focus is 'you as a teacher in education'. In school it is 'you as a teacher in our school, within our borough'. The school training is based on what the local schools have put together. Based on that, I feel confident going into different schools because I have had that training with different teachers that I don't necessarily know. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*

This indicates a collegiate approach between the schools but a possible disconnect with university curricula. Carl is prepared to be a teacher within this locality of schools; the schools have agreed a set of principles for training that Carl is ready to comply with. University training has a broader perspective that is perceived less relevant if the trainee intends to be employed within an alliance of schools.

To summarise, trainee teachers see themselves as compliant with practices in school as this is where teaching takes place and they will be judged in their ability as a teacher. This often involves observing experienced teachers as a model of good practice and incorporating such practice into their own teaching. Sometimes it also involves teaching practices that the trainee does not necessarily agree with. Teaching is also informed by the Teachers' Standards that must be adhered to and will be used as a measure of teaching competency and where university guidance reflects what is happening in school, the trainees will also view the university and theory as being a source of authority.

Compliance with sources of authority is not exclusive to trainee teachers; the participants also believe that experienced teachers should comply with the expectations of others, as will now be explored.

Trainee teachers believe that experienced teachers should also comply with sources of authority

As trainees shift their thinking from themselves to other teachers in the school, there is also a shift of emphasis on the sources of authority. Experienced teachers are not influenced by

university or theoretical authority but instead by their head teachers and the government with Ofsted referred to most frequently as being the source of authority that affects qualified teachers' practice. It can be interpreted that compliance is achieved through accountability and regulation and trainees observe teachers working in ways to meet the expectations of those that hold them to account or regulate their work.

When considering the way in which Ofsted influences the practice of experienced teachers, explicit steps are taken to work towards meeting the inspectorate's expectations. In other words, experienced teachers are seen to make sense of Ofsted criteria as a way of defining teaching and learning in their classrooms:

> *The lesson was graded outstanding and then for in-service training they picked apart why they thought it was outstanding and picked apart the components that made it outstanding. (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

For Steven, the way that teachers have analysed the 'ingredients' of an Ofsted lesson is a positive move forward as he believes that it will help teachers understand how to be Outstanding. This results in standardised practice with teachers being compliant to a formula for a lesson that is influenced by Ofsted. Whilst all trainees recognised how schools actively work towards improving their Ofsted grading, feelings of fear, or anxiety, towards Ofsted were more apparent in some trainees over others. These feelings can lead to practice that may be a misinterpretation of Ofsted's role:

> *If Ofsted come in, you have to have all of your books in a certain way, done in a certain way. (Jenny, postgraduate trainee)*

> *we used to use Sparklebox and you're really not supposed to use Sparklebox so two days before an Ofsted inspection, we spent the time taking down all of the displays (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

Trainees recognise this as being a reality for teachers; when Ofsted visit schools, practice needs to change so that the profession is seen to be complying with their expectations.

For some, Ofsted is perceived as being so significant in shaping the profession that the regulator's work is almost existential in nature:

> *Everybody is accountable. It's a testament to Ofsted. You're having to prove everything, having to prove you exist. Prove that you are doing the right thing all of the time. (Jenny, postgraduate trainee).*

Jenny believes that the power of Ofsted is filtered through the school to the point where teachers have to account for everything that they do. Others also suggested a relationship exists

between sources of authority that may strengthen the legitimacy of any expectation that teachers should be complicit with. In particular, head teacher authority can be strongly linked to the expectations of Ofsted.

Head teachers are situated between teachers and external sources of authority such as government and Ofsted. A hierarchy emerges through which teachers are put under pressure to comply with expectations set from the top:

> *The massive amount of accountability… is put on them by head teachers and the government and Ofsted. (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)*

> *the teacher is feeling [pressure] because of the head and the head is feeling it because of inspectors. (Catherine, undergraduate trainee)*

Trainees imply that pressure is part-and-parcel of the teaching profession today. Some trainees, notably postgraduates that had worked in industry or business prior to training, furthered the argument by suggesting that Ofsted as a source of authority is a necessary component of conceptualising the professional status of teachers:

> *My view is that Ofsted is a necessary evil. In everything you have got to have some sort of regulation, teaching included. (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

Therefore, the place of Ofsted in defining the work for teachers has been cemented in the trainees' perceptions of the profession. They believe that teachers actively work in ways that meet the perceived demands of Ofsted and are willing to change their practice in ways that comply with the expectations of the inspectorate, who in turn are overseeing a government agenda. The agenda is being set from above, and externally to the teaching profession, as opposed to from within. It is worth noting at this point that these are the trainees' perceptions of how teachers work and not necessarily the view of teachers themselves.

The relationship between compliance and sources of authority

The discussion so far has presented trainees' perceptions of teachers as involving professional compliance. It has been seen that different trainees will have slightly different views on how significant each source of authority is. However, there does appear to be a generic relationship between the different sources of authority that affect how the trainee understands the role of the teacher and for whom they are trying to conform. The diagram presented in Figure 4.1.1 reflects the relationships as a cross-section of views, comments and perspectives offered by the

participants. As this is a cross-section of views, the diagram does not act as model for any singular participant and instead offers a combination of views.

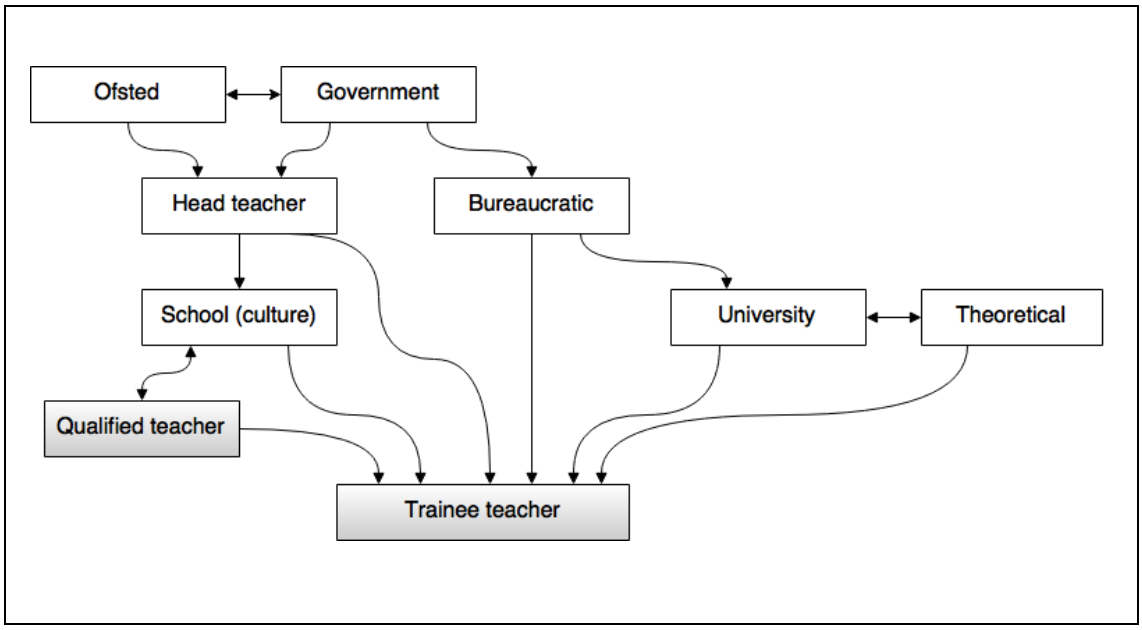

Figure 4.1.1: Relationship between sources of authority for conceptualising teaching

The diagram illustrates how the trainee is at the bottom of a hierarchy of influences, or sources of authority, when making sense of professionalism and teaching. The arrows indicate the relationship between different sources of authority and how these affect both the trainee and the qualified teacher, as perceived by the trainee. The largely unidimensional orientation of arrows suggest that the trainee has little authority within this diagram. This reinforces the notion that compliance is necessity. However, it is also possible that the trainee is engaged in bilateral arrangements of authority but did not express this when being questioned in interview. As the diagram stands, it suggests that training is 'done to' the trainee and they must be compliant in meeting the professional expectations of others, and serves as an illustration of a complex system of influences that a trainee teacher must negotiate in order to become qualified to teach.

As the diagram indicates, trainees are likely to be influenced by school culture as a source of authority because they have a perception that *'School is based on what actually works'* (Natalie, postgraduate trainee). 'School authority' does not exist alone but is itself influenced by external sources of authority, the government and Ofsted and within the school, the head teacher. The placement of government and Ofsted above the school and head teacher represents the perceived hierarchy which may be experienced as pressure put onto teachers. The trainee teacher views the qualified teacher as working within these constraints and believes that they are complying with the expectations of those external sources. The juxtaposition of university

authority and theoretical authority on the opposite side of the diagram is a reflection of how trainees perceived this as being separate, if not different to school practice. There was no suggestion from the participants that qualified teachers take note of theory or any university training. Again, this may be because the questions did not warrant this exploration. Finally, but not of any less value, the power of bureaucracy, notably the Teachers' Standards is consciously considered when trainees conceptualise teaching and is influential in how they view themselves as a teacher. An additional arrow joins the bureaucratic authority from the government authority as trainees recognised that the Teachers' Standards were envisioned by the government.

One interpretation of the diagram may suggest that the trainee is powerless and that they are almost forced to be compliant with sources of authority. This may be the case with trainees like Andrea who had been humiliated by her head teacher, resulting in her feeling compelled to behave in a manner that was expected by the school. However, it is also possible that the arrows within figure 4.1.1 could be reversed to show that the trainee retains power by deliberately performing in a way that they believe will meet the expectations of sources of authority:

> *I know when I was on school practice, the teachers drastically changed the way they were teaching for their observed lessons. I don't think the school has a true idea of how the teachers teach all of the time. (Rachel, postgraduate trainee)*

Rachel may be suggesting that the teachers in her school manipulated their performance outcomes by presenting a façade when under the scrutiny of the sources of authority. This idea will be returned to in the following theme. The importance of presenting an external image that may not reflect what the trainee or the teacher actually believes in doing, presents an interesting power-dynamic. In one way, it could be argued that the power sits with the sources of authority as Catherine, an undergraduate trainee, suggests: '*There is a fear that if someone observes me this is what they are expecting, so this is what I will do'.* On the other hand, it could be suggested that the trainee or teacher retains some power over their sources of authority as they knowingly create this façade. In either case, there is an argument emerging that professionalism requires teachers to comply with the expectations of others and this is often observed through classroom practice.

Compliance with authority as necessity: Discussion

The diagram presented in figure 4.1.1 suggests that trainee teachers comply with expectations set by authoritative sources. In doing so, it can be argued that the trainee teachers are making

sense of the teaching profession through their interaction with these 'sources of authority'. This sense-making is similar to how teachers are found to consider macro, meso and micro structures when developing their teacher identity (Day et al., 2006, p.611). Likewise, the trainee teachers are making sense of teaching by taking into account macro-structures of government policy impacting the leadership of the school as a meso-structure, alongside views of mentors who may contribute to the micro-structures.

Trainee teachers' perception that they should comply with the sources of authority reflects the theoretical hierarchical structures of decision making within organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). The top-down approach of macro-level government policy and agenda affect the work of school leaders and staff who in turn translate this for trainee teachers. Frequently within the interviews it was seen that the trainee teachers complied with the source of authority and rarely challenged the decisions or direction being given. Czerniawski (2011) draws upon Jeremy Bentham's concept of the Panoptican to argue that teachers in England are often being watched over by those that are superior. For trainee teachers, this hierarchy has an added dimension as Andrea suggested in her interview that she is not a member of staff, implying that she is powerless. This is consistent with findings of Ball et al. (2011) who argue that less experienced teachers, in his case Newly Qualified, are then the receivers of policy and more compliant as a result. This compliance can be a cause of diminished agency as the trainee teacher 'seems to pass through the school setting (being influenced *by* it) rather than being constituted by *acting on it*' (Ellis, 2010, p.108 italics and parenthesis in original).

A lack of agency can also be the result of the trainee teacher recognising the source of authority as an assessor of their course. Ellie, for example, comments that she would 'get in trouble' if she challenged the school's authority, and this places her in a position of needing to please others in order to succeed. This is a similar finding to Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok (2013) who present this form of compliance as a common 'tension' for trainee teachers that need to make sense of when forming their professional identity. Furthermore, Furlong and Maynard (1995) highlight that this is part of a typical socialisation process in some situations and similar to their research, it seems that different trainee teachers did find their own way through the expected compliance. However, for those unable to do this, there is a chance that their early career can be shaped by '[c]onservatism and compliance' as described by Flores and Day (2006, p. 229) resulting in a shift away from an early idealism of teaching.

Evetts (2009) refers to the importance of managerialism within organisational professionalism and Davies (2003) argues that new managerialism is expected to be unchallenged within schools. Sachs (2001) suggests that managerialism places importance on managers; they become the

'heroes' of organisation (Sachs, 2001, p.151). Whilst the trainees within this research do not necessarily perceive head teacher or mentors to be 'heroes', they do recognise that they have authority and their decisions should be followed. This may be because they are seen as more knowledgeable, as suggested by Rachel or in the way that they stamp their authority, as suggested by Andrea. Whatever the perception, it is evident that these trainee teachers have learnt not to question the authority of managers, but to accept their decisions when working in their schools.

Compliance with a hierarchy of decision making limits the extent to which trainee teachers can gain control and discretion over their work as indicators of an occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). The trainee teachers learn from their placements that they are more likely to pass if they comply with expectations, reference the teacher standards and imitate the practices of their class teachers or mentors. Whilst this may be understood as part of the process of being apprenticed into communities of practice as new comers (Lave and Wenger, 1992), the trainees also see how their class teachers and mentors as 'old timers' comply with top-down hierarchies. Therefore, models of occupational professionalism through the evidence of collegiality and teachers taking control of their work are difficult to pinpoint from the trainees' interview data.

The university as a source of authority presents an interesting dimension to the model as it is both the place that provides expectations for trainees and introduces them to the theoretical source of authority. The extent to which trainee teachers value theory has been discussed by Hobson (2003), suggesting that practical aspects of training are valued more highly. The interviewees here have acknowledged that theory has a place but often it is applied retrospectively. This could be because of the lack of reinforcement of theory when on placement with mentors emphasising practice and rarely providing a rationale for that practice (Fisher and Rush, 2008). Fisher and Rush continue to argue that the shift to teacher training from teacher education could be an underpinning reason for the emphasis on practice, and trainees in this research seemed to emphasise professional training linked to practice over and above any wider theoretical insights. Similarly, Lawes (2004) argues that teacher training programmes have been reduced in theoretical content, yet increased in complicit content as higher education institutions shape programmes around the nationally prescribed Teachers' Standards and it was seen that trainees used the standards to help shape their professional practice. Attenuation of theory can again be seen as limiting occupational professionalism. Freidson (2001) argues that the ideal-type professionalism requires a grounding in abstract concepts and theory, often taught in university settings. By having a broad theoretical understanding, the practising teacher is more likely to be able to make discretionary judgements in the classroom, thus promoting an

occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). The trainees in this research have demonstrated that they pay attention to approaches in the classroom that will help them pass their placements and see teachers trying to imitate practise that is perceived as being Ofsted-approved. In doing so, practice may becoming standardised, as will now be explored.

4.2: Theme 2- Socialisation into standardised practices and box ticking

The first set of findings relate to trainees' perceptions of compliance within the teaching profession. The next set of findings build on the first by showing how teachers that conform to practices are standardising teaching practice. When inductively coding, standardisation emerged from segments where texts implied or explicitly referred to lesson content, teaching practices or teaching behaviours needing to be consistent across a school or across the teaching profession. The following set of findings establish how standardised practices can result in teachers 'ticking boxes' or 'jumping through hoops' in order to be seen to be compliant with the aforementioned sources of authority.

Trainee teachers believe that they are expected to standardise their lessons

As implied in the first theme, trainee teachers will adopt practices that become standardised because their experienced colleagues, acting as sources of authority, instruct them to adopt such practices. One way in which teaching can become standardised is through the use of a prescriptive lesson structure: *'there is a certain expectation in how the lesson should go'* (Catherine, undergraduate trainee). It was believed that teachers' planning had to follow a certain structure, and this structure will be sought when making judgements:

> *If I don't have a plenary...I won't get a point towards the Outstanding. It gets drilled into you so much... You think that it is the only way to teach. The only way to run your classroom. (Antonia, postgraduate trainee)*

Antonia's recognition of how sources of authority encourage practice that becomes thought of as *'the only way to teach'* highlights this process of standardisation: those that believe in a set structure for teaching actively seek to reproduce that structure in the teaching practice of others. It should be noted that this is an interpretation by the trainee teacher and so it would be necessary to acquire data from mentors or other sources of authority in order to establish if this is reality.

This standardisation also occurs as a process of being inducted into lesson planning:

> *it is on the university lesson plan pro-forma that we have used for every lesson since the beginning of the course. So you just assume that every lesson needs to be differentiated. It has been engrained on me that that is the case. (George, undergraduate trainee)*
>
> *When I am lesson planning, I have to take into account my core, my lowers, my highers. I have to plan for them, I have to plan extensions, I have to plan extra activities. (Katie, postgraduate trainee).*

Through their Initial Teacher Training, it is possible that the university is integral in establishing standard practice through the use of a lesson plan template with tutors emphasising the key components of the lesson.

Conforming to set standardised lesson plan templates is coupled with standardised lesson ideas. Trainee teachers are not always invited to take risks. Instead they believe that they should teach in a way that the sources of authority will recognise as being effective, or established within the school setting:

> *You can't just think, this will be good if someone is going to be assessing you. You can't try and use things as easily. Maybe teachers will stick to things they know rather than going off on a limb in case that is too risky and someone will say 'you've done that ridiculous thing and shouldn't have'. Even if that ridiculous thing, two years later, is in fashion (Jenny, postgraduate trainee)*

This suggests that the way in which teachers are expected to standardise their pedagogy can be shaped by current trends in education. This can be seen through the interview respondents' views of Systematic Synthetic Phonics that was on the whole deemed to be a positive initiative in schools. Yet, the Synthetic Phonic movement is one that has been prescribed by the government as a way of standardising teaching (Davies, 2012) and therefore may be understood differently in the future.

Some trainees presented a slightly different perspective on standardisation, viewing it as both situational and temporal:

> *My new school I like because each teacher is allowed to plan in any way they like. They have to keep the same headings but can present it in any way they like. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*
>
> *At the beginning of the placements I would try to do things to mirror the practice of my class teacher but it didn't suit me so I learnt that if I teach in the way that I want to, the children can see that I am enjoying the lesson and they will enjoy it more as a result. (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)*

Situationally, Carl's point emphasises how school culture is again important when making decisions. Temporally, as some trainees became more confident and as they look towards becoming a Newly Qualified Teacher, they may be more likely to shape their own teacher identity. However, this is also dependent on individual schools and comments like this were rare within the dataset.

Trainee teachers believe that qualified teachers can standardise their lessons as long as they continue to personalise learning

Consistency of practice could be another way of understanding standardised teaching in school. Consistency of practice featured in five trainees' responses to the vignette section of the interview where they viewed consistency as being a positive aspect of using prescriptive lesson plans:

> *I think having the plans there in place that everyone must stick to is consistent across the school. This is useful because the children are used to it. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*
>
> *I have seen maths schemes that use prescriptive lesson plans and I think it is good in that it is consistent across the school so if there is more than one Year 1 class ...they will all be doing the same thing. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee)*
>
> *I have seen a school where they have lots of different phonics schemes and it doesn't really work because it is not consistent. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)*

Building on their experiences when analysing the given scenario, standardisation through adopting a consistent approach to reading appears to be linked with positive learning experiences for children. In other words, the trainees are able to argue that prescriptive plans are useful because they believe that consistency for children is in their best interest.

Whilst consistency of planning was held in high regard, lesson standardisation should not be to the detriment of pupils' individual needs. This concern for children's learning featured most prominently and was the main reason for trainees arguing against the use of prescriptive lesson plans. Almost all trainees, including those that could see the benefits of consistency as outlined above, believed that it is necessary to adapt lesson planning for the needs of the children. Within the scenario, teachers were told that they must adhere to the plan but the trainees rejected this notion, suggesting that teaching cannot be formularised in this way; teachers have to adapt to the complex needs of their children:

I don't believe that it is possible. There can't be one lesson plan that will fit 31 children in your class. (George, undergraduate trainee)

I don't think I have ever taught a lesson that hasn't needed adapting for the children in the class. There is no such thing as a bog standard lesson that will work for all children; you have to adapt it for the class. (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)

I saw that the different resources were beneficial. They had sand materials, washing lines, all sorts of things that would not be on a prescriptive lesson plans. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)

When expressing their views, the trainees drew upon a combination of their own experience in the classrooms and beliefs about teaching that have formed over time. There was a sense that the prescriptive lesson plans could not have worked without adaptation and some were happy to adopt the planning of others as long as it could be amended:

Thinking about phonics, maybe take the plan and change the words so you might look at the word 'football' or something if children were into that. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee)

It was also evident that some trainees felt that teachers need to take ownership over planning and make a deeper connection with the learning that will take place:

If you are not confident in the lesson plans then children won't make the progress. The children can sense your confidence levels. I think that you need to believe in the plans. (Carl, School Direct trainee)

Teachers have to engage in the content of the lesson plan. They have to believe in it. They have to know it. They need to be a living resource for the children to access and use and learn from. You can't do that if you are just handed a lesson plan. (George, undergraduate trainee)

There is also a learning process for the trainee that would be removed if they were not able to plan for themselves:

As I am just entering the profession, I want to experiment with different things and see what works and what doesn't. That is purely from my point of view but if the schemes work then I would use them. But from my own point of view, I would like to experiment more. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)

Using prescriptive lesson plans, standardised lesson formats and expected teaching strategies may impede the mastering of teaching skills. Trainees suggest they need to know their planning and adapt it for their learners, experiment with lesson ideas and implement their creativity.

Continual subscription to a standardised lesson format can lead to questioning the very foundations of the teacher's professional role:

> *it is important to inject your own style into teaching because I think that teaching should be about more than reeling off a printed-off sheet. It almost dumbs teaching down, reading off prescriptive lesson plans. (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

Views on lesson planning are therefore varied but there was a general belief amongst the trainees that lessons should be consistent as long as it does not stifle teachers' ability to make professional judgments in view of the children in their classroom. As such, it is not possible to use commercially available plans without adapting them to the needs of individual children in individual classrooms.

Teachers actively engage in box ticking

The aforementioned standardised practice, alongside compliant behaviour discussed in the first theme, is further exaggerated by trainee teachers' views of box-ticking or jumping through hoops. The trainee teachers have come to accept that ticking boxes is a necessary part of their training. In order to pass their course and enter the profession, they are required to meet expectations and complete tasks that are visible and can be measured by ticking real or hypothetical boxes:

> *Sometimes, you do jump through hoops. Sometimes you want to jump through the hoops to get through... you know if your link tutor wants to look for a specific thing, you may have covered it in a university module and you can think about it and include it in your lesson. For example, with maths the focus has been open ended tasks so a lot of observations have been focused on that. We make sure we include this as we think that is what they want. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)*

Being seen to tick certain boxes can be time consuming for the trainee teacher and may result in focusing more on box-ticking than pursuing tasks or activities that the trainee deems more worthwhile:

> *The amount of marking I had to do was not contributing to personalised learning. It was very prescriptive - I was told how to mark and my books had to tick the boxes for marking. And sometimes that had to take priority over the personalised learning for the next day because I couldn't find time to tick the box and personalise the learning in the way that I would have liked to. (George, undergraduate trainee)*

> *For someone like me, I can jump through hoops and I will play the game but I think it does thwart some of the creativity. It comes down to time to a certain degree. Because you are doing all of these things it takes time to do the other things. It is difficult to be creative when you have so many other things to do. There isn't the time to do it. (Catherine, undergraduate trainee)*

Again, this finding echoes those on compliance, particularly as the trainee teacher believes the box ticking will help them reach the desired outcomes. Catherine's use of the phrase *'play the game'* emphasises how trainees may see this aspect of becoming a teacher; certain tasks are part of the game of becoming a teacher but not necessarily intrinsic to successful teaching.

If box-ticking is part of the process of teacher training, is it a feature of qualified teachers' professional lives? Some trainee teachers indicated that it has:

> *There are certain things that teachers do, not for the benefit of the children, but are for the benefit of jumping through hoops and admin... it is required because they need the evidence...for their performance management. (Antonia, postgraduate trainee)*

Performance management and teacher accountability are perceived to be part of the reason for teachers' time being taken up with box-ticking. Catherine, an undergraduate trainee comments that *'[teachers] say that they have to jump through certain hoops and that it is getting worse. That is not from personal experience but from what others say.'* The views on some of the perceived negative aspects of teaching may be formed by listening to the views of more experienced colleagues. In suggesting the link between accountability and standards, trainees believe that this is leading to practice that is deemed to have negative consequences for certain groups of learners. However, their evidence for believing this is often speculative, conjecture or rumour based on what they have heard, but not seen:

> *I have heard that some issues have been overlooked to focus on getting the grade. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*

> *I hear rumours from some schools that they will just do literacy and just do maths and they will push in those two subjects for that reason. (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

The trainee teachers caution against box-ticking and pursuing a standards agenda if it affects developing children holistically. For example, Steven, a School Direct trainee, argued that box-ticking also applies to teaching and learning as teachers end up *'hot-housing'* their children to meet objectives and *'tick as many boxes as possible'*. Senior leaders in school and Ofsted were

seen to be instrumental in the practice of ticking boxes, an activity perceived necessary for compliance:

> *I imagine ... they are trying to please people. Rather than following perhaps their own ideas, they are going to do things that look good and tick the right boxes. (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

Therefore, the trainee teachers perceive teaching as being accountable to others with bureaucratic or allegorical box-ticking being necessary in order to evidence such accountability. However, they would also prefer this not to be the case:

> *what they should be teaching is what will help the children meet their full potential. What they shouldn't be teaching is what will get them through an Ofsted. (Kate, postgraduate trainee)*

Reference to Ofsted in Katie's response suggests that teachers may be motivated by external agencies that hold them to account. Findings relating to external accountability will be explored in the forthcoming third theme.

Socialisation into standardised practices and box ticking: Discussion

Standardised procedures of organisational professionalism, are positioned in contrast to teacher discretion and occupational control of occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Procedures within teaching can be seen through the devising and delivery of lessons and the trainees' perceptions imply an expected standardised approach to this. However, trainees still believe in the importance of teacher discretion as many argued that lessons should be adapted to meet individual pupil needs. This contrasts somewhat to their experience, discussed within the first theme. Trainees may be expected to comply with sources of authority, but where they can use discretionary judgements, they believe this to be important. For some, this is not achievable in their initial teacher training but an ambition for the future and so it can be argued that occupational values sit beneath the practice of organisational professionalism, as will now be explored.

Lesson standardisation can be linked to the technicist view of teaching characterised by instrumental rationality, regularities, commonality and certainty (Lefstein, 2005). Lefstein refers to the technicist approach as being a product of the National Literacy Strategy and its counterparts. Whilst it has been nearly two decades since the inception of frameworks such as the National Literacy Strategy, their legacy may be seen through a technicist view that lessons

should always contain certain elements, as articulated by Antonia, a postgraduate trainee *'If I don't have a plenary...I won't get a point towards the Outstanding'.* These standardised procedures are not only viewed as part of teaching but also enforced through the rational-legal frameworks (Evetts, 2009) involved in grading the trainee.

Where teachers are presenting a façade to meet the expectations of others through box-ticking or jumping through hoops, they may be demonstrating what Ball (2003, p.221) terms a 'values schizophrenia' through which 'commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance.' Observed lessons then become 'spectacle, or game-playing, or cynical compliance' (p.222). There is some suggestion from the interviewees that they are themselves willing to play the game in order to be compliant and also recognise how qualified teachers are willing to do the same. This again reinforces the notion that they may have a deep-seated occupational professionalism that is concealed when it is necessary to demonstrate top-down expectations. Organisational professionalism may then be a facade in order to pass their teaching placements, but it does not remove underpinning values of occupational professionalism.

Whilst Ball has framed this as being a negative facet of professionalism within the current educational climate, emerging studies are suggesting that standardisation may not be seen as part of the de-professionalisation of teachers. Stone-Johnson (2014) finds that younger teachers who have themselves grown up in a standardised education system, may not view standardisation as a barrier to professionalism but a framework that enables them to be professionals. At the very least, for what Stone-Johnson calls the 'Generation X' of teachers, standardisation is something they accept as part of teaching and not something that should be opposed or overthrown in the way that older generations of teachers may have done. Within this research, most trainees were actually younger than the 'Generation X' referred to by Stone-Johnson but similarly, believe that standardisation can be a positive thing, particularly for consistency purposes. In this way, it provides a framework through which the teachers can identify themselves as professionals and adapt and shape their own pedagogy where they feel it is necessary.

4.3: Theme 3 - Accountability for raising standards in school

Within the previous findings, it emerged that trainee teachers acknowledge aspects of teachers' accountability as a reason for standardised practices in school. 'Acknowledgement of accountability' also appeared alongside a number of other codes to become part of a theme on the 'standards agenda'. These are brought together as the standards agenda and teachers'

accountability through the performance management system are connected both within the policy discourse (DfE, 2014a) and through the way they are discussed by interview participants.

The semi-structured interview questions invite the participants to consider this aspect. Whilst the 'standards agenda' is not explicitly referred to, there is mention of raising standards and performance management in the wording of one of the questions and the vignette. Therefore, it is not unexpected that codes from transcripts would lead to a theme on the standards agenda. What is interesting though is the way that the trainees respond to this and how they willingly, and sometimes naively, acknowledge it as part of the teaching profession.

Professional teachers use pupil progress to justify their decision making

The inductive code 'justification by standards agenda or pupil progress' was one of the most prevalent and arose from all interview participants. It was evident that the trainee teachers consider pupil progress when making decisions and this is a result of the way in which they are socialised into this aspect of organisational professionalism. Mentors, overseeing training within the school setting, are quick to foreground pupil progress as essential in making pedagogic choices:

> *In terms of progress, he [the mentor] didn't think that children would progress as much with the activities that I planned. His activities would help them make more progress than mine which may have just been fun. I know that you need children to enjoy learning but they need skill and knowledge development and not just have fun. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*

The trainee teachers understand the importance of pupil progress and whilst for many interview participants it is desirable to deliver *'fun'* or engaging, often creative lessons, pupil progress must be at the forefront of lesson planning. This is particularly the case for lower-attaining pupils whose progress may be of greater concern:

> *In the lower groups, they were never really allowed to read just for the sake of reading or enjoying a book. They spent more time working on books that they had to learn to read because of progress... I think that if they were allowed to read other books they would enjoy reading more because they will want to read. (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)*

These examples imply that the trainee teacher would prefer to offer other opportunities for children but while being guided by the practice in the school, continue to preside over activities

that may be less motivating so that they do not compromise pupil progress. There are echoes with the previous findings of both standardised practices and sources of authority as the trainee teachers are expected to conform to the expected practice within a particular school.

Whilst it is evident that school expectations direct the trainees' practice, it is also evident that they are willing to use pupil progress as an argument for justifying decisions, even in hypothetical situations. This is borne out of the vignette part of the interview. Participants are presented with a hypothetical scenario in which prescriptive lesson planning must be used as part of raising standards in reading. The scenario implies that teachers would have limited freedom if they subscribed to the standardised plans. Within the previous theme it was argued that the trainees believed that it was important to adapt the planning for the needs of the children. However, it was also the case that raising standards in reading was seen as a priority in a way that presented challenges to their beliefs about teaching:

> *Well in general, I am quite happy that reading is being taken seriously. It is clear that the phonics scheme has worked so I don't want to be too critical. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee)*

> *It still wouldn't sit right with me but if the evidence is staring at me, I would have to go along with it I guess (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

> *I would like to do it my way but I would follow it if they made good progress. There will always be part of me that would want to break away from the scheme, but I would follow them if they made progress. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*

These trainees are conflicted by their desire to adapt lessons and teach in a way that they want to, as discussed in the previous theme, when faced with a scheme of planning that is believed to raise standards. In the end, pupil progress seems to triumph.

Pupil progress may triumph in the responses above because the vignette presented 'reading' as the subject of discussion. Reading is part of the standards agenda. It is measured through national testing and so also a measure of the standard of the teaching profession. Where standards are not under the microscope, trainees are more likely to adopt their own teaching style and approach:

> *Because it is a progression of skills you need to know what has come before. For other subjects, you can start at different levels but not for phonics. (Catherine, undergraduate trainees)*

> *Some subjects, probably more foundation subjects, I would like to be more creative. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*

> *It wouldn't work with history for example because you could teach this more creatively. Some lessons are not creative. (Katie, postgraduate trainee)*

The prevalence of pupil progress and the standards agenda for the core subjects may also be the result of the training programmes where the emphasis on training is within these subjects. As one undergraduate put it, *'the foundation subjects get swallowed...most of the focus is on the Core'* (Catherine, undergraduate trainee). However, it is also found that schools emphasise the core subjects as part of the standards agenda. Curriculum time and teacher focus should prioritise reading, writing and mathematics. As explored in the first theme, a range of sources of authority have contributed to this emphasis:

> *I suppose the head teacher but I suppose that comes from Ofsted and the government and whatever drive there is at that moment: literacy, writing or whatever. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)*

This suggests that approaches to delivering core subjects that are included in National Curriculum tests, may be different and the reason for adopting different practices can be justified in the name of standards or pupil progress.

Many of the points made about the standards agenda by trainees were linked to statutory testing at the end of primary schooling, known as the Year 6 SATs. This gave rise to a code of 'SATs pedagogy' that seems to imply that teachers teach in a way that is discordant with trainees' beliefs in order to raise standards in the statutory tests:

> *It was so boring. It was just repetitive and every lesson was the same... the children would work through a practice paper and they would just work in silence. It was so dull... because the head teacher felt that they were not meeting their SATs so it was practice, practice, practice.... I have seen more intervention groups; extra maths classes. Year 6 children were doing an extra hour and a half every day for maths just to make their levels... they want to get good results. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee).*

> *If it wasn't about passing the SATs we didn't do it. They were a very academic school and everything was about getting the results up… You can try and make it interesting but there is a lot of the curriculum that you don't get to do if you are in Year 6. (Jenny, postgraduate trainee)*

Trainees' acknowledgement of the pressure of SATs is illustrative of how trainees perceive the professional pedagogy that is required in order to raise standards in some school settings. Those that commented on this suggested that the practice was wrong and that when they teach, it

would be different. Again, references can be found to an intrinsic motivation to support children in a more holistic sense: *'They were levels; they weren't children!' (Jenny, postgraduate trainee).*

This SATs pedagogy, along with the prevailing standards agenda, can also be perceived as a contributor to teacher pressure; *'pressure to hit objectives and to progress children on to make them' (Henrietta, undergraduate trainee).* This perception of how teachers are put under pressure does not just exist in year 6 where the statutory tests take place:

> *I think it is the whole testing process, working towards Year 6. I can see it building and building. It is no longer pressure just in Year 6; I think that everyone feels it, even a lot further down. (Catherine, undergraduate trainee)*

Within the vignette, trainees are invited to consider a school that has adopted a phonics scheme in order to raise standards. An ambitious target is set that eighty per cent of children will make better than average progress. Some trainees responded to this scenario by arguing that the target is too low.

> *I think that the 80% target is useful to some extent but we do need all of the children to make good progress. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*

> *You could have a target of 80% initially making better than average progress but then have a follow up target. So if you achieve that then focus on the other 20% and bring them up. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*

> *what if you could have got higher? You might have got 90% without the prescription. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)*

These examples from trainees on all three teacher training routes, suggest a naivety around the language of target setting. The trainees here have not recognised that if 80% is ambitious, it would be difficult to exceed this with higher targets. These responses may be a result of a belief that all children should be treated equally and that you should have high expectations for all:

> *I think the first thing is to have an inclusive environment. Make sure that everyone has the opportunities to make progress and achieve the levels that they can. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*

When examining trainees' beliefs about the standards agenda, a mixed picture emerges. It is clear that some trainee teachers disagree with what is perceived as a SATs pedagogy through which teachers adopt practices in order to raise standards. However, it is also evident that the rhetoric around raising standards fits into trainees' conceptualisation of the professional role of

teachers and their naivety around the practice can result in a call for higher standards. This picture is further complicated when exploring their views on teacher accountability and performance management.

Professional teachers should be held to account

Inductive codes that related to teacher accountability included ideas around performance management, pay and teachers' workload. The trainees' backgrounds, particularly those that had worked within banking or industry where such accountability measures were in place, influenced their views on teacher accountability. This was also a reflection of teachers' knowledge and understanding about performance management, appraisal and accountability.

Undergraduate trainees tended to have limited knowledge of performance management, appraisal or accountability. This is possibly because the interview sample is composed of predominantly 21 year olds who were unlikely to have had much experience outside of education. This resulted in their views about teacher accountability being socially constructed by those that they met in school. Knowledge about performance management had been developed by making sense of teachers' professional development in-service training days or staff meetings and by talking to qualified teachers about their experiences. Consequently, trainees learn from *'rumours'* and *'rants'* (George, undergraduate trainee) as opposed to factual or objective information. The undergraduate trainees acknowledged that the university had not provided any training in this area and so this was a reason for having to learn about it in school. Despite the lack of knowledge, undergraduate trainees tended to agree that teachers should have personal targets or be held to account, but most could not articulate why.

Some undergraduate trainees believed that teachers should be given targets to help them improve as professionals. This was likened to their own training and they made sense of it by making this comparison:

> *I think that it is a positive thing, [teachers] have their own targets and they know that it is considered good practice so will want to implement it. (Rachel, undergraduate trainee)*

> *it feels nice too. When I can see that that was my target before and I can see that I have met it, I think... I'm better at this now. (Ellie, undergraduate trainee).*

These points refer to 'practice', implying a commitment to professional development, and therefore targets in this way are viewed positively as having an impact on the quality of teaching. However, the interview scenario makes reference to targets as pupil outcomes, which can be considered as a different form of 'target', particularly when linked to external measurement.

Trainees' personal experiences in the workplace, including alternative occupational settings, may influence their perspectives on performance management. It is evident that those who have previously been held accountable in previous careers had more considered views on the topic. To illustrate this it is useful to explore the views of Antonia and Katie who are both postgraduate trainees and who agree that it is essential for professional teachers to be held to account. However, the extent to which targets should be applied differs.

Antonia previously worked in the sales department of a leading global technology corporation. Within this job she was given ambitious sales targets that had to be met in order to progress or retain her position within the company. She described it as a *'very heavy based target-driven industry'* and perceives teaching as requiring the same amount of accountability*: 'We are professionals and should be treated as any industry is.'* She perceives teacher accountability as being flawed as *'if you don't meet your target, what does that mean? I think that teachers should be pushed further.'* For Antonia, industry sales targets can be easily translated into teacher performance management targets. Professionalism within this process occurs when teachers fail to meet their targets. In this instance it is up to them to *'justify the reasons why.'* It was clear that her previous experience meant that she understood the process of performance management review meetings and their purpose.

Katie, a former employee in the banking sector, similarly agrees that teachers should be held to account but seeks a system that does not just look at the results from statutory tests*: 'I don't think you need to base it on exam [results] but I think somewhere along the line if you want good quality professional people, you have to pay them for those skills.'* Katie links teachers' performance management to their pay and goes on to argue that professionals should move into a new career if they are not rewarded for their knowledge and expertise. This belief about professionalism suggests that teaching should not be seen as vocational but one that may develop professional skills that can be taken into other sectors. This view may be a result of her own shift from banking into the education sector.

Comparing the two perspectives shows the nuances in opinions relating to this issue and illustrates how it is not possible to generalise about views on performance management. Individual teachers will hold different views depending on their experience and personal beliefs

about how teachers should be 'managed' as professionals. However, there was greater agreement that the system should be fair to all teachers:

> *I don't think that the whole thing is fair. You could have an outstanding teacher but what if the children, for some reason, don't make enough progress but you have done everything in your will to try and help them make progress. It wouldn't be fair. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)*

> *Is it right that you get paid more if your children are at this level? And being a teacher for a year, I know that some children just need time to grasp different concepts and things like that. There's no amount of pushing that will get them there. (Steven, School Direct trainee)*

These points begin to make the connection between targets for teachers and their pay. Whilst trainees may not think it is fair to award teachers' pay solely on their pupil outcomes, it is evident that they recognise this to be the case and that it may result in further undesired practice. Such beliefs will now be explored.

Professional teachers are financially motivated

Financial motivation emerged as a code and was present within eight out of thirteen trainees' interview responses. They suggested that qualified teachers may be motivated within their careers by money, arguing that it is desirable to progress through a teachers' pay scale:

> *Traditionally, it has always gone up to a certain point and you know how you would get to that. And when people are weighing up the teaching profession, they might think... that is what I am going to get to. (George, undergraduate trainee)*

Whilst George implies that the pay could be a motivation for choosing teaching as a career, this is refuted by Henrietta who argued that *'People don't go into teaching for the wage because it is not paid well'.* However, when teachers are in the profession, it is perceived that they will be motivated by pay progression, even if this results in undesired practices:

> *In performance related pay, a lot of emphasis will go on getting the grades they need. Obviously, not every teacher would do this but some teachers would ignore other things that are important just to get those grades. Some teachers are like this so they can get their pay based on the grades. (Natalie, postgraduate trainee)*

Teachers' pay is therefore perceived to be tied into pupil outcomes and reinforces the argument that trainees are aware of the standards agenda. Teachers' intrinsic motivations could be compromised as they put *'pressure on [children] in order to make more money'* (Andrea, undergraduate trainee). One reason given for this implies a relationship between financial motivation and the current financial climate in which people work:

> *it is a job at the end of the day and there is something outside of your job like your family and the rest of your life. If money is a necessary part of that and in the climate we are in, they might feel pressured to need the pay. (George, undergraduate trainee).*

It was previously stated that trainees may not see teaching as vocational and this view of George that *'it is a job at the end of the day'*, reinforces this point, alongside Katie's aforementioned view that people will move on if they are not rewarded for their skills.

Summary: The relationship between standards and accountability

Whilst there is a mixture of viewpoints, it can be argued that trainee teachers recognise that teachers work within a performativity agenda. Depending on their real-world experiences, trainees may identify with the role of performance management and performance related pay in making this happen. Alternatively, they socially construct an understanding based on talking to other teachers or their peers. Trainees suggest that pupil outcomes should be targeted in a way that enables all pupils to succeed and so any target that is less ambitious does not serve teachers' intrinsic motivation for equity. Pay is perceived to be important for motivating teachers and may result in teachers adopting practices that result in pay progression. This may be most evident in year 6 where teachers are under pressure to raise standards through external testing. However, this may not be an issue where targets are related to improving practice, as opposed to outcomes. For many teachers, the relationship between standards, teacher accountability and pay results in pressure and may affect the holistic development of children:

> *the pressure on teachers to get the levels and get the results, especially with pay and it is directly affecting your lifestyle and the pay that you will receive at the end of the year. Getting a child up just that little extra bit can make a massive difference. I know that the Year 6s were pinpointing every little bit... we have got to do this, we have got to do that. They made progress but all of the other things that they should learn from school were missing, (Lucy, postgraduate trainee)*

It is evident then that teachers need to navigate between their responsibility to raise standards and their own beliefs about the holistic development of the child.

Accountability for raising standards in school: Discussion

When considering an ideal-type of organisational professionalism as proposed by Evetts (2009), accountability, including externalised forms of regulation, target setting and performance review are all key attributes. These attributes that underpin much of what happens within New Public Management emphasise the performance and outcomes of teachers' work, rather than the ethical aspects of their work that may be conceptualised within occupational professionalism.

The research participants acknowledge that the professional role of a teacher involves being accountable for raising standards that are defined from above. Such beliefs are commonplace amongst younger teachers (Stone-Johnson, 2014) who are likely to have spent 'their entire educational career in an increasingly performatised school (and higher education) system' (Wilkins, 2009, p.404). It is also possible that the longer the teaching profession has had performativity and accountability, the more 'acquiescent' teachers have become to this aspect of their role (Swann et al., 2010, p.561) and does not necessarily suggest that all trainees see the 'virtue of accountability' (Barber, 2004, p.8). However, it is interesting to note, as Barber (2004, p. 8) does, that the world of business 'is clear on the benefits of accountability' and the trainee teachers, in this sample, that have had some experience outside of education seem to acknowledge those benefits. This is echoed by Larson (2014) who comments how a teacher who previously worked for a large insurance company was not surprised by the necessity for a superior to direct aspects of work within the school setting. However, the extent to which trainees are prepared to pursue a target-culture is halted at the point when the holistic development of the child could be affected. Whilst acknowledging the need to raise standards, trainee teachers were reluctant to pursue a standards agenda at any cost. Evetts (2009) suggests that occupational professionalism requires a commitment to professional ethics. The trainee teachers in this research indicate that they have strong moral and ethical commitments as they desire to do good work and value this over financial gains (Carr, 2000; Freidson, 2001). They also hope to have certain freedoms to teach, even if such freedoms are reserved for the foundation subjects. Therefore, the participants in this study suggest that they will mediate

between their own idealised beliefs about teaching and the performance measures that are emphasised by organisational professionalism.

4.4: Theme 4- Navigation between own beliefs and aspects of organisational professionalism

The preceding three themes touch on the importance of the trainee teachers' own beliefs about teaching, alongside their experiences prior to training. When making sense of teaching and the role of organisational professionalism within this, trainees are likely to draw upon their personal identities as will now be explored.

The most frequently occurring code from interview data was 'idealised child-centred practice'. This code appeared in every single interview and tended to form the response to the first question in the semi-structured interview:

> *I: What is good practice in teaching and learning?*
>
> *A: Good practice is teaching that engages, inspires and motivates your children. It makes them want to come into school; come into your classroom.*
>
> *Extract from interview with Andrea, undergraduate trainee*

As Andrea's interview extract indicates, idealised child-centred practice is a code that has been used when trainees refer to pupils' engagement, motivation and enjoyment of learning. It was also used to consider ideas around personalised learning and enquiry-based learning as pedagogic approaches, *'hands on experiences'* (Natalie, postgraduate trainee). These approaches are intended to help personalise the learning and make it more accessible for children. The teacher should be less didactic and the children should be more active: *'I think it is still too much of the teacher standing at the front of the classroom and too much input'* (Catherine, undergraduate trainee). As indicated by Catherine, the trainees were critical if they observed others spending too much time talking to children as this does not fit with their conceptualisation of teaching.

In addition to the pedagogic side of idealised child-centred practice, trainee teachers suggested that the holistic development of the child is important:

> *I think sometimes there is so much emphasis on academic side of things that the actual person behind the child is forgotten about and that is a very*

important part in terms of developing a child. If you don't develop the holistic side they are never going to fulfil their full potential. (Carl, School Direct trainee)

Tensions between what might be considered the *'academic side of things'* and teachers' beliefs about the holistic development of the child can be examined in their response to the vignette. As has already been explored, the trainees tended to argue in favour of Systematic Synthetic Phonics because they believed it raises standards. They also argued that lessons should be adapted to meet the needs of all children which is one aspect of child-centred practice. Their responses to the scenario highlight the tensions between the organisational professionalism aim to raise standards and their self-beliefs about children as learners:

What about the children in Year 1 and Year 2? How do they feel about being in Reception? I don't know if they mind at that age. Would it boost or lower their confidence? I don't know. But, there again, if they have made the progress and it has worked then it must be a good thing. (Andrea, undergraduate trainee)

I think that for children's self-esteem and their confidence in their reading and in any aspect of their learning, to be placed in a Reception class, I think that they are quite perceptive and can see that they are being put down. I don't think that that is helpful or conducive to their reading in any way, again not conducive to their enjoyment of reading…. It still wouldn't sit right with me but if the evidence is staring at me, I would have to go along with it I guess. (Steven, School Direct trainee)

Again, it can be seen that the rationale of raising standards can be used as a way of justifying responses to a particular pedagogic approach. This avenue of thinking was particularly the case for many of the trainees, although some also recognised that idealised child-centred practice may need to be compromised for practical reasons:

I think that being in abilities with Year 2 in Reception is useful because you will not have to focus on all of the different abilities and can just focus on the needs of the group that you are teaching. So although I didn't like Year 2 children in reception, I can see that it is good from the teachers' point of view with their planning and teaching (Natalie, undergraduate trainee)

I don't recognise that that is the way that it should be but I do get it more now. I think that I am seeing primary education through rose tinted glasses to a certain degree as a TA and a mum. With a boy who struggled in school, I didn't understand why the teachers weren't doing more to help him but now as a teacher, I think I do see that getting 30 children through the system at a certain time brings lots of pressure and you can't always do everything you want to. (Catherine, undergraduate trainee).

These viewpoints suggest that teachers have to adopt practices in order to be more efficient; the amount of time it takes to plan for personalised learning can be eased by placing children in vertically-streamed ability groups and any impact on children's confidence may be a necessary sacrifice or dealt with as necessary.

Beliefs about teaching are formed both prior to Initial Teacher Training and during Initial Teacher Training. For example, for some trainees there is a distinct moral purpose to teaching that can be linked to their own moral development:

> *I went through a Catholic education, primary school, secondary school and even though my university degree. The Catholic faith is… the person is huge. The actual personality and character is a huge part of that in the school environment. (Carl, School Direct trainee)*

Faith was important to another trainee that held strong religious beliefs and other trainees drew upon their prior experiences when shaping their views. These experiences included work within schools as Teaching Assistants or cover supervisors; experiences of being a primary school child; experiences of being a parent; experiences of alternative occupations, jobs or careers. Whilst not exclusively the case, the age of the trainee had some bearing on their views as older respondents, mainly those in postgraduate training, were more likely to have experiences outside of school. The differences in experiences were seen to be important as part of socialisation into teaching*: 'Well we are all from different backgrounds and you like to recognise yourself in what you are doing.'* (Ellie, undergraduate trainee).

Navigation between own beliefs and aspects of organisational professionalism: Discussion

By drawing upon their personal beliefs about teaching when negotiating difficult decisions, trainee teachers can be seen to be recognising how their work is complex and requiring professional decision making. Darling-Hammond (2009, p.126) suggests that teaching is complex and so cannot be 'prescribed from afar' in a way that is integral to organisational professionalism.

When incorporating ideas such as setting or streaming the children by ability, the trainee teachers seem to recognise the place of efficiency within their workload. So in spite of being concerned about the self-esteem of their children, they are willing to sacrifice this to ensure a more efficient progression in learning for those children. Whilst they are not using vocabulary associated with organisational professionalism and New Public Management, this rationale can

be viewed through the lens of this discourse, particularly when considering the context in which the teachers are working:

> Market principles have become embraced so strongly by many governments, that schools (like many other public institutions) have been rationalized, cut-back, made more economically efficient, less of a tax burden and set in competition against one another for `clients'. (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 168).

These trainee teachers are entering a post-professional age of education, according to Hargreaves (2000), through which market forces warrant efficiency and an emphasis on the academic outcomes of pupils. However, the strong motivation to work with young people and find ways to support their development as individuals reflects the reasoning why many individuals choose to enter teaching (Hobson et al., 2004), whether teaching is their first choice of a career or part of the reasoning for changing career (Manuel and Hughes, 2006). These beliefs may again be explored through Evetts's use of the term 'occupational professionalism': The trainees demonstrate an ethical commitment as they are concerned about the self-esteem of the child, even if they can perceive times when organisational imperatives result in the self-esteem of a child being damaged. Initial teacher training is therefore an important time for developing a pragmatic approach to professionalism where occupational professionalism ideals are challenged with the demands and reality of organisational professionalism. When faced with the day-to-day work of teachers, it becomes necessary to put aside those *'rose tinted glasses'* (Catherine, undergraduate trainee), even if the trainee may prefer to wear them again one day in the future. As Evetts (2009) points out, professionals will situate themselves somewhere between the polar ends of her model, rather than adopting one form of professionalism in its entirety.

Chapter 5: Quantitative Analysis of Questionnaires

This chapter reports on seven components that may be, in part, interpreted as contributing to trainee teachers' conceptions of professionalism. The following components are extracted from the questionnaire data as discussed in chapter 3:

1. Performance, pedagogy and pay
2. Keeping up appearances
3. Teachers' expertise in progressing their work
4. Professional unity
5. Emphasis on English and Maths
6. Curriculum and assessment autonomy
7. Investment in standards

Each component will now be discussed in view of organisational and occupational professionalism. To do this, the variables within each component are presented and descriptive statistics are used to provide the median average within each variable. This median is also presented for the different teacher training routes to provide further discussion. A more detailed breakdown of each component is presented in Appendix 7.

5.1: Component 1- Performance, pedagogy and pay

The Factor Analysis presents correlation between trainees' views on performance related pay, pedagogy in year 6 and teachers being financially rewarded (see table 5.1.1).

Variable	Loading
Performance related pay helps to improve teacher standards.	.864
Performance related pay is a key motivation for succeeding as a teacher.	.824
It is a necessary part of Year 6 teachers' jobs to prepare children for Year 6 tests.	.497
It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	.468

Table 5.1.1: Performance, pedagogy and pay

The variables in this component suggest a link between performativity, pedagogy and pay, concepts that are integral to New Public Management and organisational professionalism. As Evetts (2009) suggests organisational professionalism places value on individualised performance that can be rewarded and measured. When considering government documentation related to teachers' performance, it can also be argued that these New Public Management and organisational professionalism techniques are now part of teachers' work (DfE, 2012). This is further explored by analysing the median values for each of these variables. Table 5.1.2 shows that trainees were more likely to disagree that performance related pay is a

motivation for teaching whilst also agreeing that financial rewards should be given to teachers. Therefore, a complex picture of trainees' attitudes towards pay can be seen. Whilst they are more likely to disagree with any proposed relationship between pay and motivation, they also recognise that teachers should be financially rewarded. The third variable also presents another dimension to the discussion as the trainees were more likely to agree that Year 6 teachers need to prepare children for national tests (Mdn = 4; IQR = 0). The Factor Analysis has linked this variable to the variables referring to pay and this can be considered in relation to recent government policy (DfE, 2014a) on the importance of linking teachers' pay to the performance of their pupils, in this case Year 6 tests. This target-driven practice is key to the managerialist principles that underpin organisational professionalism (Bourke, Ryan and Lidstone, 2013) and this component may be interpreted as indication that trainees recognise these assumptions.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Performance related pay helps to improve teacher standards.	Performance related pay is a key motivation for succeeding as a teacher.	It is a necessary part of Year 6 teachers' jobs to prepare children for Year 6 tests.	It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise
Undergraduate	N	69	69	69	70
	Median	3.00	***2.00***	**4.00**	**4.00**
PGCE	N	59	59	59	59
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***	**4.00**	**4.00**
School Direct	N	14	14	14	14
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***	**4.00**	**4.00**
Total	N	142	142	142	143
	Median	3.00	***2.00***	**4.00**	**4.00**

Table 5.1.2: Median values for 'Performance, pedagogy and pay'

To summarise the first component, the trainee teachers in this sample were more likely to acknowledge that teachers in Year 6 have to prepare children for national tests and that financial rewards should be given to teachers who have demonstrated expertise. This suggests that the trainees are more likely to accept an agenda of performativity. However, when the language of performance related pay is used, the trainees are less likely to endorse this as a motivation for teaching or method for raising standards. This echoes aspects of the findings from Wilkins (2011) who suggests that Newly Qualified Teachers are more 'sanguine' towards performativity as they see it as part of their role, even if they do not necessarily agree that it is the system per se that is driving-up teacher standards.

The quantitative data presented in this first component can be viewed in relation to the qualitative theme on accountability. Within the qualitative discussion there were differing

perspectives on performance management and accountability and similar to the data above, trainees' tended to suggest that pay should not be a motivator for raising standards, despite the perceived pressure to achieve results. The quantitative analysis reinforces the complexity of perceptions towards pay and performance and this will be explored further in chapter 6.

5.2: Component 2- Keeping up appearances

This component has been phrased 'keeping up appearances' as each item from the Factor Analysis relates to teachers or trainees carrying out tasks for audiences other than themselves or their children (see table 5.2.1). In doing so, they may be perceived as sustaining an external image that can be seen through planning or observations that will adhere to the expectations of others.

Variable	Loading
Trainee teachers mainly plan for purposes other than their children (i.e. trainee teachers plan to demonstrate the competency to pass).	.780
When being observed, trainee teachers are more likely to plan to use strategies or methods that their mentor / tutor want to see.	.647
Teachers mainly plan for purposes other than for the sake of their children (ie. Teachers mainly plan for Ofsted or because their head teacher has asked them to).	.519
Trainee teachers should always follow their class teacher's planning even if it is not perceived to be very strong.	.464

Table 5.2.1: Keeping up appearances

The median values for each of the variables relating to 'keeping up appearances' is presented in table 5.2.2. This shows that the trainees were more likely to agree that they plan for purposes other than the children. They are also likely to agree that their planning will contain strategies and methods for teaching that mentors or link tutors will want to see. These two variables suggest that meeting the expectations of others is seen as being important to the trainees. However, this does not mean conforming to the expectations of others at any cost. As can be seen by the fourth variable, trainee teachers on all routes were less likely to agree that trainee teachers should follow poor planning given by their class teachers (Mdn = 2; IQR = 0). This may suggest that when shaping their views of professionalism, the trainees acknowledge that contexts and circumstances require different responses; it may be necessary in some situations to present an external image in order to keep up appearances but not if it means following poor practice. This may be further understood by considering the third variable that relates to qualified teachers planning for purposes other than their children. Here a range of median values were generated from the different routes and this may be context specific. The variation

in views may be down to how they perceive their individual class teachers when on school practice. Certainly, within the interview analysis, some trainees perceived teachers as adopting practices in the name of 'Ofsted', indicating the influence of external sources of authority.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Trainee teachers mainly plan for purposes other than their children (i.e. trainee teachers plan to demonstrate the competency to pass).	When being observed, trainee teachers are more likely to plan to use strategies or methods that their mentor / tutor want to see.	Teachers mainly plan for purposes other than for the sake of their children (ie. Teachers mainly plan for Ofsted or because their head teacher has asked them to).	Trainee teachers should always follow their class teacher's planning even if it is not perceived to be very strong.
Undergraduate	N	70	70	69	70
	Median	**4.00**	**4.00**	3.00	***2.00***
PGCE	N	59	59	59	59
	Median	3.00	**4.00**	***2.00***	***2.00***
School Direct	N	14	14	14	14
	Median	**4.00**	**4.00**	**3.50**	***2.00***
Total	N	143	143	142	143
	Median	3.00	**4.00**	3.00	***2.00***

Table 5.2.2: Median values for 'Keeping up appearances'

'Keeping up appearances' provides useful data for reflecting on the qualitative themes. The statistics help to contextualise and add a further dimension to these themes by showing the strength of attitudes. It has been seen within the interview data that both qualified and trainee teachers may adopt a façade in order to comply with the expectations of others. This component also follows on somewhat from the previous component related to teacher performance. Teachers, or trainee teachers, perceived to be 'keeping up appearances' may be planning and teaching in certain ways because they are training within a culture of performativity, focused on 'performance pedagogies' (Beckett cited in MacBeath, 2011, p. 378). The trainee teachers may also be engaging in what Cribb (2009, p.33) terms 'impression management' as it is important to sustain or improve a reputation. Within the definition of organisational professionalism provided by Evetts (2009) an emphasis on external accountability is part of the New Public Management that can be seen in schools today. For trainee teachers within this research, it is evident that they are prepared to present an external image of performativity by completing tasks or adopting a performance pedagogy when being appraised, and this finding replicates Furlong and Maynard (1995) who suggest that when trainee teachers are assessed they act in ways that are believed to impress the assessor. This does not mean that they agree that this is the right thing to do, so much as acknowledge that performing in a particular way is part of what teachers do. The emphasis on performing in a certain way to please mentors, and in order to

pass the course, is a 'tension' for beginning teachers that is also recognised by Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok (2012).

5.3: Component 3- Teachers' expertise in progressing work

The Factor Analysis grouped seven items that can be interpreted as being about teachers' expertise for progressing their work (see table 5.3.1). Some of the items grouped within this component relate to a similar component by Swann et al (2010, pp.560-561), 'teaching as expertise for dealing with a complicated job'. The variables in table 5.3.1 relate to teachers making their own judgements, being involved in decision making, having the freedom and flexibility to be creative, drawing upon theoretical expertise. This suggests that they have, or are developing, expertise that will progress their work (the work of the teacher). The final variable relates to personal integrity. Integrity may be linked to teachers' expertise if their decision making has been based on this virtue. The inclusion of a variable that relates to goals other than high pupil attainment is noteworthy as it can be suggested that teachers will negotiate the standards agenda, drawing upon their expertise in order to offer children opportunities outside of aforementioned performativity agendas.

Variable	Loading
It is important for teachers to be creative	.651
Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	.576
There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	.560
Trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (such as policy- making).	.443
When teaching in school, it is important to apply aspects of educational theory.	.434
Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	.428
Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher	.411

Table 5.3.1: Teachers' expertise in progressing their work

Descriptive statistics for this group of variables show greater consistency in agreement than within the previous components. When considering teachers' expertise in progressing their work, trainees on all routes are more likely to agree or strongly agree with the variables. In fact, most trainees are more likely to 'strongly agree' with questions that relate to teachers' work and decision making. The three items in which trainees tended to 'agree' as opposed to 'strongly agree', relate to trainee teachers' authority in school-level decision making, the integration of educational theory and teachers' personal integrity. Undergraduate trainees were less likely to agree that trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (Mdn = 3; IQR = 2)

and as this was the largest sample size, this resulted in the overall median average for this item being lower.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		It is important for teachers to be creative	Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	Trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (such as policy-making).	When teaching in school, it is important to apply aspects of educational theory.	Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher
Undergraduate	N	70	70	70	70	70	70	69
	Median	**5.00**	**5.00**	**5.00**	3.00	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**
PGCE	N	59	59	59	59	59	59	59
	Median	**5.00**	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**
School Direct	N	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
	Median	**5.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**	**4.00**	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.50**
Total	N	143	143	143	143	143	143	142
	Median	**5.00**	**5.00**	**5.00**	3.00	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**

Table 5.3.2: Median values for 'Teachers' expertise in progressing their work'

Expertise, comprising knowledge and skill, is generally considered to be a hallmark of professional occupations (Freidson, 2001). Whilst knowledge may be essential, it has been noted by Hobson (2003) that trainee teachers do not always appreciate the value of the theory underpinning the teaching profession. However, the findings reported here suggest that trainee teachers' value the place of theory in informing their practice, bringing together professional knowledge and skill. As trainees on all three routes into teaching have tended to agree that theory should be applied to practice, this can be seen as support for a theoretical component to training. Similar to Swann et al (2010) these trainees may draw upon their professional knowledge to deal with a complicated job as the Factor Analysis has included variables relating to teachers as decision makers. When considering the organisational and occupational typologies for professionalism (Evetts, 2009), expertise, including theory, may be seen as comprising a discourse constructed by the professional group, in this case teachers. This lends itself to occupational professionalism. However, interpretation of theory is varied, as seen in the interviews where some trainees only applied theory retrospectively and others valued theory that was related to practice.

Similarly, a key component of occupational professionalism is discretion within work and this is opposed to organisational professionalism's standardised procedures. Within this component, the trainees appear to value the occupational value of discretion by agreeing that teachers should use their own discretion, or decision making, when considering the needs of individual

pupils. This component helps to contextualise other views put forward in the qualitative theme based on trainees' navigating their beliefs as the quantitative questions seem to establish that their beliefs may be challenged through the organisational structures of their placement schools.

This finding also provides further insight into the attitudes expressed about standardised procedures. The qualitative findings showed some evidence of trainees being socialised into standardised practice within and across school settings. The questionnaire data here demonstrate that trainees believe it is important to be creative, make decisions in the best interest of pupils and use a broad range of teaching strategies. Through placing value on teacher expertise in this way, the importance of adopting a standardised practice may be somewhat diminished if these trainees have the conviction to carry out their beliefs in the classroom. However, as the qualitative findings indicated, the trainees demonstrated a commitment to personalising learning when faced with a hypothetical scenario, but their actual experience suggested a stronger lenience towards compliance, resulting in standardisation of practice.

5.4: Component 4- Professional unity

Whilst some of the variables that appeared in this component (see table 5.4.1) had clear semantic links, such as those related to trust, the relationship between some variables was less clear. For example, the relationship between having a formula for teaching and importance of public trust is not clearly evident within the wording of the questions. However, 'professional unity' can be used to suggest that each of the variables relate to the teaching profession being seen as a collective entity that is both trusted by others and works collaboratively to shape pedagogy. This statement lends itself to some of the goals of occupational professionalism and presents a different view of the formulaic approach to teaching than organisational professionalism's emphasis on standardised procedures.

Variable	Loading
Being trusted by the government is important for teachers	.744
Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching	.574
Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	.495
If a formula for a good lesson works, this should always be followed.	.434
Being trusted by the public is important for teachers	.408

Table 5.4.1: Professional unity

Trust appears to be important to the sample of trainee teachers that responded to the questionnaire. They were more likely to agree that being trusted by both government and the

public is important for the profession. These two items relating to professional trust were also correlated in the findings by Swann et al. (2010). Trust of professional groups needs to be viewed in relationship with the organisational professional values within New Public Management:

> the suggested solution - of making professionals and service institutions such as schools and hospitals more accountable - might in fact be a part of the problem in that complex systems of accountability and audit actually damage trust (Evetts, 2009, p.259)

Professional unity can therefore be seen as being important; teachers should work together and share ideas in order take control of their professional work. Trainee teachers see the value of collaborating with others, whether this is sharing ideas (Mdn = 5, IQR = 1) or collaborating more generally (Mdn = 4, IQR = 1). In spite of valuing the opportunity to share ideas, they do not necessarily agree that a formula for a good lesson should always be followed (Mdn = 2; IQR = 1). Again, this suggests that trainees believe that the professional is one that can adopt and share practice but at the same time adapt such practice depending on circumstances.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Being trusted by the government is important for teachers	Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching	Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	If a formula for a good lesson works, this should always be followed.	Being trusted by the public is important for teachers
Undergraduate	N	70	70	70	70	70
	Median	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**	***2.00***	**4.00**
PGCE	N	59	59	59	59	59
	Median	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**	***2.00***	**4.00**
School Direct	N	14	14	14	14	14
	Median	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.50**	***2.00***	**5.00**
Total	N	143	143	143	143	143
	Median	**4.00**	**5.00**	**4.00**	***2.00***	**4.00**

Table 5.4.2: Median values for 'Professional unity'

Variables relating to trust may add to views within the qualitative theme of compliance with source of authority if trust is interpreted as being trusted to comply with the expectations of the organisation. However, 'professional unity' can also be interpreted as a collegiate value set against organisational professionalism objectives. Therefore, this component can offer an additional perspective to responses to the vignette scenario in interview; teachers want to be collaborative and trusted professionals and will make judgements as they feel necessary rather than always following a standardised formula for a lesson.

5.5: Component 5- Emphasis on English and Maths

The wording of the two questions within this component (see table 5.5.1) was similar and so it may be unsurprising that they have appeared together to form the fifth component.

Variable	Loading
Trainee teachers should be observed in mainly English and Maths. .	.791
Trainee teachers should receive most of their training in English and Maths.	.640

Table 5.5.1: Emphasis on English and Maths

A focus on English and Mathematics, core subjects of the National Curriculum is clearly important to the government's strategy for raising the quality of teaching:

> there are three key areas where we need teachers to be very well equipped: subject knowledge and academic preparation, **overall literacy and numeracy**, and personal and interpersonal skills (DfE, 2010, p. 20, emphasis added)

In order to gain Qualified Teacher Status in England, prospective teachers must pass a Literacy and Numeracy test in order to demonstrate the expected level of competence. Within the framework for inspecting Initial Teacher Training providers, Ofsted name 'Literacy' as being a subject in which training and outcomes must be outstanding in order for primary providers to be judged as such (Ofsted, 2015b). An emphasis on these core subjects is perhaps inevitable for primary trainees who will spend much of their time teaching these subjects as part of a performativity agenda (Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl, 2007). This performativity agenda can be seen as part of external accountability within an ideal-type model of organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). The emphasis on English and Maths adds to the qualitative theme on accountability in which the trainees discussed how schools were adopting pedagogic approaches to raise standards in core subjects. The quantitative data presented here adds to the argument proposed by some in the preceding chapter, that such a pedagogic emphasis on core subjects to the detriment of others is undesirable. This is because, despite the high stakes associated with these subjects, responses to the two variables suggest that trainees are most likely to disagree that English and maths should be emphasised through their training, whether this training is through observations (Mdn = 2; IQR = 1) or training per se (Mdn = 2; IQR = 2). Table 5.5.2 presents these data.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Trainee teachers should be observed in mainly English and Maths.	Trainee teachers should receive most of their training in English and Maths.
Undergraduate	N	70	70
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***
PGCE	N	59	59
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***
School Direct	N	14	14
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***
Total	N	143	143
	Median	***2.00***	***2.00***

Table 5.5.2: Median values for 'Emphasis on English and Maths'

5.6: Component 6- Curriculum and assessment autonomy

Similar to 'teachers' expertise in progressing their work' this component relates to teachers being free to make decisions but within this component, curriculum and assessment is more specific (see table 5.6.1).

Variable	Loading
Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism	.805
Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	.745
Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	.458

Table 5.6.1: Curriculum and assessment autonomy

The first two variables within this component also formed a component for Swann et al. (2010) through their own Factor Analysis. They note that over time, the saliency of this component had declined: 'teachers had become possibly less acutely aware of, or more acquiescent towards, government regulation and control of their practice' (Swann et al., 2010, p. 561). This trend may be present within the data reported here as trainees are not as likely to agree that central control undermines professionalism. They are likely to neither agree, nor disagree with these questions which may be interpreted as similar acquiescence.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism	Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum
Undergraduate	N	70	70	70
	Median	3.00	3.00	4.00
PGCE	N	59	59	59
	Median	3.00	3.00	4.00
School Direct	N	14	14	14
	Median	3.50	3.00	4.00
Total	N	143	143	143
	Median	3.00	3.00	4.00

Table 5.6.2: Median values for 'Curriculum and assessment autonomy'

Central control may have been interpreted differently by the respondents to the questionnaire and could refer to government control or head-teacher control of teacher work. Regardless of interpretation, the items relate to the control over teacher work remaining with someone other than the teachers themselves. As Evans (2009, p.21) suggests in discussing the current status of the teaching profession, 'whoever used to call the shots no longer does so'. This may be a concern for teachers that have endured teaching through this transition of power but for new entrants to the profession, their response could be seen as being ambivalent towards controls on their work.

The lack of polarisation within the quantitative data presented here, offers an alternative view to the model of compliance with sources of authority presented in the first theme of the qualitative analysis. Qualitatively, trainees recognised the controls that are placed on teachers' work through systems such as Ofsted. However, when asked directly whether 'central control' undermines professionalism on the questionnaire, it seems that they are not as concerned with this. There may be different reasons for this, such as a lack of understanding or experience of Ofsted or government directives within this sample. As was seen in the qualitative theme on compliance, the trainees believed that they needed to be compliant with the school and the university but saw qualified teachers as needing to be compliant with Ofsted and the government. Therefore, as trainee teachers, their time for experiencing external controls of their work at a macro- level are yet to be experienced, even though their courses are likely to be shaped by government policy (Furlong, J., 2013; Macbeath, 2012).

5.7: Component 7- Investment in standards

The final component presented here relates to 'investment in standards' (see table 5.7.1). Investment can take the form of financial investment, directing resources in a way that raises teacher quality. It can also relate to an investment in time, focusing on raising pupil attainment. If the quality and standard of teaching is directly related to raising standards (OECD, 2005; Sutton Trust, 2011), the link between these variables can contribute to a useful component for conceptualising the teaching profession.

Variable	Loading
Financing the training of a poor-performing trainee is not a good way to spend money.	-.764
Further money / resources should be spent on training teachers that cannot pass their observations.	.746
The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	.655

Table 5.7.1: Investment in standards

However, whilst research suggests that investing in teachers can make a difference to pupil outcomes (OECD 2005; Sutton Trust, 2011), the trainees at the end of their training year are less likely to have strong views about this. For each item in this component, the trainees were likely to neither agree, nor disagree with the statements.

Report of median values by route and total

ITT programme		Financing the training of a poor-performing trainee is not a good way to spend money.	Further money / resources should be spent on training teachers that cannot pass their observations.	The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment
Undergraduate	N	70	70	70
	Median	3.00	3.00	3.00
PGCE	N	59	59	59
	Median	3.00	3.00	3.00
School Direct	N	14	14	14
	Median	3.00	***2.50***	3.00
Total	N	143	143	143
	Median	3.00	3.00	3.00

Table 5.7.2: Median values for 'Investment in standards'

If trainees had agreed that a focus should be on raising standards and that finances should follow this agenda, then they may have been sitting within an ideal-type of organisational professionalism as described by Evetts (2009) because of the emphasis on performance. However, it seems that there are no strong views associated with the performance when linked with financial management. This may be because the trainees have limited understanding,

although within the qualitative theme of accountability, trainees did offer views in this area related to the fairness of the system and concerns for children being used for teachers' financial gain.

5.8: Limitations of the analysis

Whilst the data have provided a useful context for a discussion on trainees' conceptions of professionalism, there are a number of issues relating to the reliability and limitations of these data. Some of these points have already been alluded to, so this list acts as a summary:

- Only forty percent of the possible variance has been included in the analysis. This means that over half of the variance has not been taken into account.
- Some questions had a greater semantic link in the way that they were worded and so may be considered as contrived when forming components.
- Within an interpretivist framework, Factor Analysis may be considered as subjective at the point of labelling components. Other interpretations of each component are possible, but have been interpreted here in response to the literature, research questions and the preceding qualitative analysis.
- Rating scale data, whilst typically analysed using Factor Analysis, is not continuous data but ordinal. Therefore, the factor analysis is assuming that the trainees had a continuous scale when in fact they were presented with ordinal numbers on a scale of 1 - 5.
- The overall sample size is less than 150 trainees and the sample size for School Direct trainees is much smaller than for postgraduate and undergraduate, making comparison and statistical significance difficult.

However, in spite of these limitations, the Factor Analysis of the questionnaire items has provided an emerging insight into trainees' views, particularly when considered alongside the qualitative findings. These insights are temporally- and contextually-dependent to the sample within the research context university and its partner schools. As such the components help to make sense of the views of organisational professionalism for this sample and are indicative of the Initial Teacher Training landscape at this time.

5.9: Summary of findings

The components presented in this chapter add to the complexity of trainee teachers' conceptions of professionalism. It is not possible to suggest that significant differences exist between Initial Teacher Training programmes, although some small variation is apparent. In order to establish whether any small variation could be significant, larger sample sizes would be required. When looking at the combined totals for the three training programmes, it is possible to generalise using median values within the context of the institution in which this research has taken place. There are times where it can be argued that the trainees are rejecting ideas around organisational professionalism, favouring occupational professionalism; at other times organisational professionalism appears to be acknowledged as part of the reality of teaching. For example, trainees recognise aspects of teaching that contribute to a performativity agenda and are willing to play their part in this; yet, they also demonstrate a commitment to occupational values, by strongly agreeing that there are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment, as indicated in the quantitative analysis. They see a value in professional unity, supporting the occupational value of collegiality, and recognise that this does not necessarily mean conformity through standardising practice in an organisational sense. The way in which the data suggest that trainees walk a line between different forms of professionalism may be a result of how respondents contextualise the question in their own minds. When defining organisational and occupational professionalism, Evetts (2009) argues that they are ideal-types from a theoretical perspective and not intended to categorise individuals. Similarly, Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) having conducted one of the most prominent meta-analyses of the research, suggest that teachers often have multiple identities and able to shift between these. As such, it could be suggested that this quantitative analysis supports the notion that there is a complex interplay between organisational and occupational professionalism that may form part of trainees' conceptions of the teaching profession. The emerging components presented in this chapter provide some indication that trainees mediate, or shift their perceptions, of professionalism, particularly when read in parallel with the qualitative findings. For example, when considering the trainees willingness to 'keep up appearances', it may be useful to consider the circumstances through which they are less likely to be compliant in this way. This is where the qualitative findings from Chapter 4 can add value and understanding and so a combination of the quantitative and qualitative findings provide the evidence for the following discussion in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter aims to bring together the qualitative and quantitative findings in order to answer the three research questions that support the overall aim of this study. The study sought to establish trainee teachers' conceptions of professionalism through the lens of organisational professionalism at the end of their Initial Teacher Training as they approach their first year of induction. The research questions were as follows:

1. In what ways do trainee teachers experience aspects of organisational professionalism through Initial Teacher Training?

2. How do trainee teachers perceive qualified teachers through the lens of organisational professionalism?

3. What are trainee teachers' attitudes towards organisational professionalism?

These questions will now be explored by looking at how trainee teachers in this study have experienced aspects of organisational professionalism, seen teachers working within this framework and what their attitudes are. Having already discussed individual findings in relation to aspects of the literature, this chapter will begin by returning to key aspects of organisational professionalism as defined by Evetts (2009), addressing the research questions within each aspect. The questions will then be answered directly in Chapter 7 as part of the conclusion to this thesis.

6.1 Rational –legal authority exercised through managerialism and a hierarchy of decision making

When reviewing the findings it was difficult to separate rational-legal authority, managerialism and hierarchy of decision making as trainees' experiences seem to be the result of these concepts working together, as will be seen. Therefore, these aspects have been combined to provide a meaningful discussion and to avoid repetition where ideas overlap.

The qualitative findings suggest that there is evidence of trainees working within a framework of rational-legal authority. Freidson (2001) defines this authority as the organisation of work around written rules within a hierarchical structure of personnel. The extent to which trainee teachers are willing to comply with sources of authority in order to succeed on their teaching placements can be interpreted as evidence for trainees accepting rational-legal authority,

managerialism in school and hierarchical structures that exist within their Initial Teacher Training.

Sources of authority include qualified teachers and senior leaders in school, bureaucratic sources in the form of Teachers' Standards and governmental, or legislative sources such as Ofsted. Whilst every trainee did not necessarily encounter Ofsted first-hand, they were aware that the authority of Ofsted affects the school organisation and therefore impacts their training as a teacher. These sources of authority can be seen as coming together to enforce a rational-legal authority that Evetts (2009) includes in her definition of organisational professionalism. Qualified teachers are also subject to this rational-legal authority, although as has been seen, the authority of bodies such as Ofsted may actually result in perceived irrational behaviour and teachers' relationship with Ofsted may not be helpful in supporting trainee teacher professionalisation. There is little evidence that trainee teachers perceive qualified teachers working in collegiate ways indicative of occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Rather than teachers coming together to develop a shared sense of professionalism from within, teachers are perceived to be shaping their professionalism in response to guidance from above. Of course, it is not true to say that collegiately is absent in the teaching profession, but rather the trainee teachers in this sample have not recognised the ways in which teachers are working together. It is also worth considering that trainee teachers are often isolated from their immediate peers and so collegiality between trainee teachers when on placement can be difficult. Instead, they position themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy. That being stated, the trainees were quite pragmatic about their own experience in working within rational-legal frameworks. They feel supported by the Teachers' Standards as a way of focusing their practice and somewhat accepting of the way in which qualified teachers and leaders react to external sources of authority or policy. Whilst the hierarchies of authority place trainees in a position where their training is done to them, the trainees are themselves willing to comply, or go along with this, as they perceive compliance as necessity in obtaining Qualified Teacher Status.

Trainee teachers and early career teachers are likely to be receivers of policy or compliant with the expectations of others (Ball et al., 2011; Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok, 2003). The findings within this thesis reinforce the notion that trainee teachers, being early in their career are likely to comply with expectations. One of the consequences of organisational professionalism is a lack of autonomy that is more closely associated with occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Autonomy may be seen as a staple of the traditional professions but now a thing of the past for teachers (Hargreaves, 2000).There was little evidence within the interviews that they would challenge the authority of others and so accept decisions made within the hierarchy.

Within the qualitative findings, Andrea's experience illustrates this particularly well as she was humiliated into adopting a particular pedagogic approach that the head teacher endorsed. It was also commented how head teachers are concerned with the wider reputation of the school through interpreting and enacting the suggestions of external bodies such as Ofsted. This signals what Tolofari (2005) and Cribb (2009) signpost as being a key role for head teachers who were once teachers leading their fellow professionals but are now at a greater distance from the actual work of teachers. Trainee teachers may also perceive the Teachers' Standards as a bureaucratic source of authority because they are seen to be a gateway into the profession and for some, a way of maintaining a particular standard of teaching. Evidence of challenging those that are managing their experience was limited and probably due to the fact that trainees want to graduate from their training without conflict as Pillen, Beijaard and den Brok (2013) found. However, whilst this is their experience, trainees' attitudes to the vignette scenario suggest a willingness to challenge the hierarchical authority where there were concerns about the consequences for children. These child-centred values are perceived to be a priority in the long term. This suggests that they would like to retain autonomy over their own classrooms, and this is a realistic expectation for teachers when considering their professionalism (Larson, 2014).

Responses to the vignette scenario also illustrate aspects of trainees' attitudes towards managerialism. The qualitative findings highlighted how respondents were conflicted between the managerialist approach to delivering phonics and a more autonomous approach. Robertson (cited in Bourke, Ryan and Lidstone, 2013) suggests that teachers are expected to deliver these outcome-driven, managerialist pedagogies without question. However, the trainee teachers in this study did question the assumption that a particular top-down scheme could impact the children in the way described. For some, their rationale was linked to occupational professionalism as they were concerned about the holistic reading development of the child alongside issues of self-esteem. In this way, they recognised that teachers have ethical and moral obligations to their children that require attention beyond the focus on outcomes (Carr, 2000). Others, whilst rejecting the managerialist assumptions behind the scheme, used the language of performativity to justify their views; their concern was not necessarily associated with the holistic development of the child but actually that the scheme may not raise standards sufficiently. This leads onto another aspect of organisational professionalism that is discussed below: performativity, accountability, target setting and review.

It is clear from the interviews that the trainees sometimes felt that they had to negotiate what was expected of them by different sources of authority. For example, some trainees commented that the university may offer guidance that contradicts practice in a particular school, and so the

trainee has to decide how to navigate between these different expectations. Therefore, it can be suggested that for trainees, the rational-legal hierarchy of authority and decision making exists between complementary, conflicting or competing organisations. They will experience different schools with different interpretations of policy and capacities to train teachers and at the same time need to make sense of this within the framework of their Initial Teacher Training and theoretical perspectives offered by the university. Trainees not only have to negotiate how their experience fits in with the 'fairy tale' presented by university but also navigate between different school expectations.

The quantitative data also suggest that teaching is a profession in which complex decisions need to be made. Within the component 'curriculum and assessment autonomy', respondents were asked whether central control of curriculum and assessment undermines teacher professionalism. The items within this component suggested that the trainees were indifferent to curriculum and assessment being centrally controlled. Trainees were not, on average, strongly in favour, or against, decisions relating to the curriculum and assessment being taken for them. Furthermore, the extracted component 'Teachers' expertise in progressing their work' showed a strong belief that teachers need to make judgements in the best interest of pupils and that they should use a broad range of teaching strategies. As Darling-Hammond (2009) points out, the bureaucratic assumption is that work can be directed from afar, but the trainees in this study recognise that some decisions need to be made dynamically when at the chalk-face, whilst it may be pragmatic to allow other decisions to be made for them. However, the component 'Keeping up appearances' presents some suggestion that trainees will adopt the practices of others and this can once again, be seen as compliance. Particularly illuminating is the item within this component that relates to trainees' willingness to exhibit strategies that mentors and link tutors will want to see when being observed. This may support the notion that compliance is a necessity when experiencing Initial Teacher Training. It also leads onto the standardised practices that have become another key theme in this research.

6.2 Standardised pedagogies or 'playing the game'

As mentioned in the literature review, managerialism is symbiotic with standardised procedures where managers use their authority to standardise the practice within a school. Evetts (2009) refers to standardised procedures and through inductive coding of the qualitative interview, standardised practice became a key theme. However, when looking at this aspect across findings, it can be argued that this is more about ticking boxes, or 'playing the game', rather than adopting a standardised pedagogy that is believed to be in the best interest of children. This can

be expanded by considering how pedagogy may be standardised within a particular school organisation. It has already been stated that the trainees seem to recognise that teaching requires complex decision making, and therefore the work of teachers cannot be completely directed from above. This suggests a belief in the value of occupational professionalism and that teaching requires discretionary judgements, even though they have not necessarily found ways of demonstrating this in their practice. Based on their school experience, the trainees suggest that standardisation of practice is prevalent, as they will conform to the expectations of their teachers and they perceive teachers as also standardising practice, often in the name of Ofsted.

Firstly, the qualitative findings have highlighted how trainee teachers experience sources of authority and standardise their practice, leading to a box-ticking behaviour which is an analogy for the way in which trainees complete certain tasks or act in certain ways with the sole purpose to please the aforementioned sources of authority. In this way, they 'play the game' (Catherine, UG trainee) to succeed in gaining Qualified Teacher Status. The trainees' experiences provide an insight into the way that they experience organisational professionalism as part of their Initial Teacher Training but their individual stories help to illustrate how different aspects of organisational professionalism weave together in a way that affects their training.

The weaved aspects of organisational professionalism may begin with the hierarchical structures of authority and decision making that results in trainees being compliant within these structures. The 'sources of authority' must be listened to and their direction must be followed. Sources of authority within school settings are shaping the trainees' understanding of professionalism by emphasising the authority of senior members of staff, such as the head teacher. Mentors and class teachers who work most closely with the trainee are also setting the expectation of how to 'be' a teacher and have been seen to encourage particular types of practice that they may use themselves. By conforming to the practice of others, a process of standardisation of teaching is occurring. Furlong and Maynard (1995 p.78) argue that it is typical for trainees to be socialised into their teacher's way of working as they pass through a 'fitting in' stage and when they 'try to copy the teacher's 'style''. However, standardisation was also experienced by the trainees' use of rigid frameworks such as the university's lesson plan template or a success criteria for a lesson that is perceived to be Ofsted-approved. In this way, standardisation of teaching practice seems to echo the McDonaldisation process as explored by Wilkinson (2006) as curriculum and pedagogy seem narrowed and focused on performative outcomes. This has been highlighted as an issue in primary education before, but now the instrumental rationality of teaching influenced by the National Strategies (Lefstein, 2005; Whitty, 2008) has been replaced with practice that is believed to be acceptable to Ofsted.

By examining the quantitative data, further evidence can be found that trainees are willing to play an organisational professionalism game. The quantitatively-derived component 'Keeping up appearances', shows that trainees believe that teachers mainly plan for external audiences as opposed to planning for the benefit of the children, and that when being observed they will use strategies that their mentor or link tutor want them to use. This component reinforces their experience of 'playing a game' by complying with others and standardising their practice to fit in with those that are in control of their training.

However, another rejection of standardised practice can be seen in trainees' attitudes within the quantitative component 'Teachers' expertise in progressing their work'. Here the trainees were most likely to value teachers' creativity, use of a broad range of teaching strategies and ability to make judgements in the best interest of pupils. This is further echoed through the qualitative theme on 'navigation between own beliefs and aspects of organisational professionalism'. The trainees recognise that they need to adopt standardised practice where required but also desire the execution of discretion when tailoring lessons to meet children's needs. This again, indicates that whilst they may be required to work in ways that can be associated with organisational professionalism, the trainees' personal motivations and beliefs about teaching hold onto the values that underpin occupational professionalism. Even though they have not yet realised how to achieve it, the trainees remain committed to the success of the individual as promoted through occupational professionalism over the success of the organisation which is a greater concern for organisational professionalism.

6.3 Performativity, accountability, target setting and review

Both the inductive qualitative analysis and the statistical Factor Analysis produced evidence for trainees making sense of 'accountability and externalized forms of regulation, target-setting and performance review' (Evetts, 2009, p.23). Through the findings chapters, this aspect was linked with Ball's (2008) term 'performativity' which is both an umbrella term for the ways in which teachers' performance are measured and a way of inciting particular beliefs and feelings about being a teacher.

The qualitative findings when combined with the quantitative findings of this research can be seen as providing evidence for how trainee teachers position themselves in response to educational measures and targets. Whilst some come to their Initial Teacher Training from careers that are heavily performance managed, most trainees in the interview sample experienced performativity through the way that their training was structured. Part of their

experience is related to target-setting, which may be perceived as positive when progress is made against the target. However, performativity can also be experienced through the mentor or class teacher passing on their own need for accountability to the trainee teacher. This can be seen where trainee teachers were asked to change their lessons or ideas because the mentor did not believe children would make enough progress. In this way, performativity can be seen to be symbiotic with the aforementioned concepts of standardised practice and managerialism:

> the work of the manager, the new hero of educational reform, involves instilling the attitude and culture within which workers feel themselves accountable and at the same time committed or personally invested in the organization. (Ball, 2003, p. 219)

Interviewees indicated a level of commitment to raising standards as part of their workload and understood that their schools need to support pupil progress in order to comply with the expectations of external sources of authority. As found elsewhere, the trainee teachers in this study were not adverse to performativity regimes being part of the role of the teacher (Wilkins, 2011; Stone-Johnson, 2014). However, similar to early work on performance related pay (Mahony, Menter and Hextall, 2004), the idea that performance management may be another hoop to jump through, was also evident.

Trainees perceive teachers of pupils in Year 6 as being particularly influenced by performativity. As explored in the qualitative findings, this may result in a SATs pedagogy where teachers are delivering lessons in a way that maximises SATs assessment outcomes but may be detrimental to other aspects of learning, including enjoyment. Fears of teachers 'teaching to the test' as explored by Leaton Gray (2006) remain a reality as observed by the trainee teachers in this research. Trainees perceive this as being uninspiring and at its worst results in children being treated as statistics: 'They were levels; they weren't children' (Jenny, postgraduate trainee). The language of 'pressure' is also used to describe the way in which teachers are seen to be responding to a performative culture. Evetts (2009) argues that organisational professionalism has consequences for trust, discretion and competence, but these findings suggest that pressure is another consequence of organisational professionalism.

Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl (2007) argue that primary teachers will spend most of their time teaching English and Maths as a result of the accountability and performativity agenda in schools. Yet, the trainees rejected the idea that they should be trained mainly in these subjects. Within the quantitative component 'Emphasis on English and Maths' the questionnaire respondents were less likely to agree that these subjects should be focused upon within their training experience. The trainees recognise a need to be trained in other subjects, perhaps

demonstrating a belief that there should be more to education than that which organisational professionalism espouses. Evetts (2009) argues that organisational professionalism results in a prioritisation that lends itself to focus on outcomes. Occupational professionalism, in contrast, does not result in outcome-driven priorities and instead requires professionals to be collegiate in identifying the scope of their work through negotiating the boundaries of their role. The trainee teachers indicate that they desire training that is not focused on the outcomes of English and Maths, both national priorities within a performative education system, and so the university may be discouraging occupational professionalism if it is not emphasising broader conceptions of teaching.

It is clear that trainees had experienced and seen aspects of performativity. However, it is also clear that some of their ideas about accountability and performance are based on what they have heard, discussed socially, or believe. The lack of formal training in performance management, accountability or the role of Ofsted result in trainees speaking hypothetically at times, without much foundation for their beliefs.

Whilst some variation in viewpoints was evident, there does seem to be an overarching belief in 'fairness' emerging from the data. Fairness was applied to the teachers' performativity with arguments around equity in teachers' pay with teachers needing to be rewarded for their efforts, regardless of results. Fairness appeared as a comparison between teachers' work and other occupations with a consideration of targets and workload. Fairness was also a concern when it comes to unwanted consequences of performativity on pupils. Whilst there seemed to be agreement in the need to raise standards and be held accountable for pupil progress, trainees did not believe that children should be treated unfairly in the process. The trainees suggest that it is fair to assume that pupils are individuals and their personal needs should be catered for when teaching. It is fair to ensure consistency across a school-setting to support pupils' learning and progress. The trainees suggest that it is fair to consider all pupils in target-setting and review and unfair to focus on specific groups of learners just to raise the overall standard. Trainees suggest that children should be treated equally, where possible and it is unfair for teachers to put their own financial interests and performance ahead of the interests of pupils. These ideas seem to reinforce their idealised child-centred practice that they believe teachers should envelop as professionals.

It has been suggested that the data provide mixed messages and this can be further examined within the quantitative component, 'Performance, pedagogy and pay'. When it comes to fairness, the view that teachers should be rewarded for their expertise is echoed in the quantitative data. There is also an acceptance that Year 6 teachers should prepare children for

Year 6 tests. Trainees believe that it is fair to give pupils the best chance to succeed in the tests; this will therefore, involve preparation, and this preparation is observed as a ‘SATs pedagogy’. Finally, whilst the qualitative findings suggested that teachers need to be held to account for standards, the 'Performance, pedagogy and pay' component indicates that teachers should not see the pay they receive for such accountability as being a motivating factor in their work. This reinforces an argument that it is not fair to use pupils as a means to make financial gains, a concern echoed elsewhere in the qualitative findings.

The three strands to this discussion highlight the complexities faced by the trainee teachers in initial Teacher Training. This discussion supports concluding remarks in relation to the research questions that will now be explored in chapter 7.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Returning to the Research Questions

Before making recommendations, this chapter seeks to answer the three research questions directly as a conclusion to the previous chapter.

In what ways do trainee teachers experience aspects of organisational professionalism through Initial Teacher Training?

If organisational professionalism 'is dependent on structures' over 'relationships' (Evetts, 2009, p. 248), then when it comes to their training, trainee teachers are working through complex structures in order to become qualified. The trainees are clearly positioned, or position themselves, at the bottom of a hierarchical structure in school, and further perceive the school as being in a hierarchical, or vertical, education structure, subject to targets and objectives set by government. Whilst all trainees do not have fully formed understanding of the mechanisms of organisational professionalism, such as performance management and performance pay, the trainees do experience the effects of this through being socialised into a performativity culture. Their survival as trainee teachers is important and so they can be seen as working within organisational frameworks, 'jumping through hoops' and complying with sources of authority in order to pass their placements.

How do trainee teachers perceive qualified teachers through the lens of organisational professionalism?

It is evident that the trainees witness experienced teachers working within a culture of organisational professionalism. They recognise the hierarchical nature of school and Ofsted was cited as being important to organisational success with teachers trying to replicate practices that they believe will be approved by the inspectorate. This may be a cause for some of the standardisation in practice that occurs within schools but is also an indication that these trainees see themselves entering a profession of high accountability. Further evidence of organisational professionalism can be seen through a SATs-pedagogy where trainees see teachers adopting teaching methods that will result in raising the standards of national tests. Teachers may also be 'jumping through hoops' and again, if this is how they are observed by the trainees, then this conceptualisation of teachers' professional work may endure as the trainee passes into their induction year.

What are trainee teachers' attitudes towards organisational professionalism?

Despite the aforementioned enculturation into organisational professionalism practices, it is evident that the trainees believe that there is more to the role of the teacher and underpinning values that cannot be commodified in performance-driven outcomes. They have idealised beliefs about what education and childhood should be about, and therefore see aspects of organisational professionalism as being a source of contention in delivering such idealised child-centred practice. However, the tension between their beliefs about the holistic development of the child and some of the mechanisms of organisational professionalism are only considered when presented with the hypothetical, vignette scenario. The quantitative findings also show less strongly held views on organisational professionalism. In more general terms, it seems the trainees were accepting of their role in raising standards and being held accountable within a managerialist, hierarchical and performance-driven education system. As one trainee suggested, 'you have to pick your battles'. Even when faced with perceived negative experiences, trainees are unlikely to challenge those in authority and follow the line of organisational professionalism in order to pass their teaching placements.

7.2 Implications and recommendations

This thesis has examined trainees' socialisation into the teaching profession, focusing on aspects of organisational professionalism. Organisational professionalism has not been explored as a term *per se* in the context of primary Initial Teacher Training and so this research helps to make a contribution to knowledge, building on the theoretical work of Julia Evetts but also adding to the body of knowledge related to early career teachers. Using organisational professionalism as a lens through which Initial Teacher Training is experienced has provided some useful findings relevant for teacher educators, whether in school or in Higher Education settings.

Julia Evetts suggests that by researching organisational professionalism it should be possible to see the continuities and changes to the more traditional form of occupational professionalism. This research has shown that certain values and ideals of occupational professionalism are continuities. Trainee teachers hold onto a desire to be autonomous, make discretionary judgement, and consider the holistic needs of their children. And yet, the prevalence of organisational professionalism in schools, suggests that they are negotiating these values with organisational structures that require them to conform to expectations, 'jump through hoops', focus on outcomes, standardise their practice in ways that will meet the expectations of those external to the profession. This has not necessarily changed their understanding of teaching as

many of the trainees have adopted a pragmatic stance. In this way, they may be seen as post-performative teachers (Wilkins, 2012). However, initial teacher training is a place where tensions between organisational and occupational professionalism are explored and heightened by a perceived divide between training in university and training in school. Whereas the university introduces theoretical perspective, essential for an ideal-type occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2009; Freidson, 2001), the school emphasis practice becomes standardised and focused on pupil outcomes in a narrower sense.

There are implications from this research for the design of 'professional studies' type courses in Initial Teacher Training. These courses are a mainstay of university programmes and seek to support trainees in understanding their role as a teacher. The research engaged trainees in considering conceptions of teacher professionalism and it has been seen how their beliefs have been shaped by their school practice. Therefore, there are implications to the way in which university courses draw upon school experience as a site for challenging ideas. This will be explored in the recommendations below.

There are also implications for the recruitment of potential teachers. Currently many university programmes, including the ones based in the present research context, require potential trainees to undertake voluntary experience in school. The research findings suggest that trainees are being socialised into hierarchical, managerialist and performance-driven settings, yet the trainees had idealised visions of education. Therefore, consideration could be given to the way that pre-recruitment training is managed. Before trainees embark upon their Initial Teacher Training, they may need to be supported in their voluntary experience to acquire a realistic perception of what teaching involves, not to discredit their motivations for becoming teachers but to strengthen their awareness of the performativity aspects that they may not be as aware of.

At the time of writing, the ITT policy in England seems to continue in the direction of school-based training. For the trainee teacher, spending more time in school may be perceived as being beneficial as this is where ‘real’ practice exists, unlike the university setting that presents a ‘utopian’ view of the primary classroom. However, there are implications as school is the place where organisational professionalism is experienced the most. As one trainee teacher commented, it is good to believe in the ‘fairy tale’ sometimes as this helps to consolidate their pre-conceived values underpinning primary education. Therefore, whether school-led or university-led training, continued discussion of child-centred practice is needed to mitigate for some of the perceived unfair aspects of organisational professionalism.

The recommendations are considered at a practitioner-level and do not seek to make unrealistic recommendations about the nature of teachers' work. Whilst there is some acknowledgement within the Department of Education that teachers find the extent of accountability and performativity as being detrimental to professionalism (Gibson, Oliver and Dennison, 2015), it is not realistic to suggest that these practices should be overhauled. There may be a reality that trainee teachers are working with these, and other, aspects of organisational professionalism and so the recommendations below provide some reflection within the context of Initial Teacher Training.

It is evident that the trainees within this research have experienced aspects of organisational professionalism resulting in them being compliant with expectations. As Pierce (2007) argues, it is typical for new teachers to be compliant in organisations that they have limited knowledge of. For trainee teachers, this may be because they perceive themselves to be at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy, complying with the demands of those further up. It is therefore recommended that teacher educators consider how trainees can be positioned as partners in their professional development with something to offer those that are training them and given greater support in making sense of the schools they are training within. Furlong and Maynard (1995) suggest that trainee teachers will adopt practices of survival and establish themselves within the mould of their more qualified colleagues when they have a lack of understanding about the complexities of teaching. In order to move them forward, Furlong and Maynard recommend that trainees are challenged to question their own practice. Two decades later, this is still necessary but it is argued here that trainee teachers need to understand where practice is being shaped by organisational professionalism, and how to move beyond this. To help achieve this, it is necessary for the institution that supported this research to explore relationships within its school partnerships.

Furlong et al. (2000), drawing upon their Modes Of Teacher Education (MOTE) studies, present complementary and collaborative ideal-type models of partnership between Higher Education Institutions and schools. Complementary partnerships require the work of university and school to be treated as two separate contributions to teacher development. Within the research presented in this thesis, there is some evidence that schools have encouraged trainees to leave their university education at the door, expecting the trainees to comply with expectations set within the school. Collaborative partnerships, however, rely on a coordination of expertise between school and university so teachers contribute towards the university programme and university tutors contribute to the school planning for the trainee. Furlong et al. (2000) emphasise that this does not mean that there has to be a shared body of knowledge, but rather

that the distinct bodies of knowledge that can be found in university and school are understood and used to form a critical basis for critiquing practice. It is through a collaborative partnership that professionalism can be achieved as all stakeholders are engaged in 'an effective and principled strategy for developing reflective practice where theory and practice [are] interrelated.' These collaborative partnerships could be found within initial teacher training during the early to mid -1990s. It may be useful to revisit aspects of collaborative partnerships as schools take on more responsibility for initial teacher training.

In order for a collaborative partnership to take place, Furlong et al. (2000) argue that schools need to have a legitimate reason for working with universities – they need to value the contribution that universities can offer. It is also true that universities need to value the contribution of schools and the unique body of knowledge that exists in school. To achieve a form of occupational professionalism that mitigates some of the limitations of organisational professionalism, it will be necessary to form a partnership that is open to criticise practice from both places. Therefore, university-endorsed practice and theory should not be proposed as being better or worse than school based knowledge or vice versa. As Goodson (2003) argues through a discussion of alternative ideal-type professionalisms, it is necessary to deconstruct the 'intellectual pretentions of university-based, scientific knowledge as a basis for teacher professionalization… [and connect] the practical reflection of teachers to broader social agendas of equity and emancipation, making practical reflection social and critical, as well as personal and local.' (Goodson, 2003, p.129). Goodson, in a similar way to Carr (2000) and Freidson (2001) recognises the moral and ethical dimension of professionalism. Such 'principled professionalism' (Goodson, 2003, p.132) can also be connected to occupational professionalism as Evetts (2009) uses this ideal-type to highlight the importance of professional ethics. The recommendation for the institution in which this research took place is to find ways in which they can engage schools in collaborative partnerships that brings all stakeholders together. In doing so, they should critically examine practice with ethical and moral obligations in mind. Freidson's (2001) recommendation that professions should have a body of abstract knowledge and theory taught through higher education can be re-examined in light of this recommendation. It may be necessary to co-configure teacher training so that the teachers and universities work together, along with the trainees, to produce new theories on which to base this joint collaborative practice, and recognise that the body of professional knowledge can grow from this field. By involving the trainee in constructing knowledge about teaching, they may also be elevated from the bottom of hierarchical decision making (Evetts, 2009) and move towards a position where trainees, mentors and university partners work collaboratively to advance the body of knowledge. By focusing on the learning, education professionals can move beyond simple

standardisation of practice and box-ticking that is believed to be desirable by those external to the profession (such as Ofsted) and begin to take control of their profession from within, promoting occupational professionalism whilst challenging aspects of organisational professionalism.

This reconstruction of theory may also support the transition into induction. Therefore, it is recommended for the university in which this research took place to consider a previous call by Pierce (2007) and find ways for preparing teachers for the realities of the classroom as they progress into Newly Qualified Teachers:

> As teacher educators, we can help preservice teachers to prepare for this transitional space in which beginners feel barely equipped for passage in to the locally-unique organization and culture of schools. (Pierce, 2007, p.47)

Whilst this research has not explored the experience of newly qualified teachers in the way that Pierce does, the organisational structures that trainee teachers found themselves in suggests that more can be done between the final stage of Initial Teacher Training and induction in order to support beginning teachers for the expectations of their first year in teaching. If through their initial teacher training, there has been opportunity to explore organisational and occupational professionalism through a co-configuring of the teaching placement, then the trainees may feel more empowered to continue reflecting and evaluating practice into their induction period. Preparing trainees better for their induction period also complements the current direction of Initial Teacher Training in England and the inspection framework for teacher training that focuses on how teachers are prepared to teach in their induction year (Carter, 2015).

7.3 Reflections on research design

When conducting interviews, the use of vignettes proved to be fruitful in eliciting a response that challenged some of the participants' views. The research was interested in the participants' experiences with organisational professionalism but it was anticipated that some ideas around teachers' target setting and decision making at a curriculum level would not be experienced first-hand. Therefore, the trainees were invited to reflect on the vignette scenario and this yielded a response that in some cases contradicted and in other cases confirmed their beliefs about teaching.

The questionnaire was afforded some validity by being based on Swann et al. (2010) and by using the same analytical approach of Factor Analysis. This may negate for some of the statistical weakness in the results. The benefit of using an established questionnaire was that the questions had been trialled before and some of the findings could be compared to the original study. For example, it is interesting to note that curriculum and assessment authority were combined in Factor Analysis component through both this research and the original research by Swann et al. (2010). However, as indicated in earlier chapters, the focus of the quantitative analysis was not to prove through a positivist approach that certain constructs of professionalism exist. Instead, it was a way of reducing the questionnaire data and offering an interpretation to the ways in which organisational professionalism may be considered. In this respect, the quantitative analysis has been able to provide additional material for discussion in light of the qualitative interview findings, and together offer an empirical insight into organisational professionalism.

It was anticipated that there may be greater differences between participants' experiences, attitudes and observations depending on their route through Initial Teacher Training due to the differing number of days spent in school and at university. However, in reality any significant distinction was not borne out. It is possible that this was because the overall research sample was fairly modest and only nineteen School Direct trainees were available for data collection. If the same research approach was adopted in a larger provider of Initial Teacher Training with more interviewees and questionnaire respondents, greater variation in results may have occurred. This is particularly noticeable within the quantitative analysis as some of the median average scores were different depending on route but with such small samples these differences cannot be generalised beyond the context. However, if these small patterns of variation were replicated within a larger sample, it could be argued more strongly that trainees conceive organisational professionalism differently depending on their training route.

Similarly, as this research is based on one Higher Education Institution, the routes, and types of entrants into teaching are limited. To an extent, researching the views of trainee teachers at the end of their training from an individual university contextualises and bounds the findings. It was of interest to explore views within this particular university as the recommendations and conclusions, whilst contributing to the wider discourse of teacher education, aim to help the institution understand the experience of teacher training within this setting. As explored in the methodology, the university pools from a particular demographic, mainly white, female school leavers. The quantitative data has to be understood within this context, whilst qualitative data derives from a more varied profile of trainee teachers. These social factors need to be taken into account as they can affect teachers' professional and personal identities:

> The performative view of teachers is to homogenise the discourse of professionalism, overlooking the influence that various social factors....have on the way in which teachers and students perform their work-related identities. (Wilkins et al., 2012, p.68)

As has been seen, performativity in education is an important component of organisational professionalism, and so the data reported reflect the experience of trainee teachers from a relatively narrow set of social factors. If this research was repeated in a metropolitan university, the outcomes may have been different based on demographics. Additionally, the teacher training programmes are designed to reflect the demography, and so it is possible that alternative university programmes could derive different outcomes.

As indicated, three teacher training routes have been included in this research. Yet at the time of data collection, there were multiple routes for teaching in England (DfE, 2014b). As MacBeath (2012, p. 68) notes, 'England has gone furthest in making education more of an open market, trying to make access easier, sidestepping the traditional requirements of a university pre-service course and opening up providing agencies to a wider entrepreneurial market'. Teachers who may have been entering the profession through these alternative routes were not researched as the thesis is bound to one particular university setting whose main source of income comes from undergraduate, postgraduate and School Direct provision. However, contextually, this is important to the research as market principles complement the aims of organisational professionalism.

The quantitative and qualitative findings could also become more relational without temporal constraints. The aims of this research was to take a snapshot of views at the end of their Initial Teacher Training period and prior to induction as a Newly Qualified Teacher. In reality, this meant that trainees were only available to complete the questionnaire and to be interviewed across a limited number of days. When arranging interviews, a number of potential participants were unwilling to meet during the summer holidays and so finding mutually convenient times at the end of their training became difficult. Ideally, it would have been useful to analyse the questionnaire data before setting the interview questions or vice versa. In this way the mixed methods may have been more strongly correlated and subsequent analysis may have yielded further results.

The issue of gaining access to participants has been a lesson learnt within this research and highlights a broader concern for research with participants in Initial Teacher Training. They spend much of their time on school placement and so it can be difficult to gain access to them when they are engaged in their teaching practice. From an ethical perspective, researching

trainees when they are on their placement would be difficult as it is important that researchers do not inconvenience their participants who prioritise passing these school placements. Similarly, it may have been useful to carry out observations of trainees in school so that their relationships with mentors could be recorded as part of the data collection. However, the potential for the Hawthorne effect to change behaviours, alongside the difficulties in gaining access would make this difficult to manage.

7.4 Future research possibilities

Future research may be conducted in order to consolidate, extend and enhance the findings detailed in this thesis.

Firstly, this research could be consolidated by repeating the design with future cohorts, taking into consideration ways to mitigate for the limitations outlined previously. Findings from future cohorts could be compared with the findings in this study to increase the quantitative significance of the questionnaire findings and provide further reliability to the qualitative aspect of the design. Future research could also involve interviewing trainee teachers at the end of alternative training programmes such as Teach First, School Centred Initial Teacher Training or Troops into Teachers. Entrants to these courses are likely to have different occupational and professional backgrounds and in the case of Teach First, may have different long term ambitions. As was the case with some trainees on the postgraduate route in the current research, occupational background seems to have some effect on how aspects of organisational professionalism, particularly those related to performance management and pay.

The research could be extended by tracking trainees through to their induction year to see how their perceptions of organisational professionalism shift over time. In this way, the research would help to understand the impact of Initial Teacher Training on the professionalism of teachers beyond their training period. By continuing to explore differences between teacher training routes, it would be useful to provide data on whether the teacher training route contributes significantly to perceptions of organisational professionalism in the long term.

As 'sources of authority' seemed to influence the professional conceptions of trainees, the research could be enhanced by hearing the voices of mentors and university tutors. It would be of benefit to observe the interactions between trainees and their mentors or university tutors to provide further validity to the claim that trainees are socialised into aspects of organisational professionalism. It would also be of use to know whether or not university tutors and mentors recognise the hierarchical, managerialist and performance-driven cultures that the trainees are working within.

7.5 Final thoughts: Entering the profession(al organisation)

This thesis has outlined how trainee teachers experience aspects of organisational professionalism and how they perceive teachers working within this framework. In this way, an argument has been made about how they are socialised into a particular form of professionalism, despite some of their attitudes and beliefs about teaching be contradictory to this. The trainees' willingness to comply with sources of authority and acceptance of performativity as part of their work suggests that the trainees may be preparing themselves to work within a particular school setting, a professional organisation working to promote organisational professionalism. However, at the time of writing this thesis, a College of Teaching is being established (College of Teaching, 2015). If this college is given an equivalent status to the royal colleges of other professions, then the way that teachers perceive the profession and take control of their work could be transformed. Whether this will result in a different type of professionalism is yet to be seen.

For now, trainee teachers continue to make sense of teaching through their training experiences and the guidance given to them by their trainers. They leave the structures and hierarchies within Initial Teacher Training and are hopefully prepared sufficiently to enter new professional organisations within their induction year. Future research that tracks the interview participants from this research into their formative years of teaching would provide a longitudinal dimension to this work. In the meantime, this thesis leaves these trainees with their child-centred values and willingness to work within a framework of organisational professionalism to provide positive learning experiences for their children. If they succeed in this, then their own conceptions of what it is to be a professional will be achieved.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview starting points

- What do you consider to be good practice when it comes to teaching and learning?
- How do you know that this is good practice? Where is the evidence for this good practice?
- Which aspects of your teacher training have contributed to you understanding good practice in teaching and learning?
- Are you aware of any relationship between performance related pay, performance management or other ways that teachers are held accountable (such as Ofsted) and how teachers make decisions about teaching and learning?
- What are your views on this?
- Have you received any training in these areas to underpin your response?
- **Consider this vignette, related to teaching and learning.**

  In order to raise standard in reading, one infant school decides to implement a phonics scheme. The phonics scheme includes prescriptive lesson plans that must be adhered to. It also includes a systematic progression of reading books that all children must read. The children are set in abilities across Reception to Year 2, resulting in some lower ability Year 1 and Year 2 children being placed in a Reception class. As the school has invested heavily in this scheme as part of their strategic plan, each teacher is given a performance management target that is 'aspirational'. 80% of all children must make better than average progress. After just 1 year of using the scheme, reading standards have risen significantly across the school.

- What is your initial response to this scenario?
- Which aspects of this scenario would you support and why?
- Which aspects of this scenario would you challenge and why?
- Are there any aspects of your training, in school or at university, that underpin your response?

Appendix 2: Interview participants

Most trainee teachers on programmes at the institution under study are identified as being white British, aged 21-30 and female. The table below shows how representative the sample were.

Name	Programme	White ethnicity?	Age	Gender
Andrea	Undergraduate	Yes	21-30	Female
Antonia	PGCE	Yes	31-40	Female
Carl	School Direct	Yes	21-30	Male
Catherine	Undergraduate	Yes	31-40	Female
Ellie	Undergraduate	Yes	21-30	Female
George	Undergraduate	No	21-30	Male
Henrietta	Undergraduate	Yes	21-30	Female
Jenny	PGCE	Yes	41-50	Female
Katie	PGCE	Yes	41-50	Female
Lucy	PGCE	Yes	21-30	Female
Natalie	PGCE	Yes	21-30	Female
Rachel	Undergraduate	Yes	21-30	Female
Steven	School Direct	Yes	21-30	Male

Totals	
Demographics	***Number***
Female trainees	10 / 13
Aged 21 – 30	9 / 13
White ethnicity	12/13

Appendix 3: Inductive Codes

Code	Description
Acknowledgement of accountability	Suggestion that teachers need to be held to account. This is part of the role of the teacher.
Acknowledgement of bureaucratic tasks	Teachers are expected to carry out bureaucratic tasks - this is part of the job.
Acknowledgement of PM system	Trainee recognises that performance management is a necessity.
Acknowledgement of standards agenda	Trainee recognises that teachers need to raise standards as part of their job.
Bureaucratic authority	The 'Teachers Standards' or other official documentation become a source of authority. Trainee teachers / teachers make decisions as a result of these documents.
Child authority	The pupil voice is important and should be listened to. Can be in a positive sense - taking on board their ideas. Can be in a negative sense - when linked with pupils' behaviour controlling the trainees' actions.
Collaboration	Suggestion that it is necessary for teachers to collaborate with each other. Suggestion that the trainee has collaborated with other trainees in order to progress their practice.
Concern for child	Expression of concern towards children's self-esteem or holistic development.
Emphasis on box ticking	Trainee refers to 'box ticking' or 'jumping through hoops' or similar as part of what they have to do on placement. Trainee may also refer to teachers engaged in similar activities.
Emphasis on core subjects	The trainee suggests that there has been an emphasis on English and Mathematics within their training, either at the university setting or at school.
External image	Suggestion that teachers / head teachers are concerned with their image. They may create a façade in order to impress / meet the expectations of others.
Financial motivation	Trainee suggests that teachers may be motivated by money and this may inform their decision making. Also, negative responses to financial motivation.
Government authority	The trainee identifies the government as being a source of authority. Reference may be made to the education secretary directly, or otherwise maybe a general sense of decisions coming from 'the top'.
Headteacher authority	The head teacher is perceived to have authority in the school, often with negative consequences. Trainee believes that the head teacher makes decisions affecting their practice on placement or puts pressure on other school staff.

Idealised child-centred practice	Trainee believes in putting each individual child at the heart of their learning: personalised learning, differentiation, enquiry based learning, progressive / non-didactic approaches to teaching and learning, creativity, pupil autonomy, pupil choice etc.
Importance of intrinsic values	Trainee suggests that they have inner motivations, values or beliefs about teaching that they have held onto / want to hold onto.
Importance of own identity	Reference to the trainees' personal identities as being important to their development (Inc. work histories, parenthood, religion etc.)
Justification by standards agenda or pupil progress	Actions / motivations justified using rhetoric linked to standards or pupil progress.
Learning from observing others	Trainee identifies that they have observed another teacher in order to progress their own understanding of teaching.
Learning from own experience and reflections	Progress in becoming a teacher has happened as a result of own experiences. Reflection on critical incidents may be integral to development.
Learning through feedback	Trainee is given feedback by mentors that has moved their practice forward.
Lesson standardisation	Trainee suggests that they have had to adopt a particular pedagogic approach within their teaching.
Mastering the craft of teaching	Trainee refers to teaching in a craft-like way - a practice that they must master through their Initial Teacher Training.
Necessity to conform	Trainee suggests that they, or their teacher, need to conform to the expectations of 'another'.
Ofsted authority	Trainee identifying Ofsted as influencing practice in school and / or how people (Inc. parents) perceive teachers and the schools they work in. Head teachers and teachers may refer to Ofsted, reinforcing their authority / status. Practice may be rationalised as a result of Ofsted.
Ownership of planning	Suggestion that it is necessary for teachers / trainees to complete their own planning so that they are confident in delivering it.
Perceived limitations of PM system	Trainee identifies limitations / challenges within performance management system or the way that teachers are held to account.
Priorities in practice	It may be necessary to prioritise on placement. Teachers may need to prioritise their work.
Retrospective application of theory	Trainee suggests that theory has been applied to practice after the placement / experience and not as part of planning for teaching and learning.
SATs pedagogy	Trainee observes / is instructed into a particular teaching method for raising the outcome of SATs tests. 'Teaching to the test'.
School authority	Trainee identifying the school as a source for directing their practice. The 'school' maybe ambiguous, including head teacher, mentors or a general school ethos but individual 'names' are not mentioned.

Schools should reflect the workplace	Acknowledgement that private-sector jobs have systems in place that should be replicated in the primary education sector.
Seeing the 'big picture'	Trainee recognises that teachers have to see a bigger picture than what is presently facing them.
Socially constructed view of PM	Performance management is understood as a result of staffroom / social interactions. Ideas may be exaggerated or misunderstood as a result of this.
Subject-specific pedagogy	Certain subjects need particular teaching methods.
Teacher CPD	Reference to teachers needing ongoing CPD / lesson learnt from teacher CPD events on school practice.
Teachers are not all the same	Suggestion that teachers are different in their personality / approach with children.
Teachers constantly responding to their children	Trainee suggests that teaching is a dynamic process in which teachers have to constantly respond to the needs of their children. As such, it should not be formulaic.
Teachers under pressure	Suggestion that teachers are put under pressure by those in power or by parents.
Teachers will go the 'extra mile'	Teachers putting in extra time and effort is part of the role of the teacher.
Theoretical authority	Trainee suggests that theory is important and should be observed. 'Theory' may be used loosely to suggest teaching practice.
Time-consuming	Teaching is a time-consuming exercise. It is necessary to work long hours in order to get the job done.
Trainee autonomy	Autonomy is referred to as being important either in training or as a future goal.
Trusted professional	Trainee suggests that teachers should be trusted as professionals. Also, suggestion that teachers are not trusted as professionals.
University authority	The university is a source of authority. Trainees feel as if they have to comply with the messages given out by university tutors. This could be because they see tutors as being knowledgeable or it could be that the content of modules fits in with their previous beliefs about teaching. The university is a place of theory and this theory contributes to an understanding of idealised child-centred practice.

Appendix 4: Survey used by Swann et al. (2010)

6 Here are some statements made by teachers about their profession. Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to *your own sense* of teaching as a profession.

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
1	Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	❑1	❑2	❑3	❑4	❑5
2	More emphasis should be placed on the process of learning	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
3	Effective teaching involves collaborating with parents as equal partners	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
4	It is important for teachers to address individual learning needs	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
5	Teachers must always be ready to learn new classroom methods	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
6	It is important for teachers to be creative	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
7	Continuing Professional Development is essential	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
8	Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
9	Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
10	Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
11	The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
12	Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
13	Teachers should develop working relationships with the local community	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
14	Teachers must be able to manage a complex learning environment	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
15	High quality teaching involves collaborating effectively with members of other professions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
16	Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
17	It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
18	There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

19	Being involved in research is an important activity for teachers	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
20	Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
21	**Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
22	**A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
23	**The teaching profession should take into account the views of pupils**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
24	**External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
25	**Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
26	**An influential and independent professional organisation for all teachers is desirable**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
27	**Teachers should be responsible for directing and supervising support in the classroom**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
28	**Teachers should have a shared specialist language for talking about teaching and learning**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
29	**Being trusted by the public is important for teachers**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
30	**Managing administrative staff is part of the teacher's role**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
31	**Being trusted by the government is important for teachers**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
32	**Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
33	**Good teachers evaluate their practice and learn from this**	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Teacher professionalism section of the Teacher Status Questionnaire for teachers as used in the Teacher Status Project in 2003 and 2006. This section was developed by Dr Mandy Swann, then Dr Mandy Maddock.

It is reported in Swann, M., McIntyre, D., Pell, T., Hargreaves, L., & Cunningham. M. (2010) Teachers conceptions of teacher professionalism in England in 2003 and 2006. British Educational Research Journal, 36(4), pp. 549 – 571.

My thanks go to Mandy Swann for sending this original questionnaire.

Appendix 5: Questionnaire

Before completing the questionnaire, please indicate that you agree with the following statements.	
I have read and understood the information sheet (date) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	❑
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected	❑
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study	❑

Here are some statements made by teachers about their profession. Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to *your own sense* of teaching as a profession.

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
34	Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
35	Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
36	Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
37	It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
38	It is important for teachers to be creative	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
39	Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
40	Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
41	Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
42	The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
43	Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
44	Being trusted by the public is important for teachers	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
45	Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

46	Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
47	A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
48	External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
49	Being trusted by the government is important for teachers	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
50	Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
51	There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Here are some statements about teacher training. Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to *your own sense* of teaching as a profession.

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
52	Trainee teachers that cannot pass the government's Skills Tests should not be allowed to teach.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
53	It is important that all trainee teachers follow the same teaching standards.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
54	When teaching in school, it is important to apply aspects of educational theory.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
55	Trainee teachers should receive most of their training in English and Maths.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
56	Trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (such as policy- making).	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
57	Trainee teachers that have clear personal targets are more likely to improve in their teaching practice.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
58	Trainee teachers should always follow their class teacher's planning even if it is not perceived to be very strong.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
59	Weekly review meetings are important for progressing as a trainee teacher.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
60	Further money / resources should be spent on training teachers that cannot pass their observations.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
61	If a formula for a good lesson works, this should always be followed.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
62	Financing the training of a poor-performing trainee is not a good way to spend money.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

63	Teachers should be trained to teach using similar methods / strategies	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
64	Ofsted accredited 'Outstanding' teacher training providers should train the majority of teachers.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
65	Trainee teachers should be observed in mainly English and Maths. .	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
66	If a school uses formalised lesson plans, trainee teachers should not stray from these.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
67	Trainee teachers mainly plan for purposes other than their children (i.e. trainee teachers plan to demonstrate the competency to pass).	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
68	When being observed, trainee teachers are more likely to plan to use strategies or methods that their mentor / tutor want to see.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Here are some statements about teachers accountability and regulation. Please tick a box to show the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement according to *your own sense* of teaching as a profession.

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree
69	The findings and views of Ofsted should be valued as part of improving teaching practice.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
70	It is necessary to focus teaching mainly on pupils that need extra support to pass tests.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
71	Performance related pay helps to improve teacher standards.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
72	Children should be at school longer days if they are underperforming to help them make progress.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
73	It is a necessary part of Year 6 teachers' jobs to prepare children for Year 6 tests.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
74	Teachers mainly plan for purposes other than for the sake of their children (ie. Teachers mainly plan for Ofsted or because their head teacher has asked them to).	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
75	School inspection is an unnecessary method of holding schools to account.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
76	Performance related pay is a key motivation for succeeding as a teacher.	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you have any questions, please contact Glenn Stone: g.stone@chi.ac.uk

Appendix 6: Pattern matrix showing loadings for each component

Pattern Matrix

	Component						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Performance related pay helps to improve teacher standards.	.864						
Performance related pay is a key motivation for succeeding as a teacher.	.824						
It is a necessary part of Year 6 teachers' jobs to prepare children for Year 6 tests.	.497						
It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	.468						
School inspection is an unnecessary method of holding schools to account.							
A competitive ethos strengthens professional practice							
Trainee teachers mainly plan for purposes other than their children (i.e. trainee teachers plan to demonstrate the competency to pass).		.780					
When being observed, trainee teachers are more likely to plan to use strategies or methods that their mentor / tutor want to see.		.647					
Teachers mainly plan for purposes other than for the sake of their children (ie. Teachers mainly plan for Ofsted or because their head teacher has asked them to).		.519					
Trainee teachers should always follow their class teacher's planning even if it is not perceived to be very strong.		.464					
Trainee teachers that cannot pass the government's Skills Tests should not be allowed to teach.							
It is necessary to focus teaching mainly on pupils that need extra support to pass tests.							
It is important for teachers to be creative			.651				

Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them			.576					
There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment			.560					
Trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (such as policy- making).			.443					
When teaching in school, it is important to apply aspects of educational theory.			.434					
Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies			.428					
Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher			.411					
Being trusted by the government is important for teachers				.744				
Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching				.574				
Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools				.495				
If a formula for a good lesson works, this should always be followed.				.434				
Being trusted by the public is important for teachers				.408				
Teachers need to use their own professional judgement to manage unpredictable working conditions								
Pastoral care is of less importance than pupil performance								
Trainee teachers should be observed in mainly English and Maths. .					.791			
Trainee teachers should receive most of their training in English and Maths.					.640			
Teachers should be trained to teach using similar methods / strategies								
The findings and views of Ofsted should be valued as part of improving teaching practice.								
Weekly review meetings are important for progressing as a trainee teacher.								

If a school uses formalised lesson plans, trainee teachers should not stray from these.							
Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism						.805	
Central control of assessment undermines professionalism						.745	
Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum						.458	
External monitoring is important in order to maintain high standards in the profession							
Financing the training of a poor-performing trainee is not a good way to spend money.							-.764
Further money / resources should be spent on training teachers that cannot pass their observations.							.746
The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment							.655
Children should be at school longer days if they are underperforming to help them make progress.							
It is important that all trainee teachers follow the same teaching standards.							
Trainee teachers that have clear personal targets are more likely to improve in their teaching practice.							
Ofsted accredited 'Outstanding' teacher training providers should train the majority of teachers.							

Appendix 7: Descriptive statistics

Component 1: Performance, pay and pedagogy (descriptive statistics)

Performance related pay helps to improve teacher standards.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.58
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	2.64
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	2.50
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
Performance related pay is a key motivation for succeeding as a teacher.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.45
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	2.32
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	2.21
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	2

It is a necessary part of Year 6 teachers' jobs to prepare children for Year 6 tests.	Undergraduate	Mean	3.86
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
	PGCE	Mean	3.85
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	0
	School Direct	Mean	3.86
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
It is important to have financial rewards for demonstrated expertise	Undergraduate	Mean	3.29
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	3.51
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.50
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1

Component 2: Keeping up appearances (descriptive statistics)

Trainee teachers mainly plan for purposes other than their children (i.e. trainee teachers plan to demonstrate the competency to pass).	Undergraduate	Mean	3.20
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	3.08
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	School Direct	Mean	3.36
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
When being observed, trainee teachers are more likely to plan to use strategies or methods that their mentor / tutor want to see.	Undergraduate	Mean	4.14
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.02
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.71
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1

Teachers mainly plan for purposes other than for the sake of their children (ie. Teachers mainly plan for Ofsted or because their head teacher has asked them to).	Undergraduate	Mean	2.99
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	2.71
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	School Direct	Mean	3.14
		Median	3.50
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	2
Trainee teachers should always follow their class teacher's planning even if it is not perceived to be very strong.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.12
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
	PGCE	Mean	2.10
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
	School Direct	Mean	1.79
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	3
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1

Component 3: Teachers' expertise in progressing their work (descriptive statistics)

It is important for teachers to be creative	Undergraduate	Mean	4.75
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.58
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.64
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1
Teachers need to make judgements in the best interests of individual pupils, as they see them	Undergraduate	Mean	4.57
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.37
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.57
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1

There are many other desirable goals for teachers' work as well as high pupil attainment	Undergraduate	Mean	4.71
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.49
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.36
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1
Trainee teachers should be involved in schools' decision making (such as policy-making).	Undergraduate	Mean	3.30
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	3.32
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.57
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
When teaching in school, it is important to apply aspects of educational theory.	Undergraduate	Mean	3.87
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5

		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
	PGCE	Mean	3.61
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.86
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
Teachers should use a broad range of teaching strategies	Undergraduate	Mean	4.80
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	0
	PGCE	Mean	4.64
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.93
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	0

Personal integrity is an important aspect of being a teacher	Undergraduate	Mean	4.28
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.31
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.50
		Median	4.50
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1

Component 4: Professional unity (descriptive statistics)

Being trusted by the government is important for teachers	Undergraduate	Mean	4.14
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.00
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	2
	School Direct	Mean	4.07
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3

		Interquartile Range	1
Collaboration with other teachers is essential for good teaching	Undergraduate	Mean	4.69
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.58
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.79
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	0
Teachers value the opportunity to share ideas with teachers at other schools	Undergraduate	Mean	4.17
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.19
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.36
		Median	4.50
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
If a formula for a good lesson works, this should always be followed.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.36
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4

		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	2.15
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	0
	School Direct	Mean	2.14
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
Being trusted by the public is important for teachers	Undergraduate	Mean	4.39
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.34
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.71
		Median	5.00
		Minimum	4
		Maximum	5
		Range	1
		Interquartile Range	1

Component 5: Emphasis on English and Maths (descriptive statistics)

Trainee teachers should be observed in mainly English and Maths. .	Undergraduate	Mean	2.30
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	2.39
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	2.29
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	4
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	0
Trainee teachers should receive most of their training in English and Maths.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.40
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	2.78
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	School Direct	Mean	2.50
		Median	2.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	4
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1

Component 6: Curriculum and assessment autonomy (descriptive statistics)

Central control of the curriculum undermines professionalism	Undergraduate	Mean	3.40
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	3.41
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	2.93
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	4
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
Central control of assessment undermines professionalism	Undergraduate	Mean	3.39
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	3.39
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.36
		Median	3.50
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5
		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	1

Teachers need to have authority in matters of the curriculum	Undergraduate	Mean	4.33
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	1
	PGCE	Mean	4.24
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	4.07
		Median	4.00
		Minimum	3
		Maximum	5
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	0

Component 7: Investment in standards (descriptive statistics)

Financing the training of a poor-performing trainee is not a good way to spend money.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.90
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	3.29
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	3.21
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	5

		Range	3
		Interquartile Range	2

Further money / resources should be spent on training teachers that cannot pass their observations.	Undergraduate	Mean	2.87
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	2.80
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	School Direct	Mean	2.79
		Median	2.50
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
The primary focus for teachers should be on raising standards of pupil attainment	Undergraduate	Mean	3.00
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	2
	PGCE	Mean	3.27
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	1
		Maximum	5
		Range	4
		Interquartile Range	1
	School Direct	Mean	2.86
		Median	3.00
		Minimum	2
		Maximum	4
		Range	2
		Interquartile Range	2