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**PROFESSIONALISM AND AUTONOMY: THE CASE OF
TEACHERS' IN-SERVICE TRAINING 1988-92**

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CDT	Craft, Design and Technology
DES	Department of Education and Science
DFE	Department for Education
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment
ERA	Educational Reform Act (1988)
ESG	Education Support Grant
GEST	Grants for Education Support and Training
GRIDS	Guided Review for Internal Development in Schools
GRIST	Grant-Related In-Service Training
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools
INSET	In-Service Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEATGS	Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme
LINC	Language in the Curriculum Project
LMS	Local Management of Schools
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
ROA	Records of Achievement
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
TRIST	TVEI-Related In-Service Training

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DECLARATION

This thesis draws as follows on the following published material, all of which has been revised for present purposes:

Galloway, S. (1993) 'Being an INSET Coordinator' in Burgess, R. G., Connor, J., Galloway, S., Morrison, M. and Newton, M. *Implementing In-Service Education and Training*, Lewes, Falmer Press, pp. 51-70.

(Chapters 2 and 6)

Galloway, S. (1993) 'Identifying INSET Needs' in Burgess, R.G., Connor, J., Galloway, S., Morrison, M. and Newton, M. *Implementing In-Service Education and Training* Lewes, Falmer Press, pp. 88-112.

(Chapters 2 and 6)

Galloway, S. (1993) 'Continuity and Progression: The Case of Cross-Phase INSET' in Burgess, R. G., Connor, J., Galloway, S., Morrison, M. and Newton, M. *Implementing In-Service Education and Training* Lewes, Falmer Press, pp. 147-167.

(Chapter 7)

SUMMARY

This thesis provides a sociological analysis of the in-service training (INSET) of teachers in England between 1988 and 1992, to explore issues concerning the professionalism and autonomy of teachers. Sociologists of education have produced numerous explanations of educational phenomena, and evaluation studies reveal much about INSET. Yet there remains the task of developing sociological explanations in this field. As an especially dynamic phase, the period designated merits detailed study.

Teachers' professional development is conceptualized in three ways: in relation to change in the education system, to the place of teaching as a profession, and in terms of professional learning. National INSET schemes implicitly threatened teacher autonomy, yet professionalism could be redefined at the micro- level, and this study therefore addresses macro- and micro-sociological issues. The empirical research concentrates with increasing intensity on school-focused INSET experiences, through data from documentary sources, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.

Chapter 1 explains the rationale for the investigation and demarcates the field of study. Chapter 2 outlines the background to the Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme and similar initiatives. Chapter 3 sets out the sociological basis for the analysis of INSET phenomena. Methodological issues are addressed in Chapter 4, including the choice of case studies, the challenges of re-analyzing data and the criteria for selecting cases.

The analysis presents a macro-sociological perspective in Chapter 5, then examines how national and LEA priorities are implemented in schools in Chapter 6. Micro- level case studies explore specific aspects of INSET: across different phases in Chapter 7 and on using information technology in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 investigates INSET for art. Chapter 10 summarizes the ways this thesis contributes to knowledge about the professionalism and autonomy of teachers through the study of INSET during a critical period. It reviews the application of the theoretical approach and points to areas for further research.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

What are the structures, processes and experiences pertaining to teachers' professional development that might stimulate the 'sociological imagination'? What training themes and issues merit critical analysis?

The professionalism and autonomy of highly qualified occupational groups have received much attention from sociologists. Among these professions, that of teaching has itself featured in studies such as Etzioni (1969) and Leggatt (1970). However the in-service training and professional development of teachers has attracted little interest, perhaps because sociologists have been preoccupied by issues of equity in the system, pupil experience and the school curriculum. Nevertheless, teachers' professional development deserves study.

Between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s a national system of in-service training was introduced in England and Wales which established new obligations and new opportunities for school-focused professional development activity. The most dynamic phase of implementation occurred between 1988 and 1992, and was concurrent with changes resulting from the 1988 Education Reform Act and the introduction of the National Curriculum. During these years a series of national schemes for professional development was put in place in rapid succession.

Other professional occupations experienced comparable pressures in the late 1980s and 1990s and had to adjust to new relationships between employers, employees and clients or customers. What is now generally termed continuing professional development (CPD) has been playing a part in the reformation of the law, engineering, medicine, nursing and many other fields (Watkins, Drury and Bray, 1996; Allaker and Shapland, 1994). This includes some of the 'status-hungry' newer

professions which are still in the process of establishing themselves (Marquand, 1997, p.144). What happened in teaching in the late 1980s was not at odds with societal trends, although it predated developments in most of these other professional groups.

This thesis will argue that the professionalism and autonomy of teachers is an important matter which warrants further sociological investigation; secondly, that our understanding of it can be developed by focusing on teachers' professional development during a clearly defined period of unprecedented educational change; thirdly, that it is worth pursuing specifically sociological explanations about why and how teachers' in-service training (INSET) developed as it did, and finally, that this field of study requires research which encompasses different levels, from the most macro- through to the very micro-sociological level. To do this, I have had to develop an appropriate theoretical framework which draws on various aspects of existing sociological theory. That theoretical journey will be summarised later in this chapter.

The present chapter introduces the topic under investigation and explains why it is significant. It indicates why the period selected for study is especially important, and outlines how the phenomena under investigation call for theories which will relate them to the education system and changes within it, to the position of teaching as a profession, and to ideas about professional learning. The thesis has also faced methodological challenges concerning how the data were collected and used, and how the development of theory progressed alongside the practice of the research. A biographical note summarises these features. This chapter ends with an outline of the thesis noting how the sequential focusing permits sociological explorations centred on teachers' professionalism and autonomy to begin at the macro-level of directives from

the then DES, but progress gradually to reach the individual teacher, the agent through which the policies embedded in national structures are implemented.

WHY STUDY INSET AND TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT?

The intrinsic importance of teachers' professional development derives, first, from the fact that the teaching force occupies an unequalled position in the construction and reconstruction of societal patterns: teachers are the recipients of training, and may 'inherit' its assumptions (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1964), but they are also the agents through which the system replicates itself and through whom national directives are implemented. The value of that task in the wider society is neatly put by Nixon *et al.*:

The keen interest which governments have taken in the service reflects their understanding of the significance of education for the social order as well as economic development. What young people learn shapes their understanding of themselves, their capacities, and the way they will relate to others. To shape education is to seek to shape how a generation grows up and to control the distribution of the goods which flow from the structuring of capacities.

Nixon, Martin, McKeown and Ranson, 1996, p.36

Teachers implement government directives or, alternatively, may divert, redefine or resist them, and the thesis investigates how some localised interpretations of a training priority defined at national or LEA level can result in markedly different events, experiences and outcomes.

Secondly, in educational change and development, the continuing professional development of teachers plays an essential role, especially in enabling staff to acquire skills which were not part of any previous education or training. Thirdly, teachers' professional development has also had to play an apparently remedial role. Two conflicting images persist: that of INSET as a process which helps people move

forward in a developmental way, and at the other extreme, of INSET as a means of rectifying deficiencies which have held them back.

A sociological exploration of teachers' professional development can therefore expose the nature of the education system, by revealing policy priorities and structural relationships, and the state of the teaching profession, by revealing the preoccupations and concerns of teachers. In addition, it necessarily looks outward to other societal pressures, which shape this continuing education and are at the same time shaped by it. That critical and symbiotic relationship with contemporary trends among other social movements and groups makes this a field which justifies further study.

Finally, the INSET *curriculum* can be compared with the school curriculum in that both are essentially problematic. Many assumptions underlie, for instance, the use of the term 'deliver the curriculum'. In the late 1980s, material from the former Department of Education and Science concerning the National Curriculum commonly referred to 'delivering the curriculum'. Local Authority circulars of the period used it. LEA INSET handbooks, source-books, commentaries and research reports tended to adopt the same terminology. Indeed it is difficult for writers in this field to avoid doing so given the prevalence of the term.

Nevertheless, a critical analysis of the term in relation to INSET, its origins, assumptions and use leads to questions similar to those which sociologists of education traditionally posed about the school curriculum: what is its rationale? What forms does it take? Who defines the curriculum? So also with 'delivery': does the word oversimplify a complex educational process? Can teaching and learning be adequately represented by such terminology? Does the term imply managerial and mechanistic understandings of what teachers do? Treating as problematic what had formerly been taken for granted shed new light on the school curriculum. For similar

reasons, the infrastructure and content of teachers' in-service training warrants attention. This will involve the study of both national policy and school-focused professional development: it entails going beyond comparisons of 'policy and practice' or 'rhetoric and reality'

DEMARCATING THE PERIOD OF STUDY

The thesis focuses on the period 1988-1992 because it was in these years that the expansion, codification and elaboration of INSET in England and Wales reached its peak, during a time of extreme and fundamental change in the education system. A stressful transformation was in progress affecting every aspect of how schools were managed, and of teachers' professional lives, extending to control of the curriculum itself. This delimitation of the study in terms of time was necessary so that sufficient attention could be given to the data at different levels during a particularly fast-moving period of educational change. This is akin to the anthropologist's procedures for demarcating a field of study:

When an anthropologist circumscribes his field, he cuts off a manageable field of reality from the total flow of events, by putting boundaries round it both in terms of what is relevant to his problems, and in terms of how and where he can apply his techniques of observation and analysis.

Devons and Gluckman, 1964, cited in Burgess, 1982, p.19.

1988 as the starting point

Whilst this thesis makes the period 1988-1992 its 'manageable field of reality', it is undoubtedly the case that prior to 1944 some teachers engaged in what would now be termed professional development activities, and that between 1944 and 1988 in-service education and training diversified and became more widespread. Yet these opportunities did not constitute a mass system of professional development emanating from the DES (or its equivalent) and applicable to every schoolteacher. Only in the

late 1980s was such a system put in place. Circular 6/86 was the precursor of the formalised arrangements for INSET which, after Circular 9/87, took effect in the financial year beginning April 1988.

Moreover the new definition of the working year in the Schoolteachers' Pay and Conditions Act (DES 1987) meant that from 1988 a teacher employed full-time in a maintained school was to be available for work on 195 days of the year, of which five would be non-pupil days, when activities would be specified by the employer or headteacher. In this way, every teacher without exception would undertake some form of professional development on five days annually. Attendance at traditional external courses continued, but was increasingly balanced by a proliferation of school-focused INSET, often also school-based INSET (where events were located in the school and drew on input from teaching staff rather than external INSET providers).

In July 1988 the Education Reform Act completely changed the balance of power between the DES and local education authorities, giving the Secretary of State unprecedented control over education. A centrally determined National Curriculum was introduced with obligatory testing and assessment of pupils at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16. These measures would have major INSET consequences as teachers mastered the subject-specific National Curriculum and also the new assessment procedures. Late in 1987 the Task Group on Assessment and Testing had devised a basis for 'standard assessment tasks' designed to provide a diagnostic and formative assessment within regular class teaching situations. The Government's response in 1988 was to replace this by conventional testing procedures and to open the way to publication of age 7 test results as well as those for older pupils.

National Curriculum subject working groups for mathematics and science were set up in 1987, and for English in 1988. These three groups published their final reports in 1988 and the last orders (for art, music and physical education) were published in 1992. By then the orders for mathematics and science had already been revised in 1991. Coining a new piece of jargon, the 'unit of implementation', Watkins (1993, p.73) estimated that by July 1992, thirty-two units had been completed, meaning that almost one-third of the National Curriculum was in place. Early attempts to respond to consultations, to become familiar with the programmes of study and to train to teach subjects within the National Curriculum framework occupied teachers' thinking, along with INSET for associated testing procedures.

Compulsory INSET also meant that teachers were forming their views about the emerging national system of professional development, intended to support them as they implemented these educational reforms. Some were rethinking their views about the status of teaching as a profession; in such turbulent times, ideas about what constitutes professional learning, and what exactly the practice of teaching entails, were under scrutiny. Some of this will be apparent in the case studies presented later in this thesis. For the reasons given above, 1988 is the starting point of my detailed analysis. The empirical data were collected between November 1988 and May 1990.

1992 as the end point of the study

By 1992, 'centrally defined criteria for funding, curricula, assessment and access constitute the legislative framework within which schools are required to function' (Wallace, 1992, p.159). By this date, the education system and the working context of teachers' professional lives had altered markedly from what it had been prior to the Education Reform Act. INSET was not the only area where planning had

burgeoned. School Development Plans were in place, often on a three-year cycle. Appraisal, introduced in some schools in the mid-1980s, was being implemented more widely, with divergent purposes and styles (Wilby, 1986). National Curriculum Development Plans were required from schools for LEA bids to the DES. Teachers had adapted to subject-specific National Curriculum programmes of study, had lived through sometimes substantial revisions of certain subjects and were addressing testing procedures. Opposition to the publication of SATs results for seven-year-olds grew and teacher morale had plummeted, not least because of what Ball (1990) termed the government's 'discourses of derision'.

By 1992 also, different responses were emerging to National Curriculum documentation. These responses varied between schools, even between one department and another. Bowe and Ball, writing in 1992, noted how teachers might accept national directives without question or might alternatively interpret them for their own ends, explaining this in terms of how far a document was 'readerly' or 'writerly'. Their explanation derives from Barthes' distinction between the types of response which readers can have to a text. A 'writerly' text allows the reader to give individual interpretation to the document. A 'readerly' text offers little opportunity for creative interpretation. However it is neither the text alone, nor the reader in isolation which determines this distinction; it is the interaction between the policy statement and the reader's response which is critical. This explanation emphasises the element of personal decision which each teacher brought to the experience of getting to grips with National Curriculum documents during these early years of its implementation.

Lawton's 1992 address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science demarcates a period similar to that selected for study in the thesis:

In discussing the national curriculum, we are really talking about a very brief period: from Kenneth Baker's 'North of England Speech' in January 1987 to 1992- less than six years: a short time in education, but a very long time in politics. I keep stressing the time factor because it is such an important part of the analysis of implementation.

Lawton, 1993, p.63.

This observation emphasises the rapidity of the pace with which the National Curriculum was being introduced between 1987/88 and 1992.

Alongside strictures on the curriculum and assessment, the Education Reform Act (1988) 'had an in-built instability' (Bolton, 1993, p.6): it legislated for open access, whereby all schools able to establish themselves as 'successful' institutions in the educational 'market' would attract pupils and prosper, whilst less fortunately-located, and/or less well managed schools would find it hard to survive. Competition intensified. Local Management of Schools (LMS) now placed decisions about school finances with the institution rather than with the LEA. Most of the imposed measures were perceived as threats to professional autonomy, even when the political rhetoric spoke of devolving powers and responsibilities to teachers (and parents). The manner of their introduction merely exacerbated the tensions attendant on such major change. Later chapters trace some ways in which such system-wide changes in education and the management of schools affected INSET, in areas such as the allocation of budgets and in terms of attitude and morale. One effect however was that expertise was building up in professional development activities. More sophisticated approaches had developed by 1993:

The notion of the professional as someone who should be licensed to define his/her own needs, to find his/her own ways of meeting these in the interests of the children at school, to plan, teach, evaluate largely in private, is being examined and challenged. While this represents a threat to the old order, it provides also an opportunity to establish a new one. Increased devolution of decision-making, albeit within a framework of centrally held values, presents a new potential power for teachers to assert not only their responsibilities but also their entitlements.

Day, 1993, p.87

1992 is the end date for this study for other reasons. The early training schemes, TVEI-related In-Service Training (TRIST), Grant-related In-Service Training (GRIST), then the Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme (LEATGS) and the Educational Support Grant (ESG)) would be superseded by Grants for Educational Support and Training (GEST) in 1991-92. This incorporated both the LEATG Scheme and the ESG scheme, following a 1990 review by the Prime Minister's Office. The introduction of GEST also reduced the ability of an LEA to determine INSET priorities.

LEAs had, to varying degrees, funded accredited courses and masters' degrees for particular individuals or groups of teachers through the national 'pool' system. This was replaced by a mass INSET training system within a centrally controlled education system dominated by assessment and testing, and by the need for schools to survive in market conditions. The Government's 1992 White Paper '*Choice and Diversity*' 'signalled the prospect of increased privatisation of local INSET services to schools' (Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.13). It was some months before these changes would be fully felt by staff in schools, but in-service education and training was being substantially reformed between 1988 and 1992, in line with so many other aspects of the education system. And INSET reflected not only changed management structures but also changing conceptions of learning during this period, as a review of reform agendas noted:

Although there is the semblance of continuity between 1988 and 1992 there is actually a fundamental shift of policy... What was emerging fitfully but surely from speeches, announcements and reviews was a different conception of learning: a move away from an emphasis upon progression in understanding, skills and capacity that took into account the needs of the child as a whole person as well as the requirements of learning through the National Curriculum.

Nixon *et al.*, 1996, p.3-4

In the spring of 1993 events moved into a new phase: poor morale and innovation overload provoked a boycott of English tests for 14-year-olds. In belated recognition of a crisis, the Dearing Committee was set up to review the National Curriculum and its Assessment.

All these features of the period 1988-1992 make it a particularly revealing time for study and one around which it is realistic to 'set boundaries' for the purpose of this thesis. The temptation to extend the period back in time (or forwards to the mid-1990s) has been resisted. That is an undertaking for the historian:

We again state emphatically that there is a duty of abstention, which requires that if we are to solve certain problems we have to abstain from studying other, though apparently related, problems, and leave these to our colleagues, whether in the same or in some other discipline. In research, as in other activities, gluttony can choke one. Properly applied, the duty of abstention involves a rule of disciplined refusal to trespass on the fields of others.

Devons and Gluckman, 1964, cited in Burgess, 1982, p.21.

This thesis as a whole is not a history of INSET: it is a sociological study of an under-researched area of professional development and educational change at a particularly critical time.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL RATIONALE ADOPTED

Having argued the case for the importance of the subject matter of the thesis, in terms of its substantive focus and period of empirical analysis, what sociological approach has been adopted and why?

Sociological study has fruitfully explored many areas of educational activity such as schooling systems and theories of reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980) as well as pupil experience and the equity and equality of access and outcome (Delamont, 1976; Woods, 1979; Deem, 1980; Pollard, 1985; Acker, 1994). Focusing on the curriculum, Keddie (1977) and Young (1977)

gave centre stage to its content and to definitions of knowledge. Ethnographers made powerful contributions to understanding social structures and processes (King, 1978; Burgess, 1983), or to specific areas such as differentiation-polarisation theory (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970, and Ball, 1981). These studies tend to put the spotlight on classroom processes and school cultures.

Those who turned to the teachers' professional role often addressed it as work, targeting their empirical investigations and theoretical analyses on classroom situations and the daily experience of teachers, or producing political analyses (Lortie, 1975; Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Barton and Walker, 1981; Connell, 1985). With all these urgent themes, it is understandable that until recent years the professional development of teachers drew sparse comment, especially at a time when professional development was not a key element of the policy debate and when not all teachers were obliged to engage in such activities. Nonetheless, there is an extensive literature on INSET and professional development which will be drawn upon in the thesis. A characteristic of this is that it tends not to use a sociological approach, one reason being that much of the research on INSET was conducted within the context of evaluation projects aimed at educational improvement.

To develop a sociological analysis the thesis takes conceptual tools from existing theories and from adjacent substantive fields. It employs this framework to analyse macro- and micro-sociological processes evident in school-focused INSET. By juxtaposing theories which have not previously been used in this way, the thesis identifies fresh directions for theoretical development. It does not synthesise the diverse theoretical perspectives, but rather explores how, in a complementary way, each can reveal telling features of professional development.

There are principally three substantive areas of the analysis which need theoretical impetus: they concern

- the evolution of the education system,
- teaching as a profession, and
- teachers' professional development.

Corresponding to these three areas, the thesis proposes three theoretical perspectives.

The first two are avowedly Weberian in approach and the third is essentially Weberian in its conception of organisations and of the social and economic context within which professional development takes place. The aim is not to test existing theory in any absolute sense, but to develop from it ways of conceptualising INSET which will lead to better sociological explanations for the structures and processes associated with teachers' professionalism and professional development.

The biographical commentary which follows will highlight the importance which I attach to addressing both macro- and micro-sociological issues. Shilling (1992, p.70) notes that research in the sociology of education has typically addressed 'either large-scale structural processes and policies, or small-scale individual interaction patterns', and argues that substantial theoretical advances will depend on a 'reconciliation' of the structure-agency dualism. Shilling's route to 'reconciliation' is via structuration theory (Giddens, 1984). In considering INSET between 1988 and 1992, I have chosen a route which draws on different perspectives, but in this thesis I see the analysis of macro-sociological elements as equally important to that of micro-level case studies.

INSET and systemic change

The first perspective aims at understanding macro-sociological factors which influenced why and how the national INSET system was created during the period of study. The principal theoretical contribution here stems from Archer (1979), which gives routes for the analysis of the national system and also points to the importance of the relationship between structure and agency. To help make specific links between this and the micro- level of analysis, a schematic categorisation of training activities devised by Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985) is introduced.

INSET and the teaching ‘profession’

The second sociological perspective derives from the sociology of the professions, particularly the work of Larson (1977), whose conceptual model of the professional project was further developed by Macdonald (1995). This line of analysis focuses on the development of a profession, asking how an occupational group succeeds in establishing and maintaining its right to recognition as a ‘profession’. I reformulate their question to consider what part the professional development of teachers plays in the development and maintenance of professional status: how does CPD relate to the professional project? This exercise reminds us that the processes under scrutiny are not exclusive to teaching because some of the evidence fits certain generic patterns more widely identifiable in other professions.

INSET as professional learning

The third perspective concerns professional learning and professional development drawing especially on the work of Schön (1983 and 1987), to explore how, at a micro-sociological level, local INSET activities facilitate reflective learning and development among practising teachers. This conceptual route uses ideas about

reflection on practice, addressing different aspects of professionalism and autonomy from those originating from the first two theoretical approaches.

These diverse approaches share certain Weberian influences. Though he did not develop a full systematic treatment of education, Weber's writings in other areas of sociology (Gerth and Wright Mills (Eds), 1946; Weber, 1968), ranging across cultures and over time, have stimulated many studies of educational systems and processes by offering 'ways of studying and thereby explaining the nature of society' (King, 1983, p.13). His discussion of bureaucratisation, his typology of types of social action, his work on class groups and status group relationships, and on domination or authority are some of the most relevant themes for sociologists interested in education, as is his aim to 'explain how one set of conditions of social structure and culture could set limits to the possible changes which could emerge out of them' (Cohen, 1969, p.218). For my present purposes the interpretive impetus is crucial:

Weber's unique approach combined the study of the macro-school organization with an interpretive view of who or what brings about a situation and how we interpret or define these situations

Ballantine, 1983, p.9

The three perspectives relevant to this thesis each draw in some way on elements of Weber's work, especially in seeking a balance between structural and interactionist elements. Archer put this as follows:

An adequate sociology of education must incorporate statements about the structural conditioning of educational interaction and about the influence of independent action on educational settings. Weber's analysis which gave equal emphasis to the limitations that social structures impose on interaction and to the opportunity for innovatory action presented by the instability of such structures is the prototype of this theoretical approach. The kind of macro-sociology advocated here is seen as following the mainstream of the Weberian tradition.

Archer, 1979, p.5

From the sociology of the professions, Macdonald sees the Weberian aspects of Larson's work, and the origins of his own research as inspired directly by Weber:

The ideas of Max Weber that are relevant here are, first, that society is to be seen as individuals pursuing their interests, and that this activity generates more or less collectively conscious groups, who are the bearers of ideas that legitimate the pursuit of their interests.

Secondly, social groups engage in social closure in the course of furthering their interest and they both attempt to exclude others from their group and to usurp the privileges of other groups. Thirdly, Weber distinguishes three dimensions of reward on which groups are differentiated, and for which they strive; economic, social and power.

Macdonald, 1995, p.27

Whilst Larson set out these different 'dimensions of reward', Macdonald notes how the concept of the professional project derived from the Symbolic Interactionist tradition that developed out of the Chicago School of Sociology, and 'from the action orientation to be found in the work of Max Weber. Both schools of thought emphasized "action", with how things get done in society and a concern with the social construction of reality' (Macdonald, 1995, p.xiii).

Schön drew on Weber's prediction that bureaucracy would professionalize occupations in terms of technical expertise (Schön, 1983, p.326-7) as a starting point for developing his ideas. He addressed macro- issues in comments on the increasingly uncertain status of professional people, but the more interesting components of his writings focus on learning in individual contexts. His work has been influential partly because practice-related issues can readily be discussed in terms of reflective practice; how then does it help us to develop sociological explanations for INSET?

The three perspectives which I have identified underpin the sociological analysis, the purpose being to understand and explain social structures and relationships between institutions and individuals which are located within educational settings, with teachers' professional development being the specific arena

for investigation. The thesis does not aim to discover how to improve teachers' professional skills, as in an educational analysis, and it differs from an evaluation study, because it is not designed to assess the effectiveness of the national INSET programme, nor of LEA INSET provision, nor of the various institution-led initiatives which are documented. It does however use respondents' assessments of their own development and of the effectiveness of training where these are relevant, as one means of conveying their understandings of the situation and in order to explain the social interaction in which they are involved. In this way, teachers' evaluations of professional development are treated as data alongside other forms of evidence towards explaining social processes.

‘Professionalism’ is clearly a contestable term. The concept defies simplistic definitions because cultural contexts have always affected the features associated with ‘professionalism’ and much sociological effort has been expended in attempting to define these characteristics. To avoid a premature attempt at an inadequate definition, further discussion is postponed to the review of the literature on professionalism (in Chapter 3). For immediate practical purposes, ‘The question of whether teaching is a profession is otiose. The term “the teaching profession” is in widespread use and is likely to remain so’ (Hoyle, 1997, p.47). ‘Autonomy’ is closely linked with professionalism and will best be addressed within that discussion. For sociologists the two are almost inseparable insofar as most definitions of ‘professional’ specify ‘autonomy’ as a key characteristic. So far I have outlined the reasons for selecting INSET as a topic for investigation, the reasons for identifying the period of study, and the reasons for adopting a particular sociological rationale which encompasses three different perspectives. However, a distinctive feature of this study concerns the way in which decisions about research practice related to theory, and equally, how the

theoretical development was on-going, informed by the practice of research. That interplay, critical in the genesis and completion of this thesis, had a particular biographical context, and I address these issues in the next section.

BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT, RESEARCH PRACTICE AND THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Ritzer's (1994) account of the origin of key ideas in sociology uses the metaphor of 'social geology' or more exactly 'social archaeology' to structure his text, claiming that this method, rather than the 'broad sweep' of an overview, enables him to explore in depth specific themes in the sociology of sociology. Just as an archaeologist penetrates to lower strata by working through the upper levels, so Ritzer's 'social archaeology' involves the recognition of a series of layers successively, which are:

Sociology itself, biographical factors involved in the work, the school in which it is embedded, its methodological and theoretical orientation, its association with a particular substantive area, and the way in which it relates to some of the concepts discussed.

Ritzer, 1994, p.182.

Like any 'model', Ritzer's is not perfect for every circumstance, but it gives a useful working basis for situating the research represented in this thesis. The study has a disciplinary basis in sociology. The broad theoretical orientation is Weberian, it is embedded in naturalistic inquiry, and its methodological orientation lies in ethnographic investigation. But, in handling the chosen substantive field, it has a biographical impetus and rationale, which is explained below. Indeed, the 'biographically situated researcher' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.12) would be ill-advised to proceed without this, since the process of developing theory has related in particular ways to that of research practice.

The biographical context

As a former secondary schoolteacher, I had middle management administrative responsibilities and extensive mainstream experience teaching pupils of all abilities for almost eight years. A sizeable career break offered new (parental) perspectives on the education system, prioritising some aspects of schooling which had not before (as a teacher) seemed problematic. Voluntary teaching in the community provided another perspective. Prior to a teaching career I had completed a master's degree in Modern English Literature, but decided in the mid-1980s to move from the study of text to the study of social relationships and completed a master's degree in the sociology of education. I wrote a dissertation which developed an international comparison of sociological aspects of technical and vocational education in England and France, specifically gender and social class. For reasons of time and resources that study did not collect new data, although it did entail accessing and translating original French language material. This research raised further questions about the definition of education and training by parties other than professional interest groups. I had already moved personally from being a committed member of one professional interest group (that of teachers in state-maintained schools) to being a (sensitised) parent/'consumer', to being a (library-based) researcher of educational provision for children and young people.

The Warwick M.A. comprised, as well as the dissertation, two contrasting taught courses. The first concerned a theoretical analysis of educational systems. The second was on the ethnography of educational settings, taking the sociological study of educational processes directly into the classroom, focusing at the micro-level, and giving particular attention to research methods. It was a master's degree which exemplified macro- /micro- divisions in an inescapable way. I felt that one could

attempt worthwhile research within the sociology of education by employing both macro- and micro- approaches to illuminate one's topic from different perspectives. That view has become an important principle in this thesis.

By the time I wrote the MA dissertation I had decided to continue in research rather than return to secondary teaching, and had applied for a post in a new research centre which offered the chance to complement extensive teaching experience and (international comparative) desk research with fieldwork as part of the qualitative projects which I was beginning. During the next six years I undertook a series of projects about different aspects of teachers' professional development and the schooling process. Several of these, and more recent research on continuing professional development (CPD) in other professions, have contributed to the 'theoretical journey', but the thesis draws on data from just two projects. My post as a research fellow in a newly established research centre was not conducive to giving time to 'private' scholarship so I did not register for a PhD at that stage.

Nevertheless, from the start, in developing research specifications to investigate the professional development of teachers, I found new ways of using the theoretical frameworks which I had previously employed in the MA. Archer's (1979) analysis proved useful in formulating research questions about the emerging variants of INSET, whilst my methodological reading helped in planning empirical research, preparing project specifications and operating in the field. This was the first phase of the theoretical journey concurrent with the practice of research.

There may indeed have been during these years a 'retreat from theory by many of those working in the field of education' (Shilling, 1992, p.77), but my experience was that the complex relationship between macro-level policy and micro-level implementation became increasingly intriguing (Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981),

especially in the late 1980s when education (along with other public services) was subject to fundamental statutory changes. This provoked further reading beyond the 'evaluation literature' in search of sociological approaches which I might apply to the case of INSET. The macro-theoretical approach which I favoured was able to illuminate structural features of the new system. But in order also to analyse experiences at the level of schools and classrooms, I was seeking complementary theoretical approaches.

At this time, I was engaged on sponsored projects, where the research had to address problems posed by the sponsor. However, behind those 'problems to be solved' the sociological questions reverberated; moreover, it was possible to incorporate them in the research design (cf. Stenhouse, 1984). Though that sociological analysis did not feature explicitly in end-of-project reports written for sponsors, all the work undertaken had benefited from a wider view of social processes. The empirical materials which were collected therefore readily provided a basis for pursuing further those questions about professional development which I had recognised at the start, but were not the sponsors' prime concern (and could not be adequately or appropriately addressed in final reports to LEAs). Following this period, I completed a two-year study of supply teaching funded by the Leverhulme Trust (Galloway and Morrison, 1993), which had obvious connections with INSET issues. I was later able to conduct research relating to CPD in other professions (e.g. the law, engineering, the arts).

Having completed the two LEA- funded projects, I was aware that the data would support further sociological exploitation, but was by then engaged on other projects and committed to producing three sole-authored chapters and one jointly authored chapter for a book about in-service education and training, published as

Burgess *et al.* (1993). Only after that task was completed could I return to the data on which these publications were based to take up a sociological analysis of teachers' professional development. My part-time PhD registration in 1994 requested back-dating to 1992 on the grounds that the thesis would exploit data already collected. Because it was the potential for further sociological analysis which was the stimulus, this registration was made in the Department of Sociology. Chapter 4 returns to this issue of re-analysis.

Research practice and theoretical development

This biographical information is given in some detail because of the need in qualitative research to be explicit about the ways in which biography shapes the research process (including any potential sources of bias), and because it is central to the thesis that theoretical development was taking place alongside the practice of research in an organic way, each influencing the other. This is very far from any positivist sequence of theory-testing, but it is a familiar process in qualitative investigations:

It is often only too easy to identify the failings of particular ethnographic studies, and even to indicate strategies that could have been employed that might have improved the results. The reader is able to employ hindsight that was not available to the researcher in the course of her or his research. This is especially important in the case of ethnographic research because it employs an exploratory and developmental approach in which the initial focus of the research may be transformed, and (at the very least) will be subject to clarification, over the course of the research.

Hammersley, 1998, p.136

This thesis is a form of 'naturalistic inquiry' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) using formal and substantive theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and interpretative case studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.13). This is because I am concerned not

primarily with INSET 'policy', but with the ways in which practising teachers experienced the INSET phenomenon.

In methodological terms, the macro- elements of this research involve the analysis of the literature, policy documents and other material collected in the field. At meta- and micro- levels, to analyse factors in negotiation between interest groups at the level of the school, the classroom and the teacher, a micro-interpretative approach puts the emphasis on how in naturalistic settings, practitioners construct their meanings of professional development, define problems and deal with them. This recognises the ways in which macro-level policy may be re-interpreted at the micro-level. Woods (1996, p.7) cites an apt description (from McCall and Wittner, 1990, p.70): "'Interactionists look at how people 'carve out autonomy despite their lack of formal power'". The empirical data drawn upon in the thesis relate to how (and how far) teachers 'carve out autonomy', negotiating over particular aspects of their professional work, in the specific area of INSET. Individuals are seen as actors who not only respond to structural features, but also shape events in a "minded" way (Blumer, 1969, p,81). However, they do so against macro- level structures and systems which both offer opportunities, and also define their limits.

At the micro-level, documentary data are used alongside evidence gained through participant observation and through interviews. The methodological approach, including the use of case study and the selection of the case studies for the thesis is dealt with more fully in Chapter 4. The cases presented are ethnographic in that they reflect contact in the field over weeks and months on the model of Wolcott's 'ethnographers sans ethnography' (Wolcott, 1984, p.180). This allows the researcher to describe and interpret rather than judging and to address broad cultural contexts,

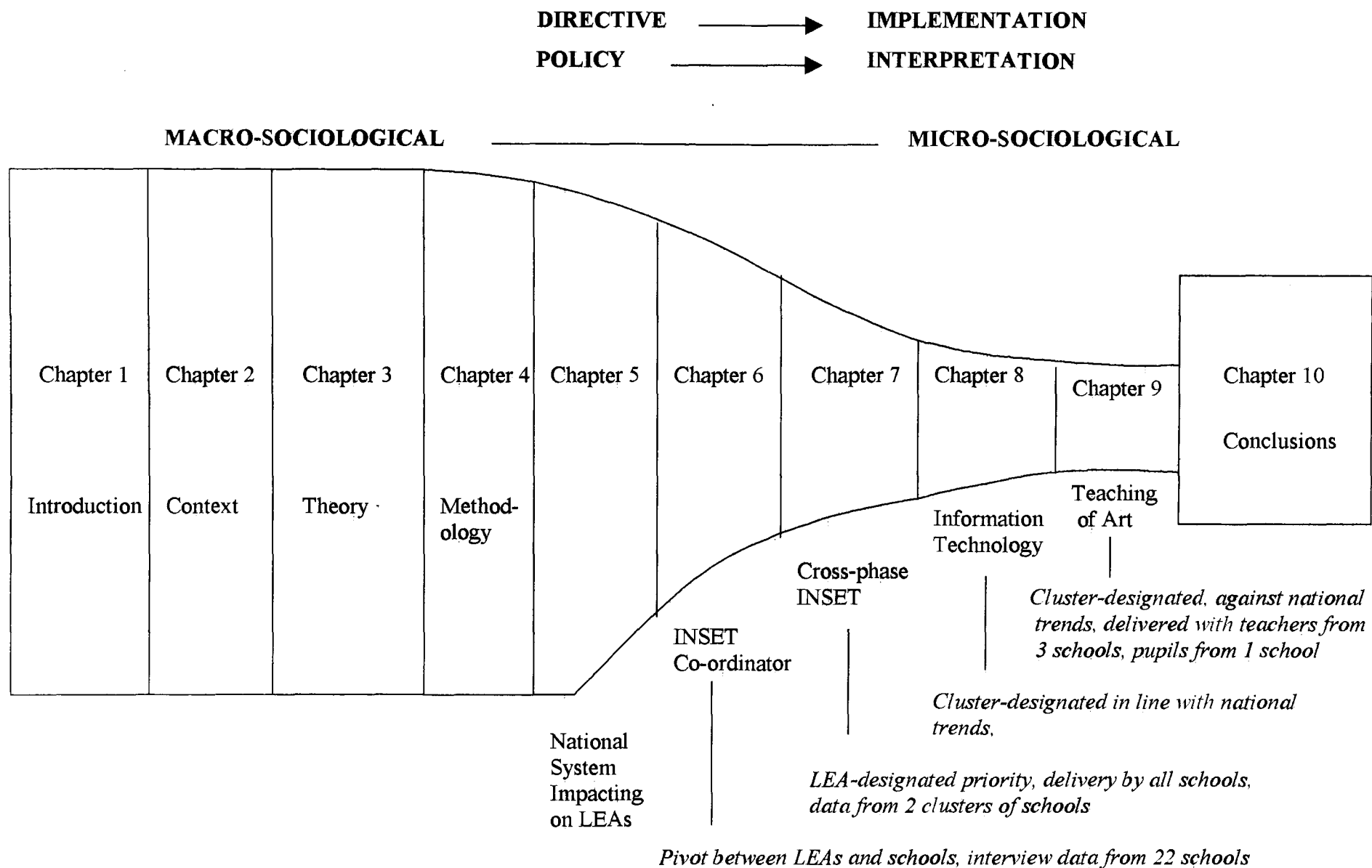
whilst not attempting a 'full-blown ethnography' (Wolcott, 1984, p. 208). It allows a compromise between depth and diversity.

Figure 1.1 outlines the sequence of chapters which traces the analysis from discussion at the most macro-sociological level, through a series of gradually more detailed cases. We move through LEA issues to concentrate on the institution, and finally focus on the micro-sociological picture, as exemplified in a 'cluster' group of teachers and their pupils. These empirical investigations adopt the assumptions which Hammersley (1998, p.19) sees as distinctive to ethnography (a term which he takes as synonymous with qualitative method). The three methodological principles which he identifies relate to naturalism, understanding and discovery. 'Naturalism' implies situations 'that exist independently of the research process' in which researchers seek to 'minimise their effects on the behaviour of the people being studied'. My empirical research was conducted in such settings, and efforts to minimise research effects included observation in 'regular' classroom situations as well as at INSET events (so such activities were seen within their context).

'Understanding' involves interpretation of stimuli and the construction of responses, necessary because 'if we are to be able to explain particular human actions effectively we must gain an understanding of the cultural perspectives on which they are based' (Hammersley, 1998, p.8). That principle underpinned the fieldwork incorporated into this thesis. On-going relationships over some months underlay the research at each of the case study sites, as did the access which I had to the collection of observational and interview data.

The third assumption about ethnographic investigation concerns the principle that the research process is 'inductive or discovery-based, rather than being limited to

Figure 1.1 Sequential Focusing



the testing of explicit hypotheses'; this writer's exposition of the term 'discovery' describes the way in which I developed the theoretical framework for this thesis.

Another feature of ethnographic thinking is a conception of the research process as inductive or discovery-based, rather than as being limited to the testing of explicit hypotheses. It is argued that if one approaches a phenomenon with a set of hypotheses one may fail to discover its true nature, being blinded by the assumptions built into those hypotheses. Instead, one should begin research with minimal assumptions so as to maximise one's capacity for learning. It is for this reason that ethnographers rarely begin their research with specific hypotheses. Rather, they have *a general interest in some type of social phenomena and/or in some theoretical issue or practical problem. The focus of the research is narrowed and sharpened, and perhaps even changed substantially, as it proceeds. Similarly, and in parallel, theoretical ideas that frame descriptions and explanations of what is observed are developed over the course of the research. Such ideas are regarded as a valuable outcome of, not a precondition for, research.*

Hammersley, 1998, p.9 (my italics)

The theoretical journey which this thesis entailed involved a process akin to the one described above. Initially, there was no obvious theoretical pedigree for this investigation. Nor was there one all-encompassing theory. The conceptual framework which I devised therefore drew from existing sociological analyses which would have explanatory power in considering issues concerning INSET during the period of study. These are set out fully in Chapters 3 and 5, but at this stage I would emphasise that, despite their diverse origins, the separate components of the conceptual framework share common Weberian origins. That is the wider background for the sociological analysis which is presented in this thesis.

THE THESIS OUTLINE

Three main lines of enquiry are pursued. The first asks what sociological factors were most important in the development of teachers' in-service education and training as it developed in England between 1988 and 1992. This provokes the macro-sociological analysis. The second concerns how teachers' CPD relates to the

progress and maintenance of the professional project. The thesis then moves to the meta- and micro- levels. The third line of enquiry asks what sociological factors help explain the experiences which teachers have in undertaking professional development activities. To address these questions, the analysis takes account of both the macro-level context and the interaction between policy and practice as INSET and professional development were interpreted at the micro-level in schools.

Chapter 2 outlines how INSET grew in importance during the 1980s and details the setting up of the successive schemes which comprised 'the new INSET'. Chapter 3 sets out the sociological theory against which the analysis will be conducted. It explains more fully the research questions and how theoretical tools have been adopted and adapted in order to conceptualise professional development in teaching. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology, explaining the challenges faced by the thesis and the reasons for using a case study approach and for the selection of particular cases for the micro-analysis. It also covers issues concerning the fieldwork. Chapter 5 to 9 present the detailed discussion starting with the macro- level analysis, and focusing progressively.

Chapter 5 considers the national scene; aspects of the INSET context given in Chapter 2 are taken up and related to macro-level aspects of the theoretical framework developed earlier. Chapter 6 examines the pivotal point within the system, that of the school INSET co-ordinator. Located at the juncture between the promulgation of national directives and their implementation in schools, co-ordinators were responsible for translating macro- level policy into actual programmes and activities on a day-to-day basis.

Chapter 7 records systemic and structural features in the example of cross-phase INSET. This demonstrates the interplay between national objectives, additional

LEA priorities, and their interpretation in different schools, moving the focus further towards the micro- level. Data from four host schools (and follow-up in additional research sites) reflects a range of responses and shows teachers in both phases distinguishing between different versions of 'professionalism'. This case explores the degree of autonomy possible in how the training priority is interpreted.

In Chapter 8, analysis of professionalism and autonomy focuses more intensively still on a small, self-designated cluster of rural schools and illustrates the processes by which in 1989-90 a group of teachers defined their version of a training need which was increasingly becoming a national priority, but which at this time they were still able to address in ways which suited their own priorities. The case provides a detailed perspective on understandings of professionalism and autonomy: collegial activity reveals varied starting points and the need for negotiation to meet participants' different constructions of professionalism. It also demonstrates how the professional learning taking place was integrated with existing expertise.

Chapter 9 examines school-focused INSET at the most micro- level, focusing on a group of teachers organising an INSET activity which was notable in its individuality and creativity as a learning experience, but had only tenuous links with national directives of the time. A holistic definition of the primary teacher's role is evident, as is the independence with which this group asserts, regardless of national priorities, the importance of INSET for the teaching of art. The case exemplifies autonomy in action.

Finally, Chapter 10 considers the findings in relation to the theoretical framework, and assesses the explanatory value of its different elements in respect of understanding teachers' professional development, indicating the potential for further theoretical and empirical research in the field.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT FOR THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

This chapter begins by examining the nature of policy and practice in the field of professional development as it has related to teachers. The first section reviews post-Second World War experience and shows how concerns about the adequacy of what was termed 'in-service training' mounted, highlighting problems with the volume, pattern and quality of provision, and with its effectiveness in contributing to outcomes in the classroom. In addition, issues of choice, equity and control arose at macro-level, though they were also apparent in schools and classrooms.

The second section of this chapter covers the build-up of educational reforms in the 1980s. This itself led to recognition that training and professional development for teachers was essential to support the escalating reform process, and out of that arose some fundamental rethinking about INSET. The search for, and experimentation with, an appropriate set of models for funding and delivering professional development was particularly intense between 1988 and 1992.

During this phase of re-thinking, certain features became common in discussion of INSET at an operational level and the problems associated with it. These include training models and mechanisms, training roles, processes of identifying training needs, and evaluation. These are summarized in the third section. Finally the main generic questions are brought together which arise out of the debates outlined in this chapter.

RETROSPECTIVE: THE IMPETUS FOR THE REFORM OF TEACHERS' IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Historically, many teachers undertook what is now termed professional development activities. Training for teachers in service was described as 'refresher' courses as early as the McNair Commission Report (Board of Education, 1944). Between 1944 and the mid-1970s in-service education and training became more widespread but it was the late 1980s before a nationally-directed system was put in place which would affect every teacher in post in maintained schools. For the thirty years following the McNair Commission, initial teacher training preoccupied the DES and local education authorities (LEAs). 'Refresher' training and other support for serving teachers was available, especially through courses at teachers' centres established by LEAs, and through the national programme of DES short courses which took place during school holidays.

Above all, INSET was course-based, undertaken voluntarily, and aimed at individual professional development. In the 1980s the emphasis changed to incorporate more innovative forms of training, and to make INSET obligatory for all serving teachers on five days annually. The emphasis also moved from individual teacher development to school development and national training needs.

The James Report

It was the James Report (Committee of Inquiry, 1972) which first argued for a teachers' *entitlement* to in-service training. This report considered the content of courses, the roles of different types of institution, and the position of trainee teachers as against other students. Three 'cycles' of teacher training were proposed: general higher education, professional training, and in-service training.

The first cycle was to constitute a degree or a new two-year diploma in Higher Education. The second cycle was to comprise one year of professional studies, followed by one year as a 'licensed' teacher to gain a BA (Ed). Previous probationary year arrangements would cease. The licensed teacher proposal met opposition from teachers' unions and was not introduced, but other proposals were enacted: it was agreed that teacher training should be integrated into higher education. Colleges of education consequently merged with other institutions, becoming colleges and institutions of higher education.

In this radical reformulation, the third cycle was in-service training. The James Committee suggested an allocation to each serving teacher for in-service education and training of at least one term in seven years, hoping to improve this 'interim target' to one term in five years. It opted for training to be voluntary, but compulsory attendance was seriously discussed, as was payment for attendance at courses (though this was not advocated). After the report's publication, Lord Boyle, then Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, noted some reasons for dissatisfaction with contemporary in-service training:

The provision for in-service training is still relatively small. Too many of the courses relate to a limited number of 'fashionable subjects'. There are not enough practical courses on subjects like school and class organisation. It is often difficult for teachers to obtain release from school in order to attend, and their costs are not always fully reimbursed. Too many courses, again, involve travelling a considerable distance from home, and the premises are often inadequate. Surprisingly little is known about the effectiveness of courses, and it is important that any extension in their number should be accompanied by a far greater effort at evaluation. Up to now, in-service training has operated mainly for individual teachers; but if we want to see real changes and improvements in the curriculum, it becomes necessary to retain [*sic*] whole schools, or at least whole departments. I also believe...that we must be prepared to reconsider the use of the long vacation for extensive retraining of this kind.

Boyle, cited in Watkins, 1973, p. 7

Here already are the seeds of later rethinking regarding training format and practical matters. Monitoring and evaluation are on the agenda as is the relationship between individual motivation and institutional development.

Introducing a collection of papers from the July 1972 national conference on in-service training, Watkins reflects that 'seldom could so many people be in favour of a development of which we all know so little'. At this event, both he and Lord James described commitment to the future professional development of teachers as an 'act of faith'. It was telling that delegates to this 1972 conference were invited from LEAs and professional associations, but 'very few of the bodies represented had people appointed with a clearly defined responsibility for in-service training. This was particularly so in the case of LEAs' (Watkins, 1973, p.10).

One element at this conference was 'incipient competition between LEAs on the one hand and the colleges and universities on the other for control of in-service training'. This tension reflects some of the conflicts over the status and control of initial teacher training institutions during the period following the Robbins Report (1963), which recommended a higher status for colleges that would offer Bachelor of Education degrees. These matters prefigure current issues; some of the James' Committee's concerns have been resolved, but others have remained the focus of debate in the 1980s and 1990s, in terms of the location and control of both initial training and continuing professional development. The late 1980s growth in INSET reflected issues of volume, quality, choice, relevance, accessibility, and effectiveness which had been raised fifteen years before.

Criticisms of the existing system

There were particular dissatisfactions. Historically, the prestigious form of professional development had been long term secondments to higher education.

These survived into the 1980s, operating through a national 'pool' of funds to meet the cost of continuing education and training (including fees and substitute staff) for seconded teachers. LEAs recovered 90% of their costs by claiming from the pool.

However, the system produced inequities:

The pool was made up of a contribution from the DES and each LEA put in an equal amount irrespective of the number of secondments it had. Thus an LEA with 100 secondments paid in the same amount as another with only five. The pool was not subject to any ceilings and as the number of secondments rose then the cost to the DES escalated as well as the contribution from each LEA, but not so significantly. The uncapped pool as an open cheque book from the DES and the pool was an obvious advantage to those LEAs who had a large number of secondments.

Goddard, 1989, p.17

Some authorities were therefore gaining disproportionate benefit from the system. This was not the only problem. Secondments enabled a few to gain masters' degrees or advanced diplomas, but these had increasingly attracted criticism, because an individual teacher's in-service education in the form of a long course of study on secondment did not necessarily benefit his or her school. Some areas of study seemed unduly distant from 'real' working situations, and without adequate institutional support, it could be difficult for individuals to make connections between theoretical studies and subsequent teaching practice (as in 'The Myth of the Hero-Innovator', Easen, 1985). Lack of resources and lack of support from colleagues sometimes could also mean that the benefit might consist primarily in a higher qualification on one teacher's curriculum vitae.

In addition, the actual style of much professional development was criticized:

Many writers on in-service activities under the 'pool' system argued the case for moving beyond a view of INSET which too often placed the teacher in the role of passive recipient of menu-led 'courses' to one which encouraged school-centred, collaborative and dynamic approaches to professional development.

Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.5

The need for revision of the pool system was recognized in *Better Schools* (DES, 1985) which proposed changes that would abolish the pool system. Circular 6/86 introduced the GRIST system, based on categorical funding, operating from 1987-88. Ostensibly, this would distribute funds to LEAs in a more coherent way. Despite the criticisms of the pool system, many regretted the loss of the opportunities that had been offered by the earlier scheme which had been geared towards professional development rather than in-service training. Meanwhile, in contrast to the apparently limited effects of long-term secondments, other forms of support had seemed to be effective in reaching practising teachers, one example being the work of the Schools Council. The new schemes were not introduced in a vacuum as other influences accumulated in the late 1980s to focus attention on teachers' CPD.

Further pressures towards formalising INSET

With the James report as a major stimulus, various concurrent pressures operated from the early 1970s to encourage and to validate the training explosion of the late 1980s. Connor (1989, p.6) identified six elements:

- 1) the curriculum debate from 1977 onwards;
- 2) developing notions of how to improve schools;
- 3) official reports on INSET;
- 4) the growth of the teacher appraisal movement;
- 5) the introduction of in-service training related to the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI);
- 6) the prevailing political rhetoric.

In retrospect, numerous other factors can be seen to have helped shape the development of INSET, among them:

- a) The introduction of the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) from 1988 replacing General Certificate of Education (GCE) and Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) examinations at age 16 required an extensive national training programme.
- b) The introduction of the National Curriculum in the 1990s surpassed any previous curricular innovation in intent, scale and implications for INSET, involving all serving teachers in maintained schools (Brighouse and Moon, 1990). This required INSET which was subject-specific but also for cross-curriculum targets, such as Information Technology.
- c) In the 1990s testing and assessment procedures would play a more dominant part in teachers' INSET, with national testing at age 7, 11 and 14, and in the Records of Achievement programme. All these innovations required INSET.
- d) Changes in teachers' terms and conditions of employment, and the introduction of five obligatory non-pupil days annually involved every teacher in INSET from 1988 on. INSET was no longer for the self-selected (Williams, 1991).
- e) Work on school improvement and school effectiveness nationally and internationally (Hopkins, 1987; Riddell and Brown, 1991) focused political and professional thinking on matters such as school accountability and evaluation, the quality of educational provision, and pupils' qualifications on leaving school.
- f) School Development Planning was providing an institutional rationale for INSET in the late 1980s.

- g) The Education Reform Act (1988) and new responsibilities in the Local Management of Schools required training for financial and other forms of management (Flude and Hammer, 1990; Wallace, M. 1991; Wallace, G. 1992).
- h) The educational 'market' associated with open enrolment (Bash and Coulby, 1989; Ball, 1994) required schools to give greater attention to their intake: community involvement and public relations took more time. Education-industry links increased (in teacher secondments, pupils' work experience, curricular input, young enterprise schemes etc.) (Jamieson, 1985). Such developments linking schools with non-educational agencies created their own training needs.
- i) Post-16 initiatives meant further specialised training, for BTECs (and later National Vocational Qualifications and General National Vocational Qualifications) (Ainley, 1990; Richardson, Woolhouse and Finegold, 1993). Wider access to higher education affected secondary staff through its impact on cohort size and the ability range of sixth form students.
- j) National policy changes located initial teacher education more centrally in schools, creating new INSET needs, for instance in the training of mentors (Rudduck, 1989; Judge, Lemosse, Paine and Sedlak, 1994). Marginalization of higher education institutions in the provision of INSET through the curtailment of long-term secondments was a key feature.

All systemic changes carry training implications. Before and after the creation of the LEATGS a succession of dedicated training programmes was required for particular purposes such as those indicated above.

Among official reports, two in particular would influence later policy very directly (Connor, 1989; Goddard, 1989; Williams, 1991), the first that of a

subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on the Supply and Training of Teachers (1978), *Making INSET Work*, which saw in-service training as being 'at a take-off point'. This report was described as having 'deeply held traditional views on INSET' (Goddard, 1989, p.13). Nevertheless, elements of that discussion persisted into the 1990s: the sequence of identifying training needs, implementing the training programme, evaluation and follow up. The document recognized needs identification at three levels - the individual, the department or similar group, and the whole school. It saw teachers as potential trainers of colleagues, and it began to consider practical problems surrounding INSET evaluation and follow up to training initiatives.

These ideas were more fully developed in the White Paper *Teaching Quality* (DES, 1983), which reinforced the James Report's notion of entitlement: 'the education service owes teachers improved opportunities to enhance their professional development'. Giving more detailed discussion of planning and evaluation procedures, this report is generally seen as a catalyst in encouraging practical responses:

It was this report that provided the source of guidance for LEAs and schools in establishing the infrastructure and financial arrangements for developing INSET. It crystallized thinking and enabled providers, including higher education institutions, LEA INSET planners and senior staff in schools, to see where they might be located in a new system of INSET.

Williams, 1991, p.16

But it was the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) which would have greatest impact in making people rethink ideas of what INSET was or could be. The introduction of TVEI-related in-service training (TRIST) in 1985 was a turning point, as we shall see, in the evolution of ideas about the professional development of teachers and the mechanisms appropriate to support this.

RETHINKING INSET

TVEI and TRIST

The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative was introduced in fourteen pilot projects in 1983 in a controversial fashion by the Manpower Services Commission. Dubbed the 'Trojan Horse' (Chitty, 1986) because of its origins outside the DES, it initially provoked a polarized response (Pyart, 1985) for the manner of its introduction, and because it seemed likely to provide a means of reintroducing selection within the comprehensive system. However, TVEI made funds available at a time when finances were tight: "Bluntly, the cash made people jump at the scheme" (quoted in Hinckley, 1987, p.5). Alongside this element of buying hearts and minds, there were also recorded cases of schools entering into the scheme, then using the funding for purposes beyond their original plan. The level of support itself gave status to TRIST activities:

For many schools, the TVEI and TRIST initiatives were perhaps the first opportunities where funding was given to schools in such quantities as to effect significant change. This funding enabled supply cover, hotels and residential centres to be hired, and equipment bought to allow staff to implement curriculum change.

Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.7

Despite mixed reactions to its introduction, the principles underlying TVEI struck a chord with many teachers, particularly the stimulus to more active teaching and learning styles. The initiative survived formally into the 1990s and influenced many areas of the curriculum. It also affected the careers of many who committed themselves to its implementation: the national evaluation noted that 'approximately one fifth of TVEI teachers gained scale posts through involvement with the initiative' (Hinckley, 1987). A new hierarchy of school and regional TVEI co-ordinators developed and TRIST in turn created a cadre of senior teachers with experience of

managing professional development in schools just at the time when the more complex Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme (LEATGS) was established. Within LEAs, the experience of organizing training for TVEI enabled authorities to 'gear up' to the much more extensive INSET system when, after only two years, TRIST was joined by LEATGS (formerly GRIST, or Grant-Related In-Service Training) (Merson, 1989).

The Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme

From 1987 on, GRIST, later LEATGS, operated under Section 50 of the Education (No 2) Act 1986. Its appearance was prefaced by a consultation process, following first the White Paper, *Better Schools* (DES, 1985a), and a position paper (DES 1985b), which discussed the detail of the proposed new training scheme. This was finalized in Circular 6/86 (DES, 1986). The mechanism used was categorical funding, as with TVEI (Harland, 1987a and 1987b). Central government gave grant funds to local education authorities for training plans that met specific criteria, addressed priorities itemised at national and local (LEA) level, and were drafted to meet an indicative level of expenditure. Monitoring and evaluation were essential features of these schemes. Collaboration with educational bodies and others was recommended.

In order to cost and prepare an authority's detailed annual submission to the then DES, LEA officers had to require individual schools to present their INSET plans and budgets (during the summer term) so that the LEA's proposal to the DES could be prepared in September for submission in October. On receiving a decision in December, LEAs then finalized their own plans and informed schools of allocations for the financial year that would begin in April. Practical problems

emerged in the first years of LEATGS; school managers found it difficult to plan in this provisional way for the following school year, particularly when the sequence was tied to financial years yet their other school planning cycles related to the academic year. Plans made in July (School Year 1) would be approved in December (School Year 2), and funded from April, so they could be implemented only during the summer term (School Year 2) or the following autumn or spring terms (School Year 3). Staff turnover and other externally imposed changes meant that the best laid schemes could go awry between submission and 'delivery' dates. The LEATG Scheme had four prime aims:

- to promote the professional development of teachers;
- to promote more systematic and purposeful planning of in-service training;
- to encourage more effective management of the teacher force;
- to encourage training in selected areas, which are to be accorded national priority

DES, 1986, Circular 6/86, para 4

National priority areas under the LEATGS are given in Table 2.1.

School development planning was one way in which some tensions over timing could be partly absorbed. Once established, a common pattern was for a school to plan a rolling development programme covering three years, giving a coherent framework for the school's INSET and professional development programme. Priorities which were not covered in one year could sometimes be deferred or retrieved the next year. But there was a lingering feeling among teachers that the emphasis on institutional planning based on school needs was at the cost of individual needs. Initially, LEA INSET proposals approved by the DES qualified for grants of 70% towards the cost of national priority training, and 50% towards programmes defined as local but not national priorities. (Later variation in these levels of support had important

Table 2.1 LEA Training Grants Scheme, National Priority Areas supported between 1987/88 and 1990/91

National Priority Area	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
<i>School teachers</i>				
Training in organization and management in the context of the responsibilities of headteachers and other senior teachers in schools.	A	A	—	A
Training in organization and management relating to the responsibilities of headteachers, and other senior teachers in schools, and training in the methods and principles of school teacher appraisal.	—	—	A	—
Training in school teacher appraisal	—	—	—	A
* Training for the National Curriculum management and assessment	—	—	A	—
* Training for the National Curriculum content	—	—	A	—
* Training for the basic curriculum and collective worship	—	—	—	A
Training in the teaching of mathematics	A	A	—	—
Designated courses in the teaching of primary mathematics	—	—	—	A
Training to meet the special educational needs (SEN) of pupils with learning difficulties in schools	A	—	—	—
Training to meet the SEN of pupils who have severe learning difficulties	—	A	A	A
Training to meet the SEN of pupils who have disabilities of hearing	—	A	A	A
Training to meet the SEN of pupils who have disabilities of sight	—	A	A	A
Training for designated teachers to meet SEN in schools	—	A	A	A
Training related to industry, the economy and the world of work	A	A	—	—
Training in the teaching of science	A	A	—	—

cont.

Table 2.1 LEA Training Grants Scheme, National Priority Areas supported between 1987/88 and 1990/91

National Priority Area	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
*Designated courses in the teaching of primary science	—	—	—	A
Training in the teaching of craft, design and technology (CDT)	A	A	—	—
One-year training course in mathematics, science and craft, design and technology	—	A	—	—
Training in teaching and the planning of the curriculum in a multi-ethnic society	A	A	—	—
Training in the teaching of micro-electronics and in the uses of micro-electronics across the curriculum	A	—	—	—
Training in the use of new technologies across the school curriculum	—	A	A	A
Training in the teaching of religious education	A	A	A	—
Training in the teaching of children in primary classes who are younger than 'rising fives'	—	—	A	A
Training for licensed and articulated teachers	—	—	—	A
Training in the management of pupils' behaviour	—	—	—	A
<i>Further education teachers</i>				
Training related to industry, the economy and the world of work	A	A	—	—
Training to develop competence in the teaching of technical, commercial or professional subjects in the light of recent developments in industry, commerce or the professions: including the teaching of information technology (IT) and its integration across the curriculum	A	A	—	A
Training in the teaching of micro-electronics and in the uses of micro-electronics across the curriculum	A	—	—	—
Training for FE lecturers in the teaching of information technology (IT) and in the integration of IT across the curriculum	—	A	—	A
Training in organization and management in the context of the responsibilities of teachers in further education	A	A	—	—

cont.

Table 2.1 LEA Training Grants Scheme, National Priority Areas supported between 1987/88 and 1990/91 (continued)

National Priority Area	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
* Training in organization and management	—	—	A	—
* Management training for further education college staff	—	—	—	A
Training to meet the special educational needs of further education students with learning difficulties	A	A	A	A
The training of teachers engaged mainly or entirely in the provision of advanced further education (AFE) in polytechnics and certain other institutions	A	A	—	—
Training in the teaching and planning of the FE curriculum in a multi-ethnic society	—	A	A	A
Training in the assessment of achievement	—	A	—	—
Training to develop teaching and assessment (including workplace assessment) of competence-based qualifications and elements of competence	—	—	—	A
<i>Schools, FE and youth and community work</i>				
Training for the GCSE	A	—	—	—
Training to help combat the misuse of drugs	A	A	A	—
Training for youth and community workers	A	A	A	A
The training of educational psychologists	A	A	A	A
Training in various aspects of preventative health education	—	—	—	—
Training to develop competence in the teaching of adult literacy and related basic skills	—	—	—	A
44 NATIONAL PRIORITY AREAS	19	24	17	23

Notes:

* ERA-related NPAs

A Activities funded in programme year

Source: AMA Efficiency Scrutiny of ESGs and LEATGS. ED 90 14 (29 March, 1990).

consequences for LEAs, and ultimately for schools.) Moving into the 1990s, the momentum for educational change was maintained and even increased (until a pause came in 1993 with the appointment of the Dearing Committee which reviewed the National Curriculum and Assessment). However it could be argued that resources for the professional development to sustain this momentum were dispersed. A contrasting view is that assumptions about continuing organizational change, retraining and professional development were becoming integral to school organizational planning so staff became adept at low-cost, in-house collaborative INSET. Some of these perspectives are represented in contemporary comment from Jones and Reid (1988), Holly and Southworth (1989) and Gilroy and Day (1993).

Alongside the LEATGS, the Education Support Grant (ESG) scheme had operated from 1985 on. Its aim was to support specific curriculum and professional development initiatives:

to encourage LEAs to deploy a limited amount of expenditure into activities which appear to the Secretary of State to be of particular importance, and so to assist LEAs to respond to training demands.

DES, 1990, p.4

It continued until in 1989 a scrutiny of the two grants was set up by the Prime Minister's Efficiency Unit which recommended in February 1990 that they be brought together under a unified programme (Glickman and Dale). A draft circular of 20th July 1990 finalised the restructuring of the training system. This detailed the proposed programme for 1991-92, explaining how the then DES intended to integrate the ESG programme with LEATGS in new arrangements, designated Grants for Education Support and Training (GEST). Table 2.2 gives the GEST categories. This marked a centralisation of control over INSET, limiting the control of LEAs:

Table 2.2 GEST Priority Areas 1991-92

ERA-Related Activities

School and college management

- Activity 1A(91) Local Management of Schools, including governor support and training
- Activity 1B(91) Support for LMS implementation teams
- Activity 1C(91) Training for School Management
- Activity 2(91) Teacher Related Information
- Activity 3(91) School Teacher Appraisal
- Activity 4(91) Training for College Management

National Curriculum

- Activity 5A(91) Support for NC Assessment
- Activity 5B(91) Training for NC Assessment
- Activity 6A(91) Support for IT in Schools
- Activity 6B(91) Training for IT in Schools
- Activity 7A(91) NC Books
- Activity 7B(91) Other ESG support for the NC, including foreign language diversification
- Activity 7C(91) Training in mathematics
- Activity 7D(91) Training in science
- Activity 7E(91) Other training for the NC
- Activity 8(91) LEA Inspectors and Advisers

Other Education Priorities

Teacher recruitment

- Activity 9(91) Support for Teacher Recruitment
- Activity 10(91) Licensed Teachers

Under 5s

- Activity 11A(91) Support for the Under 5s provision
- Activity 11B(91) Training for the Under 5s provision

cont.

Table 2.2 GEST Priority Areas 1991-92 (continued)

Health Education

Activity 12A(91) Support for Health Education

Activity 12B(91) Training for Health Education

Pupil behaviour

Activity 13(91) Training in the Management of Pupil Behaviour

Special Educational Needs

Activity 14A(91) Training in disabilities of hearing

Activity 14B(91) Training in disabilities of sight

Activity 14C(91) Training for severe learning difficulties

Activity 15(91) Training for SEN in ordinary schools

Activity 16(91) SEN in FE

Further and Adult Education

Activity 17(91) Training for PICKUP

Activity 18(91) Training for IT in FE

Activity 19(91) Training for NVQs

Activity 20(91) Training for Ethnic Diversity in FE

Activity 21(91) Workers Educational Association

Activity 22(91) Training for Adult Literacy

Other

Activity 23(91) Training for Youth and Community Workers

Activity 24(91) Management of Training and non-subject-specific training

Source: DES 1990b 'Grants for Education Support and Training 1991-92' 20th July, 1990.

GEST combined LEATGS and ESG into a unitary grant and, most significantly, effectively terminated local priority money leaving LEAs few opportunities to mount INSET outside of the National Priority Areas prescribed by the DES (Dobbins, 1992). In addition to National Priority centralization, with LEAs becoming increasingly subject to capping, their local flexibility was reduced yet further. Another step in the direction of central control was provided by the increasing use of 20-day designated courses, for which the DES closely specified the foci and content.

Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.9

In fact, as the various schemes were implemented, greater diversity emerged in the models of INSET, in the training roles which individuals undertook, and in the mechanisms for identifying training needs and evaluating INSET. In addition, by the terminology used, the purpose and style of different INSET activities was differentiated.

Professional development and the morale of the profession

We have seen that the structures and systems defining the profession, the experience of teaching, and the curriculum were all being transformed at breakneck speed. The outcomes of INSET during this period should also be seen against the record of poor morale among teachers. In 1992 the Interim Advisory Committee on Schoolteachers' Pay and Conditions published its fourth report. Chaired by Lord Chilver, this committee had been established following the 1985-86 industrial action, and the breakdown and abolition of the Burnham pay framework. Its 1991 report recorded 'considerable and continuing resentment at the removal of negotiating rights in particular, and at the imposition of new conditions of service' (Interim Advisory Committee, 1991, p.47, para. 7.4). The committee's school visits revealed other areas of discontent:

Lack of non-contact time was perceived as a serious impediment to the proper exercise of professional duties. Not unjustifiably, teachers view adequate non-contact time as essential to the successful implementation of

the current changes in education, notably LMS and the National Curriculum together with its associated assessment requirements.

Interim Advisory Committee, 1991, p.43 para. 6.18

Urging governing bodies to use their discretion under LMS to allocate resources appropriately (in particular to support staff), the committee reported another source of professional malaise:

the discontent caused by the use of teachers to undertake numerous non-professional functions. Some everyday tasks require professional expertise but many others do not. Many teachers, at all levels, appear to act as clerical assistants, cleaners and secretaries, and to undertake all kinds of ad hoc and mundane duties.

There are already many demands on teachers' time. It seems to us an inefficient, ineffective and uneconomic use of their time for teachers to spend so much of it on non-teaching activities.

Interim Advisory Committee, 1991, p.46, paras.6.33-34

Finally, in detecting a hint of improved morale, this report reminded the government of the massive changes occurring in the context within which teachers worked and in the actual nature of what they taught. (These statements were of course made before the first experience of National Curriculum testing and disputes about matters such as retrospective decisions on whether or not pilot results should be made public, and the boycotting of tests.) The committee reflected:

Seldom can a public service have been affected by such continual reform. We accept that many of the changes are designed to raise educational standards; they are also bound to lead to increased accountability of teachers to parents, employers and the rest of the community served by the school. we welcome them on these counts. But the continuing uncertainties facing teachers during the introduction of many of the reforms have certainly not helped morale in the teaching force, which has deteriorated appreciably during the time we have been considering teachers' pay and conditions. We think this year we can detect the first signs of improvement in some teachers' morale as the changes are successfully implemented; nevertheless further improvements to morale should be a priority for Government, employers, unions and the teachers themselves.

Interim Advisory Committee, 1991, p.48 para 7.7

Training and professional development were essential in these imposed changes; if they gave some teachers an opportunity for career development, they seemed to others a disaster. The urgency and scale of the professional learning required was unprecedented, as was the multiplicity of the changes, their often fundamental nature, and the cumulative effect of re-orientation in several areas of one's working life simultaneously. Stress will be a background to all the data presented in this thesis.

Writers on teacher stress have explored what constitutes 'normal' expectations. Dunham (1993) identifies three major approaches to stress. The first (on the model of Hooke's Law) considers that within an 'elastic limit' people, like materials, will survive stress. On its removal they return to their previous state. Ultimately however, intolerable stress pushes them past their limit, and 'damage may result, either psychological or physiological, or both' (p.1). This 'engineering' model is criticised by Dunham because it does not adequately reflect individual responses to stress. In contrast, the second approach focuses on not causes but

teachers' reactions to pressure, emphasising the emotional response of the individual, and related physical symptoms. However these may not necessarily be recognised as stress-related. For instance, even the normal requirements of the job may become harder to meet, and the experience of becoming ineffective is often accompanied by a major loss of confidence and is particularly worrying to staff who have been competent and confident for a number of years.

Dunham, 1993, p.3

There are implications here for professional development (and during the period of study 'stress management' was a topic which began to appear on INSET agenda).

Dunham's preferred approach takes account of pressures, reactions and also 'coping strategies' to define stress as a 'process of behavioural, emotional, mental and physical reactions caused by prolonged, increasing or new pressures which are

significantly greater than coping resources'. The Chilver Committee expressed itself in different terms, but the pressures which it reported indicated the need for soundly based coping strategies. When such resources are exhausted, one effect is teacher absence (and further calls on supply cover).

The training system being put in place during these years was integral to the overall pattern of teachers' working lives, and the micro-sociological data particularly will indicate how they felt about its effects. For Cole and Walker (1989) the key question is 'What makes teaching stressful?' rather than 'What makes teachers stressed?' Certainly training programmes contributed to perceptions of undue pressure (yet conversely professional development activities could on occasion alleviate or counter pressure as in the case of INSET for the teaching of art, which will be discussed in Chapter 9). Such pressures can lead to 'teacher burnout', reasons for which can be seen in two categories:

Primary factors are those which have a direct effect on the teacher *in the classroom* and which result in tension connected with the feelings and with negative emotions. *Secondary factors* are environmental, i.e. they affect the *situation* in which teaching takes place. The action of this second group of factors is indirect and affects teaching efficiency by diminishing the teacher's motivation, involvement and the amount of time he/she is willing to put into the job.....

Recent research has unanimously emphasized the importance of these secondary factors, given that the problems which exist in the classroom are considered to be both 'normal' and the responsibility of the teacher, whereas secondary factors are more disconcerting and give rise to more feelings of helplessness, by virtue of the fact that nothing can be done about them by the individual- they are brought about by forces within society.

Esteve, 1989, p.6

Engaging in professional development requires acceptance that improvements can be made or new directions followed. Analysing professional development needs is not a comfortable process, and the INSET literature points out how feelings of

exposure may accompany the start of INSET activities. The political contexts within which teachers work were changing dramatically; their obligations and the INSET to meet those obligations was increasing. Esteve (1989, pp. 8-15) then identifies five distinct types of secondary factor, summarised as:

- 1 changes in the role of the teacher and of the traditional agents of social integration;
- 2 increasing contradictions in the role of the teacher;
- 3 change in the attitude of society towards the teacher;
- 4 uncertainty about the objectives of the education system; and the furthering of knowledge, and
- 5 the deterioration of the image of the teacher.

Against these, primary factors are those that directly affect teaching in an adverse way, summarised as:

- 1 material and working conditions;
- 2 the increase in violence in scholastic establishments; and
- 3 teacher exhaustion and the increasing demands made on teachers.

Esteve, 1989, pp. 16-18

In the late 1980s all these factors were apparent in schools. They link directly to the political manipulation of the education system; they also link to the INSET being undertaken. The punishing rate of statutory change being imposed created high levels of stress and poor morale. INSET was one means by which these changes were put in place, so successive training schemes both reflected primary and secondary stress factors listed above, and also contributed to them.

Long term effects of poor morale were predicted by the House of Commons Education Science and Arts Committee reporting on the supply of teachers for the

1990s. This committee encapsulated the standing of the profession at that time, expressing grave concern and identifying among other matters, the lack of professional development as part of the problem:

We received a great deal of evidence of low morale in the teaching force. This is one of the most significant factors in any current analysis of the teaching profession. It has major implications for the future, in particular for the task of matching supply and demand for teachers in the 1990s...

One of the themes which emerged was the image of the profession in the eyes of parents, fellow teachers, LEAs and central Government. It is important to teachers that their work be appreciated by their employers and by society as a whole...

The very poor pay prospects in mid-career for many teachers, the lack of professional development and the state of teacher education are other themes which have emerged in looking at the low morale of teachers...

In putting forward proposals to ensure the necessary supply of teachers for the 1990s we have come to the conclusion that the priority must be to consider the low morale in the teaching force... and to tackle the problem it raises.

House of Common Education, Science and Arts Committee, 1990,
p. vii, paras. 14-17

INSET could not solve all the problems associated with the excessive rate of educational change. Early National Curriculum training brought particularly acute difficulties at a time when the profession was under great pressure and LEA advisers still had little information in 1989-90 about the testing procedures that teachers would have to use. They were also uncertain about the programmes of study which were being revised frequently. At times teachers were obliged to embark on complex assessment procedures and had to try to make them work even before LEA advisory staff had received the latest National Curriculum documents and were able to interpret them to help teachers meet the curriculum requirements.

EMERGING CATEGORIES OF THE DEBATE

'INSET' or professional development?

The term 'in-service training' has so far been employed more frequently than others, because historically it dominated. As the successive schemes were elaborated and reformulated in the late 1980s and early 1990s, each with a new acronym, 'in-service training' was abbreviated in general use to 'INSET'. This coinage appeared in circulars and publications about teachers' in-service training. Its use is restricted (as far as I am aware) to the teaching profession and tends to be associated with provision which is more instrumental, job-specific (or initiative-specific), leading to competence in a restricted skill areas. The term 'professional development' was also current during this period. This implies longer term objectives, can encompass a range of pedagogical and managerial skills, knowledge and understanding, and may be more directly related to individual career plans. 'Professional Development Tutor' was a role which had been foreseen in the James Report (DES, 1972).

Since the late 1980s other professions have similarly extended their requirements for up-dating and encouraged more formalised training (Allaker and Shapland, 1994; Galloway, 1997a, 1997b). Increasingly the term used is 'Continuing Professional Development' (CPD) which implies on-going strategies to extend professional expertise, regardless of nationally nominated priorities, throughout a working life. A widely accepted definition of CPD is:

The maintenance and enhancement of the knowledge, expertise and competence of professionals throughout their careers, according to a plan formulated with regard to the needs of the professional, the employer, and society.

Madden and Mitchell, 1993

In their study of continuing professional education, three purposes of CPD are identified, the first being 'updating of knowledge and skills in existing and new areas of practice'. The second is 'preparation for a changing role in the organisation, new responsibilities and promotion', and the third 'increasing competence in a wider context with benefits to both professional and personal roles' (Madden and Mitchell, 1993). Moving away from 'INSET' (for teachers) and recognizing these more generic issues and trends reminds us that teaching is simply one of many professional occupations which share the need for career-long learning. Although 'CPD' was not the term commonly used by teachers at the time of this study, I sometimes use the term in this thesis, in order to draw attention to these more generic features.

The remainder of this chapter deals with some important aspects of teachers' professional development; these are training models, training roles, needs identification and evaluation.

Training models and mechanisms

It is not only the substantive themes of training events which have diversified. A variety of formats developed for INSET. Scott (1990) listed eight models of in-service training provision:

- 1) 'Cascading'
- 2) The curriculum trainer
- 3) School-initiated INSET
- 4) LEA short course provision
- 5) Higher and Further Education short course provision
- 6) Higher and Further Education long course provision
- 7) The extended professional model

8) Teacher and institutional appraisal

On the basis of the practitioner and research literature, and from the empirical data, this list can be extended to include:

- a) 'Non-pupil', 'teacher', 'training' or 'professional development' days (commonly known as 'Baker' days when they were first introduced)
- b) Collegial activity providing school-focused INSET
- c) Formalised support in the classroom (e.g. team teaching; observation/ critical friend)
- d) Secondment to industry
- e) Cluster, federation or consortium INSET programmes
- f) Visits to other institutions

The list as such gives little indication of the variable timescales, funding and scheduling arrangements adopted for different forms of INSET. Some examples would be:

- daytime training, on-site or off-site, with lesson cover 'guaranteed'
- daytime training with no official supply cover allowance
- twilight sessions
- evening sessions
- a combination of the above
- Saturday and holiday training
- sessions phased to allow for practical activities in school during interim periods.

The GRIST and LEATGS period saw much experimentation, and there is evidence of this in the school-focused case studies of this thesis. There were sceptical responses to the 'New INSET' (Jones and Reid, 1988), but just as with the mixed response to TVEI, some teachers found these opportunities intriguing and took the

chance to shape the style and content of professional development experiences for colleagues. Expertise spread, and with it, expectations rose of appropriate delivery styles. Among trainers, front-led delivery had fewer proponents as more democratic and active learning approaches were valued, although this did not please everyone (Galloway, 1992). Repeated exposure to training meant that it lost its 'novelty' appeal: once the five statutory days became a commonplace, people responsible for these events had to seek ways of maintaining their colleagues' interest and motivation. In addition, concern at the consequences of leaving timetabled classes sharpened many teachers' assessments of the quality and value of training events.

Training roles

The literature documents certain training roles in this system, among which three traditional training categories predominate:

- 1) The 'external' (often higher education) provider, who might be booked to speak on an isolated occasion, or might develop a longer-term relationship with the school.
- 2) The LEA provider: an adviser, inspector, or advisory teacher, who probably (but not always) had an on-going relationship with the school. This person could offer curricular expertise, understood the authority's policy and preferred approach, and would take account of local circumstances in preparing INSET events.
- 3) The freelance trainer or educational consultant located outside higher education and the LEA system. Such individuals could offer a wide view, a detached approach, and a professional delivery: at its best such provision would be very stimulating and have great impact; however, it could also seem unrelated to immediate situations and concerns, and quality could not be guaranteed.

With the spread of school-focused INSET, an increasing variety of people were contributing to training and individual teachers became involved in a number of capacities (Morrison, 1993). It was usually the school's INSET coordinator or professional development tutor who prepared the INSET programme. In large primary schools this was a deputy headteacher or other senior teacher but it usually remained a task for the headteacher. In secondary schools it was a complex and demanding post, most often combined with other deputy head responsibilities.

Other members of the senior management team took part in delivering as well as planning INSET. Middle managers (secondary school heads of faculty or department) often contributed to INSET for departmental colleagues, or to whole-staff events. A primary school curriculum coordinator could have a similar role. Less senior teachers were also involved; in this way even a newly qualified teacher might be contributing to the professional development of others (as in reporting on an INSET event or some aspect of their work). Such situations provided professional development opportunities for speakers as well as listeners. Staff INSET Committees provided another framework for allowing individuals to share a training role (Connor, 1993a).

Teachers who had no official training role but did have particular expertise were sometimes invited by other schools to share this. Such sessions could cover 'in-house' developments or centrally directed initiatives: their value was in the 'on-the-ground' experience of someone who appreciated the practical elements of situations, and could explain how problems were overcome. Finally, pupils contributed to INSET, but this has rarely been documented (Galloway, 1990).

Alongside the role of trainer, some teachers embraced that of researcher. Action research (Walker, 1985; Whitehead and Lomax, 1987; Elliott, 1991) provides

frameworks for practitioners to pursue problems rooted in daily professional activities and then report the findings to colleagues. One overview of educational research in the U. K. claims:

Possibly the outstanding success has been the way in which action research has blossomed... and created a powerful interface between research and practice. Whereas not long ago the typical response of a teacher to research was either ignorance, rejection or bewilderment, today it is much more likely to be a recognition that the methodology of action research can be a useful approach to tackling classroom problems.

Bassey, 1994, p.60

The evolution of action research in schools and the adoption of training roles were two developments associated with professional development. These opportunities existed not only for those preparing INSET sessions, who might draw on classroom investigations, but also for those involved in evaluating school-based training. Some of the training roles discussed above could be seen in terms of the teacher as an 'extended professional' who has

the capacity for autonomous self-development through systematic self-study, through the study of work of other teachers, and through the testing of new ideas by classroom research processes.

Stenhouse, 1975, p.144

Classroom-based action research can undoubtedly be a powerful form of professional development and can provide teachers with additional training roles. It exemplifies many of the strengths and weaknesses of other forms of collaboration for teacher development (A. Hargreaves, 1995); these will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Identifying training needs and evaluation of INSET

A full discussion of the processes by which INSET needs are identified is given in Galloway 1993c, and this section summarises the main issues as background to later

chapters. Training needs may be identified by several means and by different people or groups. Such a need may be based on:

- an understanding of developments elsewhere or within the school and ideas about 'good practice'
- knowledge of particular initiatives
- knowledge of LEA, school, or departmental priorities
- acquaintance with the school's working procedures and/or proposed changes
- familiarity with individual teachers' practice
- reflection on one's own practice
- reflection on pupil progress or behaviour.

National INSET priorities reflect educational, political, administrative and social aims and policies; LEA and school INSET needs are then defined in relation to these national priorities. Local priorities may include additional themes which have been judged as important within the LEA but it was noted above how it became increasingly difficult to sustain local priorities. DES Circulars repeatedly emphasised the need for systematic consultation in identifying needs. Assessments in a school of INSET needs (as the case studies will show) were shaped by the above but also derived from whole-school planning as represented in school development plans, and from awareness of individual needs. It is the recognition of individual professional development needs that was most problematic. Informal and formal methods used to define these included:

- questionnaires
- interviews
- observation

- use of a scheme such as Guidelines for the Review of Internal Development in Schools (GRIDS)
- group discussions
- follow-up to earlier INSET
- appraisal procedures.

Later chapters will explore the extent to which professional development initiatives could be said to derive organically from within the profession or to be imposed from outside it.

Requirements for monitoring and evaluation were part of the mechanism by which the DES checked that the scheme was operating as it had intended. It obliged INSET providers to think about both the content and the style of delivery, or the mix of formats that would be most appropriate. It also offered a channel for teachers to articulate the benefits and failings of INSET.

However, evaluation of INSET encounters all the difficulties that attach to evaluation in other fields of education, and focusing on professional development can be even more problematic than evaluating a curricular innovation. Evaluation is at times seen as a threat by teachers, but I have argued elsewhere that research and evaluation of INSET give opportunities for practitioners to articulate clearly the actual nature of the professional work that teachers do (Galloway, 1989; Burgess and Galloway, 1993). Some of the complexity of teaching and learning can be conveyed by evaluating the training undertaken and sharing it with a wider audience.

Summarizing a number of standard texts, Newton (1993, p. 9) lists the main purposes of evaluation as being to

- i) provide a description of what actually happened (including, for example, departures from the programme;
- ii) assess outcomes/results;
- iii) improve current and future INSET provision;

- iv) learn- i.e. to regard evaluation as an integral part of the learning and development process itself;
 - v) enable individuals to develop the capacity to critique their own practice, and share that critical reflection with others;
 - vi) answer social audit/accountability requirements
- (cf. McCabe, 1980, Bolam, 1982, O'Sullivan *et al.*, 1988).

Amid the wide literature on evaluation, there is much specifically on the evaluation of INSET; Chapter 3 will make further distinctions between research and evaluation purposes.

Returning to the retrospective which this chapter has provided, the uncertainty about the impact of training which had been a major concern in the early 1970s remained the central question between 1988 and 1992 for practitioners as for providers, and also for pupils and parents. Indeed, the effect of INSET on classroom practice remains the acid test. The question of the impact of training therefore bears strongly on any sociological analysis of teachers' professional development and highlights some of the tensions that were integral to the system which was being developed in the late 1980s.

Other generic questions recurred throughout the discussions of policy-makers and practitioners, among them:

- Do teachers require INSET? If so, why?
- What is the purpose of INSET?
- How are INSET needs determined?
- In what form is training available?
- What factors determine the content of an INSET programme?
- How can we explain which elements are judged as essential and which dispensable?
- Which individuals or groups are involved in the training?
- What is the rationale for this?

- Are some participants excluded from decisions made about training?
- Are some professional needs not met, or not articulated?
- What constitutes successful INSET?
- How are professional development outcomes defined?
- How is the value of professional development defined?

To some degree, these fundamental questions underlay the LEA-funded research projects referred to in Chapter 1, but they remained untheorized. They were possible starting points for sociological analyses but they required translation in the light of available theories which are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIZING IN-SERVICE TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The fundamental questions posed at the end of the last chapter were provoked by the context within which views about INSET were developing. These in turn encouraged a search for sociological explanations of the national INSET scheme and of the ways in which this was channeled through LEAs, implemented in schools and experienced by individual teachers. This proves to be a complex area for investigation because the analysis of professionalism and autonomy has to encompass three areas: it must attend to structures and mechanisms; it should consider how professional interests are in play; and it has to address processes at the micro-level, including the common practices and perceptions of those involved. The substantive field in which this will be undertaken is that of teachers' professional development. In practice, the sociological explanations have to take account of the organization and development of professional development processes, and also why and how social actors may reinterpret policy and negotiate at local level to produce their own versions of training and their own construction of a situation. They do so against a macro- or national context where some options are possible and others are not practicable.

The thesis aims especially to improve our knowledge of the interplay between these processes and the issues of professionalism and autonomy which affect this occupational group. The last chapter analyzed the changing policy context for education generally and teachers' CPD in particular. It highlighted major debates about the overall shape and organization of the education system, the role that should

be accorded to professional teachers, and the continuing education and development required to meet the needs of the evolving education system.

The emphasis in this chapter is on existing lines of sociological theory which will be drawn upon to create a theoretical framework for the research. Alongside the debates covered in the last chapter, I will draw on sociological theory in relation to:

- (i) the education system;
- (ii) the teaching profession, and
- (iii) professional learning

These areas determine the theory to be reviewed in this chapter, and I use this to examine phenomena at the macro-level in Chapter 5. Later the focus moves from the national system and priorities to those identified at local and institutional level, and to the implementation of the INSET system. Throughout, the discussion adopts a Weberian perspective in seeking to understand actors' definitions of professional development, of the INSET system and of their experiences within it.

A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Sociologists of education have focused attention on educational processes rather than on the development of educational systems, but in the latter category, the most rigorously developed theory is Archer, 1979, a major text, based on the macro-sociological analysis of four European educational systems as they developed historically. For my purposes the international comparison is relevant mainly in guaranteeing the validity of the theory, since I do not make international comparisons in this thesis. To proceed to the micro-sociological issues, as outlined above, additional theoretical approaches will be drawn in. My aim is to give attention to the structural framework without neglecting the importance of human agency.

INSET reflected the substantial changes in education in this country during the 1980s, including major reallocations of power and responsibility between central government, LEAs and schools (indicated in Chapter 2); nevertheless, Archer's definition of a state educational system still applies:

A nationwide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental, and whose component parts and processes are related to one another

Archer, 1979, p. 54

Within established educational systems, this theory identifies four types of change: unification, systematization, differentiation, and specialization (p.173), and these characteristics are said to be shared by all state educational systems. In this thesis I concentrate on the historically decentralized English educational system. (As a consequence, I necessarily disregard some important components of Archer's theory, but the fact that it derives from an extensive international comparison of four educational systems means that those elements of the analysis relating to the English system are well founded.)

This theory identifies differences between educational systems which were historically centralized (e.g. France and Russia) and those which were decentralized (e.g. England and Denmark). As the decentralized system in England emerged, it was shaped by 'substitutive' strategies:

Substitution is an attempt to displace an existing dominant group by devaluing its monopoly of educational supplies through market competition. Here the assertive group develops and provides new schools and teachers, hoping gradually to corner the educational market and thus impose its own definition of instruction

Archer, 1979, p.157

A state educational system was then shaped primarily by differentiation and specialization if it was decentralized (whilst centralized systems deriving from restrictive strategies were shaped mainly by unification and systematization).

Differentiation reflects the situation where education meets the needs of many different groups within society. This implies educational and political competition (Archer, 1979, p.178), with the education system taking account of numerous interest groups at the same time. The concept of specialization 'refers to a range of internal changes rather than to any single one' (Archer, 1979, p.182).

According to this theory, once a national system is in place, educational change takes place mainly through three types of negotiation: internal initiation, external transaction, and political manipulation. In the traditionally decentralized English system, these three processes of negotiation are said by Archer to have parity. Internal initiation is possible because of the degree of autonomy which the profession has which:

enables professional educators to play a part in determining the rate of exchange between resources received and services supplied. Surplus resources could then be devoted to accomplishing professional goals within the educational system....This source of change is the school, the college, and the university. It can be brought about on a small scale by independent initiative in a particular establishment, and on a much larger scale by collective professional action.

Archer, 1979, pp.239-40

Since the state is the major source of funds for education, it is interaction between teachers and the government that is significant. The second type of negotiation, external transaction, is defined as involving:

relations between internal and external interest groups. It is usually instigated from outside educational boundaries by groups seeking new or additional services...the profession is one of the groups involved in these negotiations, but the other party opts into the transaction of its own accord.

Archer, 1979, p.240

External transaction covers arrangements such as certain types of scholarship, sponsorship agreements and contracts with commercial or non-educational bodies where resources are given in return for educational services. This transaction need not be financial, but could lead to resources being given in kind.

The third type of negotiation, political manipulation, is the 'principal resort of those who have no other means of gaining satisfaction for their educational demands' (Archer, 1979, p.242). Educational policy-making can be influenced by a range of interest groups which try by exerting political influence to affect the formation of educational policy. They may be located outside the educational system. In a centralized system of education (such that in France) it is political manipulation which dominates the process of change because there is little way for internal interest groups (or external ones) to articulate their views, apart from through the formal political processes. When central control is complete, the definition of instruction (and, following the theory, the definition of educational matters such as INSET) will be that which is formulated by the government's Department of Education and delivered as directives to the schooling system.

In England, between 1988 and 1992, the educational system became more centralized in many ways, yet other changes conversely preserved local decision-making procedures, or delegated new responsibilities (Bash, 1989, p.122; Flude and Hammer, 1990, p.ix). This was the case as successive INSET schemes were introduced. These converging and diverging tendencies left the balance of power in the system different from before, but during the period of study it remained in essence a decentralized system. Educational change was still not completely dominated by central government policy and some important decisions could be made at LEA or at school level. Later chapters will consider how far policy and practice which related to

teachers' professional development could be said to exemplify political manipulation, external transaction or internal initiation.

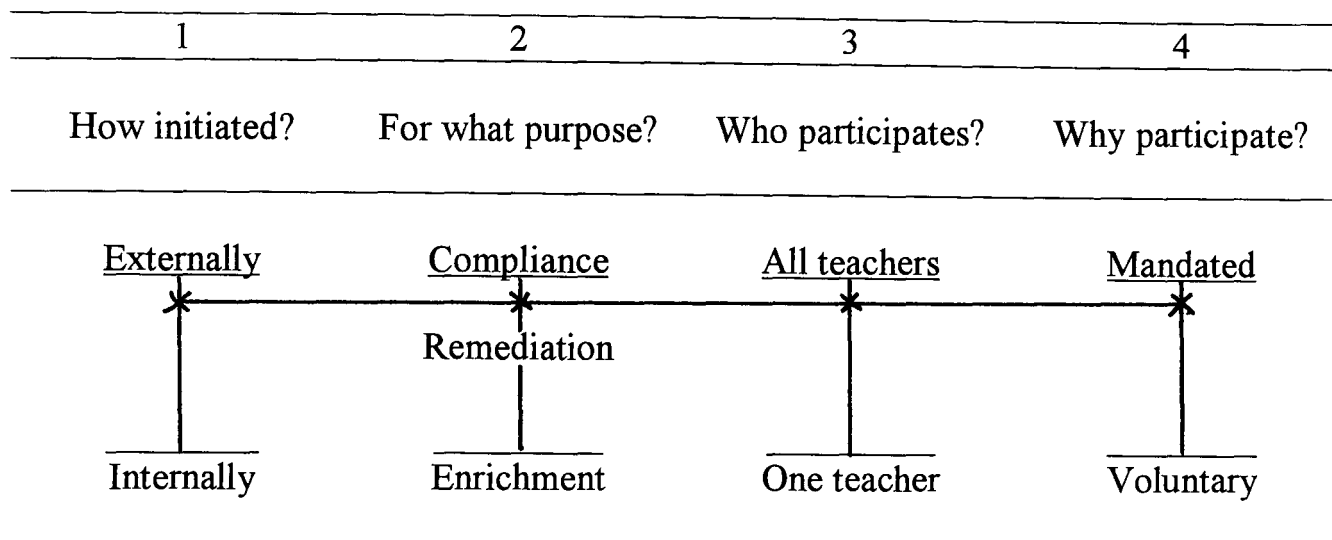
A schematic link between the conceptual levels

The theory outlined above was formulated for analysis of educational change at the most macroscopic level. Alongside that, Fenstermacher and Berliner's (1985) observations on in-service training in the USA (Figures 3.1 and 3.2) provides a link to conceptualizing micro-sociological factors. Their distinctions between 'mandated' or 'voluntary' training align closely with elements of Archer's (1979) theory. Actions associated with internal initiation, for instance, will tend to be 'voluntaristic'. Training introduced as a result of political manipulation would tend to be INSET that is 'mandated'. Similarly, these writers' assessment of the purpose of training programmes as being for 'enrichment', 'remediation' or 'compliance' with imposed priorities is a useful way of casting light on the pressures and mechanisms affecting training at the point of delivery. Their schematic representation also highlights whether an event involves a single member of staff or several, highlighting the notion of collaboration. In addition, Fenstermacher and Berliner discuss matters such as the enjoyment of training (rarely discussed in research and evaluation reports, but relevant to our understanding of individual perceptions).

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show contrasting profiles of training events, which will be used in the analysis of INSET programmes later in the thesis. There are limits to the finer detail because of the different professional worlds of American and English teachers, but Fenstermacher and Berliner's analysis provides a channel for moving from the macro-level assessment to the micro-level accounts which give a more rounded sociological understanding of the processes at work. The structure of

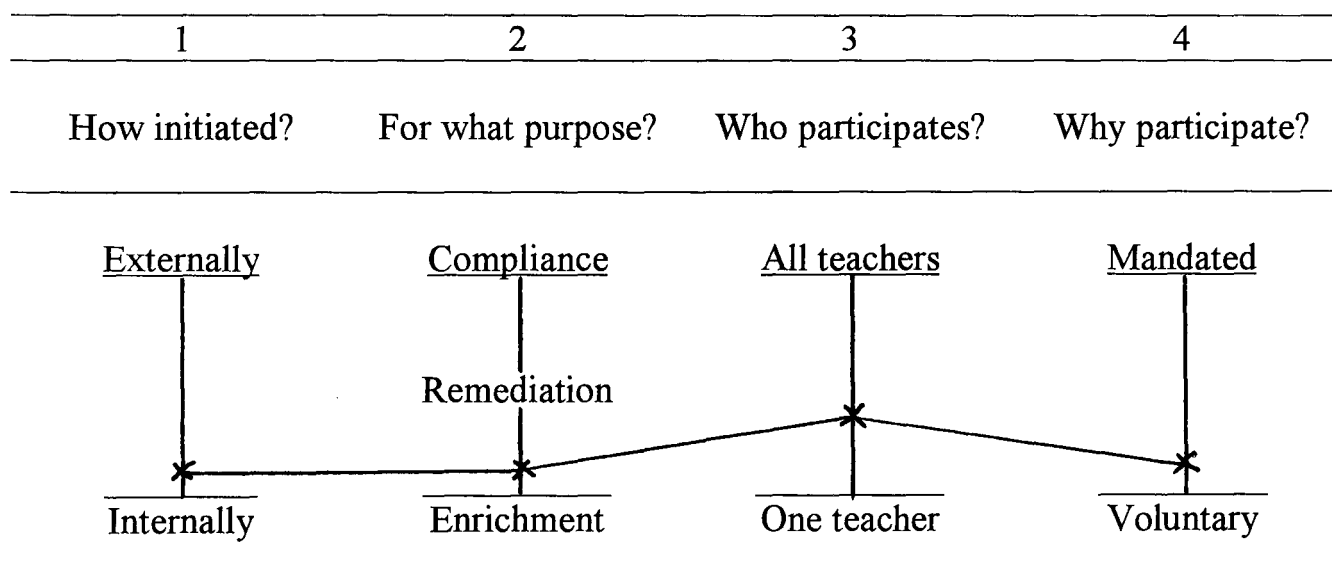
SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP INITIATIVES

Figure 3.1 Profile of a staff development activity: a workshop on sex-role stereotyping



Source: Fenstermacher and Berliner, 1985

Figure 3.2 Profile of a staff development activity: a group of teachers formed to study reading research



Source: Fenstermacher and Berliner, 1985

INSET and professional development as formulated at national level is one component of this analysis. The complementary aspect is the role of small groups and individuals in undertaking training, creating learning situations and shaping their own professional development. The graphical representation helps explain how these phenomena inter-relate and will be used to complement aspects of Archer (1979) in the study of particular cases. Archer's theory recognizes that the three forms of negotiation do not operate entirely discretely, and that analysing these processes of educational change 'involves examining group interaction at the levels of the school, the community, and the nation, and the interrelations between them' (p.243).

Alongside the analysis of teachers' professional development, I consider aspects of the development of the profession of teaching. To do so I will draw on a complementary theoretical approach which is set out in the next section.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE PROFESSIONS

The sociology of the professions provides very different possibilities for the analysis of INSET. This field of study has undergone substantial development in the past forty years. It is worth noting how the questions posed by sociologists have changed, because this thesis treats as problematic interpretations of the professional development system established in the late 1980s and early 1990s for teachers. A neo-Weberian perspective in the analysis of the profession of teaching balances the macro-level approach of Archer's theory, and the micro-level analysis of individual and group interaction.

Crompton (1990), Witz, (1992), Freidson (1994) and Macdonald (1995) have reviewed changing approaches to the study of the professions and this section draws out the key issues from their discussion. Early sociological interest in the 1950s and

1960s concerned the place of professions in society and the characteristics or traits of professions. Characteristics most commonly identified as indicators of a profession were:

- skill based on theoretical knowledge
- provision of training and education
- testing the competence of members
- organization
- adherence to a professional code
- altruistic service

Witz, 1992, p.40

The 'trait' approach included those who focused on the socially functional traits of professions (Greenwood, 1957; Goode, 1957). In contrast, interest developed in what has been termed the 'process' approach, on the process by which an occupational group gained the status of 'profession'. Wilensky (1964) tried to establish a 'natural history' of professionalisation, and observed that the knowledge base of the securely established professions incorporated both theory and practice. 'Practice' includes 'tacit knowledge', namely the knowledge that remains when all knowledge that can be communicated has been communicated (Polanyi, 1967), and the concept links with the work of Etzioni (1969) demarcated 'semi-professions' from the established professions. The former were predominantly female occupations, involving bureaucratic organizations, with shorter training. A 'semi-profession' had a less specialized body of knowledge and less clear status. Analyses based on the 'trait' and 'process' approaches were superseded because they produced such a wide range of features that were said to represent the 'essence' of a profession and moreover they did not produce the same features (Witz, 1992, p.40).

Others had also written about the professions: Merton was interested in elements of bureaucracy which were not functional (Merton, 1947 pp.79-81). Mills (1956, p.112) was concerned about organizations and how bureaucracy and managerialism were permeating professional life with the result that highly qualified

people were working in situations where their understanding and expertise were reduced by routine; they became in the end managers. Writing specifically about teaching, Leggatt suggested that 'bureaucratic professions' would be a better term than Etzioni's 'semi-professions' (Leggatt, 1970. p.160).

Gradually, study of the professions moved away from attempts to produce sociological categories. Over time, neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist paradigms developed, the latter sometimes characterized as the 'power approach' (Freidson, 1970; Johnson, 1972). Discussion focused increasingly on how some occupations managed to persuade society to accord them a position that would be designated as 'profession'. Applying these ideas to the field of in-service training and continuing professional development, I reformulate this inquiry to ask what part professional learning plays in securing and maintaining the status of teaching as a profession.

Johnson (1972) was influential for his 'devastating critique of the loaded, ideological, cultural and historical basis of the trait and process approaches: this was a radical and irrevocable break with them' (Witz, 1992, pp 40-41). For Johnson, a profession was a means of controlling an occupation; a neo-Marxist analysis of teachers' professional development would assess INSET policy and practice in these terms. The proletarianisation debate preoccupied neo-Marxist discussions about structural and systemic features of professionalisation (Braverman, 1974). On teaching, Lawn and Ozga (1981) took up these themes as the next section shows.

Teaching as a profession

There has been much discussion about the extent to which teaching may have undergone a process of proletarianization and/or de-skilling. A key element is the extent to which teaching can be defined as a profession. Historically teachers never

achieved the rigorously controlled entry, financial recognition or social prestige accorded to professions such as the law or medicine. The strength of professional bodies such as the Law Society, the General Medical Council, or the Royal Institute of British Architecture is apparent in their regulatory powers. They represent the profession to the wider society, and also support their professional members. The teaching profession has lacked an equivalent body. In Etzioni's compromise, teaching, as a 'semi-profession', is comparable with occupations such as nursing or social work. In all three the state is the dominant employer. Yet teaching is undoubtedly a 'professional occupation' when seen against the late 20th century proliferation of 'professional bodies' such as the Institute of Accoustics, The Chartered Institute of Marketing, The Institute of Personnel and Development and others. The concept of professionalism has after all varied over time (Broadbent, Dietrich and Roberts, 1997) and 'cannot be clearly and simply defined, since it has a varying range of characteristics which are often culturally determined' (Helsby, 1995, p.317). Taking a historical view, Hoyle observes:

State support for the professional project was mainly conditional on the support of the teaching profession for certain state policies. Largely, through the exercise of union influence, teaching in Britain increasingly met the criteria traditionally used to distinguish the professions from other occupations. Only qualified teachers could be employed in state schools... Teaching enjoyed a high degree of autonomy... Teaching was in the process of professionalization.

Hoyle, 1997, p.49

As more extensive and complex bureaucracies develop, professional standards and values may differ from the aims and ethics of an employing organization. The individual has to attempt to reconcile the two. The 'proletarianization' explanation is that some traditionally middle-class occupational groups of highly qualified people (such as teachers) are now comparable to the traditional working class. Their terms and conditions of employment have eroded their autonomy at work, and they are

subject to more controls. Such analyses are influenced by Braverman's (1974) theoretical critique of capitalist labour processes, which was based on F.W. Taylor's three principles:

- the dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers
- the separation of conception from execution
- use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution.

Braverman, 1974, pp.113-9

New technologies require different skills; traditional 'craft' expertise loses its value, and employees are in effect 'deskilled'. As managerial power grows, the employee becomes proletarianized. In education, this means that teachers became 'educational workers' (Lawn and Ozga, 1981); they have new skills to learn, and must do so under even greater controls. Few can look to 'reskilling' for senior managerial roles. These explanations, persuasive in many ways, do not wholly explain what was happening in education during the period of this study. New skills were undoubtedly being learned, some of them contemporary professional skills- and knowledge- previously unforeseen. These were most apparent in the field of using new technology for teaching and learning (which is why one of the case studies in this thesis focuses on that area). But they related also to developing pedagogy for instance to support 'active learning' or managing 'self-supported' learning, and included new organizational approaches to the management of increasingly complex secondary schools.

Applying the notion of de-skilling to the evolution of INSET is also problematic: it did become in certain ways more limited (in being tied to defined objectives) more functional (as for National Curriculum purposes) and driven by the need for specific occupational competences (in a world where the terminology of professional skills borrowed increasingly from the vocabulary of vocational

education). This view concurs with the idea that INSET was a remedial activity, and with the metaphor of GRIST as a 'centralizing mechanism in that it places the teaching profession in a cage, the bars formed by the National Curriculum and categorical funding' (McBride, 1989, p.9).

Yet teachers' INSET between 1988 and 1992 also offered opportunities for exploring, reflecting on and extending existing professional expertise as well as developing new skills and 'reskilling'. In this teaching was in advance of many professions, recognizing that 'up-dating' was just one element in a process that could be deeper and further-reaching, resulting in more profound reflection on professional practice. It need not be restricted to achieving task-specific competence but could engage creatively with new as well as with existing forms of knowledge and learning. CPD did not apply to particular phases of a working life. It implied career-long, perhaps lifelong, professional learning. Indeed, Ozga and Lawn (1989, p.329) recognised some limitations of the proletarianisation argument.

At a more general level, Grint (1991) questioned the basis of Braverman's view. Summarizing his argument very briefly (from pages 189-197):

- 1) Braverman's account of deskilling depends on the idea of 19th century craft work.
- 2) The term 'de-skilling' calls for a formal definition of skill, which is difficult because skill is socially constructed. It cannot be equated with 'craft mastery'.
- 3) Employee control cannot be equated with class strategies of control. Resisting employers' managerialism and advancing class interests are separate.
- 4) A homogenous workforce of deskilled proletarians has not emerged. Instead more divisions have appeared within the working class. There is a smaller manual workforce. Professional and service groups have grown.

5) There is no single 'best way' to organize capitalist production efficiently, whether this is Taylor's application of scientific principles, or Braverman's effective management of alienated labour.

6) Employees can actively interpret instructions to suit their own needs, and may reject or reinterpret rules and controls.

Finally, class cannot be assumed to be the dominant factor. So caution is advisable:

One needs to begin to specify not just the top-down constraints and facilities provided by socially structured conditions- such as race, gender and class etc.- but also the way these are aggregated at the level of the individual....The problem of determining the relative importance of class, gender and race necessarily involves examining the experiences as perceived by the individual... Braverman's approach... ignores the significance of subjective factors and presumes the superiority of class.

Grint, 1991, p.197

These observations about the individual's experience point again to the value of in-depth studies of particular initiatives and individual teachers alongside broader analyses of policy. Grint also alerts us to be cautious about applying to the teaching profession in the late 20th century a theory that was originally formulated to explain factory labour processes. A recent study again criticized notions of 'proletarianisation' as 'too simplistic: teachers both individually and as a group will play a key role in shaping their future working lives' (Helsby, 1995, p.330). However, teaching is just one of many professional groups, and by maintaining a wide sociological perspective, it is evident that the threats and pressures faced in teaching have their parallels in other occupations. The next section demonstrates this.

Developing analysis of the professions

Macdonald traces other directions in the analysis of the professions back to Hughes:

I passed from the false question 'Is this occupation a profession?' to the more fundamental one 'What are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people?'

Hughes, 1963, p.656 cited in Macdonald, 1995, p.6

He notes that Hughes was talking here 'in terms of action, not structure', relating this to Becker *et al.* (1961) and Freidson's (1970) work on medicine where the concern was with how individuals saw their social worlds and how they constructed their careers. For Freidson a profession was an occupation that has been given the right to control its work by either the state or some elite group. Once this 'organized autonomy' is gained, its social prestige may be maintained without further support. Developing his theory around the idea of occupational control, Freidson (1994) reassesses the role of the professions as an appropriate and desirable element in society:

The kind of work is esoteric, complex and discretionary in character: it requires knowledge, skill and judgment that ordinary people do not possess, may not wholly comprehend, and cannot readily evaluate. The kind of work they do is believed to be especially important for the well being of individuals or of society at large- it is also Good Work.

Freidson, 1994, p.200

Parkin (1979) was interested in professionalisation as a strategy of exclusionary closure (to restrict entrants to a profession) and Parry and Parry's (1976) work on the medical profession considered professionalisation in terms of social closure and collective mobility. (Their work has been described as the only neo-Weberian closure approach which attempts to address 'the relation between gender, power and professionalisation' (Witz, 1992, p.42)).

The neo-Weberian approach is apparent in Larson's (1977) use of concepts such as exclusion and social closure as explanations of how the social status of a professional group is maintained. Larson was interested in both scientific knowledge and free markets, taking up for instance Weber's work on the role of qualifications:

expert knowledge can be represented in terms of social and economic rewards. Questions can be posed about how people with a specialized knowledge base establish a monopoly of knowledge, and how they then establish a monopoly of the services deriving from it.

Various studies of the professions have incorporated a neo-Weberian approach. Witz uses it within her model of occupational closure strategies which identifies their gender dimensions; Macdonald finds this approach sits alongside symbolic interactionism and fits with an 'action-based' theory, and uses Larson's (1977) work to develop a model for his empirical study of accountancy. It pinpoints action rather than structure as a means of understanding the social world, using Weber's ideas about conflict and competition. For these reasons attention will be paid in Chapter 5 to Macdonald's development of Larson's work in the notion of the 'professional project'.

This model provides one way of exploring the part played by CPD in the establishing and maintenance of professional status as part of the 'professional project'. The pressures facing teaching during the period of this study were paralleled in many occupations. The preservation of professional status was becoming increasingly problematic at the very time when the status of newly emergent professions was being promoted (and para-professional groups posed a threat). In the last twenty years of the century, professional people have felt vulnerable for many reasons (Galloway, 1998b), among them increased regulation, reduced public confidence, and a greater readiness to enter into litigation. This erosion of trust is seen by some as inevitable: 'Professional society is, by definition, knowledge-intensive society; and the more knowledge-intensive society becomes, the less deferential it will be' (Marquand, 1997, p.144).

Moreover, patterns of employment are changing, less secure contractual arrangements affect many, and the complexity and pace of change driven by modern telecommunications introduces new threats as well as new opportunities for some.

One summary of the pressures on professional people lists:

Economy and uncertainty
Accountability
Quality
Maintenance of competence
Towards flexible working
Information technology

Watkins, 1994, pp.11-15

The accumulation of such pressures might suggest that 'professionalism' is unlikely to survive. Nevertheless Broadbent *et al.* refute the idea that professionalism might be at an end. Contributors to their edited volume on the restructuring of professional work stress

- The fundamental rationale for professionalism, with a set of common roots
- The diversity of professionalism which encompasses many varied particular conditions and is based on both formal and informal norms and rules.
- The contradictions inherent in the current era of change
- The dynamism of change.

(Summarized from Broadbent, Dietrich and Roberts, 1997, pp.2-3)

Such analyses demonstrate that threats to teachers' professionalism and autonomy have their counterparts in other highly qualified occupations where the right to a legal monopoly of knowledge-based services has constantly to be reasserted. This can be done by credentialism in raised initial entry requirements, or by redefining 'recognized experience' (for recognition such as chartered membership of a professional body). The pace of change and development, exacerbated by technological, social and environmental factors, makes lifelong learning more than a fashionable slogan: career-long professional learning has become a prerequisite. For many professional associations, maintaining the status of a profession also means tougher CPD requirements (Galloway, 1998b). These involve more formal CPD

schemes, CPD points ratings, and obligatory annual record-keeping of CPD activities. Having achieved a professional status, this has to be maintained in the face of the threats outlined above:

The status of even the most established professions has been open to criticism for misappropriating and monopolizing knowledge, blithely disregarding social injustices, and mystifying their expertise. Professionals themselves argue that it is impossible to meet heightened societal expectations for their performance in an environment that combines increasing turbulence with increasing regulation of professional activity

Schön, 1987, p.7

A 'bargain' was struck between the professions and society (Hughes, 1959), but 'in the current climate of criticism, controversy, and dissatisfaction, the bargain is coming unstuck' (Schön, 1987, p.7). As the 'bargain' between professional teachers and the state came under increased pressure in the late 1980s, with INSET itself contributing to that pressure, the analysis of practitioner knowledge and professional learning is highly relevant to understandings of how macro-level policy was enacted at the micro-sociological level. The observation about the breakdown of trust between the professions and society leads us to a more general consideration of Schön's assessment of professional people and the ways in which they learn.

DEVELOPING REFLECTIVE PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

There is a third way in which this thesis explores CPD for teachers. Teaching is not about structures and systems alone, and whilst it is interesting to seek out ways in which INSET may influence the status of the profession, it is equally important to reflect the daily reality of what teachers actually do in encouraging children to learn. I indicated at the outset that there is no 'natural' field of enquiry against which to locate an analysis of INSET and professional development, and noted the relative lack of attention which sociologists have given INSET. Even research on adult learning,

higher education and lifelong learning covers different terrain (e.g. Brookfield, 1986; Edwards, Hanson and Raggatt, 1996; Barnett, 1997). One reason may relate to the hierarchy of themes for analysis. Certainly, there is a view that prestige attaches to theory and research rather than to practice, and this view permeates thinking about professional learning. These fields of study have been characterized as the 'entwining, personalistic and crisis-like problems of everyday practice' (Stake, 1987, p.59). In another memorable metaphorical passage, Schön argues:

In the varied topography of professional practice, there is a high, hard ground overlooking a swamp. On the high ground, manageable problems lend themselves to solution through the application of research-based theory and technique. In the swampy lowland, messy, confusing problems defy technical solution. The irony of the situation is that the problems of the high ground tend to be relatively unimportant to individuals or society at large, however great their technical interest may be, while in the swamp lie the problems of greatest human concern. The practitioner must choose. Shall he remain on the high ground where he can solve relatively unimportant problems according to prevailing standards of rigor, or shall he descend to the swamp of important problems and non-rigorous inquiry? This dilemma has two sources: first, the prevailing idea of rigorous professional knowledge, based on technical rationality, and second, awareness of indeterminate, swampy zones of practice that lie beyond its canons.

Schön, 1987, p.3

In investigating teachers' professional learning processes, Schön (1983, 1987) offers conceptual tools that give purchase on the complexity of individual and group learning experiences. His starting point is the awareness that 'competent practitioners usually know more than they can say and exhibit a kind of "knowing-in-practice", most of which is tacit' (Schön, 1983, p.viii).

Starting from 'bureaucratization' and 'industrialization', he describes a 'crisis of confidence in the professions, and perhaps also the decline in professional self-image' (Schön, 1983, p.13). This corresponds to a similar 'crisis in professional education', and 'What aspiring practitioners need most to learn, professional schools seem least able to teach' (Schön, 1987, p.8).

In conceptualizing teachers' CPD in England between 1988 and 1992 Schön's approach is very relevant. He notes how it is difficult for professionals

to imagine how to describe and teach what might be meant by making sense of uncertainty, performing artistically, setting problems, and choosing among competing professional paradigms, when these processes seem mysterious in the light of the prevailing model of professional knowledge.

Schön, 1983, pp.19-20

The dominant epistemology of practice (inadequate in his view) is the model of technical rationality. Within it, professional activity 'consists in instrumental problem-solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique' (Schön, 1983, p.21). This thesis demonstrates the tension between diverse understandings of teaching as a profession and of the professional development appropriate to that. At one extreme, more limited definitions of teaching as a profession associate with a view of INSET as instrumental and functional; monitoring and evaluation can be objectives-led and need not divert attention to unexpected results. These definitions conform to the model of technical rationality. At the other extreme, teaching can be defined as a creative professional endeavour (Stenhouse, 1984a; Eisner, 1985; Woods, 1996), and appropriate professional development must seek to address the complexity of teachers' work (Smyth, 1995). As Wesson (1986) concluded, for teachers to be effective 'situational or existential decision-makers', professional development must recognize their autonomy. In unpredictable contexts, professional development must enable teachers to live with questions: 'the model for such practice is that of the artist rather than the engineer or technologist' (Wesson, 1986, p.15). For Schön this is 'professional artistry' in confronting the unfamiliar: 'indeterminate zones of practice- uncertainty, uniqueness and value-conflict- escape the canons of technical rationality' (Schön, 1987, p.6).

Schön draws on the work of Schein (1973), Glazer (1974) and Simon (1976). Schein distinguished between three components of professional knowledge: the underlying discipline or basic science component; the applied science or engineering component, and lastly the skills and attitudinal component. Theoretical knowledge has higher status than applied knowledge: 'the more basic and general the knowledge the higher the status of its producer' (Schön, 1983, p.24) He adopts Schein's idea of a gap between 'convergent' science and 'divergent' practice and returns repeatedly to the need to reaffirm creativity in professional practice. Recording how the professions of engineering and medicine established themselves and became models of professional practice, he observes that 'according to the positivist epistemology of practice, craft and artistry had no lasting place in rigorous practical knowledge (Schön, 1983, p.34).

The perspective of technical rationality defines professional practice in terms of a process of problem solving, but that disregards the process of problem setting:

When we set the problem, we select what we will treat as the "things" of the situation, we set the boundaries of our own attention to it, and we impose upon it a coherence which allows us to say what is wrong and in what directions the situation needs to be changed. Problem setting is a process in which, interactively, we *name* the things to which we will attend and *frame* the context in which we will attend to them.

Schön, 1983, p.40)

'Setting the problem' can be seen in terms of establishing national priorities for INSET; equally it will be traced through in the case studies. Dealing with a unique problem requires people to map elements of familiar theory on to problems which arise in practice. Conflict or confusion of ends will make this difficult:

When there are conflicting paradigms of professional practice, such as we find in the pluralism of psychiatry, social work, or town planning, there is no clearly established context for the use of technique. There is contention over multiple ways of framing the practice role, each of which entrains a distinctive approach to problem setting and solving.

Schön, 1983, p.42

Conflicting paradigms of the practice of teaching and also of the practice of professional development were evident between 1988 and 1992.

Glazer distinguished between 'major' and 'minor' professions; the former have clear ends and operate in stable circumstances with a systematic (often scientific) knowledge base, whereas:

The minor professions suffer from shifting, ambiguous ends and from unstable institutional contexts of practice, and are therefore unable to develop a base of systematic, scientific professional knowledge.

Schön, 1983, p.23

Simon, meanwhile, focused on 'design' or how to change 'existing situations into preferred ones' (Simon, 1972, p.55, cited in Schön, 1983, p.46). But, says Schön, that is just what professional education has not done; moreover, Simon's proposed science of design 'can only be applied to well-formed problems already extracted from situations of practice' (Schön, p.47). This ignores problem-setting. He demonstrates how such perspectives on professional knowledge persist in a positivistic view which had itself fallen out of favour among philosophers of science, so the 'dilemma of rigor or relevance' must be resolved in a philosophical context where 'there is a rebirth of interests in the ancient topics of craft, artistry, and myth' (Schön, 1983, p. 48). Having exposed the model of technical rationality, he aims at a more appropriate epistemology of practice which recognizes the variety and unpredictability of professional situations (Schön, 1983, p.49).

Schön builds on these observations, to indicate how professional understanding depends upon 'tacit knowing-in-action', and how practitioners cope with the sorts of intangible difficulties outlined above by a process of knowing-in-action, reflecting-in-action, and reflecting-in-practice. Reflection apart from the classroom situation is better defined as reflection-on-action. Again, these terms will

prove helpful in the micro-sociological analysis of teachers' INSET experiences. His argument continues:

When someone reflects-in-action, he becomes a researcher in the practice context. He is not dependent on the categories of established theory and technique, but constructs a new theory of the unique case.

Schön, 1983, p.68

For the purposes of considering processes associated with INSET, we need not assume a direct relationship and parity between reflection-in-action and conventional forms of research. It is enough to document what Schön describes as the 'messier' components of professional development and show how these may sometimes exemplify professional expertise in ways which conventional 'evaluation' studies, for instance, cannot always detect. This analysis will deal with professional development in the widest sense, mindful in general terms of the view that:

The study of reflection-in-action is critically important. The dilemma of rigor or relevance may be dissolved if we can develop an epistemology of practice which places technical problem solving within a broader context of reflective inquiry, shows how reflection-in-action may be rigorous in its own right, and links the art of practice in uncertainty and uniqueness to the scientist's art of research. We may thereby increase the legitimacy of reflection-in-action and encourage its broader, deeper and more rigorous use.

Schön, 1983, p.68

Alongside the model of the reflective practitioner stand those of the teacher-as-researcher, of the extended professional (Stenhouse, 1975) and of action research (Elliott, 1991). Practitioners' assessments can be very powerful, but should be noted that the practitioner is not necessarily best placed or best equipped to engage in systematic investigation. Some differences between teaching and research are fundamental:

The sure-footed, extrovert, knowledgeable teacher who engenders confidence in pupils, pushes for successful outcomes and deals promptly with the myriad of situations which arise in the immediacy of the classroom, is *not* the same as the researcher who constantly challenges all his or her assumptions, systematically thinks through all the alternatives before taking action, and is

just as interested in what can be learned from failure as from success...
Furthermore, there are some kinds of research which teachers may
never have an interest in addressing.

Brown, 1988, p.159

A similar point emerges in Hammersley's scepticism about approaches which
advocate a 'very close relationship between research and practice':

Much of the value of research... is that it addresses issues that are not of
immediate concern to any particular set of practitioners, but which are
nevertheless important. The most pressing problems are not necessarily the
most significant, nor can we assume that practitioners have a solid
understanding of their problems or their situations.

Hammersley, 1998, p.73

The very term 'reflective practitioner' can be used inappropriately:

People vary in the opportunity, ability, or propensity to reflect. It would be
unreasonable to expect teachers consistently to engage in reflection at every
moment. Likewise, there are probably very few who never engage in
reflection- rather than identifying a teacher as reflective or not reflective, we
assume that any definition of reflection in teaching should allow for discerning
a spectrum of reflection in teachers.

Copeland, Birmingham, de la Cruz and Lewin, 1993, p.349

These writers note a 'lack of clarity and consistency' accompanying discussion of the
image of the teacher as a reflective practitioner (p.347), and ask 'How would you
recognize a reflective practitioner if you saw one?' (p.348). The question is pertinent
to the case study data presented in this thesis. Through a literature review,
supplemented by interviews, they offer a 'set of critical attributes of reflective practice
as an initial step in an effort to distinguish reflective teachers from their less reflective
colleagues' (p.348). However, the comment cited above demonstrates how the
definitional edges are necessarily blurred in places.

Others have discussed the concept of reflection. Day (1993, p.84) reviews a
series of educational researchers (e.g. Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Holly, 1989; Elliott *et al.*, 1981, and Handal, 1990) who attempted to explain 'reflection', 'an essential part of
learning which is itself under-researched'. He warns:

Schön's (1983) notion of 'reflective practice' may itself be criticized for failing to deal with the importance of the discursive, dialogical dimension of learning which can only emerge from processes of confrontation and reconstruction.

Day. 1993, p.86

The case studies presented in this thesis will exemplify such dialogue, but Day's comment points to the need to address more directly ideas about consensus and collaboration, to which I now turn.

COLLABORATIVE INSET

Collaboration has been called a 'metaparadigm of educational and organizational change in the postmodern age' (A. Hargreaves, 1995, p.150). It is not a central plank of any of the theoretical fields which have been set out in this chapter, yet the notion of collaboration will be unavoidable as the various theories are applied, so it is appropriate to comment on it in this chapter.

Certainly INSET manuals and managerial texts stressed the value of participative styles of training, to ensure 'ownership' of change by teachers. This calls for cooperation or collaboration between individuals and groups, frequently represented as a consensual activity. Alongside the prescriptions, there were fewer accounts of how this could in practice be achieved and these texts less frequently admitted that the collaborative mode might be problematic. Holly, James and Young (1987) concluded that a collegial approach to change within a school can at its best result in "'synergism"...the staff, by working in concert, can achieve more than they would as a collection of individuals'. But Ball (1987, p.19) argued that secondary schools, like any social organizations, are 'arenas of struggle...riven with actual or potential conflict between members...poorly coordinated...ideologically diverse'.

In the primary phase, work on teacher identity and reference groups points to different educational philosophies co-existing within staffrooms. Reference groups have dual possibilities, because they may

simultaneously promote and impede the development of the profession and of the individual within it. On the one hand, they are crucial in establishing and maintaining shared values among groups of teachers, a state which, if achieved, facilitates mutual understanding and provides encouragement and support in a lonely occupation. On the other, they may frustrate the negotiation of shared collegial norms. Reference groups used for the defence of one set of values can obstruct the open discussion of and agreement of others.

Nias, 1984, p.117

The process of decision-making (or non-decision-making) about collective commitment to training is complex and merits attention at a micro-level. Moreover, dispute is not necessarily obstructive. Confrontation, negotiation and compromise can all play a part in professional development, in moving forward and reaching a positive outcome. The case studies that follow explore whether schools achieve this INSET 'synergy', and if so, how. Where are the conflicts? What are the negotiation points? How does teacher culture affect INSET? Nixon *et al.*, writing of 'learning to learn in the learning school', note how the sources of some 'problems' or 'triggers for learning' may lie in the differences of perspective or belief held by those within a school, and that 'organizations may need to develop skills in conflict management'.

Argyris and Schön, (1978) set out the notion of 'single-loop' and 'double-loop' learning, in which the latter characterizes the more searching reassessment of practice needed to prepare the way for major change. Educational developments at the time of this study often called for 'double-loop' learning. This distinction helps to demarcate more 'instrumental' types of INSET from professional development in a deeper and broader sense. Nixon *et al.* observe that through 'double-loop' learning

Individuals confront the basic assumptions behind the views of others and invite confrontation of their own basic assumptions... The struggles between groups present dilemmas for organizations, but also opportunities when they can lead into double-loop learning, because it can enable an organization to unify around shared purposes.

Nixon, Martin, McKeown, Ranson, 1996, p. 126-7

'Synergy' depends upon collaborative activity, which may well involve confrontation. But the word 'collaboration' has had a derogatory meaning as well as a positive one. McBride (1989) has also warned of this:

It has been used to mean: working constructively together; performing duties within a framework without questioning the framework; working together to benefit from economies of scale; being democratic in discussion; being democratic when making decisions; the opposite of competing; negotiating the best deal; supporting; mutually supporting; mutually respecting; performing similar actions; and there may be others. This rubbery word should be treated as problematic until its meaning in any context is clarified.

McBride 1989, p188

Since 'collaboration' itself warrants sociological exploration, it is used in this thesis with some caution to indicate situations where two or more individuals or groups are engaged -for whatever reason- in the same professional development activity. Their motives sometimes differ, or they may actually be at odds with the over-arching intention behind the initiative. Collaboration may sometimes be no more than mutual exploitation: but it results in teachers working together in a situation where they discuss professional matters and this is shown to be on occasion instructive. The micro-politics of an institution can interact with the declared aims of training initiatives. Arguing from Ball (1987) and Nias (1984 and 1985), collaboration is taken as problematic. The process of articulating and resolving conflict is seen as an integral part of individual professional development, as of institutional development.

Day (1993) warned against 'comfortable collaboration' and 'contrived collegiality' (p. 88-89), whilst A. Hargreaves summarized the strengths of

collaboration as: moral support, increased efficiency, improved effectiveness and reduced overload. It offers synchronized time perspectives and 'situated certainty', encourages political assertiveness and increases the capacity for reflection. It results in greater organizational responsiveness and more opportunities to learn, and fosters continuous improvement (A. Hargreaves, 1995, pp.151-154). Countering these features are the potential problems: collaboration may result in superficial 'collaborating for the sake of collaboration'. It may provoke activities which play safe by avoiding controversial areas, or lead to conformism ('groupthink'). It may end in 'contrived' situations where time and energy is expended on administration, or it may be a political device which entraps teachers in dubious activities (A. Hargreaves, 1995, p.155).

'Collaboration' in itself is no cure-all. But like 'ownership', the concept is well established in the jargon of INSET. The short-hand labels indicate concepts which are important in the sociological study of factors surrounding professionalism and educational change, but they need to be used advisedly. Similarly, while the training literature refers freely to 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' planning, the sociologist seeks to understand the factors determining how activities are initiated and interpreted, and how far these develop from within or are imposed from outside the professional group, or through some interaction between different factors. This is where a framework such as Fenstermacher and Berliner's scheme can be put to sociological use alongside the macro-theoretical analysis.

The alternative conceptual approaches which have been outlined in this chapter will be used in this thesis to assess the usefulness of each in producing sociological explanations relating to teachers' professional development as it reveals the professionalism and autonomy of the teaching profession during the period of this

study. The application of Archer's theory (in conjunction with Fenstermacher and Berliner) to teachers' INSET offers a novel theoretical approach. The examination of professional development against theories about the development of the professions, in particular those developed by Larson, is another original route. The third, more conventional perspective on professional development offered in the work of Schön should facilitate understanding of the learning processes associated with INSET.

INSET and professional development play complex roles in educational change, in the development of teaching as a profession, and in the learning of individuals and institutions. Alternative theoretical approaches have been adopted in order to cast light from different angles on that complexity as a means of developing new knowledge and understanding about professionalism and autonomy. It is helpful to repeat here a distinction which Archer makes between explanations relating to centralized and decentralized systems: the former can be analyzed 'as a political story, with characters, plot, and outcome', whilst in a decentralized system interaction cannot be represented by one single account, because

three different kinds of negotiation are going on simultaneously and are taking place at three different levels (those of the school, community and nation), instead of being restricted to the last of these. There are only themes, not a continuous story...there is no historic saga, but only a collection of short stories, in which some of the same characters reappear and some of the same problems are tackled by different personae in different ways.

Archer, 1979, p.396

The short story is an established literary genre as worthy of analysis as the novel or indeed the saga. It has its own challenges, conventions and strengths.

Archer's notion of a collection of narratives serves a theoretical purpose, but the idea is also relevant for the present study: like a novella or short story, Chapter 2 provided one narrative of teachers' professional development. That account might be accompanied by parallel and overlapping stories of the National Curriculum, and of

the Education Reform Act 1988. This chapter has set out the sociological framework within which 'stories' about teachers' professional development will be told. The location for these analyses will range from the most macro-level to some very individual situations. The methodological consequences of this is the subject to which we now turn.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGICAL ROUTES TO EXPLORING THEORY

The choice of empirical methods will reflect the field of study, the questions posed, the theoretical approaches adopted and the resources that might reasonably be deemed to be available for PhD work. The main lines of enquiry as set out at the end of Chapter 1 can now be seen against the substantive sociological literature. They are:

- What sociological factors explain the government's position on the in-service education and training of teachers and the national system as it developed in England between 1988 and 1992?
- How did teachers' CPD relate to the progress and maintenance of the professional project?
- What sociological factors help explain the experience which teachers have in undertaking professional development activities?

The connections between these lines of enquiry, the alternative theoretical approaches and the fieldwork methods is the first concern of this chapter.

The aim of interlinking insights at different levels might suggest that, in principle, data relating to macro-, meta- and micro- levels would be analysed. In an ideal situation, an exhaustive data collection plan might cover the full range of evidence, which could derive from statistics generated through administrative systems or surveys, more qualitatively-based surveys, and ethnographic methods especially in-depth interviews and participant observation. Within each of these areas further choices would have to be made as to the scale of data collection, its complexity and the analytical methods to be used. But ideal research situations are rare; indeed most

investigations must omit certain areas in order to concentrate on others for intellectual reasons as well as resource limitations. They restrict the scope and method as well as the period of a study.

In practice, then, this thesis begins at the macro-sociological level but progressively focuses down to the micro-level (Figure 1.1). That is my response to the need for a 'reconciliation' of the structure-agency dualism discussed in Chapter 1. In that process, ethnographic studies have

Reinstated the importance of agency... by taking seriously the intentions, strategies and monitoring of events carried out by individuals... this work has implicitly been concerned to rescue the acting, reflexive subject and place her/him at the centre of the sociological project.

Shilling, 1992, p.73

At the macro-level, the main sources of information were documents created by the policy community and interpretations of evidence from existing research. There was no primary data collection, for instance, among key national actors. This is because their behaviour is not the main subject of the research; rather it is the response of practitioners to changes in the policy environment and to other contextual circumstances affecting their professional development and autonomy. The 'manageable field of reality' then, is defined not only by the period 1988-92 but also by concentrating primary data collection at the micro-level of the education system and teachers' professional development.

The main empirical methods used are participant observation and the semi-structured in-depth interview (sometimes repeated with the same respondent as part of the case study approach). The first section of this chapter examines the implications of this choice for the contribution which the thesis can and cannot make to knowledge. An additional factor is that most of the primary data were collected not for the purpose of the doctoral research, but in the context of particular evaluation

projects. This raises two important methodological issues which are discussed in this chapter. The first concerns the relationship between evaluation and ethnographic research. This includes the potential of ethnography in evaluation, and some limitations which the evaluation context might place on an ethnographic approach.

The second methodological issue concerns the re-analysis of evidence when it is used for a different purpose from that for which it was originally collected. After addressing these issues, the chapter explains why certain case studies were chosen for discussion in the thesis, describes the context in which the fieldwork was conducted, and gives practical information about how it was conducted.

In this respect I will draw on theoretical approaches which share a common Weberian origin, as explained in Chapter 1. The empirical case studies provide on the one hand sufficient rigour in their prior design, and on the other enough flexibility to allow for the complexity of the evolving micro-level situation. The cases are selected for their ability to play a part in extending and/or adapting existing theory, by offering a range of settings against which to employ the theoretical framework (see Figure 1.1 and Chapter 3). They have been taken from a wider range of examples from two research projects between which conceptual and methodological links could be made. The reasons for their selection are pursued more fully below. First, however, I want to consider some general issues about the appropriateness of case study.

CASE STUDY AS A RESEARCH TOOL

What features of the case study made it an appropriate vehicle for understanding in sociological terms aspects of teacher professionalism and autonomy? It provided a way of linking the study of national policy with local circumstances: factors identified in the macro-sociological analysis of the training system could be

traced through with a micro-sociological perspective. Central policy directives are not always enacted without adaptation; they are implemented by individuals and groups of people working within particular regions and institutions, with their own professional histories and expertise, and particular opportunities and constraints. Case study provides a route into those specific circumstances and illustrates how decisions were taken in practice. It gives a means to understanding how exactly national policy intentions were perceived and interpreted by practitioners:

The case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social, and political phenomena... the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events- such as individual life-cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries.

Yin, 1989, p.14

This writer's definition makes technical distinctions between this research strategy and others:

A case study is an empirical enquiry that:

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

Yin, 1989, p.23

The three cases used in this thesis are selected from eight in-depth case studies of training events which I conducted in 1988-1990. Their validity relates to the separate research locations, but as examples of specific types of professional development, they have potentially wider relevance. The validity of these cases would be much more limited, if it were not that each is located within a much more extensive body of supporting empirical material collected in these schools and neighbouring ones. These are decidedly not 'studies of singularities' as Bassey

defined them: they do fit his definition that 'Case study is the study of a singularity conducted in depth in natural settings' (Bassey, 1999, p.47).

The cases chosen highlight key dimensions of school-focused INSET and provide a range of examples to which we can apply the theoretical analysis. The account given in each case study gives rise to certain empirical claims. Equally, the case studies serve as a route for experimenting with the various theories and exploring their explanatory value. Each case will be placed within its developing local context, but will also be located against the macro-sociological discussion of how the training system was evolving. This exploits the case study in Stake's (1995) terms as 'the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances' (Stake, 1995, p.xi). But how far might the findings be transferable to other settings? The question points to matters of typicality, validity, generalisability, and replication.

Against the strengths of the case study approach, it is useful to note some limitations of this research method, in particular the question of the potential replication of research. Clearly, after a passage of some years, even if one were to return to the same sites, any attempt to replicate would be suspect because of the different educational context and matters such as staff changes. One might design a re-study on the model of the cases presented with the intention of assessing how far the original theoretical lines of analysis could be extended to take account of different circumstances. Certain aspects of each case might be re-created (for instance cross-phase arrangements for INSET, or collaborative relationships in rural cluster groups). But for any investigation conducted in naturalistic settings rather than laboratory conditions, the potential to replicate exactly will always be limited. This is an inevitable feature of most qualitative research:

There are severe limits on the possibility and practice of replication in the social sciences.

Replication is difficult, if not impossible, in ethnographic research.

Hammersley, 1998, p.62-63

However, Hammersley also warns against putting undue faith in a spurious scientific methodology:

The argument that ethnographic studies are not scientific because they cannot easily be replicated is based on a false conception of the role of replication in natural science. Our inability to replicate ethnographic findings does not undermine assessments of their validity, though it may make the task more difficult.

Hammersley, 1998, p.64

Rather than cancelling out the richness and authenticity of case study by its limitations, a more useful formulation of what case study research can and cannot do lies in admitting the tensions and exploiting them:

One of the advantages cited for case study is its uniqueness, its capacity for understanding complexity in particular contexts. A corresponding disadvantage often cited is the difficulty of generalising from a single case. Such an observation assumes a polarity and stems from a particular view of research. Looked at differently, from within a holistic perspective and direct perception, there is no disjunction. What we have is a paradox, which acknowledged and explored in depth, yields both unique and universal understanding.

Simons, 1996, p.225

The case studies which I present in Chapters 7-9 recognize such a paradox. This can moreover be considered against a more extensive background, since they are prefaced by the analysis based on an interview programme, and the discussion in the four chapters based on primary data is located against the macro- perspective set out in Chapters 3 and 5.

The substantive area of study concerns teachers' professional development. Evaluation studies provide information about this field and in the next section I consider the relationship between evaluation issues and ethnographic research.

EVALUATION ISSUES AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Distinctions should be made between educationalists and sociologists confronting phenomena such as those that characterize teachers' professional development because they have different purposes (as outlined in earlier chapters). Since the purpose of a study determines the questions that are posed, as well as the research methods selected and the style of analysis, this section takes some of these distinctions further by commenting on educational evaluation and research, and by considering the use of ethnography in educational evaluation.

INSET evaluation

Publications on INSET were widely available between 1988 and 1992: numerous practical guides and resource books aimed to help those planning and evaluating in-service programmes. Such material included Easen, (1985), Oldroyd, Smith and Lee (1988), Bradley *et al* (1989), Holly and Southworth, 1989, and Gough and James (1990). I observed all but the last of these books in schools. After early work such as Henderson (1978) and Bolam (1982), general texts on INSET which were familiar to teachers included Hewton (1988), Bell and Day, (1991), and Williams (1991).

This type of material overlaps to some extent with accounts of action research projects, curriculum initiatives, school development programmes and similar activities which frequently report particular innovative professional development aspects. INSET co-ordinators might refer to Clift, Nuttall and McCormick (1987); Day, Whitaker and Wren (1987); or Clough, Aspinwall and Gibbs (1989), depending on their particular preoccupations. There are INSET implications in all areas of teachers' working lives; it is inextricably associated with for instance school review, appraisal,

curriculum development, changes in examination structures, school management, and health and safety.

The evaluation of INSET was a growth area during the years covered by this study. The TRIST, GRIST or LEATGS and GEST programmes carried evaluation requirements with budgets for this as an integral part of the successive initiatives. As INSET developed, so the evaluation studies proliferated. These could be small-scale in-house documents for internal use only, or extensive national reports. Some were formative, feeding interim assessments and recommendations back to decision-makers, which enabled them to plan the next phase of activity; others were summative, presenting an overall judgment at the scheduled end of an initiative. Quantitative studies were outnumbered by qualitative, although questionnaire surveys of different sorts often featured as one component of a report.

Initially much literature on training evaluation originated from the USA, including such influential studies as Joyce and Showers (1980 and 1984). In England the early period of TRIST and GRIST saw LEAs conducting independent studies and commissioning 'external' evaluations. Some reports had relatively limited circulation, such as Bell's (1987) 'The Role of the Staff Development Tutor in Cheshire and Oldham LEAs' (for the TVEI Training Commission), or Crookes' (1989) 'Using Staff Enhancement for INSET Release' (for Leicestershire LEA). In contrast, a publication like Eraut *et al.* (1988) *Local Evaluation of INSET: A Meta-evaluation of TRIST Evaluations* was widely available. A plethora of INSET themes emerged, with equal diversity in the range, depth and style of reporting. They encompassed not only formative and summative evaluation but ranged from objectives-led studies to 'goal-free', 'process', 'democratic' and 'illuminative' evaluation (Stake, 1977, Scriven 1977

and others in Hamilton, Jenkins, King, Macdonald and Parlett, 1977, Simons, 1987; Parlett and Hamilton, 1987; MacDonald, 1987).

The prime concern of INSET evaluation is to assess the effectiveness of training. Educational evaluation 'is the process of making judgments about the merit, value or worth of educational programs' (Borg and Gall, 1989, p.742), and these authors distinguish between evaluators and educational researchers: those in the latter group design studies to 'discover the truth about educational phenomena', their basic aim being 'to contribute to the understanding of phenomena' (Borg and Gall, 1989, p.744). The difference highlighted here lies in the attitude to judgments of value, and INSET evaluation has an operational purpose: it can influence future policy, within the department, the school, the LEA or the then DfE.

A role for ethnographic studies?

During the 1970s trends in the USA were ahead of those in the UK in the degree to which qualitative approaches were used in the developing field of educational evaluation. Fetterman (1984, p.22) quotes Wolcott's reservations on shortcomings that had already become apparent in 1980:

Much of what goes on today as educational ethnography is either out and out program evaluation, or, at its best, lopsided (and undisciplined) documentation.

Wolcott, 1980, p.39

Wolcott nevertheless saw great potential for the ethnographer working in educational settings, and it is in the spirit of his remarks cited below that the case study work in this thesis is presented.

I would insist that an explicit ethnographic orientation should be apparent in anything labeled 'ethnography'- an orientation clearly reflecting a tradition committed to discovering how things are and how they got that way in contrast to educator preoccupation with how things ought to be and how to

move them quickly in that direction. "Evaluation for improvement and change" is the educator ethos; ethnographers working in educational settings need to be aware of it, but they do not have to adopt it for their own. As ethnographers, their commitment is to examine behaviour in the broad social context in which it occurs, while evaluators ordinarily concern themselves with specific educational programs or relatively brief moments in educator- and educatee- lives.

For ethnographers who might prefer to help educators better understand how things are but who find their opportunities in education limited to how things ought to be, a workable arrangement may lie in an evaluative compromise that I will call "ethnographers sans ethnography." Accepting roles as ethnographers sans ethnography would allow ethnographers to exercise their traditional practice of describing and interpreting rather than judging, and of attending to broad contexts rather than to isolated elements. The trade-off is in the recognition that they are not free to indulge themselves in the professional luxury of conducting full-blown ethnographic studies.

Wolcott, 1984, p.180

One of Wolcott's examples of an ethnographic approach in an evaluation project leads him to comment:

The report does not read like an ethnography, although it certainly is the stuff out of which ethnography is made. But it does reflect an ethnographic perspective. I endeavoured to describe rather than to judge, and to place what I reported in cultural context.

Wolcott, 1984, p.208

He points succinctly to the strength of the 'compromise' that allows researchers to attend to broad social contexts whilst conducting studies that are funded by particular sponsors:

A narrowly conceived evaluation design or impact study would have revealed too little; a full-blown ethnography would have attempted too much. Under such circumstances- and I would think they will continue to be the prevailing (though hopefully not the exclusive) ones- the compromise seems warranted: ethnographers sans ethnography.

Wolcott, 1984, p. 208

There is much here in line with the discussion about 'seeing into the life of things' developed in Woods (1996). But there are potential role conflicts facing ethnographers who conduct evaluation studies:

It is difficult to maintain a rapport with rival groups unless one establishes oneself as an independent entity, one who is sensitive to each party's concerns and interested in collecting information from all sides.

Fetterman, 1984, p.215

This is especially pertinent to the situation where the researcher is pursuing sociological questions as a wider frame within which the sponsor's questions are addressed. Meeting the requirements of the funded evaluation studies on which I worked would not have required the depth of attention given in the case studies which are reported in this thesis (nor to those which are omitted from this thesis, but featured in the project reports). Stenhouse neatly encapsulated the practice of working with dual aims: 'the whole art of the business in funded research is to find scope for your own aims within and alongside the sponsor's aims- and without costing the sponsor anything' (Stenhouse, 1984b, p.213). In the sponsored projects on which this thesis draws, the intensity and quantity of fieldwork and desk research undertaken far exceeded what was required to meet the sponsor's needs. This was because these were undertaken as part of the theoretical journey outlined in Chapter 1.

Yin (1989) addresses particular features of ethnography and case study, reviewing criticisms of case studies, among them,

that they take too long and result in massive, unreadable documents. This complaint may be appropriate, given the way case studies have been done in the past, but this is not necessarily the way case studies must be done in the future.....Nor need case studies take a long time. This incorrectly confuses the case-study strategy with a specific method of data collection, such as ethnography or participant-observation. Ethnographies usually require long periods of time in the 'field' and emphasize detailed, observational evidence. Participant-observation, in contrast, may not require the same length of time but still assumes a hefty investment of field efforts. In contrast, case studies are a form of inquiry that does not depend solely on ethnographic or participant-observation data.

Yin, 1989, pp.21-2

The case study approach used in this thesis should be seen as a way of meeting practical constraints in the way described by Yin, and also as a way of resolving

methodological challenges in line with the observations of Wolcott and Fetterman.

The trade-off which a researcher makes between depth and breadth is always open to debate:

One can usually only study a relatively *small* number of cases *in depth*, so that often one must choose between being able to establish the generalisability of one's findings effectively or having detailed (and perhaps more accurate) information about each case.

Hammersley, 1988, p.136

Case studies offered a qualitative route to documenting and analysing primary data from a variety of sources; although sponsored studies, the research was conducted against a wider context, and posed generic questions beyond the sponsors' definition of the 'problems to be addressed'. Each report was presented to the LEA in a form which would meet its needs, but they did not attempt the fuller analysis made in this thesis. That is made by moving away from the evaluation process, juxtaposing the separate investigations, setting them against the macro-sociological context, and focusing progressively on those aspects which best enable the alternative theoretical strands to be unravelled.

The approach adopted reflects Wolcott's 'compromise' described above, but that 'compromise' does not imply limitation. The data collection in both LEAs took a qualitative approach, based on a series of case studies of events and initiatives in particular schools and 'clusters' of schools. Each separate study involved observation in classrooms, at training events and meetings, and semi-structured interviews with a range of teachers, advisors and others, along with analysis of documentary material. The sequence of studies produced rich primary data from a wide range of locations for analysis alongside the literature and other documentation. Whilst taking an ethnographic approach, they differ from specific school case studies such as Ball

(1981) or Burgess (1983) and are comparable rather with multi-site case studies as in Stenhouse (1984) and Burgess, Pole, Evans and Priestley (1994).

RE-ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

This exploitation of case study data in conjunction with the macro- analysis raises the matter of re-analysis and the place of retrospection. The process of reconsidering the data required movement back and forward between projects, chapters and themes, adding new layers of analysis to material originally prepared for other reports and publications. These 'layers' of thinking and writing have given the opportunity to review the data retrospectively in macro-sociological terms. There is nevertheless a tension here which should be made explicit between the wish to produce a coherent analysis by giving a credible account, and the contemporary recognition that there can be many possible interpretations, many voices to be heard, and many 'stories' to be told. This process might be compared with the secondary analysis of data, but the difference lies partly in the consistency of the ethnographic mode of enquiry, since I was the researcher responsible for all stages: the collection of primary data, its initial analysis, and its later reassessment. Cross-referencing between projects and themes has been one means of checking the reliability of particular general statements. The timescale allowed ideas to mature and to be reassessed during successive research phases. Criticisms of case study research that it offers only 'snap-shots' and is deeply context-bound so it lacks generalizability have been partly balanced by this process of reconsidering data over a longer time-scale.

The ability to benefit from retrospection does not however make the study an historical one. Notable examples exist of sociologists who delayed publication of their research or who returned to earlier studies after a period of time, to reassess

them. The nature of qualitative data is that it offers time-specific information which may nevertheless be capable of reinterpretation. The category of delayed publication would include Burgess (1983), an ethnographic study reporting data which had been collected in 1972-73 (with a return to the site in the mid 1980s). Returning to earlier research would include Hammersley's (1991 and 1998) reassessment of his own article based on fieldwork conducted in the early 1970s. Similarly, Bassey (1999) demonstrates how revisiting his previous research (published in 1978) can permit new understandings; this author comments:

The empirical findings refer, of course, to particular schools at a particular time. These findings could not legitimately be extrapolated to make a statistical generalization. But a major contention of this book is that they can be expressed as a fuzzy generalization.

Bassey, (1999), p.156

With this qualification, he reflects upon how with hindsight it is possible to revisit data and present a 'story' from which the conclusion 'flows more or less neatly from the evidence', even though

At the time it wasn't really like that. It was reported in three books (Bassey, 1978a, 1978b, 1989) but only as a small issue. I failed to put together the studies and the survey data in the way I have here.

Bassey, 1999, p.156

My concern at this point is less with what Bassey terms 'fuzzy generalizations' and more with the way in which he has defined the process of revisiting existing (published) data. It was with a rather similar motive that I wanted to return to material already published in Burgess *et al.* (1993) and reported in Galloway (1990), because I could see that these data would support sociological exploration in ways which had not yet been attempted.

Sequential reworking carries both risks and opportunities. Original judgements might be distorted to suit a different purpose. Data which do not 'fit'

might be disregarded, sacrificing it pragmatically for perhaps a 'tidier' representation, rather than the harder task of grappling with it to reach understanding. The 'authenticity' which is said to lie in rich qualitative data could be compromised. The issue here touches on whether such case study material has some appropriate 'life expectancy'. If a study does become 'out-of-date', this might imply that it was too minutely tied to its specific context, and had not adequately identified potential generic themes inherent to the case.

This thesis has been able to take advantage of hindsight, and of the development of theoretical ideas over time, but my strategy has been to preserve each case study's original form as far as possible, whilst editing them and linking the themes to the wider concerns of the thesis. In discussing the writing of research papers, Richardson (1994) observes how writing is 'always partial, local and situational', and that 'there is no such thing as "getting it right", only "getting it" differently contoured and nuanced"' (pp.520-1). Certainly the 'partial, local and situational' aspects of writing can be partly accommodated in the 'additional contours and nuances' of later layers of analysis. Having set out the more strategic decisions about methodology, the next section turns to the choice of particular cases which contribute to the thesis.

THE CHOICE OF CASES

The choice of empirical data used in this thesis reflects four criteria:

- (i) that it should reveal evidence about:
 - who defined INSET needs;
 - how school-focused professional development activities were planned;
 - what INSET experiences actually were both during the event and after it, and

the interplay between professionalism, autonomy and professional development.

- (ii) that the evidence would relate to the different levels at which decisions about INSET were taken and priorities fixed.
- (iii) that in meeting (i) and (ii), the scope of each case would allow for a progressive focusing towards the micro-level (as in Figure 1.1).
- (iv) that the overall range of evidence would allow for the application of the sociological theories (and that each separate case would also allow for this).

These criteria are shaped by the development of theory and practice which was explained at the outset of the thesis.

The first requirement was for a bridge between the macro-level national perspective of Chapter 5 and the three case studies. To meet this, Chapter 6 uses data from an interview programme with over twenty INSET co-ordinators, giving an authority-wide view, and highlighting the interpretation of national directives, the management of INSET by the LEA and in schools, and the implementation of school-focused INSET, in which the co-ordinator plays a pivotal role.

The three case studies which follow also meet the criteria given above. Each represents a continuing involvement with a number of teachers at that location over some months, and the analysis is based on a detailed bank of data which supported an understanding of the structures within these schools, their aims and shared attitudes, and relationships between staff. Cross-phase INSET was designated a priority by the LEA, not by the DES or individual schools. The programme involved all Solihull teachers; the case study itself involves teachers in two cluster groups, and is based on data collected through participant observation on four days and through interviews

before and after. This case meets the criteria and focuses attention more tightly towards the school and the teacher.

The case of professional development for IT teaching was beginning to appear in LEATGS priorities but the pressure for the IT day and decisions about it came from within one small 'cluster' group of schools. The focus is narrowed further. Finally, the case of the art day presents an event in which the INSET theme defined by the groups of teachers was actually at odds with national trends and priorities. This case focuses entirely at the micro-level.

In the three case studies the unit of analysis is the INSET programme, centred on a particular school-focused event, but including the original prioritization of the topic, the planning process, the event itself and its aftermath in terms of teachers' reflections and other outcomes.

THE PROJECT CONTEXTS

The empirical data originate from projects conducted in two contrasting authorities. Solihull was predominantly urban with some rural areas, and had a history of relatively tight control over the school system (Merson, 1989). In contrast Warwickshire LEA was mostly rural with some urban areas, and had traditionally adopted a much less prescriptive and structured organizational approach.

The first project required research during 1988-89 to evaluate how the identification of needs for teachers' in-service training (INSET) was conducted by LEA inspectors, in schools, and at the teachers' centre. The report (Galloway, 1989) made recommendations for the Authority to consider in developing its INSET system and was evidence to the DES of the LEA's evaluation of training provided in 1988-89. This investigation involved case study of a geographical cluster group of one

secondary and five primary schools, as well as briefer fieldwork at certain other sites (see Figure 4.1). The composition of Solihull cluster groups was designated by the LEA. Over six months data were collected from in-depth interviews with 45 teachers, through observation of both 'normal' teaching and of INSET activities, and from LEAEA and school documentary sources. This investigation involved detailed analysis of the role of inspectors in identifying INSET needs, of the school professional development tutor, of work at the LEA's teachers' centre, and of school-focused professional development programmes concerning records of achievement, the RE curriculum, and environmental education as well as the case of cross-phase INSET which I have used in this thesis and a paper on effects on classroom practice.

The second project, conducted for Warwickshire LEA in 1989-90 investigated school-focused training, links between INSET and classroom practice, and evaluation in schools. Again, 'cluster' groups provided a structured route for case studies; however these were self-appointed groups, not LEA-defined clusters, and some even cut across the official (largely geographical) LEA divisions. Primary schools provided two case studies; two more were conducted in middle schools. Evidence came from tape-recorded interviews with 30 teachers between November 1989 and April 1990, along with observation (of both regular class activities and professional development activities) and documentary material. The project report to the LEA (Galloway, 1990) examined school-focused INSET, links between INSET and classroom practice, and evaluation processes through analytical accounts of INSET related to the primary science curriculum and to National Curriculum assessment as well as the cases which are drawn upon in Chapters 8 and 9. In this project also, interviews with INSET co-ordinators gave a backcloth across a range of schools for the in-depth case studies.

Figure 4.1 Fieldwork activity and data collection

Solihull LEA Evaluation of INSET: September 1988 to September 1989

Focus: one secondary school
and five feeder primaries
(participant observation,
interviews and documentation)

Observation of courses at the Teachers' Centre:
A course for probationary teachers
A music course for infant teachers
A course on music and IT for secondary
specialists

Participant observation of school-focused
professional development:
Cross-phase events in two secondary schools
and their feeder primaries
INSET on religious education
INSET related to environmental studies
INSET on records of achievement

Attendance at LEA meetings,
INSET events and conferences

Attendance at two three-day
inspectors' reviews

Interviews conducted with teachers,
professional development tutors and LEA
inspectors

Warwickshire LEA Evaluation of INSET: October 1989 to September 1990

Focus: A rural cluster of five primary schools
(participant observation, interviews and
documentation)

Attendance at LEA meetings and
INSET events

Participant observation of school-focused professional
development:
INSET for information technology
INSET for the teaching of art
INSET for assessment
INSET for primary science

Interviews with teachers and
INSET co-ordinators in four
clusters

These research projects shared certain common concerns, even though the initial purposes of the two sponsors differed. Preliminary elements of the theoretical rationale developed in Chapter 3 were integrated in the planning and execution of both studies, but only Fenstermacher and Berliner (1995) and Argyris and Schön (1974) were formally articulated in the project reports.

In the original projects and in this thesis pseudonyms are used for people, institutions, and places except for the names of the two sponsoring LEAs. These were the terms on which research access was agreed. Validating the case studies reflected what had been agreed in initial access discussions, and what was practicable (in terms of the numbers of people involved and the degree of intensity with which they featured in the account). Draft versions of the account of cross-phase INSET and the discussion of the role of the INSET co-ordinator were read and discussed by representatives of the LEA and of the schools involved. Less complex case studies (as in the INSET on IT and on teaching art) were presented in draft form to the headteacher, classteacher and/or trainer who figured most prominently.

Specific and general features

For the purposes of this thesis, the primary data concerning school-focused INSET has been reconsidered against a wider sociological framework. Three case studies have been selected from the total range available not because they are typical of INSET on a national scale, nor because they exemplify 'good practice', but because they are examples which best allow us to apply sociological theory in order to explore issues which are critical in understanding the sociological factors relating to professional development.

How representative are the interview data and the three cases which will

feature in later chapters? In terms of the INSET systems which were developing in these LEAs and of the styles of school-focused professional development which were evolving, the cases do reflect the characteristics of Solihull and Warwickshire Local Education Authorities at this time, especially in their contrasting approaches to the organization of schools and of INSET. Solihull's traditionally centralized approach tended during this period to define what constituted professional development activity, designating some specific LEA topics and encouraging INSET within the LEA's cluster structure of schools. School inspectors played a major role in identifying INSET needs and monitoring activity both informally and through twice yearly inspectors' reviews. Warwickshire LEA's contrasting diversified approach permitted relationships between schools to develop 'from the grassroots', even between schools from different geographical divisions, with different inspectors. The LEA advisor was important in INSET, both in providing support by leading events and by giving guidance.

In these respects cases selected for discussion in the thesis are certainly in line with those which were omitted and with the general pattern at the times in these contrasting authorities. This is not however to claim that the selection of cases overall is typical of the entire range of INSET in that authority. The fieldwork also covered, for instance, cases of INSET provision at the teachers' centre, and events involving external higher education input. Nor have I included cases of individual teachers registering for particular courses. The criteria given above, designed to meet the main purpose of the thesis, shaped the choice of cases.

The wider typicality or otherwise of the empirical data can be seen partly against published studies of INSET (or, in particular chapters, of research on the school co-ordinator role, on transition, on rural schools, or the teaching of art). We

should note that the value of a case does not lie simply in its typicality, because researching the non-typical can prove as instructive as choosing more predictable arenas, and may provide insights which are equally valuable to improving understanding or to developing theory. In this thesis, the art day (Chapter 9) is atypical, when seen against national patterns of INSET during the period of the study, yet it offers telling material through which the theoretical exploration can be pursued.

The equally important sociological reason for selecting these cases is that they complement the macro- level discussion of professionalism and autonomy, by allowing analysis of the system of school-focused INSET at progressively micro-sociological levels. This enables the theoretical framework to be exploited to the full and its potential to be revealed. Having discussed the major methodological challenges and considered issues relating to the use of case study both generally and in this thesis, the next section turns to practical matters concerning the fieldwork.

FIELDWORK ISSUES

Some logistical features of the fieldwork deserve comment. To explore the pivotal role of the INSET co-ordinator, an authority-wide perspective is based on interviews conducted in over twenty primary, secondary and special schools and post-16 colleges (supported by documentary data and observational data from INSET events, which do not feature in this chapter). The case of cross-phase INSET combined fieldwork at four schools (primary and secondary), supported by longer-term data collection, before and after, at these sites, in other schools and at training events. The case of INSET for information technology encompassed planning and follow-up in five primary schools over a period of four months. That of professional

development for the teaching of art centres on the experience of teachers at the host school in a cluster of village schools over five months.

Participant observation

My fieldwork included observation of co-ordinators and teachers at work in normal teaching situations as well as participant observation at INSET events in order to reflect the setting in as naturalistic a way as was possible. The experience of the art day was shared to the extent that I also completed sketches and paintings. Later a set of photographs taken by a teacher to record the day's events proved a powerful stimulus in follow-up interviews. Participation was essential on such occasions, given the nature of the event, and it encouraged particularly candid responses in interviews afterwards from participants. A high level of participation also characterized cross-phase events. 'INSET' on these occasions meant teachers visiting, observing and participating in classes in unfamiliar schools and 'participant observation' meant accompanying particular teachers into those unfamiliar situations. Within the project constraints, fieldwork involved in-depth contact with a school over a period of several months. I was known to staff, was observing regular activities in school (as well as other INSET) and was conducting a programme of interviews with teachers.

Fieldwork relationships

I adopted a different role in classroom observation. At no time did I substitute for a teacher, although qualified to do so. In primary schools I was asked on occasion to 'sit with' a small group of pupils, rather in the role of an unqualified classroom assistant and always agreed to this. First, because this reinforced the 'non-teacher' role I favoured (distancing the research from more threatening observation e.g.

inspection) and it helped retain the confidence of the teacher, because a researcher however unobtrusive is nevertheless a stranger in the classroom. Secondly, by placing me in a familiar role it helped maintain unproblematic rapport with pupils who by then treated me quite casually (cf. King, 1978). Thirdly, without being in any way covert, this could be a way of continuing observation (since the role of unofficial surrogate classroom assistant does allow for note-taking).

Establishing rapport in the field depends upon reciprocity in small ways: access for research, defining the role of the researcher, and field relationships all call for an awareness of people's working conditions and responsiveness to their circumstances, without jeopardizing the investigation. The pressures on teachers at this time made it essential for researchers to retain a sensitive (and on occasion flexible) approach to classroom observation. Teacher stress (see Chapters 2 and 3) was apparent in each school represented in these case studies. Even teachers who agreed happily to having a researcher in the classroom could be affected by high levels of illness among colleagues and consequent cover of classes. It was important to be sensitive to these factors, both for ethical reasons, but also to avoid problems associated with reactivity, in errors deriving from the effect of the research process and/or my own characteristics as researcher. For the reasons given above, this was not an easy time for teachers to get involved in research, nor for researchers conducting detailed qualitative research in schools and classrooms: the pressures are reflected in the data and my approach to data collection necessarily took account of these circumstances.

The interview data come predominantly from semi-structured (occasionally unstructured) interviews. They were tape-recorded and transcribed in part or in full by a secretary, unless tape-recording was impracticable (in a very few cases, e.g.

because of noise levels nearby, when notes were taken). In one case only a respondent asked that notes be taken rather than a recording made. Observational data derive from longhand fieldnotes made on the spot and, and when necessary, written up later the same day.

Documentary sources

Documentary sources were important at all the research sites. Material was collected from LEAs and from schools prior to the fieldwork, and after it, as well as at the sites. Table 4.1 lists common forms of documentation. Understanding the training system meant becoming familiar with many types of LEA policy statements, guidelines and pro-forma. Alongside institutional information such as the school brochure, staff handbook or report to governors, secondary schools and most primary schools found that the expansion in training had brought an unwelcome explosion in paperwork. Those interviewed were often keen to share examples of this with me, so there was much unsolicited (as well as solicited) material: notes left for teachers covering staff absent for training, personal lesson plans and similar material. In addition, each training event produced a sheaf of duplicated sheets for participants. The documentary evidence available in case study investigations was characterized by Stenhouse as belonging to three types: records, communication and presentation.

The first of these is a by-product of the need to store information: for example attendance registers, pupils records and minutes of committees. The second is a byproduct of the need to communicate within the institution: for example, notices on the notice-board or writing on blackboards, and notes or letters. The third is a self-conscious presentation of the school: brochures, annual reports and the like.

Stenhouse, 1978, reprinted 1993, p.44

Table 4.1 Documentary sources associated with professional development at the time of the LEATGS scheme.

Circulated by the Local Education Authority to the school

Circulated material from DES about LEATGS, GEST
 Policy statements concerning INSET policy
 Guidelines/proforma on INSET proposals
 INSET evaluation forms
 Practical training guidelines and manuals
 LEA course booklet
 Teachers' centre information
 Advisory staff information

Produced by the School

School brochure
 Reports to the governing body and parents
 School Development Plan
 School INSET Plan
 School policy documents e.g. supply policy, departmental policies and plans
 Financial records e.g. INSET budget, supply cover expenditure
 Correspondence with external INSET providers
 INSET term schedules and INSET event plans
 INSET evaluation returns
 Departmental/curriculum plans
 Communications with parents, employers, work experience liaison contacts, community representatives, educational case workers etc.
 School timetable, school plan, class/teaching group lists, staff handbook

Teaching, learning and training materials

Teachers' planning schedules
 Teachers' registers and record books
 Departmental curriculum outlines
 Departmental resources, internal e.g. worksheets or commercially produced.
 Pupils' work
 INSET 'handouts'

All Stenhouse's categories were apparent in the research on teachers' professional development but Table 4.1 shows additional forms of 'evidence' relevant to teachers' professional development: pupils' work in design, paintings, craft, word-processing are some of the 'outcomes' noted in the case studies. Photographic evidence (of the art day) has been mentioned above.

It is inevitable that documentary data should proliferate in a study of INSET as it developed within a constantly changing national framework where accountability, and next year's allocation of funds, depended on written accounts. The mass of information on paper for INSET planning, provision, monitoring and evaluation made it easy to appreciate the views of the co-ordinator who spoke of the training system as 'death by handout', of those jaded by initiative overload, and of the primary schoolteacher planning an INSET day who hoped that colleagues would bring just a pencil and enjoy the day. It also gave an added attraction to participant observation of courses in art or music. This is not simply a matter of methodological 'reflections in the field': it leads directly to the question of the enjoyment of INSET, a topic discussed by Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985) and in the case studies which follow, but otherwise relatively neglected.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has set out decisions about the methodology which was adopted to address the field of study, the research questions posed, the theoretical approaches adopted and the practical resources available. It has explained further aspects of the 'manageable field of reality', indicating the way in which macro- and micro- level information was used. It has also addressed key methodological issues such as the relationship between evaluation and ethnographic research, and the re-analysis of

data. Distinctions were made between educational aims and sociological intentions. The former calls for assessment of the effectiveness of specific initiatives ultimately to support educational improvement. The sociological investigation seeks to understand the factors that influence how structural features are put in place, how interest groups interact in pressing their claims, and how individuals construct their definitions of, in this case, teachers' professionalism and autonomy. It is concerned with both structure and agency.

The chapter then set out the reasons for using case study and some advantages and limitations of this research method, before moving to the selection of cases used in the thesis. Information was also given about the projects from which data is taken and the fieldwork conducted. I have indicated how the thesis addressed major methodological challenges, partly in recognizable fieldwork situations, but more importantly in the use of primary data.

The next task is the macro-sociological analysis, for which I return to the theoretical decisions set out in Chapter 3. Judgements about the appropriateness of a case study approach and about the inclusion of specific cases have been made in terms of their ability to allow the deployment of different theoretical strands and to facilitate fresh ways of theorizing teacher professionalism. In the next chapter a macro- level analysis puts in place the structural features within which school-focused INSET developed.

CHAPTER 5

MACRO-SOCIOLOGICAL VIEWS OF TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The central issue of the relationship between macro- and micro-sociological elements come to the fore in this chapter and the next. This chapter presents a macro-perspective. Chapter 6 provides a bridge to the more micro-level analysis of following chapters. A comment on this relationship is given by Shilling:

Ethnographic studies tend to neglect the fact that events are not produced uniquely by autonomous individuals. Social and institutional contexts, patterns of behaviour, and educational outcomes do not exist apart from wider structures which themselves enter into the construction of these phenomena. Furthermore, attempts to introduce structural influences into interpretive accounts have not usually met with success. When an examination of social structures does appear in ethnographies, there tends to be an assumption that events in the case-study directly contribute to their maintenance, or ironically, that the structure has caused the processes being studied.... In the first instance there is no attempt to trace the links between structure and action while in the second, human agency is, paradoxically, dissolved into an overintegrative notion of social structure.

Shilling, 1992, p.73

Taking account of this tendency, I develop in Chapter 5-9 (see also Figure 1.1) an analysis which explores different levels of the INSET system with differing degrees of intensity.

INSET issues appear, as we have seen, at both macro- and micro-sociological levels, and the alternative theoretical approaches examined in Chapter 3 highlight different aspects of the teachers' in-service training system at a particularly critical time. How then do these theoretical frameworks enable us to explain phenomena relating to professional development and to understand in macro-sociological terms the development of a system for INSET? In this chapter I turn to macro-level phenomena associated with teachers' professional development. The evidence is

largely drawn from documentary sources and existing research. I deal first with the degree to which Archer's concepts of internal initiation, external transaction and political manipulation (as types of negotiation leading to educational change) shed light on the way in which policy and practice were evolving in 1988-92. The second section examines the fate of the teachers' professional project during this period, and how the tensions inherent within it related to the changing policy environment. Centring on Larson (1977) and work influenced by her, it considers the place of CPD in relation to the status of the profession. This discussion raises questions about professional knowledge and skills and teachers' ability to cope with changing requirements. The final section touches on issues relating to reflective practice at a general level.

The historically decentralized English educational system displayed little standardization in the late 1980s and this was paralleled by a wide variety of aims and styles of professional development. However the Conservative government's strongly interventionist approach during the 1980s included the assumption of greater central control over the inputs, processes and outputs of education. Previous chapters noted how INSET was one of many areas where this was attempted. At the same time, INSET was the very mechanism by which other educational changes were to be brought about. The development of the INSET system and the forms of its implementation in schools might be seen as a litmus test of the success of the government's moves to control education.

THE EVOLUTION OF POLICY AND PRACTICE

Internal initiation

Archer (1979) proposes that decentralized educational systems offer more opportunities than centralized ones for internal initiation as a route to educational change. Pilot schemes and modifications of the system are more prevalent in a decentralized system, and in England (as compared with France) we readily recognize the varied responsibilities of the school or college, the LEA, and the DES/DfE/DfEE. Internal initiation can contribute to change in the educational system by enabling teachers to 'play a part in determining the rate of exchange between resources received and services supplied' (Archer 1979, p. 239). If this produces surplus resources, these are then available for purposes which are determined at local or individual level. Archer sees this source of educational change as being possible 'on a small scale by independent initiative in a particular establishment, and on a much larger scale by collective professional action' (p.240).

The diversity of schooling that has developed within the English educational system and the historical freedom to experiment has produced a readiness to engage in experimentation and internal initiation in professional development as in other fields (Williams, 1991). Organizations such as the Schools Council, the Association for Science Education or the National Association for the Teaching of English long encouraged professional development by producing curricular schemes, issuing guidance, and providing networks for the sharing of ideas.

Support could be found by teachers interested in small-scale pedagogical experiment, action research and curricular innovation, and other forms of professional development. In addition to higher education contacts, LEA advisory staff were in the 1980s a source of expertise and support for professional development. Courses

existed for those who wished to attend, from those provided in holidays by the DES and open to applicants on a national basis, to those provided locally by LEAs. The relative autonomy of individual teachers, of schools, and of LEAs fostered diversity. There was room for educational change through internal initiation: local experiments and pilot schemes were just some of the vehicles for change alongside attendance at courses. However the profile of in-service training had never been high, whereas establishing the new funding system resulted in a hierarchy of individuals who managed the system, as well as new, varied opportunities for teachers' professional development.

In what ways did the expansion in training during the late 1980s maintain, curtail or foster the historical diversity of training opportunities in this decentralized system? Not all the pressure for educational change came from outside the profession: interest groups within and outside it may share aims or have overlapping priorities (Archer, 1979, p.420-423). James Callaghan's 1976 Ruskin College speech was a critical event which

formally marked the bi-partisan acknowledgement that the post-war educational hypotheses were to be replaced by a different, less generous, perhaps more realistic, certainly more utilitarian set of values.

Maclure, 1988, p.159

That speech was not however delivered in a vacuum, and apart from political interest groups, there were teachers who thought that schools could offer an education that would serve young people better as a 'preparation for life', and others who favoured moves towards clearer accountability. Support existed in principle for the introduction of some form of national curriculum (Brighouse and Moon, 1989, pp.2-4). Appraisal, advocated by politicians, did not lack support from teachers: the result was a clash between two visions of appraisal- as a developmental support for staff,

against the idea of appraisal as a mechanism for identifying and ultimately disposing of 'bad teachers'. In his analysis of the presentation of policy on teacher appraisal and the role of the press during 1984 and 1985, Wilby (1986) sees appraisal as inextricably linked with the teachers' pay dispute, and concludes,

There was always an ambiguity, perhaps even in the policy itself. Was it really designed for the positive purpose of improving teachers' morale and performance? Or was it for the negative purpose of penalizing, even sacking, the 'incompetent' and 'ineffective'?

Wilby, 1986, p.71

These positive and negative purposes and images of appraisal mirror the dual representation of INSET which has already been noted, as being primarily for developmental purposes or to address deficiencies. How far was it an internally initiated, 'bottom-up' teacher-owned process of continuing professional development aimed at 'enrichment'? How far politically imposed 'top-down' instrumental, task-specific training designed for 'remediation'? Both Archer's (1979) macro-sociological framework and the schema of Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985) give theoretical purchase on these ambiguities. Internal initiation involves 'the profession exchanging the expert services it can offer for other kinds of resources which it needs in order to achieve its own goals' (Archer, 1979, p.398); in INSET terms this requires the school to bid successfully for INSET funds, and to find ways of using these to best effect, supplementing them by any other means which they can devise.

The teaching profession bore the brunt of the turbulent systemic and structural changes introduced with such speed and such insensitivity in the late 1980s. Whilst much of this was associated with greater centralization, new arrangements for putting decisions about allocation of funds into schools had returned some degree of choice to teachers at the 'grassroots'. As headteachers faced the rigours of local financial management of schools in practice, they appreciated having the power to vire a

proportion of the savings they had made. Such savings frequently came from the supply budget (Galloway, 1991). They were not entirely 'surplus' resources in Archer's terms, and the sums involved were usually small, but they did allow a degree of autonomy within the school.

There were therefore internally supported or initiated components in INSET provision. It is unwise to make assumptions about consensus and teachers as a body hold widely conflicting views about many educational, social and political situations; the range represented by the professional unions and associations confirms this. The differentiation which policy-makers encouraged within the system underlined this heterogeneity: some teachers welcomed the opportunity to work in schools with Grant-Maintained status, with extra resources, additional facilities, and (often) oversubscribed intake lists, but for others, Grant Maintained schools increased disparity and fragmented the system, giving unfair access to over-generous funding, impoverishing LEA-maintained schools, with the result that certain schools could select pupils and others were thereby disadvantaged (Flude and Hammer, 1990, pp.51-72).

Paradoxically, Archer's theory notes that one effect of multiple integration is more reciprocity between educational interest groups. Because the educational system is obliged to produce such a wide range of outputs, 'however strong the alliance between them, and whatever the mutual interdependence of their own operations' (Archer, 1979, p.49), the groups may each 'police' their competitors' efforts to influence or control educational processes. This can result eventually in additional resources, because reciprocity between groups is the only solution 'if no party is allowed to monopolize it and all groups press simultaneously for their requirements to be met in full' (Archer, 1979, p.222). At the micro-level, the case

studies will highlight a successful bid for extra INSET funds made by a cluster of village schools: a small but effective interest group actively pressing its case.

How did the expansion in INSET relate to internally initiated change? In some ways the devolution of certain decisions about expenditure and training to an institutional (rather than LEA) level enabled opportunities for internal initiation in professional development to continue. Particularly where there were vested interests to defend, and where staff gained confidence in managing school and departmental budgets, making savings and re-allocating funds, ways were found to justify and operationalize training that would not at first sight appear to fit within national criteria. In that sense, the training schemes offered ways of fulfilling by internal support programmes that teachers held dear but had little chance to implement prior to a formal INSET scheme with budgetary allowances. Writing on 'teacher-initiated professional development', Rudduck comments:

It is too simple to say that teachers have moved from a period of freedom to initiate curriculum and professional development to a period of control. Looking back, the degrees of freedom have always been limited to some extent, and looking forward, teachers as working groups will still have freedom to determine priorities and to take initiatives, albeit within a curriculum framework that is nationally structured and an evaluation plan that is locally monitored. Some have called this the freedom of professionally justifiable subversion.

Rudduck, 1991, p.59

Others have also resisted falsely neat conclusions about the ending of professional freedom:

It would be too simplistic to regard the supposed movement from educational 'professionalism' to 'proletarianism' as a straightforward, linear progression from some golden age of teacher autonomy to one of ever-growing state control. On the one hand the autonomy of teachers, even in the supposed heyday of teacher professionalism of the 1950s and 1960s, was always relative, whilst on the other the evidence for increasing proletarianisation is contradictory and contested (Murphy, 1980; Bowe and Ball, 1992; Campbell and Neill, 1995).

Helsby, 1995, p.319

Between 1988 and 1991 it was possible to address local INSET needs in the form of school priorities and LEA priorities. Later in the 1990s this became more difficult because of a more stringent funding regime and multiple, pressing National Curriculum training needs. Yet even in this area, observers noted how teachers found ways to circumvent some of the constraints and to refocus on their priorities:

The National Curriculum has featured prominently in the burgeoning world of school- and locally-based 'in-service' education. Teachers, perhaps initially hostile to some of the ideas and concepts, are displaying great ingenuity in the way, often with restricted resourcing, that they set about the task of setting up systems, procedures and consultation mechanisms as well as National Curriculum schemes of work and teaching plans. Many of the 'Inset' events have sought to clarify the possible benefits of a National Curriculum, the growth points for future work, whilst at the same time pointing out the problems and the pitfalls.

Brighouse and Moon, 1990, p.2

The image of the National Curriculum as a training 'cage' (McBride, 1989) does not give adequate value to certain types of creative professional development evident in school-focused INSET. It is possible that the greatest room for manoeuvre in INSET in state maintained schools existed in about 1988-1990. By defining more closely the INSET themes, the then DfE was targeting teachers' energy in particular areas. Along with financial pressures, this restricted the potential for development initiated internally by the profession. Testing and assessment predominated. However, in contrast, by moving operational decisions about training to school level, it was preserving chances of internal initiation. This will be shown in the case studies where the evidence is that external budget restrictions did not entirely curtail professional commitment and creativity.

These contradictory tendencies occurred in a period when statutory arrangements had diverging effects (Bash, 1989). Certainly there was tension

between moves towards greater central control of INSET and other decisions which devolved powers to schools:

This apparent contradiction is symptomatic of the Government's dilemma and difficulties in reconciling conflicting objectives: namely, that of maintaining central control of the INSET agenda, mainly to ensure that it addresses the needs of its own national reforms and curriculum imperatives, while at the same time fulfilling its ideological commitment to devolved management, choice and free market forces.

Harland, Kinder and Kays, 1993, p.9

It is not always possible to trace the effect of internal initiation separately from other processes of change; like the musical interplay of a trio, 'each form of negotiation and the changes to which it gives rise has repercussion on the others' (Archer, 1979, pp. 243-4). Some effects are mutually reinforcing, whilst others conflict, especially when decisions about National Curriculum programmes were frequently communicated at short notice, leaving teachers little time to prepare for the next year's syllabus and subsequent testing as consultation exercises resulted in major rewriting of the orders relating to some subjects. The tensions created by changes such as these were exacerbated by the other demands on the profession at that time. Yet the many training programmes and events that were evaluated both internally and externally during the period of this study demonstrate a lively range of topics, styles and outcomes. This suggests that, whatever the intentions of central government were, the actual effect was to create a situation which had the ability to encourage teachers' resourcefulness and creativity in experimenting with new styles of in-service training.

External transaction

The theory sees this as the second form of negotiation leading to educational change:

External transaction involves relations between internal and external interest groups. It is usually instigated from outside educational boundaries by groups seeking new or additional services... the profession is one of the groups involved in these negotiations, but the other party opts into the transaction of its own accord.

Archer, 1979, p.240

Such arrangements would include payment by companies for training provided from educational establishments, and some similar forms of sponsorship which result in additional funding, or comparable benefits, going into the education system in return for services which those within the system can provide. The 1990s saw schools becoming much more proactive about fund-raising, but this has tended to be through traditional money-raising events, the letting of premises, or sponsorship (e.g. of school sports teams), none of which provides *educational* services as such.

In the evolution of the national INSET system there was little evidence of external transaction. The nearest example may have been the teacher placement scheme operated by the Department of Trade and Industry in which selected teachers spent short periods seconded to commercial or industrial organizations. The scheme met the costs of lesson cover during their absence. Participants often evaluated the experience as a strong contribution to their professional development (Clerkin, 1990). On one model, major companies offered individual teachers the opportunity to work on a specific project such as preparing a history of the firm. As part of the exercise they also prepared curriculum materials. The 'transaction' resulted in educational expertise (or perhaps just 'intelligent observer' expertise) being put at the disposal of a company, while the school was said to benefit from the schemes of work and from professional development for the teacher (Fraser, 1993).

There remain few instances of non-educational agencies supporting teachers' professional development. Certain manufacturers (e.g. Flora) produce 'educational

materials': the 'transaction' implicit here is that teachers (e.g. of Home Economics) will reciprocate by incorporating product information into their teaching. Computer manufacturers and software producers offer training particularly to City Technology Colleges and secondary schools through 'user groups' or training sessions alongside people from outside the education system (Galloway, 1994a). But these examples do not constitute external transaction as payment in kind for *educational* services.

They do represent a particular type of input to professional development and, it is intended, educational change. This can be interpreted as taking definitions of teachers' continuing training needs outside the profession, and giving the world of commerce an influence on educational change. Or it may be interpreted as bringing teachers closer to the world of work which pupils encounter after formal education. However the relative rarity of these examples confirms the importance of internal initiation and political manipulation as the dominant types of negotiation with regard to professional development.

Political manipulation

In centralized educational systems, Archer (1979) identifies political manipulation as the dominant process of change, because in this context interest groups (whether internal or external to the profession) lack the opportunities to express their views which are available in a decentralized system. They must therefore resort to political processes rather than seeking by internal initiation to bring about educational change. Interaction in decentralized systems is however more complex and the three negotiating processes are, according to the theory, more equal in importance.

In England, political decisions at national level about the restructuring of the education system played a major part in redefining and resourcing teachers' professional development. The sequence of national debates and the social and educational trends that predated the introduction of the new training schemes ended with political decisions that affected the provision of INSET. For instance, the decision to introduce the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) through the (then) Manpower Services Commission (Chitty, 1986) rather than the Department of Education and Science set a particular tone. Teachers interviewed in the late 1980s commented on the fact that TVEI-Related In-service Training (TRIST) was generously funded, and often took place in comfortable conference hotels rather than in the more familiar and more workaday teachers' centres. The TRIST infrastructure served as a basis for the LEATGS, a wider national scheme which was however less generously funded.

The structural contradictions noted above (between increased centralization against delegation of decisions to schools) produced tension or conflict in various parts of the system. Conflicting pressures were apparent also in the training system and the professional development experiences of teachers and groups of teachers. This can be seen against Archer's observation that political manipulation is the stronger where there is professional ambivalence and/or where professional interest groups have markedly different aims.

It was certainly as a result of political will at the macro level that the main casualties in the cross-fire of statutory orders and initiatives were the LEAs. This was a period of more stringent demands from the DES to administer and monitor INSET. But the traditional LEA role was actually being progressively curtailed in its ability to support teachers through advisory staff and budget restrictions meant that by the early

1990s numbers of advisory teachers and advisors were being reduced (McBride, 1992). Among 60 LEAs responding to a survey conducted in 1991 and 1992, the average number of advisory teachers in each authority fell from 42 (in 1990-91) to 38 (in 1991-92) (Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.89). Two case studies will illustrate the role of LEA advisory staff and will demonstrate ways in which the repercussions of national decisions about the LEATG Scheme were absorbed LEA level. They will also hint at how pressure from schools about INSET was felt in the management of the system at LEA level.

Political manipulation is most evident in the framing of national priorities and the allocation of funding to these. The system of categorical funding detailed previously enabled central government to itemize those priority areas where progress was necessary to support legislative measures (Table 2.1). Training for successive phases of the National Curriculum in the late 1980s and early 1990s required allocations for Assessment for the Key Stages, as well as to subject-focused priorities. By the time of the GEST scheme (Table 2.2) the areas were sharply demarcated: 'ERA- Related Activities' and 'Other Education Priorities'. The former covered School and College Management, and National Curriculum priorities; the latter comprised Teacher Recruitment, Under-5s, Health Education, Pupil Behaviour, Special Educational Needs, and Further and Adult Education.

Certain themes received variable or short-term support. 'Under 5s' appeared on the national priority list when 'rising fives' were more widely taken into primary schools without nursery sections because teachers used to Reception classes had to acquire additional skills to deal with younger children. INSET related to the integration of pupils with special needs into mainstream classrooms was recognized. There was a commitment to training for information technology. Large allocations

were made during these years to training senior staff in management roles. Such themes were based on national assessments of INSET needs which were themselves politically formed.

It should not be inferred that teachers took issue with training for colleagues who had to cope for the first time with 'under 5s', nor with training for management. (However this last category attracted more sceptical comment than most from class and subject teachers in my research (Galloway, 1989,1990).) Political manipulation does not imply that these themes lacked professional support altogether; indeed the theory notes that interest groups can overlap. In addition, the relative autonomy within the decentralized English education system means that changes arising from political manipulation are not guaranteed success because policy implementation has to percolate through several layers, permitting variation and individual renegotiation of policy. At the meta-level also, political decisions were made as LEAs could add local training priorities to those of the DES (until their ability to do so was much reduced in the 1990s). These are inherent features of a decentralized rather than centralized educational system:

The very political decision-making arena, officially concerned with educational matters, is broader and embraces central government organs and local authority bodies...

Those in official positions of educational control are a more extensive group, they are found locally as well as centrally... from local Councillors to the Minister of Education.

Archer, 1979, p.410

At the same time, the contradictory trend was that most LEAs were gradually allocating larger proportions of the grant in aid to institutions. This paralleled the reduction in powers of LEAs after the Education Reform Act (1988). There remained some priorities which teachers had that did not warrant a position in national or LEA priority lists, so access to funds controlled by the school itself was important. Solihull

LEA devolved about 10% of its LEATGS budget to institutions in 1988, but elsewhere, the proportion could be much greater. A survey of LEAs found that the percentage of the INSET budget allocated to schools and colleges was 22% in 1990-91 and increased to 25% in 1991-92 (Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.30). Topics such as art, sport or time management had to compete with national priorities, but schools which had control of a larger proportion of INSET funds were in principle better placed to tailor professional development to address individual and institutional needs alongside national and LEA priorities.

Indications of a more restricted LEA role were evident even as the training system burgeoned. As well as reducing advisory staff, few authorities retained a 'pool' of supply teachers to substitute for staff leaving classes for INSET (Galloway and Morrison, 1994a). Many teachers' professional development centres were being merged or closed. A 'market' approach to budgeting meant that such training centres had increasingly to operate as self-financing cost centres, competing with external providers of training (Keep, 1992).

Any claim about political manipulation in the English education system must take account of the multiple lines of control that operate in a decentralized system (Archer, 1979, pp 419-423). This is one reason why the role of the INSET co-ordinator was so complex and so important. Politically-based decisions to develop the teaching workforce in particular ways were indeed enacted through the training schemes operating between 1988 and 1992. Monitoring and evaluation requirements reinforced this. Underspending in one year would result in budgetary reductions the following year, and most LEAs therefore made efforts to improve their budgetary management (DES, 1989a) in order to avoid reductions in funding. I shall return to this issue in Chapter 6, but these improvements, observed nationally, commonly

meant one or more of: additional clerical staff, increased use of computer systems, and more forms requesting information issued to schools and returned from them. LEAs tended to adopt the DES principle over underspending in their negotiations with schools, so it became just as important to a school INSET co-ordinator as it was for the LEA to know exactly the 'running total' of expenditure (at a time when computer accounting systems were still not widespread in schools). Supply cover costs were a substantial element in most school budgets. There were occasions where authorities (as well as schools) found during the spring term that unexpected sums remained unspent because of the inaccuracy of earlier planning or because of unforeseen circumstances, so supplementary (unplanned) training activities would be squeezed in before the end of the financial year. Similarly, research in five LEAs found that the mismatch between financial and academic years was sometimes problematic for INSET managers (Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.v, p.65; see also Chapter 6 below).

In a decentralized system, increasing central control will inevitably be perceived as threatening local autonomy. The discourse of 'improving the teaching workforce' was unwelcome to teachers but the profession's ambivalence was deeper-seated than a socio-linguistic unease. Teachers lived with the politically determined elements of the training system, in one sense because they had little alternative. But in other senses, because they shared some at least of the stated priorities, and also because among and alongside the national initiatives and priorities, it was possible to find ways of allocating admittedly small sums to professional development work that met teachers' identified needs on themes which staff saw as important and to which the governing body would give support. Finally, annual rate-capping measures were having a sharp impact in many LEAs necessitating redundancies and other severe

cost-cutting strategies. Workloads increased, as did stress-related illness and early retirements: in a climate of survival, sensitivities about professional development may have seemed less deserving of attention.

CPD AND THE PROFESSIONAL PROJECT

Whilst positive effects from training could be recognized by teachers and by researchers, these were not widely publicized (Burgess and Galloway, 1993, p.173). Casting reports of successful professional development in terms of 'good practice' (as educational evaluation so often did) implies an audience internal to the profession rather than drawn from the wider society. The thesis adopts the concept of the 'professional project' as the process by which an occupational group seeks to establish and maintain itself as a profession, in which its control of a specialized body of knowledge is recognised, and it is accorded a privileged social status. The rhetoric associated with INSET frequently referred to greater professionalism: what contribution did the resultant training and professional development make to enhancing the status of teaching as a profession? Did CPD contribute to the professional project?

An empirical study of accountancy extends Larson's exposition of the professional project, highlighting essential elements as:

- 1 Starting Point
- 2 Overall Objective
- 3 Sub Goals
- 4 Other Actors
- 5 Context

Macdonald 1995 p.187-189

These elements will be considered in turn as they relate to the teaching profession.

1 Starting point

Teachers comprise an interest group which competes with others in society for status and rewards. Having achieved a somewhat ambiguous professional status (whether Etzioni's 'semi-profession', Glazer's 'minor profession' or some alternative) the implementation of measures to maintain and enhance professionalism would appear critical. The credentialism of initial training (Collins, 1972) was followed by more elaborate types of in-service training, and schemes for INSET and CPD grew in complexity and formality. In 1986 a statutory five days' training each year became the professional baseline. Such measures might be interpreted as likely to buttress the status of the profession. However these government interventions appeared to be premised on the view that there were weaknesses to be remedied rather than knowledge and skills to be enhanced. National trends were towards a 'deficit' rather than a 'developmental' model.

2 Overall objective

The professional project aims to achieve a monopoly for professional services based on a recognized body of knowledge, and in this the teaching profession has yet to secure its position. What are the services being 'sold'? and are they based on esoteric or specialized knowledge? Macdonald notes how in 'knowledge-heavy' occupations such as the law, the very intangibility of what the professional is 'selling' is problematic, and negotiation to secure a monopoly of professional services requires an element of trust. Trust and confidence in professional expertise can be strengthened by regulation. During the period of this study, the 'trust' between the government and the teaching profession had been eroded. To some extent, the government's motive for the 'new INSET' was ostensibly to restore confidence in the profession.

Professional bodies such as the Law Society and the Engineering Council have long played powerful roles, regulating entry to the profession and guaranteeing professional standards to foster trust. Such bodies may also operate as a professional association, representing members' rights. Since the 1980s medicine, architecture, the law, accountancy and other professions have introduced and/or strengthened requirements for members to undertake CPD (in some cases now mandatory). If the status of a profession is already secure, CPD requirements may play a part in reinforcing its prestige. Faced with pressure or threat, the professional body may use CPD to defend its knowledge base. This is necessary partly because 'there is no longer any belief in the infallibility of expert systems and nothing is "dead certain"' (Quicke, 1998, p.326).

Unlike the 'elite' professions, teaching has historically lacked a professional forum and voice. Establishing a monopoly of the rewards deriving from specialist services was problematic partly because of this and partly because the state is almost a monopoly employer. Hoyle has described the history of the teaching profession in the twentieth century as a quest for professional status, and agrees that teaching 'failed to create and control a market'. He also pinpoints the lack of professional representation:

Its emergence as a profession coincided with the introduction of a mass education system and it was largely a public service. Its professional project could, therefore, only be advanced with the support of the state. Early attempts to establish a professional body for the advancement of professional status were, paradoxically, pursued by the teacher unions. A professional rhetoric was combined with a union strategy.

Hoyle, 1997, p.49

Without a recognized monopoly of professional services regulated and supported by a respected national professional body, teaching has yet to achieve the social closure Larson identified as marking the successful completion of the professional project. Following the period under study, developments related to an

embryonic General Teaching Council (Tomlinson, 1995) have encouraged renewed interest in professional ethics for teachers; a draft proposed code of ethics is based on the ethic of care, the ethic of competence and the ethic of professional commitment. On this model, the ethic of care is demonstrated by relationships with the child and relations with the home and community. The ethic of competence is demonstrated by learning relationships, knowledge of pedagogy, intellectual accountability and professional development. The ethic of professional commitment is demonstrated by contributing to the profession's competence, and to debate on the profession's purposes, values, norms and standards (Thompson, 1997, p.31). 'Continuous professional development' is now a central plank of 'the professional obligation to be competent' (Thompson, 1997, p.48).

Whether such affirmations and potential structures will ultimately secure a clearer and more prestigious position for teaching as a profession remains to be seen. Leggatt's (1970) summary of hurdles to professional standing is still telling:

Without question, the profession cannot lay claim to elite status. With the spread of literacy it has lost any esoteric knowledge base.

Leggatt, 1970, p.160

Thirty years later, claims to a specialized knowledge base are threatened even more acutely by the proliferation of electronically held information and the pace of knowledge generation. The specialized or esoteric knowledge base of the teaching profession increasingly resides not in subject content, but in knowing how rather than knowing what- how to learn, and how to enable children and young people to learn how to learn. This adds a further twist to the debate about teaching as a profession.

Leggatt listed further factors which had undermined the prestige of teaching as: the growth of white-collar employment, loss of economic income, a lack of control over entrance to the profession, and a lack of power to settle conditions of

service. Teaching lacked a code of ethics, an internal disciplinary system and means of exerting sanctions. Despite these qualifications, he admitted, 'Yet it would be foolish to deny teachers the title of professionals which is enshrined in popular usage and census classification' (Leggatt, 1970, p.160). That ambivalent position has meant that the role of CPD for teachers has been to assert professional knowledge and expertise for an occupational group whose professional status is far from clear. In these circumstances it does not effectively enhance the position of teaching as a profession.

3 Sub goals

The profession marks out its jurisdiction (or has it marked out) and establishes its legitimacy. It ensures that future entrants pass through selection processes followed by specialist training and socialization. But historically (and even today) the low appeal of teaching in attracting entrants makes this problematic. It is difficult to exclude applicants, and discrepancies in higher education 'A' level entrance requirements between education and other disciplines were and still are a telling indicator of the teaching profession's inability to secure a monopoly of specialized knowledge. If entry levels were more buoyant and entry standards could be more exacting, CPD might reinforce these processes. Between 1988 and 1992, teachers' continuing professional development was being formalized in a context where morale among existing practitioners was low and new entrants gradually dwindling.

So could the profession claim to have a monopoly of professional knowledge? As I suggested above, despite increasing challenges faced by teachers and the greater sophistication with which they have responded, the profession has (still) notably failed to establish itself in this respect. It is striking that the terms more commonly used between 1988 and 1992 were 'in-service training' and 'INSET' (rather than

'continuing professional development') implying an intermediate level (rather than a professional) occupation.

Since the goal of achieving 'respectability' as part of the professional project was compromised, INSET was unlikely to compensate sufficiently for such a fundamental weakness. One indicator is the outward signs and symbols of status: here Macdonald (1995) draws attention to the premises in which a professional body has its headquarters. Teachers could point to no building which exemplified professional achievement and status nationally. Few LEA training facilities (even those established hurriedly in the 1980s) could equal those of commercial organizations. If, as Macdonald suggests, the standing of a profession is enhanced by the image of itself which it offers to the wider society, teaching as a whole and CPD for established teachers had no such concrete expression or public image; it lacked prestigious premises and was increasingly school-based. School-based activities were unlikely to make a positive public impression, partly because of the element of 'self-help' which was common, and which the case studies will exemplify.

4 Other actors

Relationships with other parties are essential to a successful conclusion to the professional project. Recognition by the state of the nature of the professional activity confers status and moral authority; members of one profession reinforce this by working with (or competing with) other occupations and interest groups. In dealing with the wider public and with its particular clientele, a profession presents itself in such a way as to maximize commercial and social status. Again the lack of a definitive professional voice for teachers and teaching mattered: without a General Teaching Council or comparable body such relationships remained fractured or dissipated. In this respect, analysis of newspaper references in the late 1980s to the

five teacher training days would be illuminating. Even within the profession, the coinage 'B-days' (linking INSET days with their political instigator Kenneth Baker) carried somewhat unprofessional nuances. This reflected how some teachers felt, but at the same time it undermined efforts to attach value to professional development opportunities (as in Mary Pinker's 'Second-Rate Bidets', *Times Educational Supplement*, 28th October 1988).

5 Context

Social, political and cultural factors influence promotion of the professional project. The origins of CPD for teachers have been outlined: tracing through the stages associated with the professional project leads to the suspicion that the existing position of the teaching profession was bound to make it difficult for teachers' CPD to enhance professional prestige. A 1990s pilot study supports this, revealing doubts among teachers about their perceptions of the word 'professional':

In terms of 'being a professional', teachers see themselves as meeting most of the identified requirements, but as being denied some of the autonomy, trust and public recognition normally accorded to professional groups. In terms of 'behaving professionally', teachers believe that they measure up quite well to the high standards that they impose upon themselves. However, there seems to be some uncertainty as to whether professional behaviour involves being in control and planning, or simply following instructions, however misguided.
Helsby, 1995, p.329

The contemporary context made such doubts understandable. Teaching had a bad press, the trust between teachers and other groups had been eroded, there were fundamental changes throughout the educational system, and added pressures for increased accountability and control. It is hardly surprising that by the early 1990s professional confidence had been undermined.

EXTENDING PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

The theoretical strands already discussed focus at the macro-sociological level, and in some ways the work of Schön is less immediately promising than these. This body of work was chosen in order to provide a basis for analysing the ways in which learning was taking place as a result of INSET activities, focusing on micro-level experience and learning outcomes. The bulk of Schön (1983 and 1987) centre on the explanation of reflection-in-action as apparent in various professions. The author describes the second volume, like the first, as a 'primer'. These works therefore differ in both intention and style from those discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter.

However, Schön (1983) does offer a macro-level assessment of 'the crisis in professional knowledge' and concludes with 'implications for the professions and their place in society'. Here he considers the professional's autonomy and authority in relation to his 'clients', discusses how certain types of research may assist the professional more than others, and points to features of institutions which may or may not encourage reflective practice.

I shall focus on the aspects of that discussion which relate most closely to teachers' professional development in England at the time of this study. For the professional-client relationship, his analysis notes how much depends on how these roles are construed, and that is a problem in teaching, as in other cases where the professional role 'has more to do with social control or help, or where the relationship between help and control is a matter of ambiguity and debate' (Schön, 1983, p.290).

Indeed,

The absence of a clearly identifiable professional-client relation has the effect of undermining the service provider's view of himself as a professional.

Schön, 1983, p.291

Professional doubts were certainly observable as successive educational reforms were introduced (see Helsby, above). The traditional 'contract' between professional and client carried certain assumptions about expertise, competence and authority, underpinned accountability to professional peers. But as we have already noted, criticisms of professional expertise and authority challenged that contract. We have seen how educational changes in the 1980s were allied to charges against teachers' professionalism, and how the framing of the 'new INSET' was strongly interventionist. However, replacing the conventional contract by a 'reflective contract' between practitioner and client raises difficulties (Schön, 1983, p.296-299) and calls for public scrutiny (rather than peer review) and new reciprocal relations with clients. Particular hurdles face those who are not members of the 'major' professions, as in the example of a school principal:

It is not unusual in such cases to find that individuals aspire to a professional status that they are only tenuously, or partially, given. Their difficulty in establishing a reflective contract with their clients is to acquire enough voice in the situation to be able to do so.

Schön, 1983, p.298

The educational context in England in the late 1980s and early 1990s was one which tended to suppress rather than encourage a professional 'voice' (see Chapter 2). This was not the most propitious time for teachers to attempt to introduce a 'reflective contract'.

The interplay between research and practice discussed in Chapter 3 focuses here on the four types of 'reflective research': frame analysis; repertoire-building research; research on fundamental methods of inquiry and overarching theories, and research on the process of reflection-in-action. These have micro-level interest, but at this point I shall mention just the first, frame analysis:

At any time in the life of a profession, certain ways of framing problems and roles come into good currency...
Their frames determine their strategies of attention and thereby set the directions in which they will try to change the situation, the values which shape their practice.

Schön, 1983, p.309

One problem during the period of this study was that 'directions' for change which were 'framed' by central government were often at odds with the directions which teachers would have identified. These tensions between national, local and institutional or individual aims parallel the contradictory tendencies discussed in previous chapters:

When a professional community embodies multiple and conflicting ideas in good currency about the frames appropriate to the construction of problems and roles, then practitioners, educators, and students of the profession confront such dilemmas.

Schön, 1983, p.310

The other idea of interest concerns the institutional framework conducive to reflective practice within a bureaucracy. Drawing a picture of a stereotypical (American) school as an example of an 'institution of technical rationality' (p.331), he warns that reflection-in-action poses a potential threat to a 'dynamically conservative system'.

In a school supportive of reflective teaching, teachers would challenge the prevailing knowledge structure... Conflicts and dilemmas would surface and move to centre stage.

Schön, 1983, p.335

In terms of teachers' professional development, we need to ask what opportunity there was for such conflict and dilemmas to be 'surfaced'. The role of collaboration and confrontation discussed in Chapter 3 will re-emerge in the case studies in which teachers actively address different viewpoints. There were plenty of dilemmas and

conflicting aims to be addressed through professional development during the period of this study.

CONCLUSION

At a macro-sociological level the INSET system being developed resulted from a combination of political manipulation and internal initiation rather than external transaction. In the chapters to come, the empirical data will be assessed against Archer's different types of negotiation, whilst Fenstermacher and Berliner's formulation will be used to clarify the micro-level analysis. Teachers' professional development (in principle likely to contribute to the professional project) in practice faced the problematic status of teaching. Teachers were under attack from numerous politically imposed initiatives and the role of INSET in enhancing professional standing was questionable. I also pointed in this chapter to some of the implications of ideas about reflective practice in respect of professional development. During the period under study, INSET occupied an ambivalent position, because it was integral to the imposition of changes that were not always welcome.

Moving away from the macro-sociological perspectives so far discussed, I turn in the next four chapters to an analysis of primary data which will permits the application of theory at increasingly micro-sociological levels, allowing attention to be given to agency as well as structure. This follows through the initial decision to address the substantive area at a number of levels, but it is no easy option:

Since the early 1970s the sociology of education has been characterized by two dominant (types of) approaches which are both flawed. In brief, structuralist (and emerging post-structuralist) accounts of education tend to be relatively strong on constraint yet weak on agency, while interpretive approaches tend to be relatively strong on dealing with human agency yet weak on recognising and conceptualising social structures.

Shilling, 1992, p.71

I explained in previous chapters the choice of theoretical and methodological approaches which allow for a spectrum of analysis. In the next chapter the bridge will be provided between the macro- and micro-sociological perspectives. Just as the INSET co-ordinator was the fulcrum of the INSET system, so Chapter 6 is the pivotal point of this thesis.

CHAPTER 6

OPERATING THE SYSTEM: INSET CO-ORDINATION IN SCHOOLS

I have concentrated so far on macro-sociological explanations of the development and introduction of INSET schemes during the period of study. But nationally defined policies have to be enacted at a very different level. This involves the LEA, as the channel through which national policy reaches schools, and the institution itself. This chapter provides a link connecting the broad view of Chapter 5 with the detailed case studies which follow.

As one of the most important components of the system which extends from national INSET policy to individual teachers' development, the position of the school INSET co-ordinator offers a telling focus for investigating how ideas and priorities for professional development are operationalized. Before focusing on the micro-level cases, we need first to understand more about this key role and its relationship to national and LEA decisions.

The first section of this chapter examines why this role was important within the system, and outlines some models of INSET co-ordination. The second section explains the particular context within which documentary, interview and observational data were collected. It draws on the interview data predominantly to pinpoint issues which preoccupied those responsible for co-ordinating INSET in schools. These include the need to define the role, its administrative demands and the matter of time allocation. Other issues are support from committees and training for INSET management as well as cover for staff undertaking INSET. The concluding section reviews this material against the different theoretical strands.

WHY IS THIS A PIVOTAL ROLE?

All professional development directives and suggestions reach the in-tray- or the ear- of the school INSET co-ordinator. This was in practice the point where the balance was struck between national and LEA priorities, arrangements made with INSET providers and other parties. As the various processes leading to educational change interact, it was the school INSET co-ordinator who assessed one priority against another and made decisions both trivial and momentous about the merits of particular professional development requests. As the person most familiar with DES/DfE and LEA guidance and requirements, he or she would interpret these for colleagues and that definition of professional education and training was critical in shaping opportunities extended to staff. But what factors affected how that role was enacted? What degrees of freedom were open to co-ordinators, how was the role perceived, how did it contribute to continuing professional development and what did it reveal about professionalism and autonomy?

In terms of Archer (1979), analysis of the data allows us to examine how (if the development of a national INSET framework demonstrated a particular accommodation between political manipulation and internal initiation) that accommodation was effected through school INSET co-ordination. In assessing the relation of CPD to the professional project (Larson, 1977) the status of INSET Co-ordinators, it is important to note the knowledge and skills which they required and also the way in which they represented professional development to colleagues, parents, governors and others. Co-ordinators in this study often 'had greatness thrust upon them', but during the period of this research, staff development work in schools was a growth area offering new channels to middle managers at a time when career advancement was constrained by falling rolls and reduced job mobility. Just as TVEI

had previously provided new opportunities at institutional and authority level, so GRIST and LEATGS presented new career openings, and some co-ordinators were volunteers. INSET management opened up new specialist areas, and might therefore be seen as supporting the professional project by aligning teaching with other high level occupations where CPD was becoming a priority (Macdonald, 1995; Evetts, 1995) through its contribution to the image of the profession. If teachers' professionalism was being extended, would the INSET Co-ordinator's professional knowledge and skills also be recognised and would this promote the professional project?

In considering various forms of reflection on practice (Schön, 1983, 1987), the INSET co-ordinator is first a practitioner, secondly a tutor of practitioners and thirdly reflects on the practice of professional development. These senior managers constitute a promising arena in which to use Schön's ideas about reflective practitioners in terms of reflections on the process of managing professional development and on what it meant to be at the fulcrum of the system, balancing national, LEA, school and individual training needs and meeting these with appropriate provision. Co-ordinators also weighed claims of continuity for pupils against the need for staff to be released for prime-time training, assessing the point at which efforts to find supply cover might outweigh the value of INSET. They had to ensure follow-up to last term's INSET without jeopardising current priorities. For a manager of professional training, the 'professional artistry' required differed from that of the classroom teacher. In a period of rapid educational change, how were INSET co-ordinators constructing their own understandings of what their role should be?

Existing models of the INSET co-ordinator role

INSET co-ordinators had numerous models of what their role might be and what professional development work might entail. Bolam (1982a) was influential and Easen (1985) was widely used, as was a resource pack in looseleaf form published as *Thinking Schools* (Bradley *et al*, 1989). Bell (1987) and Lockwood (1991) covered the role of the INSET Co-ordinator in operational terms, with interview data from Co-ordinators. Oldroyd and Hall (1988) listed eight different roles undertaken by the person responsible for co-ordinating INSET as: counsellor, motivator, innovator, mentor, monitor, evaluator, administrator and facilitator. Holly and Southworth gave a deceptively clear description of what was required:

A member of staff should be selected to fulfill the crucial role of Staff Development Co-ordinator. Such a person would:

- (i) be a senior and/or experienced member of staff;
- (ii) act as in-school Co-ordinator and orchestrator of the development work;
- (iii) have credibility in the eyes of the rest of the staff;
- (iv) be able to form (and lead) a staff development committee as part of the internal infrastructures for the support and management of the development programmes;
- (v) act as a link-person with the outside world/represent the school team at conferences, workshops and liaison meetings;
- (vi) be prepared to act as both trainer and trainee (for example, with regard to the acquisition of evaluation skills/techniques);
- (vii) provide linkage between the head and other staff members. If the head plays the Co-ordinator's role, then the issue of communication with staff will need to be considered.

Holly and Southworth, 1989, pp. 134-5

People had to define their role against existing models such as these. A variety of terms was in use: INSET Co-ordinators, Professional Development Tutors or Staff Development Co-Ordinators, but the range of responsibilities was broadly comparable.

During the early LEATGS period the accelerated pace of educational change saw moves towards greater accountability, changed relationships between schools and

LEAs; new patterns in the management of schools; and preliminary implementation of the National Curriculum. These and other societal and professional pressures (Esteve, 1989, pp.7-21) made even the TRIST period seem a more leisured age. Accounts of 'good practice' in INSET management trod a delicate line between being inspiring and being dispiriting for those coping with less than perfect situations. During 1988-89 my research documented many instances of what might be termed 'good practice' or successful INSET. It was equally clear that the actual circumstances under which INSET co-ordinators worked sat uneasily alongside some of the material on INSET management.

HMI's report on the first year of the LEATGS identified many initial problem areas but said little about INSET co-ordinators specifically, giving just two paragraphs to this role:

Many authorities required institutions to designate a member of staff as INSET co-ordinator with the responsibility for encouraging and co-ordinating INSET procedures within institutions. Many of these postholders were unaware of strategies for needs identification so that until some training had been given institutions had difficulty in responding to the requirements placed upon them.

In a few instances LEAs had set up training programmes lasting for one or two days for INSET co-ordinators. Typically these took the form of an information giving session when an LEA officer or adviser gave an overview of the scheme and how the authority's process of consultation was organized, followed by workshop sessions on such matters as conducting interviews with colleagues about staff development needs, strategies for establishing priorities, INSET record-keeping and, in a few cases, there was some reference made to evaluating INSET. These training sessions were generally welcomed by the INSET Co-ordinators as they felt more confident about the tasks expected of them. Training sessions observed by HMI were of good quality and often provided opportunities for LEA officers and advisers to work as training teams.

DES, 1989a, 136/89

This brief reference, like some of the INSET handbooks, implies that gaining expertise in INSET management was largely unproblematic. However, leaving the

broad picture to focus on specific instances suggests that INSET co-ordination was actually a very complex area.

THE SOLIHULL CONTEXT FOR INSET CO-ORDINATION

To address this complexity, the data used in this chapter come from interviews with twenty-two Solihull teachers with experience as school INSET co-ordinators (designated Professional Development Tutor (PDT) in this LEA). The fieldwork also included observation at LEA organized meetings and conferences for co-ordinators, and observation at school-focused INSET events. Although in the interviews managerial rather than pedagogical issues were highlighted, these speakers were first and foremost committed teachers with substantial classroom expertise who spoke about educational matters, principles underlying their pedagogy, classroom management, and changing styles of teaching and learning. One reward of the job was the opportunity to enhance educational opportunities for staff and pupils. Table 6.1 summarizes the responsibilities and duties of PDTs in Solihull in 1988-89. Not all had responsibility for every area, for example, supply cover might be organized by a colleague. Tasks could be delegated to committee members. A headteacher might give the PDT only administrative jobs, but elsewhere the school secretary handled these. For those in small schools matters were more straightforward. Nevertheless, PDTs interviewed were attempting to fulfill most of the tasks listed. They mentioned them in interview, were observed carrying out these tasks, and other teachers referred to these aspects of the PDT's role.

Table 6.1's arbitrary division disguises the overlap between administrative and developmental tasks, but certain jobs, described as purely administrative, seemed to

Table 6.1 Administrative and developmental tasks of INSET co-ordinators

Administrative Tasks	Developmental Tasks
Organizing the needs identification system, e.g. preparing questionnaires, having these typed and distributed, encouraging their return and analysing them.	Keeping staff informed about changes affecting INSET
Organizing the preparation of the INSET proposal, e.g. arranging meetings, booking extra secretarial time	Establishing/chairing/informing the staff development committee
Photocopying staff applications and evaluations	Deciding and implementing methods for needs identification and post-INSET evaluation
Maintaining an INSET 'log-book' and other information	Consultation with staff at all levels
Making regular returns to the authority to monitor INSET	Writing the schools INSET proposal to the LEA
Responding to 'one-off' requests from the authority for information	Deciding whether to fund specific INSET requested by staff
Keeping a balance of in-school expenditure	Organizing non-pupil days: settling the format, preparing agenda sheets and other 'handouts', booking rooms, checking furniture and equipment, finding speakers or examples of good practice, booking venues other than school, 'hosting' in-school days, leading discussion sessions
Checking the school's figures against the authority's	Arranging follow-up to courses and INSET days
Organizing supply cover for teachers released for INSET	Liaison with LEA officers and clerical staff, inspectors, external providers, support teams, other schools
Organizing and up-dating an INSET notice-board or library	'Personnel officer' responsibilities for all staff, e.g., probationers arranging classroom support and/or visits to observe good practice.
	Classroom observation
	Individual interviews with teachers

be accorded less status than those which involved professional decision-making. Developmental or professional tasks tended to be either primarily 'personnel' responsibilities or more specifically educational and/or policy-making. Even if the teaching profession could not be said to have achieved social closure (Larson, 1977), these PDTs nevertheless distinguished between the more professional and less professional aspects of their role. They commonly remarked that the demands of the job made compromise essential; indeed, it has been held that 'the task of managing an in-service training programme is too great for one person' (Bell, 1987, p.3). Often the more important aspects (in the opinion of PDTs) tended to be shelved because of immediate administrative obligations. Administration fell into two categories, depending on the PDT's experience. Mastering the system occupied much time for those new to the job. After a while PDTs became adept at manipulating the system in the school's best interests.

During 1988-89, changes at LEA level affected the Solihull context within which PDTs worked as the authority provided more realistic staffing and support at the education office, including:

- the appointment of an assistant education officer to monitor the LEATGS system, and increased secretarial back-up to deal with returns and documentation;
- the appointment of a head of support services and INSET, representing a more coherent overall view of professional development;
- a new INSET database to reduce manual calculations and make information more readily available to schools;
- a one-term secondment to a university for the teachers' centre warden (to develop evaluation expertise) combined with overseeing the LEA's evaluation.

PDTs recognised that these decisions were likely to improve their job. They were typical of management changes that HMI found nationwide (DES, 1989a) as LEAs developed structures to deliver, monitor and evaluate more sophisticated INSET.

ISSUES EMERGING FROM INTERVIEWS WITH CO-ORDINATORS

Defining A Role

In the advancement of the professional project as expressed by Larson (1977) and Macdonald (1995), we might hypothesize that the introduction of a structured CPD system with appropriate management roles would be likely to consolidate the prestige of teaching as a profession. This was hampered in Solihull at the time of my research partly because those charged with implementing the LEATG Scheme frequently occupied uncertain positions. One factor may have been the proliferation of existing curriculum development and national initiatives such as TVEI or Records of Achievement, each with its school representative. These combined with new directions in school management, school development, school improvement. 'Staff development' might already be allocated to a member of the senior management team, and the role of PDT would then be defined in relation to existing structures.

Solihull Secondary PDTs were deputy heads, with few exceptions, so they had personal standing within the school. This authority had few very small schools and primary PDTs were usually headteachers, but specific problems facing small schools were noted in HMI's report on the Implementation of the National Curriculum in primary schools (DES, 1989b, 332/ 89, paras. 64-66). Among interviewees, problems centred on definition of their role (rather than their pre-existing professional status) and early in the LEATGS period the PDT group had produced a description of

their responsibilities as a basis for discussion with headteachers. PDTs recognised the job's potential, as one junior school deputy head observed: 'I'm interested in this. It's an important job, or I think it will be'. Similarly Jack Miller, a deputy in a secondary school:

I think it's the most important job in the school, and I think staff would also perceive it that way and do perceive it providing we make time to do the job properly. As with anything, if you're seen to be doing your job, or at least doing your best and making an attempt at it, you've got a certain amount of credibility. Where we're not coming up to the mark, not finding time for people, and then it loses its status. It's just another handle, it's just another title.

This epitomises PDTs' perception that they could not currently do the job as they would wish to, and underlines the status inconsistency which was widespread.

PDT Mavis Green for instance said:

I'd like to be more involved in staff development, not just INSET. I don't want to be an 'issuer' [of forms]. A robot at the door could do that.

Secondary deputies (and increasingly primary) had often been allocated their professional development role: as three PDTs observed:

Most heads nominated them. They had no idea what they were actually getting the person into.... I'm concerned about the way they were nominated - or dragged in - or it was just assumed they'd do the job.... It was just dumped on them. (Secondary PDT)

I had it dumped in my lap. (Secondary PDT)

A lot of heads took it on without really thinking. Then a lot of heads decided to drop out of it. (Primary PDT).

Recently appointed primary PDTs were uncertain about their role and some secondary PDTs felt the job needed clarification:

People don't know. I'm not sure what I'm supposed to be doing. (Primary PDT)

I'm not sure the role is defined. (Secondary PDT)

If staff development is an important thing it can't be added on to the work of the deputies.
(Secondary PDT).

The sense of headteachers 'off-loading' a poorly defined responsibility is unlikely to support the professional status of those to whom it is delegated, even among their colleagues (nor of the profession as a whole). The discussion document defining CPD tasks proved a useful 'yardstick' as a basis for explaining their purpose to colleagues, but not all heads responded positively as a secondary PDT indicated:

I think he feels that it's his decision to hand out job descriptions, that it's not really up to me to tell him what my job description is.

At another school two deputies felt that the job was too large for one person: when a third was appointed, all three deputies shared the work. One secondary PDT was told that the head had 'no objection to you doing all of that'. In a school facing closure, staff reaction made professional development a matter for the headteacher alone. One teacher with wide experience in staff development concluded:

I think the authorities have assumed there is a role called a PDT without actually recognising that the people operating these roles will operate it very differently either because they'll learn the experience in perspective and/or because of their actual job demands, and job level.

However the role of PDT did offer rewards, as three secondary school deputies explained:

A lot of the staff come to me and talk on an informal basis about their future. I mean, I had staff in here talking about 'Where do I go from here?'

They'll come to me to discuss their future, or I'll happily spend time with applications and that sort of thing. That is a vital part of my job. Nothing gives me more of a lift than if perhaps we've worked something out together and (they) get called for interview, you know, that's good. That's what it's all about, helping them, and that's what the job of the PDT is all about.

I told them 'I'm here to consult about you and your career'.

'Professional Development Tutor' was still an unfamiliar term to a few primary teachers but some felt that the title itself was not important, like the PDT who reflected:

It could well be that there are staff who don't know that I am a professional development tutor - but what they do know is who they need to go to when they do that course and when they need somethingor whatever, so I don't think they recognise that title.... It's not something that I push, I must admit.

And a secondary teacher explained that INSET needs would be expressed first to the head of department, then to her PDT who:

is always open to us going and talking to him about any needs we may have and he is very helpful.... He's always available, he's always keen to listen, and he is a man of action. If you ask him something then things get done.

Supporting staff provided job satisfaction: PDTs recalled successful events or colleagues who had benefited from counselling and support. However, where their role was inadequately defined, it was difficult for them to be pro-active, as indicated by a secondary school deputy head:

I would like much more contact with staff on a formal basis, not just sitting in the staff room, because there are people on the staff I would like to get to, to say, wouldn't you like to do this, or 'wouldn't you like to do that?' You more or less have some sort of barrier and I can't approach. Formal sort of ways and means of having informal conversations, if you like.

Principal hurdles to fulfilling the role as they would define it were the LEATGS administrative load and shortage of time. This was indeed a pivotal role, in that it reconciled external and internal pressures for professional development. At a micro-sociological level each decision by the PDT reflected elements of the macro-level interplay between internal initiation and political manipulation (Archer, 1979). But the role conflict which was apparent and the educational context of the period, combined with professional cultures, was operating against the successful promotion

of a professional image for the role of the PDT, and also against enhancing the image of the profession to those outside it.

Administration

Administration was felt to be an unjustifiable burden. Three secondary PDTs commented:

I would like to think that I had a major part in school development and staff development, but it boils down to admin. and I don't really go along with that 100%

It's far too complicated in the way of forms, returns and everything else...

The admin. takes so many hours of paperwork and I understand why it's necessary if you get frustrated at what you may think is a duplication of it. And I know that at times in the month that I'm doing my admin. for this, it is a phenomenal amount of hours.

LEAs had to account accurately to the DES, and some accounting had to be done within the school. Prior to the LEA computer database, it was difficult to check a school's own figures with the authority as headteacher John Graham recalled:

It wasn't easy to find out how much money you've got left... and the paperwork is so behind you don't necessarily get an actual picture of how much you've spent.

Ann Barlow, a secondary school deputy, described how minor administrative details could take over:

The thing that I object to about PDT work is the hours of form-filling that I have to do. I had a query from one member of staff at nine o'clock this morning and you came in at a quarter past ten and I'm still trying to deal with it, and it was only over a date on a form for a course. Now he'd been crossed off by someone at the office and I was trying to find out why. I still don't know really ...he was accusing me of crossing him off and it was a fraught situation, and it was a silly thing to spend an hour on, but there you go.

One specific area of administration which consumed time concerned supply cover, where severe problems were identified by HMI in London schools (DES, 1990c).

Solihull PDTs were experienced career teachers in senior managerial posts, but less qualified people could doubtless have handled certain INSET-related activities. Requests for information already held at the education office were frustrating, described by a PDT responsible for over sixty staff:

There's an awful lot that we're asked to do and information that we're asked to provide which the LEA have anyway.....sending in lists of everyone's insurance numbers when we have an in-service training day. Well the office send us a computer print-out of the staff with all their insurance numbers and all I do is take a photocopy of it and send it back again.

Including the Authority's clerical assistant for LEATGS in PDT meetings during 1988-89 encouraged better communication. Some PDTs felt they rarely had feedback after providing information to the LEA, and for one this was typical of communication between the Authority and schools at that time: 'we fill in all the forms and hear bugger all about the results'. Secretarial support was increasingly bought in to prepare INSET proposals and evaluation reports to the Authority as well as handouts for INSET days. An infrastructure for administrative procedures could be seen as one indicator of progress in the professional project, as Macdonald (1995) has explored in accountancy. In education, such forms of support for the professional activities of teachers have always been patchy (Mortimore and Mortimore with Thomas, 1994).

Time

PDTs pinpointed matters associated with allocation of time. In small schools the commonest reason given by heads for retaining professional development

responsibilities was that they had more time than their deputies. One special and two primary heads explained:

I wouldn't want to put extra pressure on members of staff who here work very hard indeed.

It fits in with the appraisal work that I'm doing and also.... a lot of my work I can do either after school or before school.

I feel I've got more time, both deputies have got a full-time teaching commitment... and... I feel I want to keep my finger on what's happening and I want to be able to talk to people about how they see themselves and their careers and what they are doing in the school.

Motives might of course be mixed: a primary headteacher reflected that 'heads are the worst delegators in the world'. Interviewees might have argued (although only one did) that professional development work was too important to be delegated.

Even some secondary PDTs had no time allocation specifically for the LEATG scheme and INSET work. If professional development was to be taken seriously, this was important. Solihull's LEATGS proposal to the DES for 1989-90 described 'the role of the professional development tutor as pivotal in the process of identifying and meeting needs'. However at school level there was not always recognition of the resource implications. Ann Barlow was allocated two periods weekly, 'but I obviously spend a lot more time than that'. Jack Miller, also a deputy head, had time for INSET work but did all the 'monitoring' paperwork after rather than during the school day. Discussion with staff had to take place in school time: he explained:

I have a number of other meetings at lunch time and... this is time we are supposed to be on duty round the school, but a lot of staff are in fact teaching when I'm free, and I have so little time actually available to see staff during the normal school day, so a certain amount of this is lunch times. My day is eight till six every day and if staff are happy to come and see me early or late, then fine, that is often better, you haven't got the other problems of day to day school life to interrupt us.

Pickering Secondary School's PDT estimated the time required:

I might even spend a whole day of my time on PDT work... Adding up people coming and going. I also try to put things upstairs down on the spreadsheet as they come in. I'm a little behind on that, to keep track of where people are going and what they're doing...forms, photocopying, the actual ringing of the office sometimes over queries... Chats to people coming in saying 'What about this?' 'What about that, and the other?' 'What's happened to the short course book?' etc.

Similarly, Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1990) observed how heads of department and faculty also encourage professional development as one among many priorities squeezed into the working week.

PDTs who were interviewed were reluctant to quantify time spent on INSET and professional development; it had peaks and troughs, and merged into general conversations with staff. They spent time on administration, informal discussions and responding to issues raised by teachers, but they regretted most lack of time for a programmed sequence of one-to-one interviews. A secondary deputy recalled:

I made a sort of decision that by Christmas I would have talked to every member of staff within my area. It is now Easter and I still haven't spoken to them individually. Time, just because of all the other areas that I'm responsible for within the school.

A primary (headteacher) PDT had the previous year spent half a morning with each teacher discussing their role in the school, their class, their INSET needs and career development. In her large primary school this was a major allocation of time, and she planned to extend it: 'I want to try and make a sort of classroom observation. I will try and do that myself as well if I can. Well I think it's something I've got to make time for'.

Some PDTs relished planning INSET days and spoke enthusiastically about successful days as far back as 1984, recalling experiments in varying the format, trying new combinations, keeping staff involved by ensuring the day ran well and had

active components rather than being wholly didactic - but one PDT commented, 'I don't think anybody else is aware of it'. They covered planning and progress-chasing, helped by committees, where these existed. Deputy Anne Barlow outlined her role:

'Baker' Days tend to be a management decision rather than a decision on my part. I certainly help organize them... I gather information, I organize the actual timing of the day, I organize the mechanics of the day, if you like. I see that as my job. I organize the meals on the day and that sort of thing.

Her description reinforces earlier distinctions between management decisions about professional development and the detailed administration of training events.

Stringham's PDT tried to ensure that on-site INSET was well-organized on non-pupil days, but felt that schools could never hope to equal off-site provision in materials, decor and food. If they attempted this, 'They're on a loser from the word "go".' This PDT had been in school the night before and again at 7 a.m. to check facilities and furniture. Other teachers did help:

Staff are very good, but you have to ask, 'Is this it?' 'Is this what a member of staff has to do?' 'Are the Authority aware that's the pressure that's being put on people?'

Activities such as those documented in the case studies could be very low-cost, partly because of the self-help attitude of teachers. Altruism has often been seen as an indicator of professionalism (Halliday, 1987) and it permeated the management of INSET. As INSET co-ordination became more demanding, PDTs found it hard to find time for this work. Being an INSET Co-ordinator was a role which they were defining from first principles, with only modest investment from schools. Yet, professional altruism led to internalizing the process and demonstrating ingenuity in cutting costs. Such responses were more likely to undercut the professional project (Larson, 1977) than to reinforce for a wider public the status of teachers and teaching.

Support from committees

The INSET or staff development committee was a common strategy to assess needs, collect feedback and share the workload in secondary schools. Many were advisory only, with the headteacher or senior management group approving their recommendations. PDTs set up committees so as to get 'the right mix'. One encouraged younger members of staff to participate alongside experienced teachers from different faculties. One PDT deliberately avoided senior management, another balanced middle management with younger staff and people invited for personal qualities or unusual experience. Deputy head Mavis Green needed good communicators to complement existing needs analysis:

People who I knew would be very good at explaining what they felt and who would find out what people think verbally. We wanted verbal responses on top of what we had.

PDTs at Montgomery and Luke Strett secondary schools referred explicitly to equal opportunities; one said,

I deliberately asked women. There are not that many in our senior structure. We got the male and female mix - I know I shouldn't say that, perhaps, but I - that's important... because staff tend to, you know, men can relate to men and women to women.

This speaker's diffidence is worth noting. It could have been argued that a gender balance is essential in any committee. Committees did not guarantee success in identifying needs or reducing workloads, though PDTs hoped that, longer term, they would. Kevin Beatty remarked ruefully, 'We could identify what we think are their needs ... it's a fascist thought'. Brian Hitchcox asked committee members to talk with heads of departments and others to get a more sensitive and detailed assessment of INSET needs in departments:

That had limited success. It did work, the difficulty being that as soon as you get your committee back together again simply just in order to manage the amount of information you've got, it starts to become simplistic again and you lose that subtlety which you've actually gained by going out. I mean, I'm making it all out to be a total and utter minefield but in a way it is.

Mary Crowther's new committee met five times in two weeks during lunch-hours. Her staff 'were asking for more and they very much want to know. And I have seen this as training for them'. Kevin Beatty's committee, described as a 'think tank', met twice termly at 8.15 a.m.: we're like a sponge- we're taking ideas in rather than sending them out'. A committee proved a real resource for some PDTs, as well as opening up policy formation in a democratic way (cf. Bradley *et al.*, 1989, Connor, 1993a).

The most confident primary PDTs were headteachers but one deputy considered that 'they should be doing staff development anyway'. There was little need here for committees, as Primary PDTs had responsibility for fewer colleagues and whole-staff discussion about INSET was common.

Training for INSET co-ordination

The need for 'INSET on INSET' was an issue nationally during this period: Training in INSET administration and design was a key need for school INSET managers. It was frequently observed that the empowerment of school managers by devolving budgets, together with the responsibility for staff development, does not necessarily mean that they have the time or the skills to manage INSET effectively.

Harland, Kinder and Keys, 1993, p.iv

PDT training in Solihull encompassed staff with years of experience alongside those new to planning and evaluating INSET. Requirements for greater consistency obliged even experienced people to learn new skills. The mix of those with expertise, those who needed updating and beginners could make it difficult for people with basic

questions in authority-wide meetings. One PDT observed that 'To be at sea with everybody else is OK but to be at sea when some people appear not to be at sea, you know, is much more difficult'.

Those interviewed appreciated supportive telephone responses from the LEA's administrative staff, and smaller primary phase PDT meetings from summer 1989 allowed for individual queries. (This also doubled the number of meetings for the LEA INSET team). Initially LEATGS training focused on giving information and providing reassurance that others faced similar situations, and the group offered a focus for negotiating and for defining the role. Recalling what she gained from secondary PDT meetings, Mary Crowther put information first and problem-sharing second:

Information from the Authority that I might not get elsewhere and a recognition that other people have problems within the Authority, you know, often, not as many problems as I have actually. But the very fact that they have them is obviously very helpful to know.

But Anne Barlow stressed mutual support: meetings were

useful in that whenever we feel threatened we get together as a body and discuss our problems and also they are a means of giving us information from the office.... the amount of money in the bid, what we can do next year, what we can't do next year, what the priorities will be.

Meetings provided necessary information. Some PDTs who missed meetings discovered, after completing their INSET proposals, that they could have funded lesson cover in order to prepare the bid (having apparently been unaware that this was legitimate). Several PDTs thought circulating minutes would help those unable to attend. (This would have made the meeting more formal with financial implications for the LEA.) A secondary deputy head recalled one successful meeting:

The best, one of the most useful ones was when we finally came together with the junior school PDTs and started to talk, because we actually met then and

started to talk cross-phase needs and it was the meeting of the two lots of PDTs that identified the need for cross phase work.

Solihull teachers described many good INSET experiences; schools were finding innovative ways to develop in-house INSET and vary the format of non-pupil days. However, every activity that required a teacher to leave a time-tabled class called for a substitute teacher. Managing lesson cover for staff released for INSET was not something for which a PDT could train ; they learned 'on the job'. But it was a theme that preoccupied those who were interviewed and for this reason it merits some attention.

Cover for INSET

Any professional person's absence for CPD purposes means loss of earnings for the company (or the individual) and may trigger the need for a professional substitute. Norms vary between occupations and workplaces. Frequently school INSET Co-ordinators were responsible for organizing cover for teachers who were unwilling to leave classes. For Anne Barlow, the justification was clear:

Many members of staff grumble about being out of school because the children are not being taught properly when they're out, but if they're taught better when they get back, it's got to make up for it.

Cover for INSET was a persistent problem in most LEAs as reported in DES (1989a); DES (1991); Brown and Earley (1990), and Galloway (1991, 1994).

Teachers interviewed did not discuss whether or not the LEA provided INSET cover in principle, but whether in practice a supply teacher could be booked and/or whether this person would be suitable. Some schools had a nominal limit of (usually) two teachers daily requiring cover, but often exceeded this, as Pickering School's PDT explained:

We have got a problem tomorrow, we had already got three members of staff out. On pleading, three decided they wanted to go and we let them go and then we got a letter from the office last Friday saying that they wanted two more out on national curriculum training. We're letting one go and the head and I are covering his classes. We can't get any more supply in.

Other schools faced difficulty in covering older (Year 10 and 11) groups, those in less favoured areas found it difficult to attract supply teachers, and special school staff often preferred to cover for each other. The cost of cover was a real issue, and primary head Paul Cuthbertson commented:

I find it very hard to pay for supply cover... because it disappears dramatically. Frankly in my situation it's much easier for me.... to cover their class.

HMI recorded many primary headteachers covering classes even when supply cover was permitted (DES, 1989a Para. 3.32). Although this may benefit pupils (perhaps also headteachers), it does encroach on managerial time. Later, LMS increased the financial incentive of 'internal' cover (Galloway 1991). These problems were prevalent and well-established (Earley, 1986; Brown and Earley, 1990) Does this ability of the headteacher to cover classes support the advancement of the professional project; in particular, does it represent teaching as a professional occupation with a monopoly of specialist knowledge? This is questionable.

Among secondary teachers some stressed the need for 'specialist' cover, rather than a reliable 'all-rounder', like the PDT who thought that

Conscientious teachers would be more willing to go out if they thought they were being replaced by for instance a science teacher by a science teacher, a music teacher by a music teacher, rather than replaced by a 'child minder'.

The compromises surrounding teacher release and lesson cover (Galloway 1994b) bedevil attempts to establish a monopoly of specialised knowledge, and hinder the establishment of professional credentials, both prerequisites in the professional

project, essential for social closure (Larson, 1977). Those decisions are relevant to analyses of teaching as a profession (Leggatt, 1970, Acker, 1989), because if a 'non-specialist' supply teacher or colleague can cover for an absent specialist teacher, this implies ambivalence about the necessity for specialist knowledge and skills

Since 1992, recognition of the dilemmas surrounding cover have spawned numerous supply teacher agencies, some of which claim to provide specialists in 90% of cases (Hodges, 1998).

HMI's survey of 156 institutions in 68 LEAs reported one case only of regular supply teachers being encouraged to participate in school INSET (DES, 1989a, para. 3.32), and they noted also how in two London boroughs 'INSET for supply teachers was generally regarded as haphazard' (DES, 1990c, p.12, para. 35).

A PROFESSIONAL ROLE FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT TUTORS?

Other tensions were inherent to the PDT role. Staff expectations made the ability to take action essential, but if the role itself (as distinct from the person), lacked status or was unclear, the PDT's effectiveness was reduced. A secondary PDT described LEA inspectors' usual channels of communication:

They can come in to see the head about something, or they even come into departments.... one of our problems is a deputy's problem, because I think you feel cut off from information, because a lot of information comes to the head, or comes to the department, and doesn't always reach me. I'd like more lines of communication set up.

These calls for better communication and for systems to recognise the PDT's role in practical terms underline how the INSET training system was in a developmental phase. Several PDTs who were interviewed said that they had valued the opportunity to talk about their work. For instance, when I thanked one primary

PDT for his time he replied, 'It's all right, it's helped me too', while a secondary PDT said 'You're the first person who's asked me about some of these things'. This confirms the need which existed for support from both authorities and schools.

PDTs could define their responsibilities but often found it difficult to articulate exactly what their professional status was. The many changes in the educational system might suggest that overall the professional project was being advanced, and that INSET would be encouraging recognition that teachers did indeed have a body of specialist knowledge and a monopoly over the service associated with that knowledge. National pressures for greater consistency in providing and evaluating INSET increased with successive LEATGS documents. Under GEST, with LMS in place and the National Curriculum under way, there was greater expertise in schools regarding INSET provision and evaluation just as the LEA's traditional role in providing support, guidance and resources decreased.

However these teachers occupied unclear positions within a profession which was, as we have seen, was itself in an uncertain phase of development and did not occupy a strong position vis-à-vis other professions. Solihull PDTs functioned in all eight roles listed by Oldroyd and Hall (1988), but if the PDT role was 'pivotal' then its stability was crucial and it would require appropriate resourcing.

Some very critical comments were made by interviewees. This was the winter and spring of 1988-89, a turbulent period of rethinking and forward planning. Doubts prior to Solihull's initial programme of National Curriculum training were just one feature of the uncertain situation in which teachers were working during 1988-89. But such disquiet was not limited to Solihull, as Chapter 2 showed. In January 1990 the Interim Advisory Committee on School Teachers' Pay and Conditions concluded that teacher morale was lower than in the two previous years (Interim Advisory

Committee, 1990b, para. 3.47). This national assessment provides a parallel to the data on INSET co-ordination.

There was a striking similarity in the way speakers expressed themselves. This was not a group of disaffected individuals, but senior teachers, committed to INSET and school improvement, aware of the constraints on LEAs, and themselves at the pivotal point of the INSET system. But the role of the school INSET Co-ordinator required clarification and resources. With limited support, individual PDTs strove to formulate their role by negotiation at the micro-level. Their individual construction of the PDT's role and of professional development was influential in each school.

The wider issue of facilitating INSET by supply cover had yet to be addressed. At the macro- level it was unrecognised in national policy, despite the outspoken conclusions of DES document 136/89 (DES, 1989a, 1989d). Supply issues, minimized or evaded by many LEAs, had to be resolved by school INSET Co-ordinators at the micro- level. Despite the numerous problems surrounding the co-ordination of INSET at this time, the hope had to be that streamlining administrative procedures would enable PDTs to concentrate on creating learning experiences.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated why the task of INSET co-ordination within schools was probably the most critical role in teachers' professional development at this time, and has shown how it exemplified paradoxical attitudes in terms of the status nominally accorded to it and the actual support available. It has set out the concerns of co-ordinators about the pressures affecting their ability to fulfill this professional role.

PDTs were reflective practitioners in Schön's terms, but their reflections went beyond pedagogical matters to the principles and practice of professional development and the ways in which they could best facilitate professional learning. INSET called for 'professional artistry' (Schön, 1987), in areas additional to those of the class or subject teacher, and the interview data show high levels of professional reflection on practice. They were operating in a role which they were having to define and which had uncertain status. They were responsible for professional development at a time of fundamental change throughout the education system and within the profession. They were dealing with colleagues and other parties who held conflicting views about education and the reforms taking place. Themes emerging from the interview data relate directly to the search for

An epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which some practitioners do bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict.

Schön, 1983, p.49

In terms of the over-arching theory (Archer 1979), political manipulation is apparent since structures and priorities defined in national directives fixed levels of funding and designated INSET themes. The LEA reshaped these national directives and provided its own framework. Yet a striking diversity in INSET management and provision characterized at the micro-sociological level how these imperatives were interpreted. Working within a system formulated by the then DES, and mediated by the LEA, these co-ordinators retained a recognisable degree of autonomy. Even in a pro-active authority such as Solihull, where one might presume uniformity because the LEA was relatively prescriptive, there were 'bottom-up' arrangements (Fenstermacher and Berliner, 1985) to meet local circumstances. INSET co-ordinators negotiated with colleagues to shape the INSET opportunities available to

teachers in different contexts. The result was school INSET provision which might differ diametrically from those of neighbouring schools.

There were also examples of expertise in managing training and of professional altruism. Did this represent a reinforcement of the prestige of senior teachers, supporting the more general progress of the professional project? The authority's statement to the then DES attributed a high value to the role of PDT, yet the interview data showed how the uncertainties surrounding the status of INSET co-ordination limited its potential contribution to professional prestige.

In preceding chapters I reviewed the national context which influenced INSET co-ordination. This chapter has made a bridge between the macro-sociological analysis and the micro- level investigations by giving an authority-wide perspective of what proved to be the key post in implementing INSET in schools. The focus in Chapter 7 narrows further, to examine how a number of schools responded to an INSET priority which was designated by the LEA. This tighter focus permits an in-depth analysis of particular INSET phenomena and allows the exploration of the theoretical framework to be continued at the level of ten schools in one authority.

CHAPTER 7

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CROSS-PHASE TRAINING

National and LEA priorities are enacted in schools and classrooms. This chapter explores what that meant in practice by analysing a form of professional development which included every teacher in each school in one authority.

Tightening and deepening the field of study to observation in four schools and interviews with teachers from two clusters presents the next level at which to develop sociological explanations of INSET and to explore further the theoretical possibilities set out at the start of the thesis. The case of cross-phase INSET concerns a complete INSET initiative. Its core consists of observation at four specific events (Table 7.1) but the case, like those in Chapters 8 and 9, comprises the whole sequence of the gestation, planning, delivery and evaluation or follow-up of the four one-day events.

What does this case reveal about the balance of negotiation contributing to educational change? How did experience in schools relate to the macro- perspectives on the system (Archer, 1979)? Against ideas about the professional project as defined by Larson and later sociologists, in what ways, if any, did the delivery of INSET organized across phases support the prestige of teaching generally? Thirdly, what professional learning was taking place and how might Schön (1984, 1987) help explain what happened in a programme such as that of cross-phase INSET?

In this chapter I take the analysis from the macro-sociological level of national policy, via the LEA which prioritized cross-phase work, to the micro-sociological level of schools, classrooms and teachers where cross-phase activities were put in place. Change of school is one of the key experiences in educational progress and the data reveal how Solihull teachers tried to improve their understanding of that

transition. The first section explains the general context and the Solihull approach, and summarises the fieldwork. Subsequent sections deal with the professional learning sought by the teachers, and with key issues arising from cross-phase INSET. Their perceptions of the experience and its outcomes are drawn from the interview and observational data. These highlight learning about continuity and progression, the curriculum, teaching styles, and pastoral matters. I then focus on the organization of cross-phase professional development which illustrates the non-financial resources in play and record teachers' reactions to experiencing each others' cultures. Finally, these data are considered against the different theoretical perspectives set out at the outset of the thesis.

THE CONTEXT FOR CROSS-PHASE INSET

From the Hadow report (Board of Education, 1931) on, a break at eleven has been associated with the disadvantages of discontinuity. The literature shows how schools have managed transition and how pupils experience transfer between phases (e.g. Galton and Willcocks, 1983; Measor and Woods, 1984; Delamont and Galton, 1986). During 1988-89 in Solihull and elsewhere, LEAs, schools and teachers were moving fast towards implementing the National Curriculum but it was still unclear what training would be required. By the end of the school year headteachers and Key Stage One teachers had attended courses, while most teachers had learned about National Curriculum programmes and requirements through school-based INSET. Issues of continuity and progression became sharper and schools with existing cross-phase links began exploring these in more detail. Those with minimal cross-phase contact found that it essential to understand other phases better and to clarify their own position on pupil transfer. Other factors were falling school rolls, school

closures and more explicit promotion/marketing of secondary schools to maintain intake levels. Both primary and secondary staff needed to understand pupils' conceptual development prior to transition, and to appreciate how primary level skills, concepts and knowledge would relate to more advanced work. HMI recognized that transfer between phases placed obligations on schools to try to ensure that:

- curriculum continuity and their educational progress are both maintained;
- they are well prepared for the transfer and made to feel secure in their new school;
- parents are informed and consulted about the transfer arrangements, and advised how they can help their children to make a good start in their new school.

DESc, 1989, p.1

This was the wider context for cross-phase INSET.

The Solihull Approach

Under LEATGS funding, schools could release staff to visit other institutions. In 1987-88, Solihull LEA had closed all schools for one non-pupil day, when each cluster had organized cross-phase visits. A popular pattern was that in the morning secondary teachers dispersed in small groups to visit feeder primary schools. After lunch primary teachers visited the secondary school. Responses following this exercise were that the day was too rushed, and that visitors wanted to see schools when pupils were present.

In 1988-89 therefore the LEA required each school to spend one of the five non-pupil days on staff visits to a cluster school from a different phase when the host school was functioning normally. Visitors spent time in classrooms, laboratories and gymnasiums, observing, talking with staff and pupils, and sometimes joining in activities. This summary gives little hint of the complexity of organization involved in such days. School-focused initiatives have been distinguished from school-based

initiatives in that the former 'rest on an additional component - a collaborative support partnership' (Holly, James and Young, 1987, p.32). For cross-phase liaison, that support infrastructure encompassed all the staff in the 'cluster' of schools.

The majority response was that this INSET was very worthwhile. Even those sceptical prior to the day and those critical of what they had observed nevertheless said they had found the day of value. Some commented that the day was of interest but doubted whether it could be defined as in-service training. Insofar as it offers a learning situation, provokes reflection on professional practice, or highlights what transition means to pupils, it could be argued that it makes a contribution to professional development in a wider sense. However before detailing what teachers learned in this way, an explanation of the fieldwork is necessary.

THE FIELDWORK

The fieldwork on cross-phase INSET was complemented by fieldwork at other sites and by scrutiny of LEA policies and procedures. It took place in the winter and spring of 1988-89, focusing on four cross-phase days with interviews among participants before, during and after these events, combined with participant observation (Table 7.1) Professional Development Tutors (PDTs) in other schools and teachers encountered in schools and on training events often volunteered recollections of cross-phase INSET. Participant observation included the following events:

At Churchley Primary School I went to assembly, spent the morning with four secondary schoolteachers observing 'top juniors', and the afternoon with a language teacher who observed a class of infants. Later, teachers from both schools spoke

often about this day, volunteering comments about the experience in both informal conversation and tape-recorded interviews.

At Olive Chancellor Primary School I shadowed a secondary head of department. The primary headteacher welcomed visiting secondary teachers in the staffroom then gave a guided tour of the school. They attended the mid-morning school assembly and visited classes independently. Afterwards, I observed a department meeting where English staff who had visited Olive Chancellor Primary School discussed their reflections with colleagues who visited other schools.

At Burrage Secondary School, fieldwork centred on the Churchley deputy head responsible for liaison with Burrage. Follow-up involved further visits to both schools, recorded interviews and informal conversation with staff.

At Longmore Secondary School I accompanied a primary language post-holder and interviewed her and her colleagues in their own school later that term. Access to these follow-up activities gave good opportunities for recording the ways in which teachers assessed what they had learned and their reflections on how that affected their own practice. The different fieldwork arrangements reflect the diverse styles of professional development in action in these different schools.

LEARNING ABOUT CONTINUITY AND PROGRESSION

Studies of transition have highlighted curricular and social development, and the degree of continuity and progression involved. Solihull primary teachers visiting secondary schools noticed above all the changes that would confront pupils moving to the secondary school: the different skills they might have to develop; the pedagogical styles they would encounter; and in specific curricular areas, where related themes were being covered. They were interested in the ethos of the secondary school,

Table 7.1 Participant observation at cross-phase events

Location (host school)	Group	Number on roll	Staff	Number of schools involved at this site	Number of days involved at this site	Cost	Organizational pattern and time	Other features	Classes affected
1. Churchley School	3	145	5.5	2	1	School lunch	<i>Primary:</i> Head: } Collation of PDT: } each class teacher's explanation of work planned. <i>Secondary:</i> PDT: Information on visitors' needs to primary school NB 4 other primaries in cluster.	Day began with school assembly. Informal discussion at break & over school lunch. Meeting at end of the day.	All- formally.
Primary									
2. Olive Chancellor School	7	433	16+ Nursery	2	1	0	<i>Primary:</i> Head (PDT) Minimal <i>Secondary:</i> PDT: Information on visitors' needs to primary school NB 6 other schools in cluster.	Head's talk to visitors and tour around school, mid morning assembly. Secondary teachers lunch out of school.	All- intermittently
Primary									

Table 7.1 Participant observation at cross-phase events (continued)

3. Burrage School	11	963	62.5 (+ 0.2 + 1)	6	3 (on successive weeks)	School lunch	<i>Primary:</i> PDT:– collected requests from staff. – attended after school meeting to plan day. – Prepared letter listing requests. <i>Secondary:</i> 15 hrs minimum PDT:– organizational meeting for all feeder PDTs. – timetable and staff list sent. – Schedules prepared.	PDT meets visitors. Map and schedules provided. Visitors go to form registration but no assembly. School lunch – informal discussion in staff room.	Years 7–9 more first year forms affected.
Secondary									
4. Longmore School	10	980	59.4	7	5 (one whole week)	0	<i>Primary:</i> Head (PDT) List of staff curricular areas & interests sent. <i>Secondary:</i> PDT: request for information from all feeder schools Committee: planned schedules for 5 days. Liaison e.g. 5 hrs, 8 hrs.	Committee members meet visitors. Some visitors go to assembly. Name badges, maps and individual schedules provided. Primary teachers lunch out of school.	Years 7–11
Secondary									

how pupils coped with the school's layout, negotiating buildings and specialist rooms, and the manner in which they moved about the school. They commented on the assemblies which they saw, the school furniture and displays of work, and the extent to which secondary staff 'knew' their pupils.

Secondary staff visiting primary schools noticed pupils' work being done and its relevance to secondary work. They commented on classroom organization, teaching styles and staff-pupil relationships, creative work on display; the more 'sheltered' environment, and the assemblies which they attended.

Bearing in mind that 'the ultimate aim of, and real justification for INSET is the benefit of pupils in school' (McCabe, 1980, p.20), this sense of what transition would mean for pupils emerges strongly both during these events and from teachers' subsequent reflections. The remainder of this section addresses their comments on curricular progression, class organization, teaching styles, and 'knowing' pupils

Curricular progression

HMI found in a sample of thirty schools 'where one or more aspect(s) of curricular liaison had been previously reported as promising' that, apart from pastoral care, mathematics and language,

The general picture regarding curriculum continuity at the age of transfer is rather less satisfactory. No school achieved effective links in all aspects of the curriculum, though every group had some good practice on which to build. Much of the liaison and the continuity of learning arose from initiatives taken by enthusiastic individuals. The most effective continuity and progression in learning were observed where initiatives developed by the schools themselves had been given administrative and/or financial support by LEAs. In some instances the LEAs helped to coordinate the schools' activities and made provision for related in-service needs.

DES, 1989c, p.16

None of those interviewed in the Solihull project criticized the *principle* of cross-phase liaison. Some felt that a whole day in one school was too long and would

have liked the chance to make comparisons. A few teachers thought that the experience had been interesting but was unlikely to contribute to *their own* professional development. Others were generous in their praise of the professional skills observed: a primary teacher said that one lesson 'left me speechless with admiration. The teacher was a master of technique: her control was brilliant'. Secondary deputy Mary Crowther had found the day 'humbling'. An English teacher found that primary staff 'worked a lot harder than I'd thought'. Headteacher Catherine Scott developed the rationale for cross-phase liaison:

We've found it of enormous benefit for the Maths and English Co-ordinators initially to go and look at the GCE [*sic*] syllabus. It gave so much more relevance to what we were doing and gave so much more meaning to the curriculum evening we did for parents... What you're trying to do every time, isn't it, to ease the transition period so that work isn't repeated or whatever which is an awfully difficult thing to do. We've got to understand what each other's all about. You get all this 'Oh if only they'd taught them better in primary school', or it's 'I don't know what happens to them when they get to secondary school.'

At secondary level, the case for work on continuity was put by Deputy Head Anne Barlow:

Perhaps one of the best things that's come out of the National Curriculum is the fact that it is something that's being built up year by year and just by chance happens to go from school to school but could very easily continue in the same establishment.

These teachers were articulating the rationale for a continuum of educational development, with responsibility shared between different phases at a time when National Curriculum training was at an embryonic stage and national testing had yet to be introduced. Curriculum content was a priority for some secondary staff. One secondary teacher focused on 'top junior' work on Roman Britain because this topic would recur in the first years at Longmore school and she was interested to see how

the junior school tackled it. A history teacher from Burrage described the value of cross-phase links in curriculum organization

so that we build on what our primary schools have done, rather than perhaps in the first instance going over things, because I think it's so important that children come to a new environment with a sustained excitement rather than having that excitement dampened by repeating stuff:.....'Oh we've *done* this all before' and we don't know how far or what ways in which the people have done these things...Or we could slant what we do in a different way....

(Churchley) School had done some work on the Tudors. Now in the second year our children do work on the Tudors. But....we limit it to a piece of research on a particular character and then they do work on the raising of the Mary Rose, so it's very much archaeological discovery through which we find out about the Tudor times. Now they had taken the children to see the raising of the Mary Rose - to see the exhibition.....Those children will have a project which many of them will have kept which they can then utilize for their work.....here [in] much greater depth about Tudor England and the like. We can share our resources in a way.

The concern was not only to avoid duplication, but also to ensure coherent progression, building on pupils' skills and knowledge on entry to secondary school.

Ensuring continuity was one justification for the National Curriculum:

Children of all attainments regress at the point of transfer, often taking years to catch up in key basic subjects. Transfer can be traumatic, particularly when the environment of learning is markedly different. Curriculum discontinuity exacerbates these divisions.

Brighouse and Moon, 1990, p.3

But the 'environment of learning' consists of much more than the syllabus or curriculum. It also comprises teaching and learning frameworks and styles, as the next section shows.

Class organization and teaching styles

Discontinuity of teaching and learning styles were apparent to the secondary English teacher who saw 'no sustained writing at all', or another who saw junior pupils writing 'never more than a couple of lines at a time'. A third secondary teacher felt

she could more easily understand the inability of some new secondary pupils to write in paragraphs, and would be more aware when asking them to write at length in a given time. Teachers from both phases commented that children accustomed to enquiry-based methods, group work and considerable autonomy might face discontinuity in discovering that secondary syllabuses valued different skills.

The assumption that continuity means the continuation of primary practice underlay the views of many primary teachers, including Jill Long, whose purpose was 'to see where there was continuity of the primary curriculum'. Few secondary teachers perceived continuity in quite this way, and one commented:

I'm not sure that our primary colleagues will find it quite as interesting and useful to actually see the children... Unless perhaps you could say that they could prepare them more adequately for the change to an entirely different structure, having seen the children working here in different sorts of situations to the ones that they're well used to in the primary sector.

Did 'continuity' imply continuation of primary practice or preparation for secondary school? The opportunity to observe Years 10 and 11 classes was an important factor, since the requirements of GCSE work are further from the experience of primary staff, who were most interested in Years 7 and 8. Equally, where examination preparation requires skills such as self-directed topic work or collaboration on a group project, it can only be of value for those responsible for developing these skills in young children to observe how they are later adapted, extended and applied. Jill Long chose to focus the day on English. She began by chance in a GCSE class and ended with Year 8 pupils:

I was looking for what we could do to prepare the children for secondary school and how they...moved on from what we'd already done in primary school. It was the link between the two that I was looking at...My first lesson that I went in to see was a fifth year [year 11]....lesson which was so totally removed....if I'd chosen, I'd have started with first years [year 7].....And done it the other way round...maybe not eventually got to fifth years because that really didn't interest me. And so being thrown in initially that day with fifth years I felt I'm not going to find out what I wanted to find out...But what I did

find out from that session through talking to the class teacher was...how the exam situation is set up and the different pressures that there are in secondary school. I found out an awful lot, but it wasn't particularly what I'd gone to look for, what I'd planned to see.

Despite her initial disappointment, seeing Year 11 first registered the accountability of external examinations and the different constraints at secondary level. This teacher's discussions with secondary staff revealed much common ground on good practice. But she still regretted not having seen Year 7 pupils.

Deputy head Peter Kendall focused on the way work was presented and noticed different teaching styles, including a 'laid-back formal' (*sic*) style and a 'more open approach', and remarked, 'My own style is a combination of both of these approaches'. He had been struck by the lack of emphasis on the practical, after observing pupils whom he had taught only a year before. He was 'pleased to notice that by and large our children go up there more than adequately prepared for secondary school'. Whilst primary teachers reflected on the teaching styles which they observed, they were also concerned with relationships and understanding pupils during the transition phase.

‘Knowing’ pupils

Teachers' interest extended to pastoral as well as academic matters and teaching and learning strategies. Year 7 tutor, Liz Spence, explained how one benefit of cross-phase INSET was in discussing her current pupils with their previous teacher. Peter Kendall, responsible for links with secondary schools, found the visit made him happier about relationships and was 'reassured in general that those people were actually as caring as we are...Everyone I met knew those children quite well...That's a big plus to me'. In talks to parents about the coming transfer to secondary school he

could now reassure them. He had talked with his class during the week after the INSET day 'mainly to point out to fourth years [Year 6] that they were going to be very well looked after'.

No teacher interviewed made a case for discontinuity, nor was doubt expressed about the likelihood of maintaining both academic and social development. However Measor and Woods (1984) argued that 'it would be a mistake to aim for an entirely smooth, continuous transition'; and, having reviewed the research, concluded that 'the trauma associated with a sharp break is functional' (p.170), because marked transition points encourage the maturation process. Seeing the move to secondary school as a status passage, they identified paradoxes inherent to a situation where priorities for personal and social development may differ from those for academic progress. They pointed out, 'There are some things, then, that pupils must learn for themselves'. For teachers participating in these INSET events, knowing pupils and understanding their experience was a recurrent theme. But what exactly were the outcomes of these activities in terms of professional development?

OUTCOMES AND ALTRUISM

It would be surprising if the INSET discussed here had led to measurable effects on classroom practice within a short time-scale. The effect of one day may be small and this initiative aimed at long-term understanding (borne out by teachers' reaction to the 1987-88 day, and by the LEA's decision to allocate another day in 1988-89). As the 'total sum of formal and informal learning experienced by teachers and others', Fullan (1987, p.215) sees staff development as 'ongoing, interactive, cumulative, combining a variety of learning formats'. This was only the preliminary

phase. However the following examples indicate some short-term outcomes of cross-phase INSET.

At Churchley School, hosts and visitors met at the end of the day. Primary staff felt they would welcome support on Craft, Design and Technology, and so secondary CDT teacher Roger Watson went each week to work with a group of top juniors. This enabled a mixed-aged class to be split by year into two groups. One small group worked with the class teacher, while Mr. Watson took the second group. Peter Kendall saw this as a positive experience: 'Roger Watson they know very well. He comes over every week after his day here'. For pupils, the added value of this might be on arrival at Burrage Secondary School where they would meet Mr Watson again. Such arrangements had been advocated before:

More continuity....can probably only be achieved by an interchange of personnel between middle and upper schools...However, it may not be enough for them simply to talk. They may have to work in each other's schools to familiarize themselves with each other's tasks. This would carry another benefit...pupils would have a chance to get to know some of the secondary teachers in advance, while on their own home, known territory.

Measor and Woods, 1984, p.168

Some definitions of professionalism highlight an element of professional altruism, as in Halliday's 'theory of professions beyond monopoly and beyond ideology' (Halliday, 1987, p.54), and altruism is evident in the case studies presented in this thesis in examples such as that of the CDT teacher above, where personal time and professional skills were given for others' benefit. A second example of professional altruism comes from Olive Chancellor School, where a secondary science teacher saw a top junior class making pin-hole cameras and learning about lenses and eyes. She asked whether the class teacher had ever dissected an eye in school. He had not: she offered to do so and arrived the following week with two bull's eyes which she dissected for the class. This experience for top juniors relied

upon a gift relationship: it gave personal contact with a secondary teacher whom they might meet again. It was possible because she was willing to share her expertise and give personal time.

There were other outcomes: Gifford Copse Primary School was located near the host secondary school. Following the cross-phase INSET, a class of top juniors was invited to walk over one lunch time to join the secondary school's junior science club. At Burrage School a primary teacher observed a Year 7 English lesson where pupils gave prepared talks using 'props' if appropriate. A week later, this teacher invited me into his classroom, with 'Come on, you'll enjoy this. It's a follow-on from our day at Burrage'. Though he did a lot of oral work, he had decided to ask his class (one year younger than the children we had heard at Burrage School) to prepare something more structured. A 'running order' on the board made the experience more formal as did a greater awareness of an 'audience'. The first talk relied largely on the use of a visual aid: the speaker's dog (collected by a parent after the talk). Two days later another child capped this by bringing in her goat. The example of secondary pupils bringing in trophies, equipment and so on to enliven their talks, resulted in a particularly lively response from primary pupils. The example also reinforces the distinctions which have been noted between the learning environment in different phases. Few secondary schools readily accommodate livestock.

These examples could prove to be no more than experiences with novelty value. There is the temptation in evaluation studies of the short-term 'treasure-hunt' for identifiable effects on classroom practice, while practitioners and researchers recognize that genuine changes in professional thinking require long time scales. More important for structural change in the longer term were links which promised ongoing connections. An English teacher considering the transition awaiting primary

pupils thought it must be an 'overwhelmingly frightening experience'. Her school took new pupils on guided tours, but she now felt that this was 'not terribly helpful' given the secondary school's size, and suggested a more appropriate induction programme during the week when Year 11 had left school and Year 10 were doing exams. These comments fit with Measor and Woods (1984), and with DES (1989c).

At Montgomery Secondary School the INSET day resulted in curricular meetings for departments every six weeks, and one teacher warned the PDT that too much effort was going into cross-phase links. (Contacts already existed here prior to the INSET days). Pickering Comprehensive School began with personal contact between an infant school headteacher and the Pickering deputy, who recalled: 'gradually we forged links with our nearest school which have now spread to other schools'. The head of Year 7 visited top juniors before transfer but the cross-phase INSET provoked departmental links. Secondary pupils helped primary children with science, CDT and computer work. Established departmental links were with Home Economics, English, Music (a joint concert), French, (a joint trip to France) and P.E. For the PDT 1987-88 had been a turning point:

Since we met and since we got together and talked...about records of achievement and...recording progress across the phases...since that day, I do feel that the barriers have been broken down.

One head of English had held a meeting in 1987-88 to explain to primary language post-holders how GCSE requirements implied different teaching styles in English. As in all the examples given, the secondary teacher tended to be seen as the provider, having expertise or resources not available to primary staff. If the professional project relies on establishing a monopoly of specialist knowledge, such distinctions and categorization are relevant.

Follow-up was crucial to outcome. Where liaison was not yet well established teachers had yet to find a format to bring together their professional development experiences. Departmental or whole-school discussion required an allocation of time against other priorities. The English department's meeting included in the field-work was one such step, but to progress beyond Joyce and Showers' (1980) first (awareness) level of training, teachers would need support, and schools had to find how best to use these experiences, so that individual professional learning could be supported by appropriate structural arrangements which did not rely upon a gift relationship or take for granted professional altruism. In an analysis of the different levels of professional reflection, Day warns:

Unless we focus more upon the building of structural *networks* not only between individuals within institutions but *between institutions* themselves, then much reflection for learning may remain at the private 'practical' level.

Day, 1993, p.90

The initiative did not produce 'surplus resources' in a budgetary sense which could be 'devoted to accomplishing educational goals' (Archer, 1979, p. 240), but in terms of human resources, it did produce additional professional support, given voluntarily, with the potential for encouraging educational change.

THE ORGANISATION OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Allocating INSET budgets to schools gave staff the opportunity to formulate professional development activities in tune with their views of what it is to be a teacher. In that sense they were free to construct their own version of professionalism. However, such events require resourcing financially and in terms of organization. The days observed here were value for money for the LEA. On two occasions, there was no cost as such to the authority (teachers bought their own pub lunch, there was no 'costed' training input and no supply cover was needed as it was a

non-pupil day). On the other two days costs amounted to internal transfers covering a school lunch for each visitor.

Nevertheless, there were costs in time devoted to making arrangements, and in the demands made of teachers and pupils in 'host' schools. Burrage School PDT suggested a rough minimum of fifteen hours preparation to host three days of primary visits, a plausible figure on the basis of the paperwork for one day, without accounting for the discussion time involved. (The figure excludes time spent by separate primary schools on assessing needs and communicating these to the secondary PDT.)

Longmore School's PDT dealt with initial contacts and liaison for five days of visits, while Professional Development Committee members organized individual schedules, checking with colleagues who would have visitors in their lessons. One day had taken about five hours' work, another seven to eight hours' work by different committee members (apart from the PDT's input.) It was difficult for staff to quantify such tasks; they had no 'administration' time and planning involved informal discussions as well as detailed work on the timetable. Many could not indicate how much time they had spent. (Even PDTs were in this position. One who was just beginning to plan a cluster cross-phase day described himself as having 'stacks of homework'.)

Sometimes cross-phase visits were organized by a lower school head, or by secondary teachers responsible for transfer. One secondary school allocated all its visitors to pupil hosts, avoiding complex arrangements around staff timetables. (Here the 'uncosted' input came from pupils.) Many hours were spent on such preparations, and one secondary teacher remarked that 'somebody somewhere is getting out of something' (directing the comment at the LEA rather than the school). 'Ownership' carried obligations, but some felt inadequately resourced in terms of time. A tension

lies in the politically determined imposition of cross-phase work as a priority (which was supported by teachers), against the internally negotiated form of professional development which was undertaken.

These events placed (unrecognized) demands on host schools, causing disturbance to teachers and pupils. Churchley School turned strangers into a resource as far as possible, involving them in the day's activities. In another school some staff were apparently unaware that they were to have visitors observing their lessons as part of their INSET day. In an open-plan primary school every class was interrupted at random from 10.00 until 15.30. Teachers and pupils accepted this with great goodwill, but time and energy was needed to respond to well-informed visitors asking professional questions, while continuing with scheduled activities. The number of visitors which a school staff was willing to absorb on a working day ranged (even within secondary schools) from eight or nine to over one hundred people.

In secondary classrooms, 'observers' were less likely to engage pupils in conversation and pupils responded less readily than those in primary schools. A secondary science teacher found it 'a bit like teaching practice' to have three visitors observe his lesson. For another it was 'worse than an inspection'. Such expressions indicate an uncoded contribution to 'professional development'.

Pupil response to these days is relevant (particularly as providing access to classes in session obliged them to contribute to teachers' professional development). One unforeseen effect may have been at the level of pupil perceptions. This is speculative, since pupils were not interviewed, but I observed primary pupils keen to quiz visitors about the secondary school, sometimes offering their own disconcertingly candid opinions. At both primary sites, some secondary pupils returned to visit because their new school was closed (and were surprised to meet

their current teachers). At Churchley School's monthly class assembly, the school hall held Churchley staff and pupils, parents and siblings of those doing the assembly and a few 'returning' secondary children, alongside the visiting secondary teachers. This is a rare example of an INSET event that might possibly enhance professional prestige in Larson's terms, by showing teachers in a broader professional context, visibly reinforcing the claim of a monopoly of specialist knowledge and perhaps thereby contributing to the professional project.

Organizational features of these days are linked to issues of ownership. Cross-phase INSET involved staff in ways that 'external' input days usually do not, in organizing the visitors' programme and in welcoming strangers into classrooms. They also obliged teachers to confront different pedagogical goals, constraints and styles. Did they offer 'ownership', seen as a crucial component of successful professional development? Teachers could indicate in advance or (sometimes) negotiate on the day what they wished to see. Systems for expressing and meeting preferences were not foolproof: occasionally requests were misunderstood or presented a logistical problem. A primary teacher who wanted to observe craft found that the school's 'carousel' system meant a Home Economics lesson. A request for games resulted in being allocated to watch football (which was not considered profitable). Generally teachers met such situations with goodwill. The reciprocal nature of the exercise meant that where they were critical they were nevertheless understanding. There was often rescheduling or renegotiation on the spot. The initial (national and LEA) impetus had indeed been mandatory, external and applied to every teacher (Fenstermacher and Berliner, 1973), but at grass-roots level, cross-phase INSET resulted in very different experiences, contributory factors being:

- . the ethos of the various schools;
- . the size and design of the buildings;

- . the structure of the timetable;
- . the management style of senior staff and PDTs;
- . how far middle managers and unpromoted teachers were involved in organization;
- . the formality or otherwise of host schools;
- . the reactions of pupils;
- . the location of lunch.

Among these diverse experiences, how far were professional attitudes shared across phases? Which aspects provoked reflection and reassessment about teaching as a profession and about the role of the teacher?

TEACHER CULTURES

Shared values among colleagues may be the product of common philosophies about education, comparable initial training, subsequent experience, and a shared working environment (authority, school or phase) (Nias, 1984 and 1985). Teacher cultures and professional attitudes were revealed in similarities and differences, voiced by staff from both phases. Common remarks as teachers moved around were 'It's a different world altogether' or 'It's a different job'. This was often followed by a comparison between the working conditions, freedoms, constraints and assumptions of the other group and the speaker's own. However, this view was not universal; secondary PDT Anne Barlow had been encouraged to feel that teachers were 'a completely united profession as a result of it' rather than a divided profession:

until this happened...the government was working its way towards saying, ah well, secondary teachers are a race apart and, you know, should even negotiate at a different salary level...And I honestly see us all as a far more united profession.....

Visiting primary schools had made her appreciate the 'wonderful work' being done and encouraged professional respect and solidarity.

Visitors sense the values of an institution through the manner in which hospitality is extended. The secondary school presents a totally different working environment with different organizational structures from primary schools. Hospitality is offered in a different way: a teacher from a school with a handful of colleagues may find a staffroom with sixty or more people a novel experience. Primary staff recognized the administrative preparation in maps and schedules produced by secondary schools. However, some visitors had no chance to meet as a group either on arrival or later in the day. One recalled: 'All we did was to go round to different sessions...there was no preview or talk'. Meanwhile, one secondary teacher was disappointed at a lack of welcome from primary staff claiming, 'a lot didn't want to know you'. He watched pupils working, chatted to them about older brothers and sisters, but was dubious about the value of the day: 'it was a bit of a luxury'. This was a minority view among those interviewed.

It is inherently difficult to give visitors a sense of a large school as an entity. One secondary PDT had been asked to accommodate twelve visitors from a post-16 college, but 'in a school of this size we can only cope with eight or nine'. Visitors would be allocated to departments after the headteacher's welcoming talk. In complete contrast, Pickering School shared responsibility for hospitality with pupils (including Years 10 and 11) who were shadowed by primary teachers. The PDT recalled a very successful day: 'We really did enjoy it, despite having had over one hundred visitors in school.'

Shared values within phases contribute to distinctions in relation to specialism. A primary teacher keen to develop music teaching took the opportunity to visit a secondary head of music. When the visit was reciprocated, she indicated a talented

pupil with the words, 'I'm training him up for you'. The CDT and Science teachers mentioned earlier shared their expertise.

Alongside recognition of special expertise (and resources), there was also recognition of class management skills. Asked about his special interests, one primary teacher replied that he and his colleagues had to be specialists in everything; they could not afford to concentrate on one area only. This view of the professional teacher differs from that of the PDT who spoke of a 'united profession'. The philosophical and cultural standpoints of the groups clearly differed. Reflecting on their visits, several primary teachers reasserted strengths associated with primary practice: group activities, oral work, and teaching where the teacher does not 'stand at the front'. They felt that secondary staff were unlikely to have such a wide ability range in one class, sometimes exacerbated by mixed-age grouping. Junior teacher Peter Kendall spoke about planning and organizing work with a 'differentiated group': 'I think they could learn a lot from us in that respect'. Primary head Paul Cuthbertson felt that secondary staff could learn from good primary practice. Confronting a different world could throw a teacher's world into relief and encourage professional self-reflection. In some cases the end result was enhanced self-esteem for those primary staff who thought that their teaching methods could benefit secondary staff. Blanche Maine watched how secondary teachers worked:

Most stood and talked to the class. They stayed at the desk ... my desk is pushed at the side. We use it to dump things on - it's not dominant in the room

Primary teachers sometimes commented on the sensitive area of discipline in relation to pupils in assembly, moving about the school, or having lunch. Occasionally a primary teacher would recognize a 'difficult' pupil who was now a year older. One began the visit impressed by pupils' behaviour, until a particular group

revealed that they were not always so. It became apparent that 'some staff knew how to handle them'. The essential features of classroom relationships in each phase have much in common, but in practice classroom disruption by fifteen-year olds will be altogether different from that caused by junior pupils. Some secondary teachers wanted visitors to observe Year 10 and 11 lessons to avoid false impressions: primary teachers would not see 'what it's really like' if they only observed younger pupils.

Most secondary teachers said that they had *enjoyed* the day. For some it was a novel experience confirming their own choice of career; for a few, it was even an attractive alternative. Some had not been in primary schools for many years. A secondary teacher thought that he would enjoy working in the school he had visited and joked that a move into primary might mean 'less hassle'. Staff approached one secondary PDT after their visit to say they wanted to know more about the primary schools, even to ask her about retraining. (This was in the period prior to the implementation of the National Curriculum.) These experiences provoked rethinking and reflection, which could lead to better understanding and action.

Successful cross-phase INSET carried particular ironies in the context of LMS, open enrolment and falling rolls, already evident in some Solihull schools early in 1989. At one school, falling rolls prior to this period intensified liaison work with primary schools. Elsewhere, a PDT described a local primary school as 'our greatest fan'. Visiting classrooms with top junior pupils, secondary staff sometimes came face to face with children whose home was located where there was a choice of secondary schools. The reality of their decisions and their effect on the secondary school was inescapable. At this time, these pupils (and their parents) were in a 'buyers' market'. Cluster groups established by the LEA consisted of one secondary and its geographically appropriate feeder primaries (with Catholic schools grouped

separately). Cross-phase INSET was organized in cluster groups, but it was not unknown for 'poaching' to occur (when a secondary school fostered relationships with primaries outside its own cluster).

Later cross-phase links increasingly featured in the competitive and public relations activities of secondary schools. This case study shows teachers considering the educational purpose of these links, making practical arrangements, visiting other schools, assessing individually and with colleagues the professional value of such contacts, of their own professional development, and the relationships stimulated by them. Ultimately, however, as schools focused on intake levels and formula funding, the temptation was to be for cross-phase activities to target non-educational goals. There is a fine line between the assessment of such events in terms of continuing professional development and their assessment against criteria that relate to the educational market-place.

CONCLUSION

A striking variety of responses resulted from the LEA directive. Adapting Fenstermacher and Berliner's format (Figures 3.1 and 3.2), the impetus for cross-phase days in Solihull schools was top-down (resembling Figure 3.1, rather than Figure 3.2) and it was mandatory, externally imposed, and applied to all teachers working in this authority. Whether the aim of the LEA's directive was compliance, remediation or enrichment is debatable. Equally, this INSET initiative exemplified political manipulation in Archer's terms, since the overall LEATG scheme was nationally determined, whilst the LEA had chosen the theme of cross-phase INSET for one of the five non-pupil days. Yet teachers devised activities within the schools to suit their own institutional needs, state of development, organizational structure and

other factors, effectively reshaping the authority-wide policy, and reconstructing it in their own terms. There were therefore, against Fenstermacher and Berliner's categorization, internally designed elements which aimed at enrichment as much as compliance, and involved people in volunteering their time and skills. Returning to Archer (1979), there were elements of internal initiation. So cross-phase training offers evidence of political manipulation and internal initiation and of the interplay between these two forms of negotiation.

The evidence also reveals teachers reassessing their own professional roles and those of others, enabling us to consider how INSET relates to maintaining public prestige, and whether it can contribute to social closure, the ultimate aim of the professional project (Larson, 1977).

Conclusive evidence of effects on classroom practice was not available, but as teachers followed up initial contacts and reflected on their current practice, these events seemed conducive to professional development in its widest sense, for instance, as a basis for Argyris and Schön's (1974) 'double loop' learning. Short-term effects were noted, but to move forward without a sense of déjà-vu schools had to develop further their procedures for meeting individual requests. For many, the next step would be more links through departments. In addition, institutions needed to allow time for follow-up discussion and systematic links rather than relying on personal relationships and goodwill.

The most interesting features, both in terms of professional development and in terms of the theoretical analysis, would be those links which survived, tentatively or more robustly, weeks or months after the original training event. From relationships and interactions of this type, securely founded partnerships can develop between institutions on the basis of which further professional development is

possible. This is one way in which systemic change may be achieved from within the profession. These relationships may begin with the altruistic personal contacts described above, but an infrastructure is needed to enable them to develop further:

Professional learning in the future will not, if it ever has been, be a matter for individuals only-.professional development in the 1990s... is no longer a privately pursued optional extra, but a publicly implied, accountable part of every teacher's regular working life.

Day, 1993, p.87

The macro-level policy required that INSET take place on five non-pupil days. At the meta-level, the LEA designated themes for schools additional to national priorities, in line with its tendency to retain control rather than releasing it to institutions. In these respects, political manipulation was operating. However the detail of the day was left to micro-level negotiation. Among the influences specified by Archer (1979), if political manipulation at LEA level had prioritized cross-phase INSET, it was internal priorities which dominated the actual format and style of this programme of training. But the additional resources which enabled this professional development to take place were human rather than financial. A high level of commitment was recorded from some of those involved, and the data suggest that this response was the more marked because people felt close to the planning and decision-making associated with these events. It seems unlikely that an authority-wide training event would have produced the same quality of interest and engagement (because its organization would have been undertaken at LEA level and could not therefore reflect the concerns of individual schools. Indeed, such an event in 1997 had attracted much criticism.).

The evidence of this chapter supports the notion of professional altruism, and shows teachers reflecting professionally on their teaching and training experiences. Yet in the light of Macdonald's (1995) and Larson's (1977) rendering of the

professional project, it does not, taken overall, accord with the idea that the extent and monopoly of specialized knowledge is being further developed. In fact, these activities, as related to cross-phase training, have uncertain effects on the solidarity of the profession by drawing attention to the different worlds which teachers inhabit in these two phases at the same time as promoting better understanding.

Many elements of cross-phase INSET link directly to Schön's discussion of 'knowing-in-action', the 'characteristic mode of ordinary practical knowledge', of 'reflecting-in-practice' and of 'reflection-in-action'. The last relies upon surprise:

When intuitive, spontaneous performance yields nothing more than the results expected for it, then we tend not to think about it. But when intuitive performance leads to surprises, pleasing and promising or unwanted, we may reflect on our 'winning habits'

Schön, 1983, p.56

Cross-phase observation and discussion provided numerous opportunities for individual teachers to move beyond intuitive performance: in response to questions and comments from visitors, they had to articulate their 'tacit' knowledge. Schön describes how an experienced practitioner 'develops a repertoire of expectations, images and techniques', but with experience comes a decreasing likelihood of surprise:

His knowing-in-practice tends to become increasingly tacit, spontaneous, and automatic, thereby conferring upon him and his clients the benefits of specialisation.

Schön, 1983, p.60

Such specialisation can in time prove restrictive. In cross-phase discussions it was the assumptions of the specialist (phase) professionals which were exposed, cutting across accepted routines:

As a practice becomes more repetitive and routine, and as knowing-in-practice becomes increasingly tacit and spontaneous, the practitioner may miss important opportunities to think about what he is doing. If he learns... to be selectively inattentive to phenomena that do not fit the categories of his knowing-in-action, then he may suffer from boredom or

'burnout' and afflict his clients with the consequences of his narrowness and rigidity. When this happens, the practitioner has 'overlearned' what he knows.

Schön, 1983, p.61

Reflection such as that stimulated during and after the cross-phase days can act as a corrective to 'overlearning'. There were hints that taken together, the situations in which teachers found themselves (observing and being observed) and the stimulus to articulate for fellow professionals what would usually have remained tacit, was a trigger for various types of rethinking and reassessment which could help to 'make new sense of the situations of uncertainty or uniqueness'.

The case of cross-phase INSET has offered an in-depth view of an initiative defined by the LEA rather than nationally. The next chapter allows us to see how teachers in a small self-selected group prioritising their own professional development needs, and shows how they chose to meet those needs.

CHAPTER 8

IT TRAINING: A FOCUS FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

When educational policy-makers want to introduce change, this is not simply a matter of statutory legislation. Change depends also on the motivation, readiness and competence of teachers to carry it through. This chapter examines a case where the impetus for change did not come from the LEA, but from the collective assessment of INSET needs by teachers within one cluster of schools. It involves the admission of shortfalls by the teachers themselves: in this it also differs from the case presented in the last chapter: recognition of professional weakness or lack of confidence by individual teachers was not a feature of the cross-phase days. Several schools were involved on the cross-phase day, but in turning to professional development directed at information technology for teaching, the focus tightens again to just one cluster of schools, moving further into the micro-sociological analysis of professionalism as apparent in INSET.

The case discussed in this chapter is that of an INSET initiative in its entirety. Like those presented in Chapters 7 and 9, it centres on a specific one-day event, but it tracks the initiative through documentation, observation and interviews from the first formulation of the INSET need, through a complex planning process requiring detailed professional negotiation. After observation of the INSET day, the case includes some of the professional reflections provoked after the event and shows how the learning which took place was being integrated with existing expertise. I explore in this chapter some ways in which change occurs in practice, and how the impetus for developing new skills may come from outside the profession in national decisions,

but also from within it, reflecting individual professional needs. The case also highlights some aspects of the supporting role of the LEA. On the basis of these data, I consider how each of the theoretical perspectives throws light on particular aspects of professionalism and autonomy.

THE CONTEXT FOR INSET RELATING TO I T

In the 1980s the case for increased expenditure on information technology in schools was generally accepted. National and local programmes assisted schools to buy computers and encouraged teaching staff to use them in the classroom. But provision was still patchy particularly in the primary phase and often depended on parents' associations raising funds for equipment. In addition the pace of development tended to depend on individuals with expertise, enthusiasm and drive. By 1989, schools did exist where access to computers was considered adequate and IT had become an integral part of classroom teaching, but in many primary schools equipment was shared between several classes, access to a computer was still a relative novelty, and few staff were wholly confident in the day-to-day use of computer packages to support learning in the classroom.

The introduction of the National Curriculum at Key Stage One meant that IT was coming explicitly on to the teaching and training agenda. These curricular developments reflected structural changes in employment and the nature of work (Ranson, 1990, p.6). National LEATGS priorities for 1988-89 and subsequent years included 'Training in the use of new technologies across the school curriculum'. The case of the IT training undertaken by Hawley School teachers and Warwickshire

colleagues in 1990 enables us to examine this initial phase, and consider particular sociological aspects of educational change.

The terms 'collaboration' and 'consensus', used frequently in the INSET literature, have already been questioned and this case study queries the taken-for-granted use of these terms at a micro-sociological level. This example of 'collaborative INSET' for IT teaching highlights some factors involved in educational change and demonstrates the extent to which political manipulation, external transaction or internal initiation predominated. It also allows us to consider whether INSET was supporting the professional project as formulated by Larson (1977) and Macdonald (1995). In what ways, if at all, did the case of IT training enhance professional prestige?

This case also gives access to the 'core of artistry' which Schön sees as integral to professional ability to handle 'indeterminate zones of practice'. Focusing on one participant will reveal the degree of rigour and imagination which this entails. By 'carefully studying the performance of unusually competent performers' (Schön, 1987, p.13) we can learn more about what professional expertise really is. The 'competence' here is apparent in the follow-up to the event, rather than during the course of the event itself. It is far from the 1990s use of the term as an indicator of limited, instrumental proficiency in a particular skill.

THE ORIGINS OF THE INSET PLAN

The events of the IT training day took place in the buildings of Mallinger School, a rural junior school, one of a cluster group of neighbouring primary schools. (Mallinger's headteacher had been interviewed earlier in the research programme, as

had six other cluster school teachers.) However the focus of this chapter is Hawley School, where the bulk of my fieldwork took place in the spring of 1990. Hawley was a two-teacher village school with under fifty pupils. Headteacher Mrs Highfield had cover for administration (0.2). She and her colleague, Mrs Wilson, engaged in several INSET initiatives during that term, both after school and during the working day (Table 8.1). Their priorities were, first, assessment for Key Stage 1 of the National Curriculum; second, following through LEA-initiated training on science and, third, to use cluster group opportunities for professional development in IT, Art and CDT. This cluster group had developed organically over some years (in contrast to Solihull clusters which were determined by the LEA). Hawley School had joined the cluster on Mrs Highfield's appointment two years before. It had already linked pupils and teachers for trips, sports and musical activities. The group shared staff INSET in the autumn of 1989 and planned to repeat this in training that involved pupils, teachers and advisory support staff in Information Technology, CDT and Art. The cluster group's bid for additional LEA INSET funds earned them an extra £1,400. Two preliminary non-pupil days in January 1990 were spent planning a programme of collaborative INSET to be completed by the end of that financial year. If political manipulation (Archer, 1979) played a significant role in the development of the LEATGS, this cluster group's INSET programme, in contrast, was initiated internally.

Putting ideas into practice

Work on IT, central to the group's bid for additional funds, was a shared concern in all the cluster schools. On a 1989 non-pupil day at an LEA resources centre, teachers realized that they could book the INSET provider (an advisory

Table 8.1 Professional development in a two-teacher school

JANUARY

County	School	Cluster	Other	Supply	Time	Mrs. Highfield	Mrs. Wilson
		Planning			3 x Non-pupil Days	√	√
SCIENCE				√ √ √ √	2 Days	√	√
	(Whole-school review meeting)				After school	√	√
	(Staff meeting)				After school	√	√
(Information meeting)					After school	√	
(Information meeting)					After school	√	
Music Workshop planning					After school	√	√
Music course					After school		√
	(Governors, AGM)				Evening	√	√
	(Staff meeting)				After school	√	√

Table 8.1 Professional development in a two-teacher school (continued)

FEBRUARY

County	School	Cluster	Other	Supply	Time	Mrs. Highfield	Mrs. Wilson
Music course					After school		√
Art					Weekend / 2 days	√	
(School Development Planning)					After school	√	
National Curriculum Assessment briefing				√	Day - 2 hours	√	
County Working Party					Evening	√	
		IT Day (with pupils) at Mallinger School		√ (At Hawley with Reception)	Day	√	√

Table 8.1 Professional development in a two-teacher school (continued)

MARCH

County	School	Cluster	Other	Supply	Time	Mrs. Highfield	Mrs. Wilson
			(Committee Meeting)			√	√
CROSS-PHASE LINKS				√	2 days	√	
				√	2 days		√
(LMS/ERA update)					Evening	√	
(Review and development)					After school	√	
			(LMS)		After school	√	√
Early Years / National Oracy					Evening	√	
Freshwater Schools project					After school		√
SCIENCE				√	½ Day x 2	√	√
		Art Workshop		√		√	
Assessment and planning for 5+ children				√	Day		√
R.E.					After school	√	
English Key Stage 1				√	Day		√
Assessment and planning for 5+ children				√	Day		√
		CDT Wk/shop (with pupils)			Day	√	

teacher) and equipment (eight computers) to work in schools. Their additional funding enabled them to follow up this initial training in 1990. Four schools would transport pupils to Mallinger School (the largest). Here computers would be set up, with programmable machines (Roamers and Turtles) available for pupils' use. One advisory teacher was booked for the day, another for the morning only. On a non-pupil day in January 1990 six infant teachers planned the event. IT had been an agreed INSET choice, but interview data showed that teachers had different starting points. Three quotations illustrate this, the first from a headteacher explaining the different levels of expertise:

There's somebody there who's never touched a computer yet, and yet there's going to be people there who use Folio with the children and...use the odd adventure game with them....How we try to overcome that is we're going to look at the one small area such as Database.

A suggestion to use the budget to give teachers time to work alongside each other was rejected as another teacher explained:

I'm not sure a lot of people are ready to admit their need and [that] other teachers might know more than them- to come and work alongside of us, especially, possibly, heads.

Most participants described the planned INSET in terms of its value to both pupils and staff, but this view was not unanimous. One headteacher explained:

I think it must be to improve teacher expertise and from that you will have a spin-off of ...better teaching for the children.

I would hope that ...the infant teachers are going to gain a great deal of expertise... not that you can gain a great deal of expertise in one day... I think IT is very definitely progressive, something that, you learn something, you go back into the classroom, and do it, and I think every teacher who is expected to teach IT should have a computer available in the classroom. That's my other nag... I've only just got it, you see. We've had a computer in the school but I've always put it into the juniors... I felt that they should have it. And I barely knew how to press Break/Shift till we got our second computer.

Staff went into collaborative planning sessions with varying expertise, priorities and expectations. If National Curriculum requirements were beginning to draw attention to IT, the actual form and style of professional development were shaped by negotiations between teachers. The case study approach enables us to focus on the processes by which national policy was interpreted and to 'retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' (Yin, 1989, p.14). Those 'holistic and meaningful characteristics' are clearly evident in the planning process.

Collaborative planning

The cluster group's six infant teachers devoted almost five hours each to planning on a January non-pupil day. A second session next day was needed to complete arrangements. Their concerns were:

- to find a cross-curricular software programme adaptable to other activities (without computers), and one that was new to all the pupils;
- to link pupils with others of comparable age;
- to allow sufficient time to get useful work done on the computers;
- to agree who would use the Roamers and Turtles;
- to provide a variety of alternative activities for all the pupils involved;
- to make low-cost travel arrangements compatible with other schools;
- to ensure acceptable lunch-time supervision;
- to ensure that supply staff involved would be familiar to those children who would be on unfamiliar ground;
- to agree which children would not be coming (since Mallinger School could not accommodate all the cluster group pupils);

- to make alternative plans for these pupils in related activities and supply teachers, as well as moving them, where necessary, to other schools.

The planning group selected 'Fairy Tales' as a suitable programme and ran it briefly on computers at Mallinger School. We left the classroom in which initial discussions took place, and as we went along the corridor to the computer, one teacher muttered to me in what was perhaps a rueful tone, 'I hate this'. This was the person who had the least practical experience among the group in using computers. There are 'several areas of grey in the conduct of field research' (Burgess, 1984, p.199-200); one is the difficulty in distinguishing between 'open' and 'closed' research, since individuals who are well aware of the researcher's purpose may nevertheless be surprised by the reporting of certain data. In addition, care is required in situations where interviewees 'want a sympathetic, rather than a neutral, listener' (Stenhouse, 1981, reprinted 1993, p.95). This teacher's comment and the way in which it was volunteered are reported because they underline the fact that this INSET was being shaped by a group of people who knew each other well, without (at this point) any 'expert' with specialist knowledge. They could load the programme and operate it at their own pace. Their ownership of the event was established. The planning session would seem to be wholly non-threatening, yet one participant 'hated' it sufficiently to volunteer the fact to me. This situation relates directly to Schön's 'indeterminate zones of practice', comprising uncertainty, uniqueness and value-conflict, areas in which he argues the model of technical rationality is inadequate:

When a problematic situation is uncertain, technical problem solving depends on the prior construction of a well-formed problem- which is not itself a technical task. When a practitioner recognizes a situation as unique, she cannot handle it solely by applying theories or techniques derived from her store of professional knowledge. And in situations of value conflict, there are no clear and self-consistent ends to guide the technical selection of means.

Schön, 1987, p.6

The cluster group teachers had no 'well-formed problem'; indeed their INSET programme required them to define the 'problem'. One could speculate that by making pupil experience central to this INSET, certain teachers were actually deflecting attention from their own (as yet limited) expertise in IT. In working from first principles and in designing their own professional development, this group was engaging directly with fundamental pedagogical issues and with professional assumptions in a way that would feed their practice at a pace which still remained within their control. However the personal commitment required was greater than that which would have been called for had they booked a second day at the teachers' centre (rather than in a school). Day 1993 warned against collaborative professional development which stays with safe and uncontroversial areas of work and 'comfortable collegiality':

If the principal purpose of professional development is to encourage learning, to develop and enrich the thinking, cultures and practices of individual teachers and their schools... then it is vital that it is prevented from becoming parochial and insular.

Day, 1993, p.90

Restricted INSET exercises may 'consolidate rather than challenge existing practices and can be comfortable, cosy and complacent' (Hargreaves, 1995, p.155). Certainly the Hawley group sought to determine the scope of the IT elements on this day, but simply by prioritizing IT these teachers had already moved beyond the 'comfortable' areas of experience, were, as the data shows, prepared to take notable risks over the organization.

The group agreed to do background work on fairy tales in advance of the day, and to introduce pupils to paper versions of the programme's outline illustrations,

leaving the real excitement for the day at Mallinger when they would discover how to select and manoeuvre illustrations to accompany their stories.

The January planning day dealt with complex practical arrangements. Lists were prepared grouping together infant pupils from different schools, and some children later wrote letters to their 'partners' to introduce themselves. Hawley School headteacher Mrs Highfield warned,

We have to think very carefully about numbers. It's not worth doing if it's chaos. We want it to be a quality experience. Otherwise I'd rather stay at school.

The planning, like cluster group meetings, involved classteachers as well as heads, with Warham School's headteacher acting as secretary. The democratic style however was not favoured by all: later one participant commented that the lack of an agreed chairperson might be hindering progress. The sharing of decision-making is important: Galton and Patrick's analysis of evaluation reports of federations of small schools noted that, despite their success,

Co-operation has tended to remain at a level of sharing resources and teaching facilities. Curriculum planning still largely remains the province of the individual school. When shared planning does take place it usually operates at headteacher level only and decisions are then handed down to individual teachers.....they do not have the sense of 'ownership' which comes from shared decision-making. Several of the evaluation reports give examples of the kinds of INSET activities which have taken place. Most of the INSET days have been used to widen the range of teaching techniques in particular curriculum subjects.....

Galton and Patrick, 1990, p.177

In the case of the IT day, there was no 'handing down' by headteachers.

Despite previous experience of planning collectively (as for a sports day or music event), allocating equipment and splitting classes made the IT day a greater challenge for the cluster group. Time was spent settling who would transport extra

computers to Mallinger School and agreeing other equipment for alternative activities: paper, junk for models, paint, brushes, glue, glitter and fabric.

Though the planning was intricate, the six teachers ended optimistically, because they thought pupils would find it exciting to use pictures along with text, and because the theme they had chosen was promising. One relished the prospect of a sustained programme of story-telling in advance of the day: 'I'm going to have fun: "once upon a time..."'. Three weeks later, headteacher Martha Kemp reflected in interview that:

During the time there it quite changed its format from how it started, didn't it? Well, I suppose, vaguely we thought, oh, you know, they'll all be at computers all the time. Then suddenly realized that wouldn't work. We also realized that...one school in the group has a lot more children [of] the same age group, so it meant it would be two of hers to one of ours which is a bit...tricky really, because it means you'll have two that know each other and one that doesn't.

Like Mrs Wilson, she worked on fairy tales generally, explaining words like 'dwarf' and 'ogre', but did not show the programme to her children. Mrs Kemp's pupils often used learning games and word-processed their work, and she used the computer with a child who had learning difficulties. But two weeks before the 'computer day' she had not yet had the chance to master the programme:

I haven't sorted it out myself yet [she laughs]. It's this awful thing of just sitting down and, you know, and working at it and at it until you get it to go as you want. I mean, if you remember, we got it to go quite well there that day. I haven't been able to do that since...so I think I'll probably ask one of my top juniors to look at it and come and tell me how to do it.

Off-site LEA training and non-pupil days give teachers the chance to learn *away from* the classroom and daily responsibilities. But these teachers designed an event where they took equipment and pupils with them, and also had to cover for classes that could not be included. Choosing to share their learning with pupils meant more complex logistical arrangements and even greater personal and professional

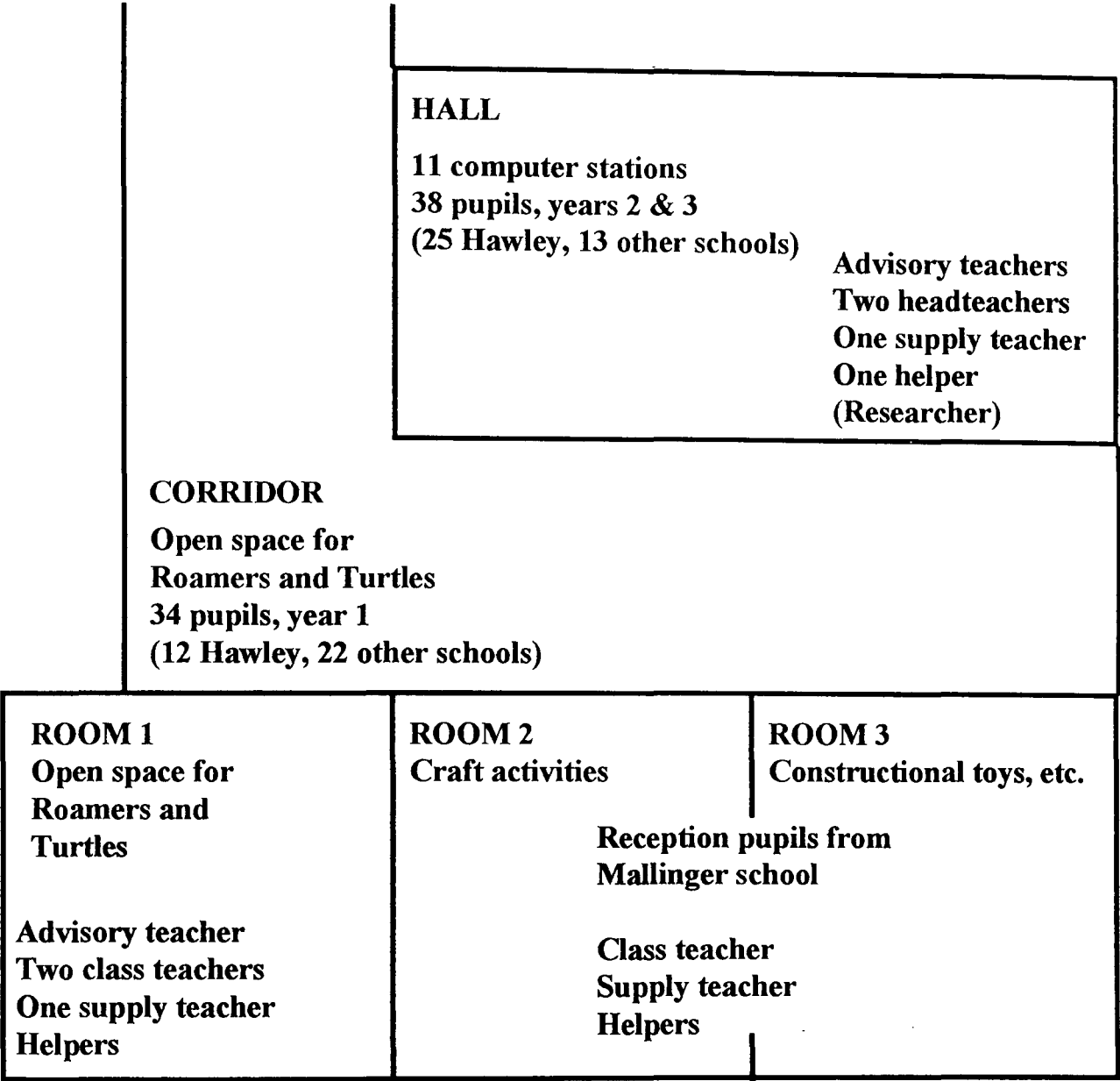
investment. What image of teaching as a profession (as defined by Larson and others interested in the sociology of the professions) was conveyed by such a decision? Conflicting conclusions can be drawn about the contribution which INSET of this sort makes to the professional project. On the one hand, the complexity of the event showed high levels of professional commitment and clearly intrigued some parents who delivered children to Mallinger School. On the other hand, by putting pupils at the heart of their training event, teachers might appear to be foregoing the opportunity to prioritize their own training needs.

PROVISION: THE IT DAY

The previous evening after school, the Hawley teachers delivered computers and craft materials to Mallinger School, cleared space, and made last-minute decisions. On the day approximately eighty children were involved in IT activities. Staff and pupils arrived at Mallinger School from 8.30 a.m. on. Some parents and staff helped off-load the eight computers with their workstations from LEA delivery vehicles, and set these up in the hall. Others were settling pupils. Thirty-seven Hawley children arrived at 9.45 by coach with Mrs Highfield, Mrs Wilson, and two teaching assistants. Mrs Wilson's reception class pupils had remained at Hawley with a supply teacher. Figure 8.1 summarizes activities during the day.

The school hall contained eleven desk-top workstations (Mallinger and Hawley supplemented those brought by the LEA support unit). Numbers of adults in the hall varied but rarely dropped below five (excluding myself). Thirty-eight Year 2 and 3 children worked in the hall. In the morning pupils set up the programme under the direction of the advisory teacher. They were soon calling up illustrations, moving them into position, and writing text. Most groups consisted of two Hawley pupils

Figure 8.1 Activities at Mallinger School on the Computer Day



In the afternoon, Year One children chose from Rooms 2 and 3 as well as using Roamers and Turtles.

Reception children and Junior children from four schools were at two other locations.

Hawley reception pupils stayed with a supply teacher at Hawley.

Volunteer parents and lunch-time supervisors were also involved.

Visitors included two governors from different schools.

with one from another school, taking it in turns to write consecutive pages. After lunch they continued keying in and began to print out.

Outside the sun shone and the hall curtains had to be drawn to reduce glare on the screens. In the course of the afternoon, the room became hotter, the noise level increased as printers operated, and children realized that they would have to work fast to print out their stories before they had to leave. The advisory teacher was busy throughout, solving problems, explaining procedures, and advising pupils and adults. Teachers circulated among the workstations, commenting on the creation of the stories. At break and lunchtime they remarked particularly on the children's concentration and, later, discussed the time required to print out: concluding that 'print as you go' seemed advisable. Few groups had time to print three copies of their complete story.

In the Mallinger classrooms and the spacious corridor, another advisory teacher spent the morning introducing thirty-four Year 1 pupils to Roamers and Turtles. Few of the teachers had used these programmable toys before, so they too were learning. After familiarizing themselves with the machines in groups, pupils attempted tasks suggested by the advisory teacher, and later by their own teachers, such as estimating a given distance, and programming the machine to cover this, or setting up a route which it would follow. There was an enthusiastic response; children continued using the machines during their lunch-hour. In the afternoon they could choose to join younger pupils for craft or construction work on the theme of fairy tales (but some continued to operate Roamers and Turtles almost all day).

THE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCE

Was this INSET experience conducive to educational change at a micro-level? Did it reinforce a wider societal image of teaching as a professional occupation in Larson's (1977) terms? How did it affect teachers' thinking and professional practice, seen against the broad theoretical approaches outlined previously? Interviews with teachers and observation at the cluster group evaluation meeting recorded positive reactions to the IT day from all parties. Prior to this I had observed in Mrs Wilson's Class One, a mixed age group of reception and Year 1 pupils. The analysis which follows centres on this teacher as an example of a practitioner engaging actively with a training experience, integrating it with her existing professional knowledge and translating it practically into classroom experience for pupils. Schön advocates inquiring into 'manifestations of professional artistry' to examine how people actually acquire this, on the premise that

Artistry is an exercise of intelligence, a kind of knowing, though different in crucial aspects from our standard model of professional knowledge. It is not inherently mysterious; it is rigorous in its own terms; and we can learn a great deal about it...by carefully studying the performance of unusually competent performers.

In the terrain of professional practice, applied science and research-based technique occupy a critically important though limited territory, bounded on several sides by artistry. There are an art of problem framing, an art of implementation, and an art of improvisation- all necessary to mediate the use in practice of applied science and technique.

Schön, 1987, p.13

Problem framing, implementation and improvisation have already been demonstrated in the INSET planning process. The choice of a single voice here lets us hear how one teacher used the impetus of INSET both before and after the event; committed classroom and personal time to the initiative; and saw opportunities for further pupil learning (even though only some of her pupils went to Mallinger School, and they did not use the 'Fairy Tales' software). Finally it shows how she wove

together different strands of INSET and learning in her classroom to 'create' her own professional development. A week after the computer day, Vicky Wilson recalled

We saw it as a starting point... We'd introduced fairy tales to the children for a couple of weeks before that. And all the assemblies had been on all the moral fairy tales we could find. (Some of them are extremely immoral)...In fact it linked in quite well with the police [The community policeman made a series of visits to Hawley School during this term.] because we could do Red Riding Hood. We were doing not talking to a stranger...it all fitted in. We had a video: it linked in quite nicely with Red Riding Hood, with Goldilocks, and things like Hansel and Gretel...

We used a lot of fairy tales: I told fairy tales: I still am. Assemblies: I used fairy tales like the Pied Piper (keeping a promise).

For some weeks the class had been doing work on shoes, a theme planned before term began. A large collection had been assembled, used by younger pupils for practical sorting exercises, and for science. Mrs Wilson's classroom walls bore accounts of experiments to test which footwear was most waterproof. Each child wrote a story entitled 'The Magic Shoes' and several had printed these out on the computer. Pupils designed and made fabric 'magic shoes', stitched or stuck together and displayed in the classroom:

I was already doing that...There were a lot of fairy tales that you could bring in, like 'Cinderella', with the shoes..'Puss in Boots', which is quite a difficult one... 'The Elves and the Shoemaker' that was the first one we did. I've done so many now...Anyway, lots, lots with shoes.

I was able to blend that in at the same time as blending in the fairy tales and the assembly, and it all sort of fitted together. It was quite nice really. I mean there's so many fairy tales... I didn't go into the Grimms'. I think they're a bit grim really, a bit frightening.

Before the IT day, Class One had seen the illustrations accompanying the software. They coloured them in, but had not used the programme itself. This activity included the reception year pupils, who remained at Hawley on the day. In the event, cluster teachers decided on the evening before the INSET day that pupils

working on computers would probably need all day to make progress. So Class One children from Hawley had access to only the Roamers and Turtles, with the option of acting and craft work related to fairy tales. Mrs Wilson remarked on this:

Sad, really, because they would have enjoyed it, but then- fair enough- because you needed the full day for the older ones to do what they wanted.

Teachers had recognized the need for flexibility: they were uncertain how long pupils would concentrate given the mixed social groups and unfamiliar circumstances. 'Problem framing' and 'improvisation', as used by Schön, continued to play a part.

The night before, Mrs Wilson and Mrs Highfield transported two computers to Mallinger along with other supplies: art materials, paper, tissue, glue and paintbrushes. They cleared space for Roamers and Turtles and set up alternative activities in adjacent classrooms. Time spent in such preparations is rarely identified when INSET investment is costed, but these hidden contributions should not be ignored. Later, Vicky Wilson and Janet Highfield laughed as they remembered carrying their computers into Mallinger School through a deluge of rain. Mrs Highfield's feelings had been mixed: she recalled remarking that 'It's got to be good', and Mrs Wilson had assured her that it would be. Despite careful planning, background work in class, and energy spent on transporting equipment, the next day still held unpredictable possibilities.

At Mallinger, Mrs Wilson watched her pupils interacting and the choices that they made. Suzanne, a shy child, was in the morning in a group where she had little say about what the machine would do. In the afternoon, she had it to herself:

Mrs Netherfield, our parent/dinner-lady, actually spent the whole afternoon with her and created a whole story of a dragon's cave and a castle, and she got an awful lot out of it in the end, whereas she wouldn't have done without the manpower- if we hadn't had so many people.

It was the social aspects that Mrs Wilson first remarked on in interview: 'That was what hit you first of all- the fact that there were all those children who were mixing together'. It had been an opportunity for both pupils and staff:

We had enough adults there to be able to put them in groups of three and work with them and I thought that was very valuable, because when you're in the classroom, when you're on your own, it's impossible.

For teachers, 'the in-service was there' because she had not previously used these machines,

And it was very interesting to work with the children, me, not having done it before, they, not having done it before.

You're all at the same starting point and see how quickly they can pick up...I mean they're always quicker than we are because they're used to these sort of things.

And to listen to what they were saying: get inside their heads a bit, in a group of three, and hear what they were saying and how they were discussing it, and watch how they interacted with each other...that was very interesting.

Controlling the machines required skill and teachers and pupils were learning together:

Going round one chair and then going round two chairs...it was very difficult, very difficult. It made me think very hard how to do it.... I know how to use the Roamer now, so that's good because it would have meant fiddling around with it for hours on your own. Whereas you got to grips with it like the children within half an hour...You were given the Roamer, and there you were: you had to make it work...and you had to help the children.

These comments link with observational data reported in Chapter 9 where staff again worked alongside pupils.

At the end of the afternoon, Janet Highfield stayed at Mallinger School to clear up while Vicky Wilson returned by coach with Hawley pupils and helpers, arriving back just before the official end of the school day. She finished on a fitting note:

I brought the whole lot back and brought them all in the hall and read them Rapunzel. But we only got half-way through it, at which point I said, "This is going to be like 'Neighbours'; you hear the rest of it tomorrow". So they were all desperate to hear the rest of it the next day.

They loved it. Absolutely spellbound... I have to say that I was feeling like (I don't know what you were feeling like) I was very tired by the end of that day. I had to pull out every stop I had and I really- I think I did pull it out because they were absolutely gripped. It was quite good. I really enjoyed it... At the time I could... [she mimes exhaustion].

She then drove back to Mallinger School, loaded the equipment into her car, brought Janet Highfield back to Hawley, where they off-loaded the machines and craft materials, and carried them up a steep bank into school. For these two teachers this day's INSET meant two evenings loading and transporting heavy computing and printing equipment. Neither laboured the point, but it would be wrong to disregard such investment of time and energy, clear indicators of professional altruism (Halliday, 1987). It is difficult to assess the effect of such 'self-help' approaches to professional development, and whether or not such INSET contributes positively to the status accorded to teaching, and ultimately to the professional project.

PUPIL OUTCOMES

Educational change may be identified at the level of systems and structures (Archer, 1979) or in terms of teachers' professional knowledge and skills, and ultimately of pupils' learning. Mrs Wilson reflected positively on the event, but what were the outcomes for Class One? They lay in the use of programmable machines and word-processing. Having borrowed additional equipment for Hawley School, Mrs Wilson's pupils were now writing fairy tales, using the computer. She had borrowed Roamers from the LEA and they used these daily in Hawley School hall:

They've made Rapunzel's castle with bricks and dragons' caves and -
fortunately, I've been able to do it with somebody. Either I've had...Martine,

my helper, or I've got a parent in and I've shown them how it works first and told them the children know anyway, because they do. And they've created Rapunzel's Castle, and it was the prince going round the castle, looking for the door...all sorts of stories: Cinderella going to the ball....They've got a lot out of it. They're writing long stories now on the computer, and they think that's wonderful.

Familiar with 'Folio' software, they had to learn how to use the new programme, but the stock of illustrations was a bonus. She had asked her pupils what they felt about the IT day: 'they thought it was wonderful'.

Just as the preparation had been interwoven with her class's work on shoes, so Vicky Wilson made other links at the follow-up stage. Two separate INSET initiatives here linked with the IT work. The Hawley teachers were involved in the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project in primary schools. As part of this, a visitor in school was observing Class One making jellies. Besides oral work, the activity involved scientific testing, as children stirred some, and left others, or made jellies with boiling or luke-warm water. Mrs Wilson referred in passing to an LEA science INSET programme in which Hawley was participating: 'I thought it fitted in with the fairy tales; we could make a feast at the end of the fairy tales, of jellies'.

Class One added their own conclusion: a dramatized version of 'Snow White'. They rehearsed their play, invited Class Two, designed posters, numbered tickets and chairs in the hall, and presented 'Snow White'. Unforeseen curricular consequences of the IT day (combined with other INSET) therefore included the creative arts, mathematics and personal and social development. Mrs Wilson's reflections demonstrate how she used 'Fairy Tales' as a strand running through several cross-curricular activities that term. This was training transmitted into classroom practice: by the evidence on her classroom wall, by the children I observed using Roamers in

Hawley School hall, and in the creative use of the computer, it was also affecting children's learning, including her Reception pupils (who had actually stayed at Hawley with a supply teacher on the IT day).

ARTICULATING LEARNING

'Educational change' is often discussed at the macro-sociological level. But this case demonstrates how individuals and groups of people like the Hawley/Mallinger cluster defined their professional needs and constructed training programmes to help them develop their practice and cope with change. INSET effects can be incremental and cumulative, with one input enhancing another. Evaluation of INSET rarely detects this because it focuses on discrete events or programmes. What would Mrs Wilson have written if Hawley School had used a single-sheet evaluation checklist? Teasing out these interactions is a complex exercise and neither macro-level analysis nor objectives-led evaluation picks up these multiple layers of professional learning and experimentation. This requires more time-consuming and flexible research methods, and is exactly where Wolcott's (1984) 'ethnographer sans ethnography' can point to some of the connections between national initiatives for educational change and individual efforts to determine professional development.

Even the cluster group evaluation meeting did not cover the learning opportunities in the detail given in the semi-structured interview. Teachers' views of the IT training day were briefly minuted, but there was no institutional record of the way in which professional development was taking place and how this training experience was feeding into practice and thereby affecting pupils' classroom experience.

This case study gives the example of a practitioner reflecting on an INSET experience, assessing what was learned, reworking her professional learning in the classroom, voicing tacit knowledge and considering the new directions which she had explored. However that professional learning was documented only because of the 'external' evaluation study. This reminds us of the distinction made in Chapter 3 between practice and (external) research. Moreover, the reflective practitioner can be distinguished from the extended professional:

The outstanding characteristic of the extended professional is a capacity for autonomous professional self-development through systematic self-study, through the study of the work of other teachers and through the testing of ideas by classroom research procedures.

Stenhouse, 1975, p.144)

Given the opportunity of an interview to consider her recent experience, Mrs Wilson's assessment of professional development was that of the 'sure-footed, extrovert knowledgeable teacher' (Brown, 1988, p. 159), not that of the extended professional.

The IT day offered evidence of professional skills and understanding being extended in two types of learning. Useful tips were gained on operating equipment (for instance, teachers discovered the importance of not leaving it to the end to print out, and of allowing children time to use the Roamer independently). These specific competences represent what Argyris and Schön (1974) epitomized as 'single-loop' learning. But the fact that pupils and staff were 'all at the same starting point' and the chance to 'get inside their minds a bit' seem conducive to what these authors termed 'double loop' learning, where fundamental principles are reconsidered, as a prelude to major development or change. Certainly they gave Mrs Wilson cause for creative reflection on her own practice, and this can be related to Schön's observations on the role of CPD:

In some fields, the question of professional artistry has come up in the context of continuing education. Educators ask how mature professionals can be

helped to renew themselves so as to avoid 'burnout', how they can be helped to build their repertoires of skills and understandings on a continuing basis.
Schön, 1987, p.15

This was particularly pertinent during the period of study when demands made of teachers had exacerbated stress and reduced morale (Cole and Walker, 1989; Dunham, 1993; DES, 1991).

INSET INPUTS AND COLLABORATION

One element in this case is the role of LEA advisory staff and resources. In retrospect, cluster group teachers remarked on the essential contribution of advisory staff as facilitators and of LEA equipment (at the preliminary INSET session when teachers attended the resources unit, on the IT day when equipment was taken to Mallinger School, and in lending Roamers to Hawley School after the INSET day). This was at a time when the role of advisory staff was particularly vulnerable, reflecting the erosion of the LEA's power (Maclure, 1989; Bash and Coulby, 1989; Alexander, 1992, p.166).

An additional feature of this event was the contribution of extra adults; classroom assistants and volunteer parents as well as a generous pupil-teacher ratio. Teachers could concentrate on just a few children and observe their learning at close quarters. Another factor was the funding for supply staff in the cluster schools and for transport costs. These teachers were doubtful whether such an experience could be repeated in the changed training circumstances of 1990-91.

The IT day certainly exemplifies the 'synergy' possible in collaborative INSET (Holly, James and Young, 1987). It also exposes how the concept of collaboration is problematic. The organization relied on cooperation between teachers with related needs but different starting-points. They had to negotiate their way to an overall plan,

accepting some constraints while protecting the interests of their own pupils. The original intentions were reassessed, and there was last minute renegotiation on the evening before the Mallinger day. All these elements of professional development took place even before the day itself. Such processes cannot be taken for granted; they may be compared with an account of collaborative professional development at a teachers' centre:

opposing views sometimes occurred simultaneously. This is characteristic of a collaborative model. Some who advocated collaboration little recognized the necessity to accommodate such diversity of views and actions within the new strategy.

Jennings, 1989, p.63

In discussing a 'learning profession', Nixon *et al.* (1997) stress the process of 'learning about difference and about how difference may be accommodated within integrative modes of decision-making'. For these writers, professionalism is found in 'the complex practices of agreement-making, such that collegiality, negotiation, coordination and partnership may be seen as emergent values' (Nixon *et al.*, 1997, p.16). Against Nias's work on primary teacher identity and reference groups, the IT training showed a membership group in action. Whether it was a reference group as such is arguable, but it had many features of one. The cluster certainly provided general moral support; it also provided it specifically in facing the need to come to terms with information technology. Whatever 'moral support' may be, its positive features predominate:

Moral support is often regarded as one of the 'weaker ties' of collegiality among teachers- less robust than joint teaching or collaborative action research, for instance. While these so-called stronger aspects of collegiality are important ... we must... be careful not to rank care as inferior to critical cognition... in teachers' collaborative work. Care and the moral support that springs from it is a central human and educational value, not merely a means to or progression towards higher cognitive ends... Care and critical cognition are equally important and indispensable components of the collaborative enterprise.

A. Hargreaves, 1995, p.151

Certainly, collegial trust is widely recognised as part of the climate for learning, for instance:

In genuine collaborative cultures, collegiality, contract-making, entitlements and critical friendships built through openness and trust which support rather than erode teacher research and which encourage staff to share problems and respond to new demands, will become the norm, reinforcing a sense of autonomy with responsibility by affirming confidence in teachers' professionalism.

Day, 1993, p.89

RELATING THE FINDINGS TO THE THEORY

How does this IT training activity relate to the overarching theoretical framework? It does not demonstrate external transaction. Improved IT skills would soon be essential for National Curriculum purposes, training for the use of new technologies was appearing among national priorities, but in the spring of 1990 more urgent training needs predominated. (The LEA had not prioritized the topic, unlike the example of cross-phase INSET.) At the macro-level, the long-term intention was for IT training to contribute to educational change, but the pressure had yet to be fully felt at the micro-level. We can only define this case as political manipulation in a rather loose sense. The initial conception, the planning and the aftermath of the initiative seem far from centrally imposed directives. What really emerges from Mrs Wilson's and her colleagues' assessment of the experience is individual professional creativity within a supportive group situation, highlighting the concept of professional autonomy.

As a particular response at the micro-level to prepare for future classroom management of IT, this case is a prime example of internal initiation (Archer, 1979). The cluster schools' joint proposal gained extra funds for INSET, demonstrating a

degree of autonomy which enabled the group to devise training to suit their needs, on their own ground, starting from their existing experience. Even the decision to put pupil experience at the forefront is telling (since they had the option of further training at the LEA resource centre). Finally, everything about this training sequence: planning, delivery and follow-up, speaks of the distinctive, almost private, nature of what the group wanted to achieve.

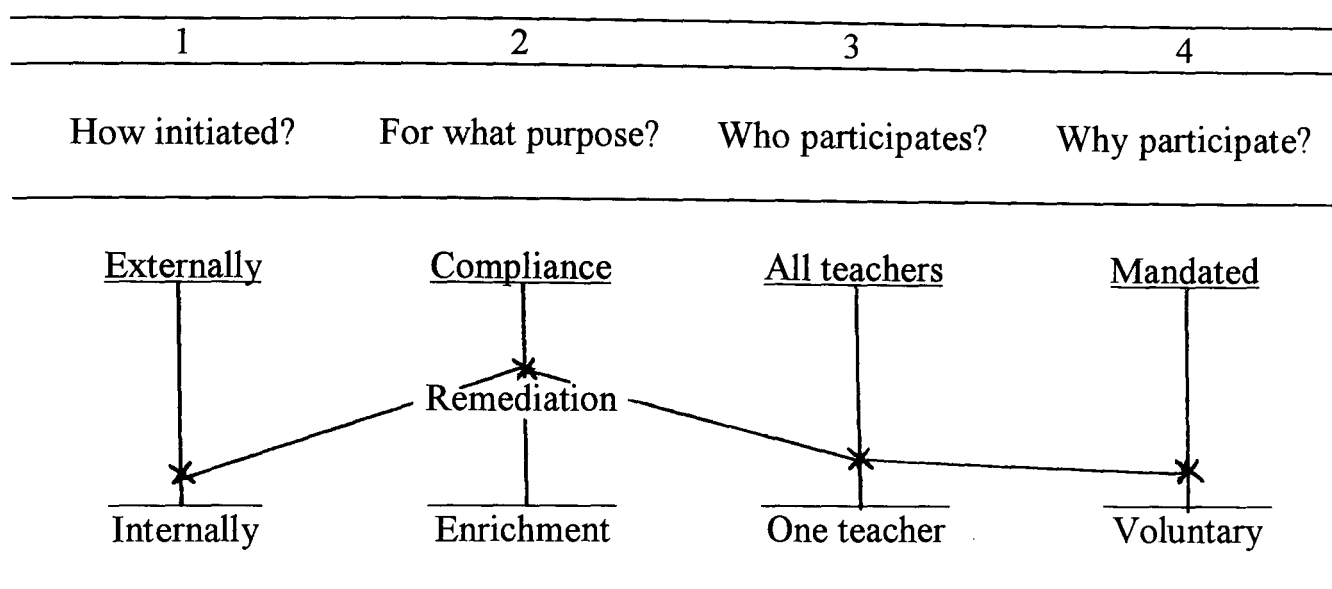
The IT INSET day was a distinctively 'bottom-up' initiative (Figure 8.2). Despite some parochial features, this training initiative demonstrates teachers defining professionalism by their actions. It is the more striking because it concerns an area where some participants are by their own assessment far from confident. This case study also shows how, in investigating the infrastructure of training, or the implementation of educational change through IT training, it is important to consider not only national objectives but also interaction at the micro-sociological level:

The National Curriculum has featured prominently in the burgeoning world of school- and locally-based 'in-service' education. Teachers, perhaps initially hostile to some of the ideas and concepts, are displaying great ingenuity in the way, often with restricted resourcing, that they set about the task of setting up systems, procedures and consultation mechanisms as well as National Curriculum schemes of work and teaching plans.

Brighouse and Moon, 1990, p.2

How do the norms and values revealed in this case study play a part in the professional project? Would they reinforce the status of teaching in the social order (Macdonald, 1995, p.32)? The activities at Mallinger were highly visible: parents delivered children to the host school, some volunteered to help, and governors visited throughout the day. However the visitors' interest appeared to centre on the novelty of what *pupils* were doing: the image presented was that of pupils learning rather than teachers' professional development activity. Uncosted investment of human

Figure 8.2 Profile of Hawley First School (and cluster) training in information technology with infant pupils (1989-90)



Source: adapted from Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985)

resources and time was made by the participants almost without recognition as part of their professional activities, according in one sense with notions of professional altruism (Halliday, 1987, p.54, Macdonald, 1995, p.171). However the assumption that it was appropriate and necessary to physically transport equipment around the countryside was also an indicator of the culture of primary school teaching, one among many factors which limit the degree of social closure (Larson, 1977) that has been achieved by the profession.

Studying the interaction between these teachers makes visible their commitment of time and energy. It reveals the diverse starting-points, priorities and expectations which they took into what would prove a complex professional development experience, and shows how this group was adjusting to the coming requirements of the National Curriculum. Task-specific skills were learned but this was not simply instrumental or 'quick-fix' INSET (Hopkins, 1989). The evidence indicates professional rethinking and development in a wider sense. It demonstrates

also the power of reflection on reflection-in-action. Schön uses jazz improvisation as an example which provides a suitable backcloth for this analysis of the IT day and Mrs Wilson's use of the experience:

In such examples, the participants are making something.... Their reflection-in-action is a reflective conversation with the materials of a situation...in a metaphorical sense. Each person carries out his own evolving role in the collective performance, 'listens' to the surprises- or, as I shall say, 'back talk'- that result from earlier moves, and responds through on-line production of new moves that give new meanings and directions to the development of the artifact.

Schön, 1987, p.31

The case study shows an experienced teacher improvising with virtuosity in the classroom, drawing on on-going professional learning as well as existing expertise.

Educational change can be threatening and much has been written about how it can be successfully managed (e.g. Fullan with Steigelbauer, 1991). Training in IT is notorious in that it can leave the inexperienced feeling uncomfortably exposed. Here a group of teachers, several of whom were far from confident in this area, gained the resources and created the space to extend their skills and understanding in a style which they felt appropriate. They were demystifying the skills that some of the group had yet to acquire. The work which they put into this undertaking confirms the strength and resourcefulness that can attach to activities at the 'grassroots' and the importance in educational change of internally initiated professional development. This was by no means the final stage for these teachers in professional development related to IT. But it was an important stage:

Reflection is a necessary but not sufficient condition for learning.
Confrontation either by self or by others must occur.

Day, 1993, p.88

This group had begun to confront the need to acquire additional teaching skills for IT in the classroom, but as Copeland *et al.* noted, reflective practice is 'recursive', 'on-

going' and 'operates at a multitude of levels in any given time frame'. The case study has traced the origins of a professional development event, its planning, delivery and initial outcomes, but this early phase would be followed by others:

Classroom dilemmas are played out over an extended time period. They do not have specific beginnings or ends. Rather, they come to the forefront or recede as a result of additional contextual factors, continually shifting in importance.

Copeland *et al.*, 1993, p.349

CONCLUSIONS

This case, context specific in time and place, nevertheless points to generic issues in the planning and implementation of INSET. The last section related the findings to the theory; this final section summarizes how each theoretical perspective has provided routes to understanding the phenomena presented in this case study. This analysis reflects a 'bottom-up' pattern in Figure 8.2 based on Fenstermacher and Berliner's schema. Similarly, this initiative's place in the process of educational change can be explained in terms of internal initiation (Archer, 1979) rather than the other theoretical forms of negotiation (i.e. external transaction and political manipulation).

Applying Larson's concept of the professional project demonstrates how even a professional development exercise which participants defined as successful might not enhance professional prestige. The value of this conclusion should not be underestimated. In quantitative research a negative correlation can be grounds for further investigation just as much as a positive one. In qualitative research, such dissonance can provoke further questions for empirical investigation. Indeed, this observation might point to the conclusion that conceptualizing INSET through the

sociology of the professions has greater leverage at the level of national statements and policies than at a micro-sociological level.

Schön (1987) highlighted several aspects of professional learning, and the learning points prior to, during and after the INSET event itself were discussed in detail. This brought processes of individual learning to the fore, but offered less ground for considering wider issues associated with teachers' professionalism and autonomy.

The aim, however, in deploying these three alternative approaches, was not to use them in competition with each other. Clearly, some theories will give purchase more successfully at certain levels than others. The aim was to use differing sociological approaches to shed as much light as possible on teachers' professionalism and autonomy as evident in school-focused INSET during the period of study, and to explore where there might be potential for further development. Chapter 10 will return to this matter, but before that, Chapter 9 takes the analysis to another micro-level context.

CHAPTER 9

AUTONOMY IN ACTION: ART TRAINING

The theoretical framework set up in Chapter 3 will be taken to its limit in this chapter. This is because it discusses a case which is at the furthest point possible from the macro-analysis of national directives (see Figure 1.1). The case chosen relates to the teaching of art, a notoriously subjective curricular area and one in which the research literature and interview data both reveal primary teachers' uncertainty and low confidence. Of the INSET events discussed in this thesis, this most of all arose from individual assessment of professional needs, regardless of national or LEA priorities. As an atypical case, it offers a sociologically interesting example for the application of different perspectives. As with the cases discussed in the last two chapters, I shall trace the initiative from its origins, through the planning stages, to events on the 'INSET day', to end with teachers' reflections and certain effects which were subsequently apparent in teaching practice. This case study involves a small group of teachers but the detailed analysis of the initiative as a whole offers insights into INSET provision and experience which have wider relevance.

This chapter begins by setting the context within which decisions were taken about the teaching of art and related INSET needs. The second section illustrates how a professional development event was conceived and planned. The third section records the event itself. Since pupils are integrally part of this INSET, I consider first pupils' experience, before analysing that of teachers, particularly regarding collaboration. The final section reviews the findings against the theoretical framework.

A CONTEXT FOR INSET IN THE TEACHING OF ART

Teachers' professionalism and autonomy in shaping the curriculum were under attack between 1988 and 1992, and this was powerfully felt in the primary phase. Secondary teachers had already adjusted to the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) and the single examination system of the General Certificate in Secondary Education (GCSE), both of which had INSET implications. Now primary teachers faced a National Curriculum which in the spring of 1990 was still being defined. The 1988 Education Reform Act required the Secretary of State to establish programmes of study and to define attainments targets for each of the subjects. The initial phases of National Curriculum consultation and implementation focused on the core foundation subjects: English, Mathematics and Science. Of the seven foundation subjects, the Orders for Art, Music and Physical Education were due to be implemented in September 1992. The National Curriculum determined the broad priorities for INSET: the 'top-down', imposed, and mandated features of INSET were represented in the Local Education Authority Training Grant Scheme (LEATGS) national priority areas for 1987-88 and 1988-89 (Table 2.1). Training in the teaching of craft, design and technology (CDT) was specified in the LEATGS priorities list (and also in the INSET programme of the schools belonging to the Hawley/Mallinger/Bambridge cluster). But the INSET discussed in this chapter relates to the teaching of art, which was not listed as a national priority. By 1990, in school INSET plans submitted to the LEA for funding, Art and PE featured only rarely. If political manipulation was evident in the macro-level policy, a Weberian perspective calls for negotiation at that level to be seen alongside interactions between individuals and interest groups, which requires a micro-interpretative approach, taking us into schools and to individual teachers.

Alexander (1992, p.192) notes a 'patchy and uneven response to external initiatives' from the 1960s on but distinguishes the National Curriculum from previous changes in the educational system,

its assumption being that to effect genuine change what is mandated needs to penetrate to the deeper levels of educational structures...However the government initially failed to realize...that content and pedagogy are indissolubly linked. By late 1991...they had come to recognize that the key to the transformation of curriculum content was the transformation of pedagogy. Yet the 1988 Act and subsequent ministerial pronouncements has explicitly stated ...that the important decisions about pedagogy are those taken by teachers at the level of the classroom, and it is therefore with teachers that responsibility for pedagogy should rest. Opening up therefore, was a vision of the government's commitment to raising educational standards by primary teachers' continued control of classroom practice.

Alexander, 1992, p.168

The data will show how, despite an indifferent national context for INSET relating to art, a group of primary teachers decided to affirm their responsibility for pedagogy and reassert control of classroom practice in this area.

THE CONCEPTION AND PLANNING OF THE ART DAY

In 1989-90 Bambridge Infant and Junior School had forty pupils and two teachers. They had a full in-service training programme, both school-based and through the cluster schools' programme which had been awarded additional INSET funds. On a very small collaborative scale, this represented a degree of autonomy associated with the 'surplus resources' which can be devoted to accomplishing professional goals (Archer, 1979, p.239). Among those goals were INSET for science, CDT, and IT. These were followed by discussion about the need for INSET on the teaching of Art. Cluster group teachers agreed; in interview one reflected 'Art is an area where, there's no question about it, we don't give children enough

experience in art'. These teachers were not alone in this view. It is in line with broader analyses of the primary curriculum at that time:

The picture emerging from HMI surveys, and especially the Primary Survey, is of a rather narrow curriculum delivered in restricted form, with a heavy emphasis on formal work in mathematics and language, with pupils given large amounts of practice in computational and comprehension skills they already possess, focused upon exercises as isolated from the rest of the curriculum as they are from the life situations of the pupils. The picture, however depressing, is consistent with that provided by most researchers over the decade, including Bennett, (1976); Bealing, (1972); Galton and Simon, (1980); and Barker Lunn, (1982 and 1984).

Campbell, 1989 p.172

Campbell cites the 8-12 survey (DES, 1985) which identified about 10% of time per week being allocated to art/craft, prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum. Galton and Patrick (1990, p.52) found that in small schools about 15% of pupils' time was spent on 'activities involving art work', and 11% of teachers' time was devoted to the visual arts (p.98). In the 230 schools participating in the Leeds Primary Needs Programme, 6.1% of pupils' time was allocated to art with 'very little central LEA INSET commitment to art' between 1985 and 1989 (Alexander, 1992, p.41). The quality of the experience could be problematic:

The activities were a combination of two- and three-dimensional work, with a predominance of the former, and little collaboration or discussion. Activities defined as art were frequently used to extend or round off other work ('Now do a picture.') and in this respect were sometimes little more than a time-filler. Moreover, some teachers consciously adopted the strategy of using art as an unsupervised activity which freed them to concentrate on groups undertaking mathematics and language tasks.

Alexander, 1992, p.49

Moreover, the timing of activities in the primary school day rarely benefited creative pursuits: arts, craft and topic work often occupied the afternoon (Thomas, 1990, p.153).

The national LEATG Scheme did not prioritise art, but the cluster group teachers were pinpointing an area which mattered to them. The "Art Day" was

initially conceived by Mary Richards, headteacher of Bambridge School, with her own pupils in mind. She then suggested it as a cluster INSET event. It can be distinguished from the IT training described in the previous chapter in that the initial impetus on this occasion was pupil experience, and throughout that remained at the forefront in the organisation of the INSET event. It could arguably be characterized as on-the-job training as distinct from off-the-job training (on non-pupil days). (For teachers from other cluster schools however, it constituted off-the-job training.)

Mary Richards and her colleague, Helena Stanley, had attended an LEA weekend course on art which they had found stimulating. She later invited the course leader, Mike Jones, to spend a day working with Bambridge pupils. This example underlines the importance teachers placed on being able to book providers in whom they had confidence. Prior to the day, Mary Richards explained in interview that other cluster group staff would attend the Art Day if they could arrange supply cover in their schools, but she was not yet clear who would be attending. She predicted a 'good day' but did not then have any idea what would be happening, as she was to see Mike Jones in a few days to plan the event. More than any other initiative analysed in this thesis, the Art Day represents professional development that was internally initiated, in which there was a readiness to 'live dangerously' which can result in exciting professional development experiences. This is not to imply that these teachers did not bother planning, but increasing expertise in managing INSET can bring with it over-predictability. Sometimes that deprives participants of the chance to take risks. Teachers' willingness to share their learning with pupils was a distinctive feature of this event:

There must be few teachers who do not regularly see children occupied in drawing or painting, or who have never tried it out for themselves. Even if the experience was limited, art teaching need not remain the province of a specialist or artistically gifted teacher. There is plenty of good art teaching

being done by teachers whose own artistic abilities are slight. Many of them give their children confidence in learning what art is all about rather than setting themselves apart as experts. Their understanding grows as they develop expertise from uncertain but potentially promising beginnings.

Barnes, 1987, p.6

The ‘uncertain but potentially promising beginnings’ have been outlined above. But what exactly happened on the day and how could it be that teachers sharing their learning with pupils constituted INSET?

‘DELIVERING’ INSET

Those involved in this event were forty pupils aged four to eleven, the headteacher and classteacher from Bambridge School, and the LEA adviser leading the session. In addition there were present one teacher from each of four other schools (two heads, o classteachers), one regular supply teacher (at no cost to the LEA), and myself. The composition of the group will be discussed later, but it clearly provided a supportive network for professional learning. In a survey of teachers in small primary schools, half the respondents were confident that they could provide a broad curriculum including activities of a physical, academic, aesthetic and social nature, ‘by dint of opportunism and hard work’, and ‘by forging links with the community and with other schools’ (Galton and Patrick, 1990, p.167). The sequence of events on the Art Day is given in Table 9.1. Asterisks show when, in the course of the day, pupils gathered for whole-group discussion led by the provider. Five artistic activities are also indicated. Alongside this brief outline, the following ‘snapshots’ convey the atmosphere and style of events.

Table 9.1 The Art Day: sequence of events

Those involved:			
Children aged 4-11. Headteacher and class teacher from Bambridge School. One teacher from each of four other cluster schools (two heads, two class teachers). One regular supply teacher (in her own time, so at no cost to the LEA). The provider. The researcher.			
8.45	Teachers, visitors in the staff room		
	Equipment brought into school hall		
9.20	Pupils and teachers assembled in the hall		
	<i>Mike Jones' introduction</i>	**	
9.40	Collecting boards, paper. Walk along lane		
	<i>Mike Jones discusses cottages with children</i>	**	
9.50	Sketching		SKETCH
10.20	<i>Extra paper for infants</i>		
10.50	Collect together: walk back to school		
11.00-11.15	Break: pupils - outside		
...	staff — coffee, then remove sketches from boards,		
..	spread polythene on hall floor, cut paper, distribute		
	paint for colour wash		
11.20	Mike Jones demonstrates how to apply a colour wash	**	WASH
	pupils do their own.		
11.30	Paper drying in hall. Mike Jones explains how to use	**	
	oil sticks to copy sketch on to wash. (Classroom)		
11.45-12.10	Pupils working.		COPY
12.15	4 pupils and 3 adults still working		
1.20	<i>Mike Jones discussing use of paint.</i>	**	PAINT
	Pupils working		
2.30-2.45	Break		
2.45	<i>Mike Jones uses infant picture to compare drawing</i>		
	<i>with painting.</i> Wax sticks will be used to add detail:		DETAIL
	two children try them out.	**	
2.55-3.10	Pupils working. Some who have finished clear up.		
3.10-3.20	Mike Jones' concluding session with pupils.	**	
3.20	6 mothers come in to see the pictures.		
3.35	Teachers clear up		
	Cup of tea in the staffroom.		
**	Whole-group discussion with the provider.		
<i>Italics</i>	Referred to in the text.		

A 9.20

Children in their oldest clothes are assembled in the school hall. Mike Jones asks what they would see if they walked along the lane by the school to draw one of the houses there. They suggest: roof, door, path, gate, windows. He asks, How many windows? Some guess, others are not sure. More suggestions are: drainpipe, tiles, garden, oak tree. They consider whether an oak would be in a field rather than a garden. They think of flowers, daffodils, hedge, grass... Mike Jones explains that they will need to look very carefully and draw what they actually see, not what they think they see. They have seen ducks on the water: how do they behave? As he explains the stretching up and bobbing down, a few children are already copying the action. They will be like ducks, alternately looking up at the subject, and then concentrating on their own paper. Later in the day and at the cluster group evaluation meeting different teachers remark what a good example this is.

B 9.45

Gathered in the lane in front of three cottages, the children now have to spot anything that they did not think of in school. They mention porch, slates, telephone wire, chicken wire to stop foxes getting through holes in the hedge, and something more unusual: an old bicycle is wedged into one gap at ground level. They speculate whether it is to keep animals in or foxes out. They are being made aware practically of the difference between what they thought they would see and the reality. The need for close observation is demonstrated.

C 10.15

Pupil: Yours is good, Mrs Stanley.

Pupil: That's great, Jamie.

Pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher interaction is wide-ranging, evaluative, but non-

competitive.

D 1.20

After lunch in the school hall again, Mike Jones shows how they will be painting over the crayon sketch done on a colour wash. On the palette, their paint should be small, separate, coloured blobs: 'smartie-size'. They discuss mixing colours: they are to use only white, red, yellow and orange. (Later they are also given blue.) He demonstrates how to hold the brush. The aim is to get as close as possible to what they saw and to use their original sketches.

MJ: Start putting the paint on your picture...Look at these lovely shapes. Try not to lose these. Remember to use your drawing and be very careful. What does your drawing tell you? Why did it take so long?

Pupil: It's got information.

MJ: Good. USE that information.

The discussion involves pupils saying what they know about painting. Teachers see the example of 'smarties' as particularly helpful, presumably because it appeals graphically and emotionally to pupils. Again the children's attention is drawn to accurate observation and representation.

E 2.45

The children gather in the hall, look at one infant pupil's work and discuss the difference between the drawing and the painting. The detail came from the graphite stick, and they are shown how different effects can be made using wax crayons and oil sticks, overlaying different colours and patterns. Adam, an infant pupil, asks repeatedly to try for himself. When told, 'You'll be doing it on your own in a minute', he persists. Mike Jones observes, 'There's no stopping you, is there?' and Adam tries out the crayons, using a vigorous action. Commenting, 'You don't have to be Mr

Universe this time', Mike Jones points out the 'dramatically different' effects that can be achieved.

Infant pupils' work and oral contributions are still an integral part of the group experience late in the day. Older pupils later remarked on this multi-level communication, and adults noted the stamina of the younger pupils. For some teachers, giving the opportunity to use crayons at this stage comes perilously close to 'scribbling over'. However, watching another professional working in this way and taking these risks enabled people to confront their own established thinking and to reconsider their assumptions. The situation has much that links it to Schön's discussion of 'coaching' and the reflective practicum (Schön, 1987, p.295-298). It connects also with Eisner's (1985) discussion of 'connoisseurship', in which both teaching itself and professional development relate not to some scientific method but to 'qualitative inquiry':

The art of teaching, at its best, exemplifies the use of what John Dewey referred to as qualitative thought. The fine-grained adjustment that good teachers make in speaking to individual children, their vision of options that can be pursued in a classroom, their assessment of levels of student interest and motivation, and their appraisal of student comportment as well as their written and verbal exposition - all recognise the use of qualitative thought...

The newest frontier, perhaps, is the study of the qualitative judgments that teachers and students make in the classroom. How do teachers and students fine-tune their interactions? How do teachers keep classroom momentum moving forward?

Eisner and Peshkin, 1990, pp.366-7

The 'Art Day' encapsulated 'qualitative' learning involving pupils, teachers and provider and demonstrated this 'fine-tuning' in the shared activity:

Some of the theory would be hard going and some of the practice meaningless to us, especially if we were only presented with finished pieces of children's work to puzzle over. Making links between principles and practice has traditionally proved difficult.

.... Barnes, 1987, p.2

By working alongside pupils, teachers could make those links. But before turning to the outcomes for teachers, what did pupils gain from the event?

PUPIL EXPERIENCE AND OUTCOMES

Some aspects of the pupils' experience deserve comment. In non-specialist terms, pupils learned (or practised) artistic skills:

- to observe closely;
- to work from the middle of the paper outwards, filling the whole sheet with detail;
- to use various media for different purposes- graphite, wax crayon, paint;
- to apply and work on to a colour wash;
- to transfer the subject from an initial sketch, sometimes enlarging it;
- to work creatively with only four colours, and initially without water;
- to control the mixing of blended shades of paint;
- to apply 'highlights' to the painted version;
- to compare and contrast their work and others', making aesthetic judgments.

There were many cross-curricular opportunities: equally, the nature of the experience could be seen in National Curriculum terms. The list in Table 9.2 is far from exhaustive; though elementary, it does demonstrate relationships between skills employed on the Art Day and some aspects of core curriculum subjects as they were being discussed by teachers at the turn of the decade. The argument that skills employed in creative arts subjects could serve to foster and support skills required in core subjects reflected primary practice, and a high proportion of cross-curricular activity involving the simultaneous teaching of two subjects included art and craft (Mortimore *et al.* 1988). The Art Day developed creative and aesthetic skills and understanding. As a spin-off, however, it reinforced learning strategies

Table 9.2 Skills/techniques that related to or supported core curriculum subjects (1990)

1	Pupils observed closely, taking time to see what was there rather than what they thought was there	Sc 1,2 Exploration of Science
2	They looked at different shapes estimating their relative size, seeing symmetrical patterns, comparing size and shape.	Ma 1,3,8,10,11 Using and Applying Measures Shape and Space
3	They estimated and counted e.g. the number of window panes.	Ma 2,4 Number
4	They attended to the structure, design, appearance of the buildings, e.g. tiles, brickwork, boarding.	Sc 1,6
5	They noted and tried to represent the shape, size and growth patterns of a variety of plants and bushes	Sc 2
6	They produced different versions accepting that drafting and redrafting contribute to the creative process.	Eng., Writing, Spelling Handwriting KS1 para. 1 KS2 para. 18
7	They produced a hand-drawn version of the scene. (Coordination, fine motor skills)	Eng Writing, Spelling, Handwriting Sc Exploration of Science: reporting skills
8	They had almost unlimited opportunities for oral communication	Eng. 1 Speaking and Listening

Concerning routine opportunity for oral communication (Table 9.3). Was there any longer-term effect on children's learning? Mary Richards later explained how afterwards junior pupils could write to Mr. Jones if they wanted to:

It was amazing how many children chose to write...They were just, you know, what a wonderful day they'd had, and how lovely it was, and 'I haven't quite finished it yet'. 'Mrs Richards has put it on the wall and I haven't quite finished it yet...' ('Wretched woman'.) They wanted to repeat the exercise and one of them put in the letter, 'It was interesting the way you were able to talk to the infants and the juniors...' and 'I like the way you talked to Adam'.

Areas of learning that relate to the 'hidden curriculum' are discussed below.

Pupils obviously enjoyed the experience as well as learning new ways of working.

But what knowledge and skills would teachers gain (or improve)? How did the Art Day relate to possible educational change, or to images of teaching as a profession?

Did professional learning of this sort contribute to the professional project? The next section considers what teachers learned.

PROFESSIONAL LEARNING: TEACHERS' EXPERIENCE AND OUTCOMES

This event presents professional development in action: the evidence is that as it took place and after the day itself it did encourage teachers to reflect on their practice. Firstly, they learned about managing creative work by observing how the provider and children worked. Secondly, they learned by doing the same exercise because they had the chance to explore for themselves the media being used by pupils, tackle the same creative task, and discover the potential and problems of such an activity. It is a tenet of INSET manuals and studies that participative learning situations are beneficial, but this usually implies participation with other professionals. This day was strongly participative in a different sense: by facing the same challenges alongside pupils, the teachers were learning both with and from

pupils, as well as from the provider, Mike Jones. Comments made by both children and staff were evaluative but largely supportive. (They were noticeably not relative: there was no suggestion that any picture was 'better' or 'the best'.) Even the IT training discussed in the last chapter did not offer this 'hands on' opportunity for shared learning because in that case teachers observed and helped while pupils operated the computers.

Observing how pupils worked under the guidance of Mike Jones set in train more complex processes. Staff saw how they could be encouraged, controlled, extended and such matters were discussed both on the day and at the later cluster group evaluation meeting. Just three examples suffice:

- i) When a four-year-old says he has finished, his perseverance can be extended if he is offered a second piece of paper to join on to the first.
- ii) Even very young children can paint without water.
- iii) Young children handle paint more easily if given a restricted colour choice in the first instance and helped to manage paint by keeping shades distinct on the palette, like 'smarties' of colour.

These practical tips which teachers gleaned from watching the provider at work exemplified 'single-loop learning' (Argyris and Schön, 1974). But teachers' reflections on other aspects of the Art Day could be defined as 'double-loop learning', and certainly relate to higher level professional expertise. On the day, in interviews conducted after it, and at the cluster group evaluation meeting, two features of Mike Jones' approach drew comment.

First, even infant children had concentrated all day on the same activity. There was debate over this. In the lane, a critical moment occurred after half an hour's sketching, when some of the youngest children became restive. One

accompanying teacher suggested to Mike Jones that they might be ready to go back to school. But, as a colleague later explained to the cluster group, 'He would have none of it'. The youngest were given extra sheets of paper, stretched their legs, but had to stay with the group. Soon, they settled back to sketching and eventually walked back with everyone else.

Teachers commented on the stamina and concentration shown by the Bambridge pupils. One thought that, for the infant children, this could have been 'the first time they've ever been made to see something through' and reflected, 'you do that so often with your children: let them off the hook'. These data offer a striking example of experienced teachers being surprised by pupils' potential. Photographs taken by a teacher on the day show pupils markedly unaware of the camera, engrossed in their work. This contrasts with the research finding that, when the task was drawing, pupils' time on task 'was associated with low concentration and higher than average distraction' (Galton and Patrick, 1990, p.95).

The role of the LEA INSET provider is highlighted in this case study, a subject and phase specialist at a time when budget restrictions and the LEA's changing role were leading to cuts in such resources. However many talented teachers there are and however practised they become at sharing their expertise with colleagues, there is no guarantee that school-based (or cluster-based) INSET can produce high quality training over the whole range of subjects in the way that LEA advisory staff at their best can offer support for professional development.

As the day progressed, the adults commented on how impressed they were by the work being produced. Mary Richards and Helena Stanley, knowing these pupils better, were concerned that in 'highlighting' their paintings the younger children should not 'spoil' their work by scribbling too vigorously over it. Mary admitted to

feeling protective about the pictures, and wanted to photograph one in particular before the crayoning happened. It was hard for them to adopt Mike Jones' more relaxed view. This as much as anything stressed the degree to which the Art Day was less about the end product than it was about the process of learning, both professional learning and pupils' learning. The terms in which different teachers articulated this resulted in professional discussion at a high level. Expertise was shared, but the important generic messages of the day were first that children can respond to high expectations, and secondly that there are occasions when the 'end product' may justifiably be endangered to ensure a fruitful learning process. The teachers' discussion showed that these were not entirely new ideas, but it was rather a question (in the second case) of having the confidence to stay with the principle. The experience highlights tensions inherent to the teaching of creative subjects.

The more clearly defined the end product is in our minds before we start, the less creative it is likely to be in the end. Now this does not suit teaching very well. After all, teachers need to be clear about their ideas and transmit enthusiasm to children so that they feel able to cope. There is nearly always an end-product produced as a result of any creative work which is going on. In fact the end product, to a certain extent, is what identifies the creative process which has taken place.. defined end products are attractive because we know exactly what to prepare and what we are all supposed to be doing. Being vague and indecisive is no virtue. It smacks of impractical theory which has no place in the classroom.

Barnes, 1987, p.32

The recognition and discussion of challenging ideas such as the relationship between process and product supports the claim that the cluster group teachers were engaged in 'double-loop' learning. Participants all saw the day as a success, but Mary Richards was unwilling to define this in conventional evaluative terms of input and outcome:

I don't think you can put your finger on it...I suppose sometimes you can identify it...I can imagine that the Mike Jones day I will be able to identify bits of that 'cos that really was an incredible day for me...It was just so right...and so I suppose I'll always be seeking for that 'just right' feeling. The whole day,

the whole flavour of it, the way the children were able to relate to it. Now, if they don't actually get to that point again, I will be thinking, ah, well, you know, it could be better.

Teachers were commonly more measured when they talked about INSET.

What Mrs Richards said and the way in which she said it both suggest that the experience would continue as an exemplar for her future teaching.

Evidence of effects on classroom practice came a few weeks later from a teacher who had been encouraged to extend existing work. Her infants' black and white 'winter' paintings of trees had been on display early in the spring term. Now, they had worked over the originals, to transform the same tree, creating 'spring' pictures. Showing the new work, she related it to the sequential sketching, painting and crayoning phases of the INSET day. The new paintings made an impressive display, but the learning process behind their production was equally worthy of attention. The 'learning' was that of both teacher and pupils.

At another school, a week after the Art Day, a teacher embarked on her own follow-up. Introducing seven- and eight-year olds to using graphite, she told them about how she had heard 'a real artist' talking about looking and seeing before you draw, and she echoed the example of the ducks, stretching up and bobbing down, to describe how to observe carefully and transfer what was seen on to paper. She explained as Mike Jones had done how to work from the centre of the paper outwards. Each child chose a subject in the school grounds and settled down to sketch. Almost at once the rain began and the activity was postponed, but particular features of the day had become a part of this teacher's professional repertoire. This example might be merely replication, but it carried the possibility of further development in practice. Replication can be the first step to incorporating an INSET experience into one's own practice (Joyce and Showers, 1980, 1984).

COLLABORATIVE EFFECTS

'Collaboration', as I noted at the outset of the thesis, may be a word which should be used with caution (Hargreaves, 1995; McBride, 1989), but this was a collaborative INSET event at which the 'right mix' was achieved. Key participants were the pupils of Bambridge School and Mike Jones, who was a stranger to them. Each child could work alongside a friend, in a group, or alone. They moved about freely, and in the afternoon some children would be taking a break, sitting back, or walking round to see other people's work. They mixed easily with their own peer group and with younger and older children. Even in this tiny school with mixed age classes, they would almost never spend a whole day on the same activity as those who were much younger or older, and their letters indicated how they had noticed and appreciated the sensitivity shown by the provider to other children.

Pupils conversed with a variety of adults, not all familiar to them: their own teachers, teachers known from previous cluster events, the chairperson of the governing body who visited briefly, a supply teacher, a visiting LEA inspector, and with me. The pupil-teacher ratio and the quality of the interaction between pupils and adults has already been noted. They were also observers, seeing how adults mixed and worked together.

Teachers at the Bambridge INSET conversed with pupils and with adults, in varying situations. Topics included:

- the activity itself, and how to tackle it
- the approach being taken by Mike Jones
- work being done by pupils
- the weather (which was particularly favourable)
- equipment being used

- what was happening that day in their own schools
- the future of small schools
- the National Curriculum
- other cluster events

Over tea, conversation moved to personal matters. Those present did appear to constitute (to varying degrees for different members) a reference group outside their own schools as well as a membership group (Nias, 1984, 1985). One purpose of cluster groups is to counter teacher isolation, but Galton and Patrick concluded that teachers in small schools were not unduly isolated or lacking in opportunities to encounter new ideas:

Although it is generally the case that they have fewer colleagues immediately on hand in school, they are by no means cut off from teachers in the neighbourhood, and they make as much use of the opportunities available to them for professional development as do their colleagues in other schools
Galton and Patrick, 1990, p.30

On this occasion, every cluster group school was represented, including a regular supply teacher who worked at two of the schools. This extended the usual social composition of the group (which was also affected by the absence of staff who had remained teaching in their own schools).

In a striking way, the participants worked together. Mary Richards and Helena Stanley who had initiated this INSET did some sketching in the lane, but as hosts they did not participate in the painting, feeling they needed to be accessible to deal with pupils' needs, visitors to the school, telephone calls and problems. Mary Richards said that she had 'enjoyed it on a completely different level'. (At the same time, this left Mike Jones free of the practical and pastoral responsibilities of a classroom teacher.) For others, the day was as untrammelled as any out-of-school

training event for teachers. They had the added value of working alongside pupils without having any formal responsibility for them.

At key points several people were needed, to cut paper, spread polythene sheets on the hall floor, distribute paint, clear away equipment, and move carpets and furniture. Two teachers alone would have shared these tasks with pupils. Nine adults minimised the time spent on them, contributing to the smooth running of the day. Studies of teacher cultures in the primary phase often centre on shared educational philosophy (King, 1978; Pollard, 1985) while A. Hargreaves (1986) analysed the tensions integral to middle schools which derive from a clash between two different philosophical attitudes. There was no obligation for any teacher other than the Bambridge staff to participate, but the cluster provided an automatic network, as well as a source of INSET funds for supply cover. The voluntary attendance of others enriched the experience for Bambridge pupils and teachers, while providing INSET for four additional teachers, at the cost of one day's supply cover for each. The supply teacher who participated came unpaid, in her own time: if, as some sociologists have said, professional altruism is one characteristic of a professional occupation, there is much evidence of it in the case studies presented in this thesis. The 'right mix' was allied to the 'bottom-up' nature of this training. Figure 9.1 shows, following Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985), how the Art Day

- was initiated internally, not externally
- was for enrichment of pupils' and teachers' experience rather than remediation
- involved a few teachers only
- who were voluntary participants, as the activity was not mandated.

Even in 1990 INSET priorities were against the repetition of this type of professional development, which had been met by additional funds allocated specifically for the cluster group INSET programme.

For teachers preoccupied with the National Curriculum, and other situational pressures, how important was the fact that this was an *art* day? The therapeutic value of art probably did play a part, given the context of low teacher morale and stress in the early stages of implementing the National Curriculum (see Chapter 2) (Cole and Walker, 1989; House of Commons Education, Science and Arts Committee, 1990; DES, 1991; Interim Advisory Committee, 1991). These were small schools whose survival was not at this point under threat, but they had previously been considered for closure: demonstrating the ability to 'deliver' the National Curriculum therefore had an added edge in such circumstances. At the same time, these were career teachers who had chosen this professional environment, who shared a holistic view of primary education and how village schools could provide it. The dilemmas and conflicts (including role conflict) inherent to teaching make it a stressful occupation (Grace, 1972; Woods, 1989) which the macro-political context can exacerbate:

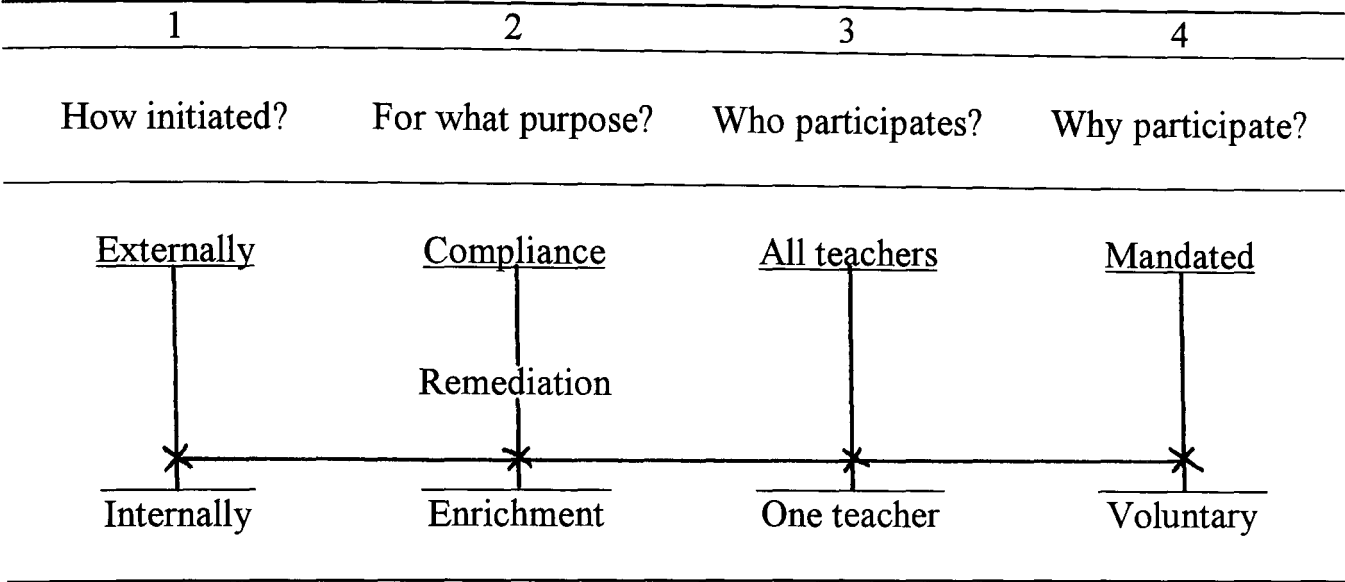
Teachers are right at the heart of the confrontation between the collective and the individual. Their position is essentially conflictual...At particular historical times certain circumstances may critically add to the stress teachers experience. One of those circumstances is that pertaining in Britain today, when there is a dissolution of the consensus between government and the teaching profession about the general approach to be taken to the political dilemma they both at different levels face.

Cole, 1989, p.169

The Art Day may have been experienced as a distraction or relief from daily pressures. This point is inferred as it was not made explicitly by the teachers.

How important was the school's size? Larger numbers could have been involved, with pupils having less direct contact with Mike Jones. More important,

Figure 9.1 Profile of Bambridge Junior and Infant School (and cluster) art workshop (1990)



Source: adapted on the basis of Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985)

the cluster group provided an automatic network of colleagues whose presence enhanced events (Holly, James and Young, 1987) and who themselves benefited from this opportunity for professional development. For the sociological investigation, the small scale of these activities made it possible to focus in depth on an initiative which provides a counterpoint to the macro-level analysis presented in earlier chapters.

In organizing collaborative in-service training, overcoming problems and resolving conflict can itself be a process of professional learning. The Bambridge case shows a consensus within the group about key educational processes and INSET needs becoming apparent, even though art did not feature among the LEATGS National Priorities. Above all, children's learning was the prime concern of the day, with teachers prepared to learn alongside pupils. This model has been rare in the INSET literature. These factors doubtless relate to another discussed earlier, the readiness to take risks in school-focused INSET. Writing of 'teachers reclaiming

teaching', Smyth (1995) stressed the need for teachers to reassert their constructions of the work of teaching. On a small scale, that is what the Bambridge teachers and their colleagues did.

CONCLUSIONS

Participants described the Art Day as a success: an enriching experience, and novel in its model of shared learning. It stimulated or reinforced skills that were later used in the classroom. How does the wider theoretical framework shed light upon our sociological understanding of professionalism as construed in the Art Day? The topic was proposed and implemented by negotiation within the cluster without any other impetus. Figure 9.1 helps make the link to the macro-sociological analysis, and shows how, in this case study, what is notable is the way in which a small group of teachers took control of INSET practice. Bambridge School's Art Day does not exemplify political manipulation as discussed by Archer (1979). Nor does it show external transaction. More markedly than the IT INSET discussed in Chapter 8, it illustrates processes of internal initiation. This case defies the concept of de-skilling (Braverman, 1974; Lawn and Ozga, 1981) and it demonstrates practitioners reflecting on and reassessing their usual teaching practice.

However, the 'bottom-up' organization (Fenstermacher and Berliner, 1985) and relaxed approach to evaluation effectively internalised the effects of this day. As part of the process of internal initiation, how far would it contribute to educational change? It is hard to see how this INSET might influence structural adjustments or provoke major innovations in any cluster school. It demonstrated individual professional learning and also the group's ability to act autonomously, within the overall constraints of the LEATGS system. But the major educational changes of this

period lay in other directions. Nevertheless this case offers a clear example for the application of the theoretical categorization of internal initiation, political manipulation and external transaction. In this analysis of the 'Art Day', Archer (1979), extended by Fentemacher and Berliner (1985) has provided insights into teacher professionalism, whilst showing how such an event was unlikely to contribute to educational change in a wider sense.

The second sociological framework developed in this thesis concerns the extent to which teaching has been recognised as a professional occupation, and the means by which teaching might establish a claim to a monopoly of specialist services and associated prestige (Larson, 1977). So does CPD such as this support such claims? This is problematic. Any observer who did not have the opportunity to follow up after the event would be likely to see teachers and pupils all enjoying a creative experience, led by an 'expert'. However laudable that might be, most lay observers might not be unduly impressed by this as evidence of a 'professional' activity. It would be hard to prove that teachers were indeed extending their professional skills and exploring their understanding of cognitive and pedagogical processes. In one sense it may be surprising to claim that the event would not enhance professional status, since the visual 'evidence' of children's work displayed on noticeboards and walls is usually telling. Parents and governors alike notice it, and at Bambridge School, parents collecting pupils from school came in to view the paintings.

In another sense, it is less surprising for two reasons. The first lies in the cultural norms of the primary school: the 'public' definition of this event stressed its benefit to pupils, even though it met an identified teacher objective as one component of the cluster's bid for additional INSET funds. The second reason is that there was

no formal means of articulating what exactly was being achieved by these teachers, nor of conveying the complex professional learning that was taking place. If there was ever an argument for the 'external' evaluation of teachers' professional development, the Art Day exemplifies that. Applying Larson's formulation of the professional project reminds us how public perceptions of primary teaching were focusing increasingly on the National Curriculum and how prepared schools were to 'deliver' that. Whatever the value which a teacher may have attached to an experience such as the Art Day, it carried little weight in terms of professional prestige. So, the response to the question of how teachers' CPD sustains the professional project may be that this INSET would not promote a claim to monopoly of specialist knowledge and skills unless there was some channel to explain to others the complexity of what was being learned.

This professional development can also be seen in terms of the 'professional artistry' which can help mature professionals to 'renew themselves so as to avoid burnout' (Schön, 1987, p.15). What the experience did very successfully was to develop teachers' skills and confidence in an area of the curriculum that was being neglected in favour of immediate National Curriculum priorities. It did so at a time when initial National Curriculum INSET had already provoked a negative response from these teachers. In terms of morale, this should not be underestimated. The Art Day was a shining example of 'non-instrumental' professional development; it met identified needs for technical training in art teaching skills, and also some less well defined professional needs. Schön's perspective highlights individual professional learning; however an evaluator seeking 'objective' evidence might find it hard to prove the 'effectiveness' of this training. Despite the qualifications indicated above, this event constitutes professional development in a very particular sense. How

otherwise should one define an activity that confirms a teacher's sense of himself or herself as a professional in the face of altogether different definitions from central government?

In a reassessment of teacher professionalism in the context of 'new times', Quicke (1998) characterises the 'new professional' as someone

Who sees the need to make judicious use of experts without being dominated by one knowledge form or another; and who recognises that central to professional activity is the quest to understand the other as person, in the full knowledge that people's personalities are not fixed but ever-changing and in 'new times' are constantly being 'made' and reinvented.

Quicke, 1998, p.336

The professional relationships documented in this small rural school were very much in line with this description. Moreover this author is cautious about institutional positioning:

She or he has to be wary of being seduced by the appeal of technical-rational 'restructuring', particularly when it is market-driven... This is the challenge for the 'new professionalism'. Is it possible for professionals to think and act in an open and creative way in institutions in which the language of collaboration is pervasive but where the relationship is often rather different? Can they avoid being trapped in bureaucracies of a new kind?

Quicke, 1998, pp 336-337

In their professional development programme, the Bambridge teachers and cluster colleagues resisted technical-rational restructuring and were able to think and act in a creative way. Their collaboration resulted in identifiable professional learning and I have reviewed the outcomes for teachers from this INSET activity. Archer's overarching theory emphasizes how change in a decentralised system is frequently incremental (rather than the 'stop-go' pattern apparent in centralised systems). Despite its macro- perspective, the theory notes how modest local changes can accumulate especially when any central directive must percolate through and be

reinterpreted at local and school level. The example of the Art Day is a modest one, but the messages which it sends about professional autonomy are significant.

These messages emerge from a very micro-sociological analysis of professional development. However this case is located alongside the preceding in-depth case studies, the discussion of INSET co-ordination and the macro-level analysis set out in Chapters 3 and 5.

In Chapter 10 the messages of this Chapter will be seen against a broader sociological context. I bring together the empirical research reported in the last four chapters and set these alongside the theoretical framework proposed for this thesis. Figure 1.1 indicated that Chapter 9 would present a very detailed case study. Its place in my research overall is nevertheless important in highlighting generic aspects of INSET provision.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The impetus for the research

The starting point for this thesis was the view that teachers' continuing professional development warranted study and that an investigation of professional development at a time of particularly intensive change would highlight critical aspects of professionalism and autonomy. Moreover, it was important to develop more specifically sociological explanations in this field, and to encompass a spectrum of macro- through to micro-sociological analysis. The theoretical and methodological challenges posed were addressed in the early chapters of the thesis.

Despite an extensive evaluation literature and many publications focusing on educational elements of INSET, there remained the task of developing sociological understandings of the relationships between teachers' CPD, educational change and the development of teaching as a profession. Teachers' in-service training in England between 1988 and 1992 was proposed as the arena for this exploration, which was to include its relationship to change in the education system, to the position of teaching as a profession and to teachers' professional learning. Both structural and individual aspects deserved attention, and the lines of enquiry formulated at the outset concerned three broad questions. First, what sociological explanations could be found for national decisions about the INSET system, and by what means were these interpreted in schools? Secondly, how did teachers' professional development relate to what had been discussed as 'the professional project'? Finally, what theoretical approaches facilitate understanding about the experiences which teachers have? Having posed these general research questions, the next decisions concerned the theoretical

orientation which would help produce explanations, and the methodological approach which would enable these questions to be investigated.

The first section of this final chapter summarises the decisions made at the start of the thesis about the focus of the research and strategic matters affecting its progress. The second section concentrates on reviewing the main empirical findings (summarised at the end of Chapters 5-9) as they relate to the elements of theory. It also comments on the strengths and limitations of the different conceptual approaches. The third section of the chapter indicates the potential for future sociological research in this area.

INITIAL CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS

The professional development of teachers gives direct access to core issues about teachers' role in educational change, about teaching as a profession and about professional learning. INSET is worthy of analysis in its own right, and it also leads to new insights about professionalism and autonomy. I demonstrated in the opening chapters of this thesis why 1988 to 1992 was a critical period in shaping the professional development of teachers. Exploring these wider themes by focusing on INSET at that particular time seemed likely to improve our sociological understanding in this area.

This thesis has shown how each of the three theoretical approaches can be deployed to highlight particular aspects of INSET. There were moreover some shared origins between these approaches. Archer (1979, p.5), for instance, highlighted the structural conditioning of educational interaction and the 'influence of individual action on educational change'. Larson (1977) gave attention to the economic and social dimensions of professionalism and Macdonald (1995) in his empirical research

developed further her concept of social closure. Schön (1983,1987) drew primarily on Weber's discussion of bureaucratisation and the ways in which occupational groups become professionalized through technical expertise. These broad Weberian influences also indicated the need for a balance between structural and interactionist elements. Whilst the three theoretical approaches have some degree of common heritage, they play distinctive, though complementary, roles.

Initial theoretical decisions

Archer (1979) provided one route for the study of professionalism and autonomy as evident in teachers' INSET during the period 1988-92. The theory's representation of negotiation leading to educational change (especially internal initiation, external transaction and political manipulation) was supplemented by links to the four categories identified by Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985) as forming the 'profile' of a staff development initiative. (These were, (1) how was the activity initiated: externally or internally? (2) For what purpose was it set up: compliance, remediation or enrichment? (3) Who were the participants: all teachers or one teacher? (4) Was the reason for participating mandatory or voluntary?). This combination produces a framework against which professional development aims and activities can be placed, from the smallest scale through to major national initiatives. Using the Fenstermacher and Berliner schema in tandem with elements of the Archer theory which relate to the English educational system offers one way of addressing both macro- and micro-sociological features. The new knowledge presented in the thesis therefore derives from the application of this theoretical frame to INSET and ideas for the potential further use of that formula.

Secondly, the sociology of the professions appeared to offer a fruitful perspective through which to consider what we can learn about teacher professionalism and autonomy. Whilst others have in the 1990s touched on this theme (e.g. Helsby, 1995; Quicke, 1998), I focused on the question of how far and in what ways professional development can be said to contribute to the development of this profession. The answers in respect of teaching suggested that there was no guarantee that INSET which was judged by teachers as being valuable would enhance professional status in wider terms. That discrepancy, apparent in the case studies, reflected the macro-analysis and is one component of the contribution offered by this thesis. This line of analysis seems to present an original approach to the conceptualisation of INSET and the findings suggest that it would be worthy of further application.

The choice of Schön's work as the third conceptual channel led to new knowledge derived from its application in particular instances where it highlighted individual professional learning by effectively revealing matters of everyday professional practice. One reason for selecting this analytical approach was the realisation that this work has been widely influential in education (and beyond) and I wanted to reach a judgement about that type of analysis alongside other conceptual routes. It offers some potential to open up new directions for further investigation particularly by giving greater attention than has been possible in this thesis to some of the uncertainties surrounding the concept of 'reflective practice' (Copeland *et al*, 1993).

Methodological decisions

The initial research strategy concerned the field itself, the ultimate purpose of the thesis (to produce a sociological analysis), the preliminary questions posed, and the conceptual templates which were adopted. Behind these was the recognition that educational systems are affected by the actions of and interactions between individuals and groups, whether they study or work in schools, colleges, universities, teachers' centres or LEA offices. Yet these individuals and groups are not wholly free: their decisions and actions are influenced and partly shaped by the social and economic circumstances within which they operate. The methodological decisions were intimately related to that initial research strategy, but also to the *practice of research* as explained in Chapter 1. The qualitative approach could address macro-sociological themes through documentation and micro-level experience through the collection of empirical data mainly through case studies. At the conclusion of the thesis it is even more apparent how important it was to include both macro- and micro-level elements. The research faced particular challenges in the re-analysis of data, and in the use of case study, but these have been methodological learning points. This is another element of the contribution made by the thesis, as was noted at the outset:

The focus of the research is narrowed and sharpened, and perhaps even changed substantially, as it proceeds. Similarly, and in parallel, theoretical ideas that frame descriptions and explanations of what is observed are developed over the course of the research. Such ideas are regarded as a valuable outcome of, not a precondition for, research.

Hammersley, 1998, p.9

Having made the conceptual and methodological decisions outlined above, the next section considers how the findings discussed in previous chapters relate more generally to the central theoretical strands, and assesses the strength and weaknesses

of these complementary theories. This assessment is presented in terms of the three main substantive areas of research: INSET systems and educational change, professional development and the development of the profession, and INSET as a path to reflection-in-action.

INSET Systems and Patterns of Educational Change

At the outset I envisaged that Archer (1979) could offer a rigorous conceptual basis for the analysis of structures and systems associated with educational change at the macro- level. I speculated that arrangements for teachers' professional development could be explained in terms of certain elements of that theory. The limitations of the theory lay in the fact that its purpose was macro-sociological, so its application to micro-level phenomena was less predictable. However, I proposed linking the over-arching theory with Fenstermacher and Berliner's formulation, as a bridge into understanding decisions and processes at the micro-level.

The macro-analysis (Chapter 5) showed how between 1988 and 1992 the educational reforms affecting professionalism and autonomy were shaped by an interplay of political manipulation and internal initiation. A national system of categorical funding for INSET with defined priorities was introduced to which LEAs and schools had to adhere. Yet institutions were not wholly constrained by these changes. This was partly because of contradictory tendencies in sometimes divergent policy directions: increased centralisation and efforts to control the INSET curriculum confronted the devolution to schools of responsibilities and decision-making in relation to budgets and personnel matters. These contradictions became even more evident in the in-depth examination of the INSET co-ordinator role. Multiple pressures, 'bottom-up' as well as 'top-down', focused on this key role. The

operational difficulties enumerated by co-ordinators included lack of time, status uncertainty, and the need for professional support. Nevertheless, they preserved the ability to interpret national and LEA directives in ways which suited their own institutions, and they were using the flexibility available to them to shape the 'delivery' of professional development as appropriate to their circumstances. These findings directly related to the idea of internal initiation as a powerful force even whilst the strength of political manipulation shaped national and LEA INSET priorities.

The case of cross-phase INSET generated observations about professionalism and autonomy as INSET co-ordinators and teachers worked to construct different versions of professional development in conjunction with colleagues from other phases. Viewing these findings against Archer and Fenstermacher and Berliner again highlights the degree of autonomy available to institutions and indeed to certain individuals. These events took place within a national framework to meet an LEA-designated priority, but the data revealed how the forms of professional development which were devised were distinctively different. Again, the way in which INSET was actually experienced could be explained as much in terms of internal impetus and pressures as of external imposition.

At a more micro-level, the findings relating to CPD for Information Technology highlight in another context that ability to shape INSET so as to meet the concerns of a particular group and also to do so in a style which allowed the teachers to address their own limitations. It might be argued that a more effective *educational* outcome could have been achieved if the INSET had taken a more challenging form, but the *sociological* interest of this example lies in the way in which the group negotiated and planned for the event, their experiences on the day, and the factors

which subsequently influenced the transferral to the classroom of knowledge and skills acquired during this INSET programme. This case also highlighted critical aspects of collaboration.

The final case study narrowed the focus further, to present an entirely 'bottom-up' INSET need which was quite contrary to national priorities. This allowed consideration of why the 'Art Day' was justified as a legitimate professional development activity. It demonstrated also planning and delivery which was wholly from the grassroots. Whilst it drew once again on LEA expertise, the collaboration of other staff and of pupils were key features. The significant professional learning taking place here would not have been identified by a macro-level investigation; it required in-depth empirical investigation. Locating the findings against the theoretical framework draws attention to the fact that quite modest activities, even as in this case, atypical activities, can, when studied closely, reveal fundamental features pertaining to generic themes, in this case to professionalism and autonomy as evident in teachers' INSET. The above summary indicates that this theoretical approach has pinpointed certain key aspects of professional development. What, then, are its limitations?

Archer (1979) deals with macroscopic questions about the social origins of educational systems. The theory was developed through a comparative historical study of the ways in which the state educational systems developed in England, Denmark, France and Russia (the first two being essentially decentralized and the second two centralized systems). The different patterns of interaction which result in educational change once a state educational system is in place were then traced through in some detail. This thesis is neither historical nor comparative in Archer's terms, but elements of the theory which she develops are robust and provide for

system-wide analysis and this is why they were chosen. In some ways the theory is uncompromising:

There is no such thing as an educational theory (which explains education by things educational), there are only sociological theories of educational development and change

Archer, 1979, p.4.

Yet in other ways, it draws on a spectrum of influences and advocates tracking through exactly how decisions at national level percolate to individual cases.

Notwithstanding Archer's comments about the need to understand 'independent innovatory action', it can be difficult to make connections between the different levels of analysis. Here the Fenstermacher and Berliner format assisted in the analysis of the micro-level case studies. We need to be cautious about the weight given to a 'profiling' format set out in an article of a few pages (as against the major work outlined above). But in a limited way, as a complement to the major theory, the use of the profiles proved valuable, and this original conceptual approach might be applied in other ways.

Was this approach incomplete in specific ways? One noticeable feature is that the analysis of this thesis was dominated by evidence of internal initiation and political manipulation. The theory proposes that external transaction has parity with these in a decentralized system, but there was no real evidence of external transaction in the INSET phenomena under discussion. The reasons for this could provide a starting point for further research.

Alongside these limitations, the very aspect of Archer's theory which has not been called upon in this thesis is that which could readily be drawn upon in further research. This is its international comparative basis. At a macro-sociological level, some theoretical approaches are more amenable than others to being applied for cross-

national or international comparative purposes. Because this theory was developed from the study of four national educational systems, its robust construction means that using it in an international comparative study would not distort the theory. Indeed, it would be a fuller use of it than has been possible in this thesis. I return to this at the end of the chapter, since I can envisage developing this line of analysis further.

Professional Development and the Development of the Profession

Archer's theory advocated a Weberian balance between systemic influences and individual impetus for change. An interplay between structure and agency was also a feature of Larson's (1977) formulation of the 'professional project', and of those who employed or extended this concept in the sociology of the professions. The professional project, especially as presented in Macdonald (1995) as a 'working theory', raised issues about the extent to which teaching has a monopoly of a specialised body of knowledge, about the status accorded to the profession, and about the trust relationship between teachers, the state and other social groups. Here the analysis centred on understanding whether or not more structured professional development was contributing to the development of the profession, with the eventual goal of social closure (Larson, 1997). If so, in what ways? If not, why not?

Related to theory, the findings send mixed messages. Chapter 5 noted how, in principle, at a macro-level, more formal and sophisticated INSET processes might be expected to enhance the status of the teaching profession. However the 'deficit' model which underpinned much DES policy between 1988 and 1992 did not encourage such a positive view. In practice, the reform measures being applied to teaching during this period and the government's rhetoric was undermining the trust relationship between teachers and the state and also between teachers and their 'clients'. At that time (in the

absence of any serious public consideration of a General Teaching Council), the lack of a professional body for teaching, of a formal code of ethics, and of internal disciplinary procedures contributed to the relatively fragile status of teaching as a professional occupation. That was exacerbated during the period of this study by very poor morale among teachers.

The detailed investigations bore out this uncertain status and inability to assert confidently a professional claim to a monopoly of specialised knowledge. Solihull LEA described the role of the INSET co-ordinator as 'pivotal', but most of those taking on that responsibility in the authority's schools identified real difficulties associated with the ways in which their task was seen at that time. Despite a developing infrastructure, the resources available were tight. These empirical findings were supported by the wider literature on school INSET co-ordination.

Case studies of particular initiatives revealed several examples of altruism, held to be a significant characteristic of professional behaviour (Halliday, 1987). But that professional altruism is not readily conveyed to those outside the profession. Cross-phase INSET provided a rare example when, fortuitously, parents attending a junior school assembly became aware of the professional development programme which had brought secondary teachers (and some pupils) into the junior school. In general, however, cross-phase INSET, though a fruitful mechanism for provoking professional reflection, seemed likely to do little to justify to those outside education any claim to professional status based on a body of specialised or esoteric knowledge.

Similarly the IT day, judged by the teachers as a successful initiative, gave clear indicators of professional altruism, and some parents and governors had a passing involvement on the actual day, but the style adopted by the teachers' planning group for this school-focused event seemed unlikely to foster professional prestige.

Sharing the event with pupils effectively deflected attention away from the professional skills which teachers were acquiring. Even more problematic was the outcome of the Art Day despite the paintings on display in the school hall. Once again the day was seen as a success by teachers, but those parents and visitors who ventured into the school during the day and at its conclusion saw pupils as the main beneficiaries. Without a formal evaluation process, teachers lacked a means of articulating the particular professional knowledge which they gained and, without the means of sharing this with a wider audience, even a stimulating professional development experience such as this would do little to promote the professional project in Larson's or Macdonald's terms.

This mismatch is an important piece of information and alerts us to a paradox which calls out for further analysis. If 'successful' professional learning and/or professional development seems unlikely to promote the professional project, that finding invites us to go back to the theory, to pursue additional and different sets of conditions from those which this thesis has documented. These might be in terms of different systems, different occupations, or different periods: comparative investigations could cast further light on this unexpected finding. This significant area for further research will be taken up below.

What, then, are the limitations of this line of analysis? There have been criticisms of the sociology of the professions, as noted in Chapter 3. Witz (1992, p.1), for instance, refers to the 'rather jaded concept of profession', but then uses it in conjunction with a feminist analysis to revitalise it. Macdonald (1995) criticises functional sociology from Durkheim's work on professional ethics on, and attributes the decline in interest in the professions with the major shift in theoretical orientation (particularly in American sociology) from the 1960s' structural functionalism, to a

'much more pluralistic scene'. In his view more fruitful analyses derive from the interactionist tradition and from seeing the professions as social actors, which leads him to build on Larson's (1977) conceptualisation.

Hoyle summarised criticisms of the idea of teaching as a profession, the first characterised by Kimball's (1988) view that the professional project is 'misguided because it is believed to be unattainable' (Hoyle, 1997, pp.49-50) since teachers will never achieve complete control over the relevant knowledge and practice. A second, more radical, view is that it is not in the interests of 'clients' for teaching to become professionalized. The third view, expressed by those influenced by Braverman (1974), is that teachers' proletarianization makes the notion of 'profession' inappropriate. Hoyle nevertheless concludes that 'despite the problems attaching to the idea, "profession" remains a key organizing concept which helps us to explore a number of key educational issues' (Hoyle, 1997, p.54) The exploration undertaken in this thesis aligns with his judgement.

In response, Harris (1997) offers a post-modern critique of Hoyle's analysis based on the 'degradation of labour' in teaching. From a proletarianization stance, she argues the inadequacy of 'traditional professionalism', putting the case for a 'new professionalism', to be 'grounded in individual rather than collective autonomy':

Any new conception of professionalism has to embrace and encompass the potential for individuals to manage discontinuous and fragmentary social change. The model of 'traditional' teacher professionalism is clearly not suited to this purpose. With its emphasis on collective autonomy and accountability, it allows little scope for individual professional response or behaviour. In contrast, the model of the "reflective practitioner" is one grounded in individual professional responsibility and therefore, it offers a more appropriate model of professionalism for the 1990s'.

Harris, 1997, p.61

I noted in Chapter 3 that 'professionalism' is a term which has been culturally shaped and reformulated or reconstructed in different contexts and argued that the

case for proletarianisation was interesting but not proved. The repeated reassessment and reworking of the concept of 'profession' has been the means through which the sociology of the professions has already evolved and continues to adapt to accommodate changing circumstances. That process has been taking place, whether or not these new formulations are dubbed a 'new professionalism'. The dissonance I noted between some of the findings of this thesis at macro- and micro-levels and the assumptions behind the concept of the professional project pinpoints important areas for further study. It does not announce the death of 'traditional professionalism', but rather its latest reincarnation.

INSET as a Path to Reflection-in-Action

The work of Schön was brought into the theoretical perspective not as the flagship of 'new professionalism' (Harris, 1997) but mainly to give access to microsociological aspects of professional development, professionalism and autonomy. It gave a basis for focusing on the largely unarticulated ways in which people learn in practice. The thesis has related the findings of each chapter in turn to his ideas. The findings relate also to Schön's more general macro-level commentary, since his observations neatly epitomise key features of the public perception of teaching during the period of study:

The crisis of confidence in the professions, and perhaps also the decline in professional self-image, seems to be rooted in a growing scepticism about professional effectiveness in the larger sense, a sceptical reassessment of the professions' actual contribution to society's well-being through the delivery of competent services based on special knowledge.

Schön, 1983, p.13

Analysis of the INSET co-ordinator's role (Chapter 6) offered a view of what was in 1998-92 becoming the 'professional concerned with professionalism'. Co-ordinators expressed themselves in terms which were noticeably free of jargon, but

the issues which they were raising and addressing in their daily lives had to do with giving people (and also departments, and schools) opportunities to develop professionally. They lamented the bureaucracy of the INSET system in which they were embroiled and were irritated by its administrative requirements; their interest lay in the fundamentals of professional development.

Cross-phase programmes indicated many moments where teachers questioned their own practice as well as that of others whom they were observing. Responding to queries from observers sometimes obliged people to articulate professional knowledge and skills which would usually be tacitly employed or taken for granted. This encouraged moves away from the assumptions of long-standing knowing-in-practice, towards reflection-in-action. Schön emphasised how the attendant discomfort can be of value:

Many practitioners, locked into a view of themselves as technical experts, find nothing in the world of practice to occasion reflection. They have become too skilful at techniques of selective inattention, junk categories, and situational control, techniques which they use to preserve the constancy of their knowledge-in-practice.

Schön, 1983, p.69

Reflection-in-action confronts such assumptions and cross-phase INSET demonstrably encouraged such reassessments.

The IT INSET in its planning and delivery also obliged teachers to confront their own assumptions about IT and its use in the classroom. The data showed that this confrontation was an uneasy and sometimes a partial one, but that they were engaged in jointly defining the problem and resolving situations of value conflict (Schön, 1987, p.6). As such the opportunity to think through the issues in this non-threatening way was a critical stage. This case gave the opportunity to follow Schön's (1987, p.13) recommendation to study carefully the practice of an 'unusually competent performer' as she integrated professional learning with existing expertise,

and her account made visible much tacit knowledge. The case study also exemplified the cumulative effect of separate professional development opportunities experienced by the individual practitioner.

Finally, in considering professional development for the teaching of art, I noted how the style of the event linked to Schön's conceptualisation of coaching, and to the reflective practicum (1987, pp 295-298). The provider's management of pupils and his attitude to learning processes (and products) provoked lively reflection and discussion among the teachers participating and afterwards. From its outset, this professional development activity was open, exploratory and allowed for risk-taking. Some of the professional learning taking place could be seen as reflection-in-action (for instance regarding the stamina of the youngest pupils and what might be expected of them). The comments (and practice) of teachers afterwards pointed to the continued effect of this INSET on professional reflection. Finally, the Art Day, in refreshing and renewing experienced teachers under particular pressure, drew on the 'professional artistry' which Schön says helps to avoid burnout.

Applying the notion of reflective practice has pinpointed some important aspects of professional development, by bringing to the forefront matters concerning the dichotomy between practice/action and theory/research. What then are the weaknesses or limits of this perspective? The prime criticism relates to a 'lack of clarity and consistency' associated with understandings of the 'reflective practitioner', despite the popularity of this idea:

The literature is replete with accounts of the reported success of reflective practitioners in changing and improving their own teaching... of teacher education programmes instilling reflective "practices" in their students... and of calls for further reform in pursuit of a reflective stance in teaching

Copeland *et al.*, 1993, p.347

These authors adroitly identify the problem of using Schön's ideas:

We are now in danger of being drawn beyond our knowledge base to the employment of practices that are founded only in assumptions, rhetoric, and belief in what “should be”...

There is little research evidence that relates reflectivity to other conditions in teachers’ professional lives.

An examination of the literature reveals a general assumption that reflection in professional behaviour is desirable but very little guidance as to how confidently to determine that reflective behaviour actually exists.

Copeland *et al.*, 1993, pp. 347-348

For the sociologist or social scientist engaged in research these are real limitations, and these authors propose twelve ‘critical attributes of reflective practice’ to inform a research agenda and teacher education programmes. The widespread use of Schön’s work is no doubt partly coloured by its focus on ‘practice’ and the fact that practice-related issues can so readily be related to Schön’s writings. But a research context calls for caution; the findings suggest that although it is possible to apply Schön’s writing with ease at the level of the individual, we may need to resist applying these findings more generally.

A related concern, mentioned in Chapter 3, is closely allied to this reservation: this body of work had a *developmental* purpose as against the research aims of Archer, Larson, and Macdonald. Where these authors offer sociological templates which can stand alone, Schön offers a much more individualistic and elusive framework. Proponents of the reflective practice approach would probably see this view as reflecting the familiar hierarchy which privileges conventional ‘technical/rational’ research against more complex practice situations, but my observation is not intended in a derogatory way. Indeed, the thesis demonstrates in the case studies a concern to reflect practitioners’ views and address issues which are rooted in practice.

FURTHER DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

This chapter takes a broad view of how the findings within the thesis relate to the more generic questions posed about INSET. There are however, some substantive findings which point to further research directions. The most sociologically interesting of these is the role which pupils have in contributing to teachers' professional development. National statements made no reference to such contributions, but the evidence of the case studies was that some types of school-focused INSET featured pupils as an important or integral part of the process. In cross-phase INSET, on the IT Day and in the case of INSET for art, teachers' reflection on classroom practice and on learning processes depended on the inclusion of pupils. Such experiences differ altogether from courses at a teachers' centre, or from sessions involving an external 'expert'. The whole issue of the ways in which pupils can facilitate teachers' learning, or the ways in which teachers chose to share their learning with pupils, is a promising area for further investigation. This is essentially a micro-level issue, as it would not be possible adequately to address this matter in macro-sociological terms.

A very different route could be in relation to recent work on learning processes. Schön was widely influential in the professional development field because he broke new ground by addressing the relation between theory and practice. Others have independently pursued these areas. I suggested in the thesis that it would be instructive to review the CPD of teachers against that of other professional groups, but we might look outwards from sociology to incorporate contemporary discussions which originated in psychology, anthropology and education. Lave and Wenger (1991) and Chaiklin and Lave (1993) present radical reformulations which stress how learning is essentially social, and involves participation in 'communities of practice'

along with complex processes of incorporating theory into everyday work practice. Such discussions would have been inappropriate in this thesis but by taking a wider perspective, they could have a place in future interdisciplinary research. As with any research, this thesis necessarily designated the study within a manageable field, defining the period, the location and scope of the empirical research in order to allow the analysis to proceed. Further research could set different parameters.

The thesis points to the potential value of future sociological research which could be comparative in three ways: over time, between occupations and between national systems. Issues have been identified which emerged during a particularly formative period, but a comparative study could up-date the themes of this research, posing similar questions in a different context. This would take account of political changes, for instance, in that a Labour rather than a Conservative government has been in place since 1997. It would allow for the differences and/or similarities in educational policy, reflect views on the General Teaching Council and note current attitudes to the teaching profession.

The second type of comparative study is between occupations. This would seek sociological explanations of how teachers' CPD relates to CPD in other professions. The teaching profession has tended to look inwards, but an attempt to understand better the ways in which teaching is similar or differs from other professional occupations would take account of how this depends on the structural arrangements within that profession (eg. market conditions and patterns of regulation). Larson's work has served as a basis for several such studies which are relevant here: on accountancy (Macdonald, 1995), engineering (Evetts, 1993), arts managers (DiMaggio, 1987) and nursing (Witz, 1992).

Finally, more cross-national and international research on the professional development of teachers would be instructive. This type of research can focus on depicting the situation as it currently is, or on exploring the varieties of educational change under way in different national systems. To be coherent, such research calls for a genuinely comparative theoretical base. That offered in Archer (1979) has been tested in both centralized and decentralized educational systems. Currently, in a widening European Union committed to raising standards in formal education and encouraging lifelong learning, teachers' professional development already deserves attention and may well become more important in time. Such research could assess the provision and effect of CPD in countries whose education systems differ widely, as in degrees of central control, or in the effect of different approaches to the relationship between initial training and INSET (taking up from Judge, Lemosse, Paine and Sedlak, 1994). It could explore teachers' professional development in different cultural contexts, as where contrasting employment and occupational structures pertain (Mortimore and Mortimore with Thomas, 1994).

The teaching profession is the key to educating a population with the ability to develop new skills and meet social and technological change. For this reason, teachers' CPD will remain important as the means of adapting to future requirements in educational policy and practice. Professional development relates to the quality of initial education and also to the increasing importance of lifelong learning. The evidence of this thesis is that INSET and professional development are no longer marginal but are now critical activities in the evolution of policy and practice.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW AGENDA

A INTERVIEW AGENDA USED WITH PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT TUTORS AND TEACHERS IN SOLIHULL SCHOOLS 1988-89

- 1 What is your view of the way that in-service training is operating, over this school year and the last (that is the 'GRIST period)?
- 2 On focus of our research is the identification of needs. How would you say teachers' individual needs for INSEt are identified in this school?
- 3 How are the school's needs identified?
- 4 We are also interested in school-focused INSET days. What is your view of these?

B INTERVIEW AGENDA USED WITH INSET CO-ORDINATORS IN WARWICKSHIRE SCHOOLS 1989-90

- 1 What is your general view of the way the LEATG Scheme - or GRIST- has been operating over the period of the last school year, and this one?
- 2 We are interested in how school-focused INSET is functioning so we are looking at both non-pupil days and anything else that you might see as INSET in school. What has your experience been here?
- 3 How do you begin the process of planning school-focused in-service training?
- 4 How is the training organised here?
- 5 Afterwards, how do you go about evaluating the INSET?
- 6 A key issue is the effect of INSET on classroom practice. Is there anything you would like to say about that?
- 7 What evidence do you look for in assessing whether INSET is having an effect in the classroom?
- 8 Is there anything particular about this school that affects school-focused INSET here?
- 9 What is the supply cover situation here?
- 10 Are there matters which you feel we should have covered but have not yet addressed?