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**An Analysis of the Representation of Teachers in
the British Press, 1990-2000**

by

Emily Jayne Zemke

**A thesis submitted for examination for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Education**

**University of Warwick, Institute of Education
March 2007**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is submitted to Warwick University for examination for the degree of PhD in Education. This thesis is the work of Emily Zemke and it does not involve collaborative research. It has not been submitted for a degree at another university. Material arising from work on the thesis has already been published and presented, as follows:

Clark, E. (2005a). *Grounded Theory and Interdisciplinary Studies: Methodological issues arising from a study of press representations*. In *proceedings of the Cultural Studies Seminar Series*. New York, October 24. Columbia University: Teachers College.

Clark, E. (2005b). *Role models and Class Warriors: Issues of gender, ethnicity and class in newspaper representations of teachers*. In *proceedings of the first annual Cultural Studies Matters conference*. New York, April 22. Columbia University: Teachers College.

Clark, E. (2005c). *The Representation of Teachers in the British Press*. In *proceedings of Education for All, a History of Education Society Conference*. Birmingham, December 2. University of Birmingham.

Clark, E. (2005d). 'Weed Out the Dunces': representations of teachers in the British press. [online]. (URL <http://www.education-line@leeds.ac.uk>). *education-line*. (Date posted: October 2005).

Zemke, E. (forthcoming). Embracing Complexity: Findings from a Comparative Analysis of Representations of Teachers in the British Press and Research Literature. *Education Research & Perspectives*, Vol 33 (1).

Zemke, E. (forthcoming). Adopting an Outsider's Perspective: A Comparative Analysis of Representations of Teachers in the British Press and Educational Literature. In Frymer, B., Broughton, J., Carlin, M. & Vasudevan, L., eds. *Cultural Studies Matters*. New York: Lexington.

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes an analysis of the representations of teachers in the British press during the 1990s. The research topic was a matter of personal interest to the researcher but an extensive review of educational literature revealed it to also have potential theoretical value. Analysis of the literature showed that these representations could be described conceptually according to the position of teachers' characteristics within two continua: one relating to commonality and contradiction, the other to continuity and change. These continua were used to predict the potential theoretical value of this study and to form the basis of four research questions.

The study involved an empirical examination of 900 newspapers using a modified version of grounded theory. The rationale for this approach was based on precedents set by philosophy on the nature of meaning and studies on the process of communication. The examination yielded findings in the form of eight key concepts for the teacher, namely: the employee, symbol, service provider, intermediary, school functionary, classroom practitioner, source and person. The continua were applied to these findings and re-defined so as to contribute to theory. Using the continua, a comparison was drawn between the representation of teachers in the press and the literature.

The comparative analysis revealed ways for research to develop a more comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of how the teacher is represented in different cultural contexts, mediums and timeframes. Using different foci and emphases research could build on the contributions made by this study. The methodology was evaluated, raising suggestions for using modified grounded theory in further research on the representation of teachers.

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
GTC	General Teaching Council
NUT	National Union of Teachers
TTA	Teacher Training Agency

Working definitions used in this thesis

Code	A unit of analysis applied to raw data
Node	The name given to a code in Nvivo
Tree	A framework for grouping codes of similar meaning hierarchically in Nvivo
Tree name	The title given to a tree of codes
Branch	The subdivision of a tree into a smaller group
Metaphor	A classification with dual or multiple meanings
Concept	A term embodying complex or abstract idea(s)

Formatting styles used in this thesis

Words in bold	Code names
WORDS IN SMALL CAPS	One of the eight key concepts arising from data analysis
<i>Block quotes in Italics</i>	Text lifted from memos taken during study

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In his presidential address to the British Educational Research Association, Bassey (1991) argued that conversations about education are inevitably loaded with beliefs and ideologies about social justice and what constitutes worthwhile and legitimate knowledge. The motivation for this analysis of representations of teachers in the British press came from personal interest in the subject of teachers and press representation so the researcher reflected carefully on the assumptions, beliefs and ideologies underpinning the enterprise. This chapter introduces the research topic and considers the meanings already attributed by the researcher to teachers, to representation, to the press, and to the 1990s. A second section outlines the structure of this thesis.

1.1 The Research Topic

1.1.1 The meaning of teacher

The motivation for this study came from my experiences with teachers and also my experiences of representing them in the press. At the outset of this project my understanding of the British education system was

derived from 18 years' participation in schools and universities in England and Wales as well as conversations with my mother, a state school teacher of nearly 30 years. Teachers were to me a form of strict authority but also of friendship, people with the ability to ignite my enthusiasm and also to disappoint and curtail it. My understanding grew and changed during my four years as an education journalist in London. Teachers were a subject I wrote about daily and people whom I talked to and interviewed several times a week. They became more interesting, more human and rarely, if ever, intimidating. However, it was also uncommon that the experiences, needs and concerns raised by my interviewees were reflected accurately in published articles. My stories were angled, edited and published by others to fit in with specific topical issues. When I took on the editorship of a magazine for London teachers I learned that commercial gains were rarely the spoils of honest and informative reporting. Teachers seemed to me vulnerable in the world of news media, a hypothesis drawn from conversations with them and the demands of my work. This vulnerability was a stark contrast to my memories of school and so it was perhaps partly from nostalgia that my interest developed. However, my understanding, intimately bound up with my knowledge of the commercial press, also rested on a number of assumptions: a sense that teachers were being misrepresented and that there was an injustice in this; that inaccurate representations were problematic for teachers; and, that perhaps there was a fairer way of portraying them.

The work of Mitchell, Weber & O'Reilly-Scanlon (2005) reflected some of my thoughts.

Too many outsiders – film makers, novelists, politicians – have made it their business to represent teachers and schools, and too rarely have we as teachers, as insiders, made it our business to 'write back' to the colonists of teachers' experiences.
(Mitchell, Weber & O'Reilly-Scanlon, 2005 p.2)

They claimed that the meaning of teacher in social and cultural spheres is imposed on teachers, taking no account of their actual experiences. They called for further exploration of what *being* a teacher actually means. In the earlier research of Weber & Mitchell (1995), the dialectic of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' was used constructively. They worked with teachers in England and Canada to understand how their self-perceptions compared with meanings residing in Hollywood movies and the Barbie Doll. However, Weber & Mitchell's emphatic focus on 'insiders' resulted in the narrow conceptualisation of 'outsiders'. They only considered the different possible impacts of two popular cultural texts, neither accounting for the effects of daily media or the possibility of constantly changing interpretations of meaning. While the study clarified what *being* a teacher means, other questions were raised about what the 'teacher' means in the first place, in other words, the conceptual arena within which teachers' self-perception occurs. To address the issue would

require knowledge of their socio-cultural as well as personal identities, in other words, a more sophisticated knowledge of the 'outsiders'.

Given the many different meanings attributed to teachers during my careers in education and journalism, and the potentially infinite number of possible meanings available for them, my objective was not to seek definition. Nor was it simply to validate my hunch that teachers might be inaccurately or unfairly represented, since this seemed to be a narrow and unfulfilling goal. It was rather to explore the possibilities for what 'teacher' might mean in the socio-cultural domain and how these meanings might inform educational research and expose any assumptions underlying conceptualisations. This would require the elimination, or at least limitation, of my own assumptions about the meaning of teachers, the press and 'outsiders'/insiders'. How this might be achieved had yet to be explored, but for the moment the teacher was acknowledged to be a complex concept with no single meaning. It was initially decided that the word 'teacher' should be written in single quotation marks throughout the thesis to highlight the uncertainty of its meaning.

1.1.2 The meaning of representation

Barthes (1991) described representation as follows:

Representation is not directly defined by imitation: even if we were to get rid of the notions of 'reality' and 'verisimilitude' and 'copy', there would still be 'representation' so long as a subject (author, reader, spectator, observer) directed his gaze towards a horizon and there projected the base of a triangle of which his eye (or his mind) would be the apex. (p.90)

To think of representation as a process of meaning construction specific to each and every author and reader made it a daunting prospect for exploration. There would be a potentially infinite number of meanings exchanged and negotiated around the subject of teachers. Given that my goal was to understand meanings existing in the social/cultural domain, there was less to be gained from thinking of representation as a process than there was to thinking of it as a form. Here theory on visual representation suggested a way forward, and Berger (1972) was a key point of reference:

An image is a sight which has been recreated or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the

place and time in which it first made its appearance
and preserved – for a few moments or a few centuries.
Every image embodies a way of seeing. (pp 9-10)

The notion of representations as forms of observable phenomena gave some credibility to my aim of finding meaning in the products rather than the processes of texts. However, the notion of 'image' was a little too specific. More useful than the reliance on visual manifestation was Berger's vaguer idea of 'appearance', simply meaning the detachment and preservation of meaning.

The task of making this detachment, in other words, of extracting 'appearances' from longer communicative texts, would require further investigation. Meanwhile, the initial decision to refer to the concept 'teacher' in single quotation marks during this thesis was revoked. To mark it suggested it might have a nominal value at a general level, irrespective of its presentation and interpretation.

1.1.3 The relevance of the 1990s

If representations are meanings of context-specific value, the potential value of the findings would be in relation to this context. Therefore, the choice of press and the time in history for study required careful consideration. Gardner & Cunningham (1998) claimed that theory benefits from research conducted at times of change, specifically policy reforms:

Policy change has the capacity to present practitioners with an opportunity for professional reflection and introspection. (p. 232).

The agenda of these historians was to understand the pressures of change by viewing them against the background of a longer historical perspective. History could contribute to policy, they argued, by illuminating how it might have been more successful.

The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) was the most significant recent policy change in Britain in terms of its breadth and influence. However, my goal was to explore a medium rather than a policy, so, while the rationale for studying a time of change made sense, it was more relevant to look at the conceptualisation of teachers outside of specific events. Therefore, my intention was to conduct an empirical study of newspapers and then make the findings available for historians to situate within their longer narratives. A substantial period needed to be covered in order to show a comprehensive exploration of the medium over time and across, rather than within, specific policy issues. The complete decade of the 1990s was chosen because it followed the ERA and was likely to provide insights for researchers of this policy as well as more longitudinal studies. Given the time restrictions of a three-year project a larger number of years would have negatively impacted on the size of the newspaper sample.

1.1.4 The initial research question

The research focus was thus rooted in an understanding of teacher as a subject/concept with multiple meanings, and of representation as 'appearances' of meaning. The press was chosen as a source to illuminate teachers' social and cultural context, and the 1990s for their significance in education history and policy. The project therefore began with an overarching preliminary research question: 'How were teachers represented in the British press during the 1990s?'

It was my goal to challenge assumptions surrounding talk of teachers. However, in my proposed research question there were already a number of assumptions. It implied that the meaning of teachers needed to be explored and that new meanings could benefit existing literature and theory. However, the potential value could only be legitimately claimed with a thorough knowledge of educational literature. Nor could it be predicted that the findings would have any direct relevance or applicability, mediated or unmediated by other theory, for individual teachers. There was as yet little evidence to suggest that press representation of teachers was widely recognised as problematic. The consequence of these limitations was that the exact potential and beneficiaries of the project were not obvious at its outset. These would largely depend upon the findings of a literature review and data collection. It was like starting with a blank canvas and constructing pictures of what being a teacher might mean in different contexts. The

initial research question provided me with a platform free of definition, for launching an exploration of a broad, relatively unknown field.

1.2 An Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is designed to describe how my study addressed the research topic and to what benefit. The meaning of the research topic is introduced above. Chapter Two, shows how the topic was explored through the review of literature on the subject of teachers. An analysis of the representations reveals underlying patterns of emphasis, which are described conceptually in the form of two continua. These are used to predict the potential theoretical value of the study and subsequently the initial research question is broken down into four more finely-grained questions. In Chapter Three, an explanation is given of the research methodology. The initial research question was used as the starting point for developing a rationale and epistemology for the project design and data collection. The influences of philosophy on the nature of meaning and studies on the process of communication are also described, prompting further consideration of the research perspective and how the researcher was to identify representations of the teacher. At the end of the chapter the research questions are reconsidered so as to maximise the potential theoretical value of the data. The continua are retained but re-defined. Further details on the development of the research methods are provided in the Appendix to make it explicit and transparent for readers. Chapter Four illustrates the outcomes of the study of 900

newspapers. The concepts discussed are specific to the newspapers and were not influenced by the findings or the literature review. Many examples are provided to show the relationship between the findings and the raw data. At the end of this description, the continua are applied to the findings to break down the analysis into parts comparable with the literature. Chapter Five brings the representations in the press and in the literature together for comparison. It concludes with a discussion of the implications of this study for existing and further research on the representation of teachers. The research methodology is subjected to critical scrutiny in Chapter Six in order to address questions about the validity and reliability of the project. Then, on the basis of this assessment, the implications of using this methodology are discussed and recommendations are made for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the terms 'teacher' and 'representation' and asked the initial research question, 'How were teachers represented in the press during the 1990s?' However, there was already in existence a large canon of work touching on the subject of teachers and a smaller but still substantial collection on teacher representation.

A large proportion of the more recent literature appeared to be on primary school teachers, and historical literature predominantly focused on elementary level teachers. However, researchers otherwise located teachers within a wide spectrum of contexts including specific historical events, political reforms, curricula subject areas, age groups, countries, school systems and sectors. The location and construction of the teacher concept was affected by the field of research, such as history, policy analysis and sociology. They were also dependent on the approach taken to research in terms of epistemological and methodological commitments. However, the objective of this project was to understand the subject of teachers and so different fields and approaches, while relevant, do not provide a framework for this chapter. Instead it is organised around what appeared to be the distinguishing features of teachers, in all their variety and complexity, with insights into fields and approaches provided where they help explain and explore these projections.

This chapter describes the five distinguishing features of teachers identified in the research literature. First 'Lives: group and individual characteristics' considers who teachers are in terms of the makeup of the teaching population and the personal attributes of individuals. Secondly, 'Work: teaching practice and systems' explores what teachers do, drawing on literature which reflects on the one hand the rational and systematic nature of their work and on the other hand, its personal and emotional dimensions. Thirdly, 'Profile: public and professional discourses' describes how teachers' identity is configured around interests in the public arena and standards within the conceptual arena of professionalism. Fourthly, 'Position: state relations, issues of power and control' brings together research perspectives on the role of teachers in political and economic spheres and their responsibilities in schools and classrooms. Fifthly, 'Images: constructions in the media and culture' considers how and why teachers' identity is socially constructed through symbolic and pluralistic, critical and empowering media representations.

There are overlaps, movements and gaps within and between the subdivisions which reflect the attempt in this review to give some direction and structure to the narrative without simplifying or compromising the complexity and detail within and between studies. The chapter concludes with the formation of research questions based on the gaps and emphases arising in the literature review.

2.1 Teachers in the Literature

2.1.1 Lives: group and individual characteristics

The teaching population

Education historians found broad contextual variables such as social trends, population statistics and salary changes to have shaped and influenced teachers' identity (Bergen 1982; Copelman 1996; Dale 1982; Rich and Gosden cited in Robinson 2004a; Simon 1991; Stewart, Meier & Englund 1989; Tropp 1957; Widdowson 1986). One influential historian with this perspective was Bergen. He drew on employment statistics and parliamentary papers to analyse how the recruitment of elementary teachers in England and Wales at the end of the nineteenth century was a function of class control. He found that the teaching population at that time was largely comprised of the upper-working class and lower-middle class:

It would be difficult to overemphasize the degree to which elementary education in England in the nineteenth century constituted an imposition of the middle class on the working class. (Bergen, 1982, p. 10)

Bergen claimed that although elementary teaching was considered a means of upward mobility by the working classes, the middle class regarded it as lowly. This reflected both on the type of people coming into teaching and the difference between those who went into elementary schooling and those entering the more elitist secondary school institutions. Bergen argued that the introduction of a unitary system in 1902 might have given working-class elementary teachers and students access to secondary schools and undermined the elitist structures. That the system remained divided meant that there could be no single, unified and closed profession and therefore teachers were denied any claim to a specialist knowledge base or control of the market, which would have raised their status. This segregation may also have perpetuated the over-supply of teachers in working-class institutions rendering them more expendable than if demand had outstripped supply. With this rationale, Bergen understood the teaching population to have been largely determined by the ruling elite. His sociological profile of elementary teaching highlighted the relevance of class and economic structures to constructions of teacher identity. It also used these structures to categorise the different social identities of elementary and secondary school teachers.

Bergen's work differed from the earlier work of Tropp (1957) for its sensitivity to issues of gender. Tropp drew on official government, union and published records to describe the rise of teachers' social status during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His perspective, as Widdowson (1986) described it, referred largely to male status and male

standards of success, such as elections to parliamentary office. In analyses of salary rates and pay structures Bergen and others found evidence of a feminised profession and gender inequalities (Apple 1985; Bergen 1982; Simon 1991). Apple (1985) found that from 1880 women elementary school teachers in the UK outnumbered men and by 1900 three-quarters of teachers were women. Women were paid two-thirds of men's salaries until 1935 so it made economic sense for the state to recruit them. Apple noticed similar patterns in the US, concluding:

It is this very combination of patriarchal relations and economic pressures that continues to hold sway in teaching even to this day. (Apple, 1985, p. 467)

Drawing on more recent demographic statistics, Evetts (1986) was able to identify and describe the considerable pressures facing women required to balance their teaching careers with domestic chores. Her examination of career cards from 1962 onwards, showed that women were far more likely than men to take career breaks for reasons such as marriage, family life, children and caring for elderly relatives. Breaks appeared to impact significantly on their chance of career achievements.

These studies on the teaching population showed a general understanding of teachers' fluctuating status during long periods of history. The assimilation of data on employment, recruitment and demographics linked social structures with perceptions of suitability for teaching, and subsequently issues of equality, equity and social justice.

Another example of this was the work of Stewart, Meier & Englund (1989), who, with the theory that black teachers positively affect black students' performance, used statistics to explain changing populations of black teachers in US urban school districts between 1968 and 1986. They predicted that affirmative action plans would ensure fairer redistribution of black teachers across the US. However, despite the insights afforded by studies like those above, others highlighted the limitations of research claiming objective status for variables relating to teachers' lives. For instance, debates around the cause and effect of feminism on teaching showed that statistics do not illustrate the complexity of real-life situations (Copelman 1996; Steedman 1992; Widdowson 1986). In contrast to Bergen's thesis, Steedman argued that women recruits into teaching during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not simply the products of social engineering, but that they were forging their own paths to liberation through work. In her essay on the process of historical writing she reflected that her own recollection of teaching was an emotional one; she was driven by socialist values, commitment to and love for children. This perspective was interesting for the challenge it presented to assumed links between class and gender struggles. It highlighted the potential contribution of subjective opinion to historical narratives. Data on employment and recruitment had different implications when used in conjunction with teachers' own opinions and motivations. Copelman (1996) argued that, contrary to expectations, women teachers at the turn of the nineteenth century did not always continue working after marriage because they were exploited or needy. Her empirical study of married

women teachers in London found that work was a preference made by some for reasons of lifestyle. Her attempt to differentiate between private and state, urban and rural, church and secular schools, signalled variations unaccounted for by Bergen but essential to understanding teachers' choices and motivations. Another example was Widdowson (1986) who explored the experiences and attitudes of working and lower-middle-class women teachers in London during the late nineteenth century. She revealed that official documentation on the marriage bar did not reflect the variable practice in its implementation. Nor did it reflect the financial insecurity experienced by aspiring trainees, which Widdowson ascertained from recollections of the former teachers made in interviews and their written documents. She proposed further research into the difference between urban and rural experiences. Also using interview and life history Casey (1993) challenged existing narratives on racial struggles. She analysed transcripts from 33 black women teachers in the US, with the conclusion that their representation as statistics in public policy during the 1980s had the effect of objectifying them. She argued that:

The search for a coherent discourse must begin by rejecting the assumption that black women teachers necessarily have anything in common, for the homogeneity routinely attributed to black women is, in fact, created by a white gaze (Casey, 1993, p 111).

This was far removed from the earlier work of Stewart, Meier & Englund (1989) and illustrated an emphasis in educational research on the individual teacher, the complexity of their discourse, and their freedoms of thought and action.

Explorations of teacher training and changes in training provision also afforded insights into the role played by teachers in choosing and determining their own careers (Gardner 1995; Gardner & Cunningham 1998; Robinson 2004a, 2004b). Gardner & Cunningham argued:

The story of the successive adjustments made by the original training colleges during the twentieth century is an epitome of the expansion, rationalisation and democratisation of the entire structure of national education during these years. (Gardner & Cunningham, 1998, p. 237)

The issue of training provided insights into teachers' intellectual and academic potential, their relationships with training providers and their input and control over their own and pupils' learning. Gardner (1995) interviewed 44 teachers born between 1888 and 1914 to understand their perceptions of training provision in the twentieth century. Most chose to train because of the personal benefits of college experience and this element of choice was important to them. In the meantime, the establishment of training colleges was perceived differently by rural and urban teachers and training was experienced differently by elementary

and secondary teachers. Gardner showed how responses to national policy varied according to a teacher's school sector, stage and environment, a point given considerably less attention in studies focussed solely on the structures of provision. The perspectives provided by life history and oral history, for their dependence on memory and emotion, may have provided only a partial understanding of the widespread impact of training reforms. The interviews undertaken by Gardner were far removed from the context under scrutiny and the immediate influences and pressures involved. However, the potential methodological problems of this type of research were well rehearsed and Gardner's findings were later extended and challenged with more interviews (Gardner 1998) and documentary analysis (Cunningham 2002; Gardner & Cunningham 1998, 2004).

The limitations of objective and subjective narrative, apparent in earlier examples, were confronted by Robinson (2004b). She combined both when she compared and contrasted the experiences of women teachers with analyses of statistical representations. She drew on empirical data taken from documentary analysis to uncover how trainee elementary teachers viewed their careers. Robinson investigated the practices of 175 pupil-teacher centres, more than half the number in existence before the Conservative Government scrapped them in the 1902 Education Act. An occupational-based class analysis of these centres revealed that most teachers at the turn of the twentieth century were drawn from the upper-working or lower-middle classes. Some could not afford to go on to training college, others were held back by familial

and domestic duties. The training regime for women was different than for men, expectations were higher and criticism more severe. It emphasised personal qualities such as diligence, discipline, commitment, self-sacrifice and aptitude over and above intellectual or practical ability. However, training allowed for women to broaden their cultural and social horizons, and for some it offered a liberating alternative to marriage. The opportunities it presented were not captured by recruitment statistics on class and gender.

The above comparison demonstrated how the teaching population could be constructed as a homogeneous or heterogeneous group. However, the latter, with its connotations of individual choice, personal characteristics and personalities, relied on elusive concepts which sometimes provided a difficult basis from which to begin building theory.

Personal and social identities

Research also explored the origin of teachers' identities in social discourses, conventions and ideologies (Acker 1995; Biklen 1987, 1995; Copelman 1996; Dillabough 1999; Epstein 1986; Grumet 1988; Miller 1996; Nias 1989; Robinson 2003, 2004b). Similar to some of those mentioned above, these explorations commonly acknowledged the significant impact on teacher identity of gender inequalities. Imagery of motherhood and domesticity was strong in these discussions (Acker 1995; Biklen 1987, 1995; Evett cited in Campbell & Neill 1994b; Clandinin 1995; Epstein 1986; Grumet 1988; Nias 1989; Steedman 1985).

Biklen (1995) argued that the same priorities and structures existed in teaching as in the organisation of the family unit and the job of motherhood. She combined an historical study of nineteenth century fiction and autobiographies with an observation of teachers' work in US schools during the 1980s. Her findings suggested that elementary teaching was a vehicle for emancipation because it enabled women's upward mobility, but that it was at the same time firmly embedded in gender discourse. Biklen theorised that patriarchy perpetuates a dialogue of mistrust and hostility between teachers and mothers in order to maintain a system of gender inequalities and capitalist values which advantage the ruling elite. Miller (1996) added that inequality also continues for reasons of nostalgia and fear of change. Her study was an interesting example for its subjective dimension. Throughout her exploration of fiction, memoirs and histories written by teachers in England in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, she told, in autobiographical style, a narrative of her own teaching experiences. She also urged other women teachers to reflect on their work through autobiographies and untangle the patriarchal discourse in their own life stories. Her story of love and self-sacrifice drew parallels with Steedman's (1985) earlier semi-autobiographical work. This medium enabled previously 'silenced voices' (Goodson & Sikes 2001) to find expression. Mitchell, Weber & O'Reilly-Scanlon (2005) urged teachers towards self-study with increasingly creative forms such as linguistic and artistic enquiry, memory and life history. However, elsewhere there were concerns that self-expression was always and inevitably political,

reductive, emotional and offered few practical solutions (Swindells 1995; Weiler 1999; Woods 1990). An interesting comparison with autobiography existed in the more scientific approach taken by Grumet (1988). She was interested not in the origins but in the implications of gender consciousness, combining a feminist perspective with psychoanalysis and phenomenology in her study of curriculum formation in American public schools. She suggested that following industrialisation and the centralisation of education teaching was a logical preference for women because there were fewer places for them in factories and more places in schools. In addition, mothers were able and willing to bridge the gap for children between home and public life, which she gave as evidence that women internalised the institutions of patriarchy and partook in their perpetuation.

There were numerous ways of representing the feminine characteristic of teachers and this was also true when interpreting 'feminism' as a discourse or logic applied to teaching. Copelman's (1996) history of nineteenth century women teachers in London found that they sprang from comfortable working- or lower-middle-class families that did not rigidly divide the world into male and female spheres. They already challenged gender and class boundaries in the creative process of work, in their relationships with parents and their social activities. Therefore, the suffragette movement, derived from Victorian middle-class values, was not especially relevant to women teachers besides the opportunity it gave them for increased power and recognition. Copelman's study highlighted the limitations of 'feminism' as explanation for changes in teaching. It

emphasised the complexity and ambiguity of class issues in relation to gender, and the difficulties arising from generalisations on either front. Another study which challenged assumptions of this nature was conducted by Robinson (2003). Her work demonstrated the susceptibility of interpretations of femininity to subjective and revisionist bias. She examined publications of a teachers' magazine from 1911 to 1935, which, according to established opinion undermined femininity. She found evidence in autobiographies that, to the contrary, the publication contributed to the professional development of women teachers at that time; that it dispelled old schoolmarm stereotypes and embraced new constructions of femininity which counteracted negative myths. The use of a cultural text enabled her to compare socially constructed meanings with personal opinions. It also recognised the complexity of continuous and changing ideologies in the socio-cultural domain.

The different approaches to understanding teachers' lives showed their identity to be a complex, ambiguous and controversial issue for exploration. However, it also provided a useful meeting point for exploring the interplay of teachers' beliefs and opinions, their working contexts and wider society. Goodson (1992) claimed that the value of research depends partly upon the researcher's knowledge of the social and sociological context. Indeed, there were illuminating explorations of teachers' identities within the broader context of teaching politics and culture (Dillabough 1999; Steedman 1985, Wells & Cunningham 1995, Walkerdine 1986). Cunningham (2001) promoted the use of multiple sources and perspectives in historical representations, a process called

prosopography. In his examination of progressivism he synthesised historiography, networks, structures and biographies to explore rather than define its possible meanings:

[to ...] provide an alternative lens, and a framework within which component parts could be endlessly rearranged as we continue to revisit and research the complexities and contradictions of progressivist thought and progressive educational practice (Cunningham, 2001, p.451)

These studies appeared illuminating for their variety and insight on broad and specific issues. As a collection they emphasised heterogeneity and the value of multiple perspectives within the large ongoing prosopography of historical endeavour.

2.1.2 Work: teaching practice and systems

Prescription and interpretation

Different perspectives on the activity of teaching also had repercussions for the way teachers were perceived. Some research explored teaching according to the philosophical paradigms which inform technique, methods and approaches (Alexander 1988; Mortimore and Compayne cited in Robinson 2004a; Walkerdine 1986). Alexander (1988) believed

teaching to have been affected in recent years by seven pedagogical ideologies which he identified as: Elementary, Progressive, Developmental, Behavioural, Classical Humanist, Social Imperatives (adaptive/utilitarian) and Social Imperatives (reformist/egalitarian). Alexander theorised that ideologies such as these characterise a public language of education which differs from the actual experiences in the classroom. Steedman (1985; 1992) combined a historiography on the development of primary school pedagogy with her own experiences. In doing so, she described the process of teaching as requiring the natural proclivity to care, similar to the maternal role. However, she claimed that official ideologies arising from the work of Froebel and Pestalozzi were corrupting the notions of mothering and nurture in teaching, placing impossible pressure on teachers to somehow compensate working-class children for their inadequate home lives. Both Alexander and Steedman described the anxiety and guilt felt by teachers trying to assimilate the expectations of established ideologies with their daily experiences in the classroom. They suggested that teachers internalise meanings, regardless of their practical value, on a personal level. This highlighted the sensitivity of teachers and the complexity of the relationship between the primary school teacher and the teaching context. However, while Steedman and Alexander spoke authoritatively of the content of public and official languages, they provided no clarity on the origin or function of these supposedly general social phenomena.

There were several reasons for challenging the idea of a public language and dominant ideologies in education. One was its conceptual

superficiality. Walkerdine (1986) deconstructed the pedagogical ideology of the 1960s. She was of the view that the 'progressive' model of teaching at that time was underpinned by political strategy. She claimed that it used a discourse of naturalism which rested on the image of the classroom as an ideal environment for fostering children's natural abilities. This, she said, denied the influence of power structures, poverty and pain, consequently rendering the powerless invisible.

Women teachers became caught, trapped inside a concept of nurturance which held them responsible for the freeing of each little individual and therefore for the management of an idealist dream, an impossible fiction. (Walkerdine, 1986, p. 55)

The meaning of 'progressivism' was contested in research, but Walkerdine's study was valuable for representing how gender consciousness was a personal and ideological issue for teachers. The liberalism she associated with child-centred pedagogy she saw recurring in different rhetorical forms throughout education history. Her understanding of continuity and change in beliefs and values preceding and surrounding educational change seemed more illuminating than the sequential yet separate templates of ideology used by Alexander.

Another reason for abandoning the paradigmatic approach to pedagogical understanding was that it underestimated the human element of teaching and neglected the possibility of independently

functioning teachers. There was substantial support for the theory that representations of the general technical levels of teaching do not account for the idiosyncratic and context-specific nature of teachers' work (Elliott 1980; Helsby 1995; Johnston 1989; McIntyre; 1980; Ozga & Lawn 1981; Simco and Richards cited in Robinson 2004a; Weems 2003). Ball & Goodson (1985) saw teaching as a human activity, occurring within social systems and involving biological and psychological factors. Sikes (1985) furthered their thesis with the notion that at different ages and stages of their careers, teachers use and develop different coping strategies for balancing learning objectives, disciplinary issues and pupils' demands. Another study by Acker (1995) warned that the significance of teaching context should not be under-estimated. From an ethnographic investigation of two British primary schools in the 1990s, she concluded that teachers should not be seen "simply as unthinking conduits of child-centred ideology" (p.33). Instead, she believed, that teachers respond to children in whatever ways work and with no obvious end point.

These insights found it limiting to describe teaching in terms of political or philosophical paradigms, formations and movements. An alternative approach to understanding was demonstrated by Robinson (2004a), who embraced rather than denied the complexity of pedagogical philosophy through an exploration of the relationship between theory and practice in teaching. She deconstructed some of the concepts, ideals and metaphors used in association with teaching, taking into consideration a comprehensive range of source materials from the turn of the nineteenth century including official publications and unpublished local archive

material. She looked in detail at how the balance of theory and practice in teaching aligned with perceptions of teachers' power and status. The concepts of art, craft and science for teaching were found to exist interdependently in the data. The idea of teaching as art, Robinson noted, referred only to practical experience and suggested a dynamic and 'live' context in which teachers may work creatively and individually. The concept of craft was closely aligned but suggested that mastery was more than technique and also involved membership of a craft group. The science of teaching broadly referred to theory in terms of methodical rules and principles. These definitions, Robinson argued, were evidence of a move to locate teaching within a scientific framework, which ran in parallel with moves to increase teachers' status.

In making problematic some of the concepts associated with teaching, Robinson exposed some of the assumptions and generalisations inherent in the concept of pedagogy, such as art, craft, science, practitioner, novice and expert. She also differentiated between the long running ideals and principles which informed teacher training, and the changing priorities arising from historical and political events. In the work of Gosden and Rich (cited in Robinson 2004a) it appeared that critical judgements of the prescriptive nature of teacher training provision were long established. In response, Robinson explored the complexity of provision during the last 150 years, using the concepts of art, craft and science. Through oral history interviews with former teachers and students, she found that the relationship between what she termed the 'novice' trainee and the 'expert practitioner', were important in the

development of professional conscience and identity. She drew parallels with the role of the Advanced Skills Teacher, established in schools at the turn of the twenty-first century. An emphasis on science had evolved through the changing relationship of training colleges with higher education institutes and through philosophical and psychological debates on the nature and purpose of pedagogy. In essence, principles relating to the ideal teacher were epitomised for Robinson in the notion of 'power to teach', a concept far removed from the work of Alexander. It involved a combination of personal and practical qualities which had resonance in historical and current models of practice.

The possibilities and potentials of prescriptive training and of interpretative practice were likely to be especially interesting points for investigation during the 1990s given the establishment of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in 1994. A project called *Modes of Teacher Education* (Barton et al. 1994) argued that recent changes in teacher training, and the division of practical and theoretical aspects that it entailed, were intended to make teachers more amenable to government ideologies. The stipulation of specific craft skills, it was predicted, would serve to restrict teachers and promote individualism. The study afforded interesting insights into the way that access to theory might be denied or enabled by government and recent changes leading up to the establishment of the TTA. However, by failing to address how this influence occurred and how it was made legitimate and justifiable to teachers, it verged on conspiracy theory. Nor did it seek to understand

the possible connotations of craft as a concept or teachers' engagement with the political reforms.

Personal and emotional dimensions

Much of the literature above emphasised the demands made of teachers in terms of qualities and abilities. Another common theme was how teachers' work involved managing and responding to these expectations (Biklen 1987, 1995; Britzman 2003; Clandinin 1989; Grumet 1988; Miller 1996; Nias 1989; Steedman 1985, 1992). Britzman (2003) hypothesised that if teachers could recognise teaching to be a series of personal experiences, they would be better able to cope with the high demands and expectations of their careers. Her critical observations of teacher trainees in America showed that they felt under impossible pressure to be flawless and authoritative experts by the time they entered school. To move forward she advised teachers to share in and develop a more sympathetic language around the issues of learning and training, mistakes and experiences.

The value in using personal and biographical data of classroom teachers in educational study was recognised by Clandinin (1989). She conducted a two-year project involving participant observation and interviews with two American elementary school teachers in 1981-2. She combined an ethnographic approach with phenomenology in order that some of the morals and emotions shaping and organising the teachers' work could be apprehended. She applied the phrase 'personal practical

knowledge' to the use of individual experience and memories in classroom practice. Clandinin's work was particularly illuminating for its use of the term 'image'. She provided the following explanation:

Image is a personal, meta-level, organising concept in personal practical knowledge in that it embodies a person's experience, finds expression in practice; and is the perspective from which new experience is taken.
(Clandinin, 1986, p.166)

Clandinin saw images, not as objective and propositional concepts, but as reflections of individual human experience which are tentative and constantly changing. She drew on the correspondence theory of language (Lackoff & Johnson 1980; Taylor 1984), which held that images in language capture something of the complex, relative and multidimensional meanings individuals make of their experiences. The possibility of deriving meanings from personal images highlighted the emotional and natural aspects of teaching. However, Clandinin's focus was limited by its specificity. In one example she related a bad experience in high school with one teacher's desire for intimate relationships with pupils and the domestic arrangement of her classroom. The hypothesis emphasised personal experience to the exclusion of other factors. It assumed that images and their power could be defined in terms of origin and function. An image of domesticity originating in a school experience several years previously was supposedly serving an active

purpose in the present. The idea that past experiences could “crystalize” (Clandinin, 1985 p. 367) in the form of images seemed premeditated and convenient, and neglected the possibility of memories being affected by the passage of time. The influence of broader contextual factors such as the media, imagination, policy, friends and peers, was also neglected. A more holistic representation would have taken account of other influences besides those consciously known to the teacher and researcher. In addition, the meanings Clandinin sought from images were reductive. Her narrative obscured the potential of simultaneous, contradictory and oppositional meanings, thereby recalling Elbaz’s (1991) criticism of writers who represent complex data simplistically for the purpose of a tidy narrative. Although Clandinin’s images and metaphors were fertile sites for the exploration of socially constructed meanings, the very personal process of interpretation complicated her effort to understand how they were shared. Rather than understanding in specific detail the interpretations of one or two enquirers, a representation of the broad potential of images might have enabled more individuals to make sense of their personal experiences.

The potential for looking beyond the subjective realm to understand teachers’ working activities was demonstrated by Nias (1989). She analysed teachers’ work in relation to the changing constructions of personal and occupational identity over a ten-year period. She interviewed 99 prospective teachers working towards their primary school training certificate in England in 1975. She returned to 50 of them ten years later for follow-up interviews. The long time period

covered by Nias enabled her to distinguish between the substantial and the situational self. She referred to the former as the impervious self, founded in nature and nurture, and to the latter as a flexible self, negotiated through daily interactions with other people. Her notion of a dual self was extremely important because it allowed her to explore how interviewees' self-esteem and job satisfaction fluctuated but still left intact their fundamental commitment and values. This helped explain how teachers reconciled the demands of the classroom with their conflicting personal and emotional values. Nias theorised that a teacher's career development and job satisfaction increase exponentially with their ability to negotiate their attitudes toward work with those of their colleagues and the whole school mission.

Nias revealed teachers to be more inflexible, more collegial and less self-conscious than Clandinin's case studies. She emphasised the emotional dimension of work as well as the practical, change as well as continuity. However, her concept of a dual self was limited by its dependence on knowledge of specific conditions and contexts. The point arose from comparison with the work of Pajak & Blase (1984), who conducted an ethnographic study on the social environment of teachers. It looked at the way American teachers socialised with colleagues at one bar on Friday nights. While still aware of the authoritarian role they enacted inside school, teachers considered their personal lives to coexist independently of this role. This showed that the meaning attributed to their work by teachers depended on their environment. It was suggested that teachers generate actions and thoughts in relation to specific

situations rather than to a set of inflexible values. Another example was found in a study by Wallace (1989), who explored how teachers' biography and working environment fed into their personal sense of occupational identity, something he termed 'personal-professional growth'. Drawing on five case studies in Toronto schools, he found that teachers' growth, as they imagined it, was dominated by their immediate images of self and personal history much more than by their classroom and colleagues, even though the broader context of school culture affected the decisions they made. These studies by Wallace and Pajak & Blase showed that some terminology used by teachers might depend upon combinations of personal and situational meanings. Their insights raised questions about the possibility of the substantial self as an independent entity and the value of attempting to explore it.

Another limitation of Nias's work was that it appeared not to fully explore the concept of a situational self. Although she took account of the local community and context over time, her analysis did not heed forces and influences beyond the school gate and therefore neglected the changing broader socio-political and historical environment. An example of the other extreme was Lortie (1977), who believed the status of the teaching profession to be affected by external market forces, competing organisations, training schemes, government policy, gender issues and public opinion. He conducted interviews with 94 teachers in five towns in one American state. He compared the structures of teaching, including its training and career path, with the personal reflections of teachers and their preferred working conditions. By focusing on the gaps between the

two dimensions he highlighted specific areas of vulnerability. Perhaps Nias neglected this broader context because its complexity would have made comparisons with the substantial self difficult. Consequently, however, the dual self appeared rigid and even perhaps schizophrenic. An alternative to Nias's definition of self was Maclure's (1993) all-encompassing concept of identity. She suggested identity was something used rather than owned by teachers; a multifaceted and evolving construct derived from personal and social influences. She drew her finding from an ESRC-funded project *Teachers' Jobs and Lives*. It investigated teachers' work, career aspirations and morale through interviews with 69 teachers in three regions of England. The view promoted the possibility that teachers constantly negotiate and construct opinions of themselves in light of broad and local social and political influences. The notion of a broad and flexible identity was less restrictive and more easily applicable and researchable as a concept than that of self.

2.1.3 Profile: public and professional discourses

The origin of public interests

Research on the teaching population illuminated the relevance of social conditions to the formation of teachers' identity. As Tropp (1957) claimed in his history of teaching in England and Wales, low salaries in the nineteenth century made the occupation unattractive and correlated with

low status, poor recruitment and retention. Public opinion was also commonly understood to be an indicator of social conditions. It was frequently introduced as a variable in discussions of teachers' identity and status, although it was interpreted in many different ways (Ball & Goodson 1985; Cunningham 1992; Cunningham & Gardner 2004; Evans 1963; Gould 1970; Helsby 1995; Lawn & Grace 1987; Lortie 1977; Simon 1991). One of the more explicit judgements of public opinion was made by Webb (1985) when he described a 'status panic' among teachers in the 1980s. He believed this panic to have resulted from a lack of financial and psychological support afforded teachers at that time, claiming that teachers felt misunderstood and were aggrieved by their poor image in the press. Ball & Goodson premised the argument with the following explanation:

There has also been a profound political and social shift in status and public perception of teachers (p. 3)

Ball & Goodson associated this shift with the Tyndale affair in 1976, when some members of staff at William Tyndale primary school in north London were found to be practising extreme liberal pedagogies. The affair was given as a reason for teachers' declining status, even though a formal inquiry (ILEA 1976) shortly afterwards found the Inner London Education Authority to have been largely responsible.

Lortie's (1977) study also tied public opinion in with broad socio-economic issues. He found that, despite numerous pressures to reform,

primary teaching in Boston was characterised by continuity rather than change. Personal investment, caring and psychological rewards were more important to teachers than output and financial gratification. Lortie's study was an interesting reflection on the value to teachers of stability and mobility. He recommended to teachers at that time that they should adapt to meet public expectations, or prepare for further subjugation. While the suggestion that teachers should better understand their social profile seemed well-founded, the relationship between cooperation and status was an assumption requiring clarification. By contrast, Ozga & Lawn (1981) suggested cooperation might be a political rhetoric rather than a social need. They explored government responses to teacher militancy in 1910-20, concluding that the polarisation of professionalism and unionism in representations of teacher activity discredited teachers' labour status and perpetuated the myth that they needed to be controlled. Ozga & Lawn attempted to raise awareness rather than create theory, and indeed their study raises a number of questions about the origins and functions of public interest. It was outside the remit of their study to discuss the occurrence and exchange of public values, but Richardson (1995) attempted to explain:

The phenomenon of teachers feeling under valued and responsible for most of the ills of society is fairly recent and has filtered through from Government, via the media and the courts, to parents and pupils themselves. (p.61)

This theory assumed government to possess a single dominant discourse and it neglected the possibility of public debate and teachers' negotiation of received opinions. There were an increasing number of similar studies on the relationship between the media and education policy rhetoric (Baker 1994; Blackmore & Thomson 2004; Doe 1999; Gewirtz, Dickson & Power 2004; Phillips 1996). These studies contained critiques of journalists, spin doctors, headteachers and school publicists, as well as commercial imperatives, and they were predicated on the belief that public interests were being manipulated not met. They tended to focus on the influence and capacity of the media and politics rather than on the history or sociology of education. The role of teachers and the impact on teachers was rarely if ever given priority and was sometimes altogether absent. It was interesting that in a special edition of the *Journal of Education Policy* (2004, 19/3), on the relationship between education media and education policy, coverage was given to exam results, headteachers and policy initiatives but not to teachers. The assumption was that teachers were far removed from policy making and policy decisions.

Grace (1987) provided slightly more clarity on the negotiation of expectations, discourses and opinions between the public and teachers. In so doing, he found the demise of teachers' status to be variably dependent on political pressures, teachers and the media. He looked in detail at the changing relationship between the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the Trades Union Commission and government. He

argued that fears of teachers becoming too assertive had long existed but that in the 1970s teachers had bargained poorly with government, thereby losing their visibility and unity in the political sphere. A trade-off between organised teacher groups and the government allowed teachers greater freedom in the classroom at the expense of political status. Grace attributed teachers' demise to their lack of defence against media attacks, and a consequent decline in trust from parents and industry.

Out of this crisis, (partly real and partly constructed) a new mode of teacher state relations was to emerge in the late 1970s and in the 1980s. [...] Teachers were out-manoeuvred by media ideologists. (Grace, 1987, p. 217)

In his comprehensive history of the education system in Britain, Simon (1991) also claimed that the shift in public esteem during the 1980s was in part constructed by the media:

Now there was one of those sudden changes, which sweep through the media from time to time. What can only be described as a demolition job got under way. Not only the popular press but the (then) more respectable papers took the lead [...] Teaching had been brought into disrepute [...] immense damage had

been done to the teaching profession as a whole.

(Simon, 1991, p. 441-6)

Simon went on to describe a propaganda crisis involving a well-orchestrated press and the fostering of public images. Ball (1990) similarly claimed that the impact achieved by politicians' criticism of teachers in 1969 would have been inconceivable without the 'teacher-bashing' of three tabloid newspapers.

It was made clear that teachers could not longer be trusted with the education of the nation's children.

(Ball, 1990, p. 27)

There was a long history to teachers' status ambiguity. Cunningham & Gardner (2004) hypothesised that if the status of teachers in the early twentieth century was to improve, it would have to transcend the disparaging caricatures which persisted in widespread popular views.

Educational theorists commonly used the media as source for understanding teacher identity and attitudes towards teachers. However, it was a concern that this happened without the supporting evidence of empirical data. Those described above emphasised the negative newspaper coverage occurring at specific times when it was most likely to be sensational and derogatory. Goodson (1992) urged that it should be the crucial function of the historical analyst to place changes within the context of continuity; but this function appeared to have been neglected

on the subject of press representation. There was no data in the literature to support the common belief that the media was hostile towards teachers and working against them (Clark, forthcoming). In fact, one of very few studies to have drawn on empirical data to understand press representations of teachers showed it to be a complex relationship. Cunningham (1992) investigated teachers' professional image in the press for 40 years, from 1950 to 1990. He considered the leading political issues in four national newspapers, with reference to national surveys and opinion polls. He suggested that the newspapers had a specific interest in the political agency of teachers, becoming more critical as teachers became more militant. However, he described the overall image of teachers as a composite one, meaning it was complex, contradictory and changing. There was evidence in Cunningham's study that the public was sympathetic towards teachers while the government was not. He stated: "The relationship between press and public opinion is complex, since the influence is not just one way" (p. 37).

Another relevant empirical study on the image of the teacher in national press was provided years earlier in an unpublished dissertation (Evans 1963). Evans compared press coverage of teachers with the use of rhetoric by the NUT, concluding that in the 1960s it was in the interests of the union to promote an image of its members as underpaid in order that union activity would meet with a sympathetic audience. Evans's study differentiated between a widely accepted and stable image of teachers and the use, abuse and deviation of newspapers from this image. He concluded:

It must be stressed that public attitudes are not necessarily formed by the Press: the Press sometimes reflects public attitudes. However, correspondences between Press and public 'images' of the teacher may suggest that there is a general 'image' widely accepted. (p. 26)

For teachers, the most important aspect of press coverage may well be the 'image' of the profession the newspapers project over a period of time. (p. 20)

Evans's work showed that the idea of a general image of teachers required further investigation, and that this would only become apparent through study of a lengthy sample. However, it provided no clues as to how a general image might be identified in a formative and reflective medium. Neither his nor Cunningham's study looked beyond political variables for evidence of how teachers' status was represented in the media. Cunningham noticed that an increasing number of human interest and sensationalist stories were beginning to represent teachers in new ways, but his focus was on teachers' *professional* image and not depictions of their private and social lives. Nonetheless, issues such as teachers' independence, personality, confidence, collegiality and practice were appearing by the end of the 1980s, suggesting new and fresh approaches to collecting newspaper data from the 1990s.

Applied and generated standards

Discussions of teachers' profile in British and American sociology also revolved around the conceptual framework of professionalism. In some instances professionalism meant the accumulation of traits, which aligned teaching with other occupations of professional status (Carr-Saunders cited in Bergen 1982; Greenwood cited in Biklen 1987; Etzioni 1969; Leigh 1979, Flexner cited in Ozga & Lawn 1981). Leigh (1979) studied the attitudes of teachers in the UK towards occupational status using information taken from a multiple choice questionnaire given to 135 primary and secondary school teachers. The questions aimed to distinguish the professional from non-professional, using recognised traits, such as skills, codes of conduct, service ethic and organization. They also tried to distinguish 'full' from 'semi' professionals using variables borrowed from Etzioni (1969), such as the gender of the workforce, length of training, extent of autonomy and levels of bureaucracy. The findings were quantified and analysed with the conclusion that the teachers were uncertain of their occupational status in terms of professionalism. While this definition was not important to teachers, Leigh urged that they should earn the "honoured title" (p. 43) by compelling higher regard from society. His commitment to the notion of professionalism did not align with the priorities expressed by teachers. Hoyle (1974) also found fault with the trait method approach, claiming that it tries to reconcile tensions between control and autonomy in a way

that does not do justice to teachers' effectiveness in the classroom. This short-sightedness, he argued, was prompting sociologists to turn away from the use of criteria and towards the notion of professionalism as a continuum aspiring towards a series of ideals. In response to sociological conventions, Hoyle (1980) devised a differentiated model of professionalism to enable a more sophisticated analysis of group and individual identity. He used the terms professionalisation and professionalism to explain the dialectical relationship between teachers and social/political pressures. The former referred to their status and public perception; the latter he used to indicate an individual's rights and strategies of control within the classroom.

The concept of professionalisation related to the long running concerns over teachers' public esteem detailed earlier. Hoyle's model accounted for these while also recognising issues of status in relation to teachers' personal engagement with their work. It enabled Maclure (1993) to explore how teachers were subjectively interpreting their work, while also accounting for contextual issues, such as policy, training and seniority. Hoyle's framework also allowed for the theoretical possibility that the professionalisation of teachers might change, without being affected by or affecting their stable sense of professionalism. This suggested the independent coexistence of national and local level issues and it also highlighted the need for further investigations into that relationship. However, comparisons with a range of texts on teachers' professionalism revealed that Hoyle's framework did not go far enough to embrace that complexity. In the first place, it did not require researchers

to take account of the historical context of concepts characterising professionalism. The point is illustrated in Gardner & Cunningham's (2004) study on perceptions of professional status held by former teachers in the early twentieth century. They explored how the needs of the public, influenced by international politics and economics as well as fashions in ideology, all fed into political reforms in education. They used interviews as well as documentary analysis to understand the success of a student-teacher scheme at that time, concluding:

...the idea of professionalism is best understood not as a fixture established by propositional definition, but as a dynamic historical formulation subject to normative drift through time. (Gardner & Cunningham, 2004, p. 117)

In research it seemed that historical context was especially relevant for teachers in Britain during the 1990s and in the build up to the establishment of a General Teaching Council (GTC) in 2000. In some opinions (Gould 1970; Simon 1991) the introduction of this organisation was in part a move to reconceptualise the teaching profession and imbue it with renewed status.

Hoyle's framework, while sensitive to the difference between national and local priorities, did not account for the possibility of geographical and cultural variability in the professional concept (Edman 1968; Judge 1995). By contrast, Judge found that French, English and

American images of teachers during the last 20 years varied considerably and shared little in the way of common ground. Nor did Hoyle's framework recognise differences in the perception and reception of those concepts by teachers. Alternatively, Troman (1996) theorised, from his observations in a primary school at a time of organisational change, that 'old' and 'new' teachers define professionalism differently, and subsequently respond to and resist change differently. Talbert & McLaughlin (1996) also claimed that the relationship-based nature of the occupation does not lend it to the generic standards used in traditional models of professionalism. They measured the effectiveness of 800 teachers' organisational contexts and collegiality in 16 Californian schools in 1991. They compared these variables with what they considered to be some prototype conditions of professionalism, such as the demand for certain outcomes, intellectual profit and universal targets. They found that the prototypes were unable to represent in any detail, the complex relationship between the strength of character of the individual teacher, and their commitment to the principles of the local community. Helsby (1995) illustrated a similar argument in her study of action and behaviour in classrooms. She drew on a larger project called *The Professional Culture of Teachers and the Secondary School Curriculum* which used documentary research and interviews. In her analysis of 15 of the interviews she found that factors like confidence, critical awareness and collaboration decided the terms of professionalism for the teachers, and that professional status was something they constructed for themselves rather than deemed from prescribed techniques. However, dismissing the

notion of professionalism altogether was not necessarily a solution. Harris & Jarvis (2000) implied that far from caring about professionalism, in reality teachers are mainly motivated by personal values relating to social responsibility. Regardless, the notion of professionalism still had the potential to facilitate theoretical discussion, if not practical issues. These projects suggested professionalism to be a useful concept if understood as a construction of complex and relative meanings. Boyle's term 'composite professionals' (cited in Troman 1996) seemed to capture more succinctly than definitive terminology, the variability of teachers' compliance and resistance to prescribed criteria.

2.1.4 Position: state relations, issues of power and control

Role in the economy and politics

The identity of teachers also depended upon the extent of their power and influence, as determined by their relationship with the labour market, government, parents and schools. The idea that teachers relied upon the labour market was prominent in Larson's (1980) thesis on the topic of proletarianisation. It was a strongly Marxist theory:

In Marxist theory, proletarianization is the complex historical process which produces a working class, locking it into subordination to conflict with a capitalist class. (Larson, 1980, p. 134)

Proletarianisation was for Larson manifest in the alienation of workers on economic, organisational and technical levels. He recognised that as a certificated workforce, post-war teachers might not have been wholly subordinate to the state in the same way as pre-war uneducated industrial workers, but that they were no less alienated from economic and organisational control. On the issue of technical dominance, Larson was inconclusive but he proposed that increased bureaucratisation at this time was impinging on teachers' freedom and the intensification of their work through time pressures was denying them the accumulation of intellectual capital. He claimed that the division of theory from practice was also creating a hierarchy of skill.

The universality of Larson's capitalist paradigm appeared to limit its specific value for educational theory on teachers. Aldrich (1982), Bergen (1982) Gardner (1998) and Simon (1991) differently conceptualised education in relation to complex and variable economic and political contexts, which suggested the service did not operate exclusively within the boundaries of the capitalist mode of production. For the same reason, fractures between political, economic and social needs subtly affected perceptions of teachers' responsibilities and freedoms. These studies highlighted the relevance of political context to discussions of teacher identity. An influential proponent of the complex socio-political perspective was Ball (1990, 1993, 1994), who explored the economic, political and ideological motives in policy making leading up to the 1988 ERA. He considered policy to be a complex and contradictory medium

projecting an image of its social context and not a homogeneous reproduction of the ruling political ideology. The 'discourse of derision', which he identified as part of the New Right offensive, had a broadly rhetorical impact rather more than a specific political one:

Not everything can be reduced to the requirements of production, nor to the play of political ideologies. (Ball, 1990, p. 211).

Despite the complexity of policy making, Ball concluded that the basis of the 1988 ERA reflected on teachers in a simple and severe way:

[The ERA] rests upon a profound distrust of teachers and seeks to close down many of the areas of discretion previously available to them. (Ball, 1990, p. 214)

Ball used rhetoric as opposed to party-political ideology to interpret policy changes around the time of the 1988 ERA, which allowed him to bring fresh insights to complex economic and social movements at that time. He found that the use of polarisations such as ideal versus actual and responsibility versus irresponsibility provoked distrust. In 1993 he added that the distrust of teachers was derived from a market-led ideology of education, firmly established under Conservative Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher, and evidence of a middle class asserting itself against democratic policies such as the National Curriculum.

Detailed engagement with policy rhetoric allowed researchers to theorise on discourses which at various times differently configured and controlled teachers (Ball & Goodson 1985; Bell 1995; Lawn & Grace 1987; Ozga & Lawn 1981). That of professionalism, described earlier, was seen to enable the state to delude, exploit and seduce teachers (Barton et al. 1994; Goodson & Hargreaves 1996; Mahoney & Nextall 2001). Ozga & Lawn (1981) explored professionalism in relation to government discourses surrounding unionism, while Sachs (2001) saw in her analysis of Australian policy the polarisation of professionalism and autonomy. Underlying these discourses, the concept of accountability, was found in various configurations, to insult, exploit and undermine teachers' confidence (Bell 1995; Day 2002; Horder 1995; Gardner 1999; Lumley 1998; Richardson 1995; Sachs 2001, 2005). As mentioned above, some literature on media/policy relations (Baker 1994; Blackmore & Thomson 2004; Doe 1999; Gewirtz, Dickson & Power 2004; Phillips 1996) assumed political discourse to have common applicability for teachers and did not explain how political meanings might circulate and supposedly arrive unaltered in the minds of teachers. However, the influence on teachers of policy discourses and the rhetoric of accountability seemed less significant in studies which focussed on the immediate contexts of teachers' daily work (Gardner 1998; Goodson & Hargreaves 1996; Harris & Jarvis 2000; Helsby 1995; Hoyle & Megarry 1980). Harris & Jarvis (2000) looked at an advertising campaign for

teachers from the 1990s and found that the emphasis on accountability noticeably distinguished public representations from those made in the private biographical descriptions given by teachers. They concluded with the suggestion that educational models prescribed at a national level do not necessarily incorporate or include values which exist for individuals in real classrooms. Similarly, Goodson & Hargreaves (1996) challenged assumptions that teachers are inactive recipients of government rhetoric. They claimed that in teachers' reaction to and application of professional rhetoric, the rhetoric could be undermined. Far from exploiting teachers, they anticipated that it might be used by teachers to reinvent their occupational identity. They urged that it could incorporate the values of moral and social purpose, continuous learning, collaboration and discretionary judgement. These perspectives on national discourses saw autonomy as the opportunity for teachers to assert their local interests.

As well as being complex, teachers' relationship with the state was discontinuous. Gardner (1998) theorised that the concepts of accountability and autonomy have value relative to historical context. He took a historical perspective on teachers throughout the twentieth century, using life histories taken from retired teachers. Gardner deduced from these that teachers had most practical autonomy in the post-war years, not because of the economy or government, but because of their relationship with parents and pupils.

...a changed relationship between teachers and the
state was legitimated by the earlier changed

relationship between teachers and parents at the local level. (Gardner, 1998, p. 42)

Gardner provided a valuable insight into the workings of policy and the predominance of parental influence. The needs of parents were understood to be shaped by economic crises but the values also endorsed by them could not be accounted for in terms of political and capitalist imperatives. These values were also dependent on the relationship between teachers and parents, the changing needs of individuals as well as society. In other words, heightened accountability did not necessarily diminish autonomy or vice versa. Similarly, Epstein's (1986) study on parents' perception of teachers showed that communication between them was a significant factor in accountability. While teachers thought that parental involvement would jeopardize their professional status, parents believed this would raise the profile of teachers. It appeared that the conceptualisation of status in relation to autonomy was different at general and local levels and with different historical perspectives. Gardner's and Epstein's studies suggested that teachers' relationship with the state could not be properly understood with a top-down perspective on policy implementation or a structural model of state education. This cohered with recent theory on the democratic potential of policy analysis. In her analysis of policy documents, Finch (1986) predicted that an emphasis on process instead of product in social reform would enable a more democratic body politic. Similarly, Bassey (1991) urged that more empirical study on the nature of educational

change would support democratic values. When it came to the role of teachers, Gardner's study showed that issues emerging at a local and individual level involving relationships and communication were fundamental to understanding. However, his use of life history and interview for understanding social and political mores raised concerns. Values relayed by individuals needed to be read as potentially biased and nostalgic recollections. His study illustrated the difficulty and necessity of bringing together general and local perspectives when exploring teacher relations with the state.

Procedural and institutional responsibilities

Different views on the economic, political and social structures of state education were realised and explored through the procedures and structures of teachers' work. In line with Larson's theory of intensification, Apple (1982) asserted that control was exercised invisibly through the demands and definitions of teachers' work. He said that the rapid growth of pre-packaged curriculum materials was evidence of standardisation. In the first place the materials deskilled teachers and this then led to reskilling through workshops, journals and specific techniques.

As the activities of students are increasingly specified,
as the rules, processes and standard outcomes are
integrated through and rationalized by the materials

themselves, so too are teachers deskilled, reskilled and anonymized. (Apple, 1982, p. 246)

Apple's theory built on Althusser's (1979) Marxist vision of education as an ideological apparatus of the state. Apple conceded that the prescription of curriculum content did not dictate its use but nonetheless upheld that teachers were operating within a false consciousness, meaning that they were being duped into believing the structural organisation of their work benefited them when in actuality it disempowered them. In a later book Apple (1996) described the effect of centralisation, rationalisation and intensification on teachers in the US. He did not address the effect of Britain's National Curriculum on teachers, or the means of 'duping' teachers. Comparative studies in the UK highlighted the limitations of his philosophy (Campbell & Neill 1994a, 1994b; Croll 1996; Troman 1996).

The PACE project (Croll 1996) explored the impact of the 1988 ERA on primary schools using teacher accounts and pupil perceptions. Data was collected from interviews, case studies and observation at regular intervals through the 1990s, and the researchers found that as teachers were becoming familiar with the demands of the National Curriculum, they were also increasingly interpretative, creative and optimistic with it. Campbell & Neill (1994a, 1994b) also cast doubt on grand theories of deskilling and intensification with a study which represented teachers' own quantitative and qualitative evaluation of their time management in the aftermath of the ERA. Although the policy

increased workload, it also appeared to benefit primary teachers in terms of opportunities for collaboration with colleagues. Although there was evidence that secondary school teachers, especially those in senior positions, spent more time on lower-level skilled tasks, they also experienced increased professional development. In contrast with the neo-Marxist persuasion, these studies distinguished between the contractual and vocational aspects of teachers' work and emphasised the conscientiousness of teachers and their personal commitment. A comparison of the primary and secondary school data also revealed subtle variations in the use of time and perceptions of work depending on the level and stage of schooling, variations obscured in Apple's more deterministic model.

These studies suggested that in using the curriculum as an indicator of teachers' status or control it was important to avoid being overly simplistic or deterministic. Simon (1991) emphasised not so much a loss of power from the National Curriculum, but a subtle shift in the work ethic brought about by assumptions of its implementation:

It was the concept of teachers as 'agents' whose job was the 'delivery' of the curriculum (rather than, for instance, the nurturing of specific abilities and skills) which marked, or acted as a signal of, a new stage in teacher-state relations. (Simon, 1991, p. 505)

Some researchers recognised in the ERA the imposition of an outcome-driven service ethic (Robertson 1996; Talbert & McLaughlin 1996). It was apparent in these studies that judging the effect of curriculum implementation on teachers was a complex task which involved understanding teachers' attitudes and reactions to the changes at a local level. To further explore these Johnston (1989) borrowed Clandinin's (1989) concept of personal practical knowledge to frame a study of how six teachers envisaged and interpreted the curriculum. She maintained Clandinin's hypothesis that teachers might be more conscious of and influenced by factors on an immediate and personal level in the classroom than by general policy directives. Through her examination of interview data she was able to represent the dynamism and creativity of six teacher's individual work. Each differently envisaged the process of decision making, according to their personal circumstances and experiences. Johnston provided a different perspective on curriculum diversification from the first two studies mentioned above:

These teachers are proactive - they are initiators of curriculum change, rather than responders to forces external to them [...] Understanding of curriculum processes must come from an understanding of the people who initiate and control these processes. (p. 256 / 266)

Johnston stressed the value of individual stories as well as universal ones. In so doing she remained sensitive to the personal and interactive nature of teachers' work. Different perspectives taken by researchers to understanding the curriculum appeared to illuminate and obscure the priorities and needs of the individual in the classroom. The ethnographic approach highlighted assumptions made about the position and role of teachers as responders to and implementers of policy. For Webb (1993) the shift in emphasis brought about by curriculum change needed to be understood within the context of the school. She conducted a series of interviews with teachers and headteachers in 20 primary, junior, and middle schools in 1992 in order to understand the effect of the shift from topic to subject-based curricula. Her research showed that it was not possible to draw a straight-forward parallel between curriculum change and the fracturing of the skills associated with proletarianisation. More important was the subtle qualitative shift in priorities towards the pragmatic management of time and resources; the demands on the school for increased assessment and paperwork. The new curriculum format did not render opportunistic teaching impossible, but it did erode teachers' sense of fun, exhilaration and inspiration.

Researchers singled out the reform of school management as a measure of especially significant impact within the ERA (Troman 1996). However, there had also been calls for more democratic and collaborative frameworks of school development in advance of the act (Campbell 1985; Nias 1989; Sieber 1976; Wallace 1988) and the embodiment of these concepts in policy criteria around the world brought them under close

critical scrutiny in the national and international research arena (Smyth 1991; Mahoney & Nextall 2001; Webb 1996). In Australia, Smyth (1991) analysed teachers' work in relation to the labour process with the conclusion that they were being duped by a political rhetoric of equality and participation which was ultimately driven by economic imperatives. He used the concept of 'collegiality' as an example of rhetoric which in practice burdened teachers with additional managerial and administrative duties. In Britain, Mahoney & Nextall (2001) scrutinised the Labour Government's agenda to 'modernise' teaching in 1998. They claimed that while it addressed the teacher as a professional it did not accord them responsibilities commensurate with the professional realm. They predicted that Labour policy on performance management in schools would redefine the meaning of teachers' activities and working relationships. While Mahoney & Nextall considered it unnecessary to be deterministic about the effects of policy, they also warned that, "it is equally important not to romanticise the possibilities of resistance" (p. 145).

However, there appeared to be a substantial collection of studies on school management and restructuring which were neither deterministic nor romantic, and these recognised the plurality and complexity of policy effects (Ball 1994; Sachs 2001; Troman 1996; Webb & Vulliamy 1996). Webb & Vulliamy explored the issue of collaboration with 50 primary schools in 1992-3. They discovered that while schools were ostensibly involving teachers in decision making and curriculum planning, collaborative frameworks were increasingly difficult for

headteachers to sustain and many were resorting to more directive styles. For teachers this meant disengaging from decisions which affected their work.

There are conflicting interpretations of terms such as 'collegiality', 'collaboration', 'teamwork' and 'whole-school approaches' and there have been subtle shifts in their meaning and in their realisation in practice in the pre- and post-ERA context. (Webb & Vulliamy, 1996, p. 441)

On the changing role of headteachers, Webb & Vulliamy referred to managerialism (1996) and curriculum leadership (1998). Webb (2002) later added to this, delegation. It appeared that understanding school organisation required differentiating between the sort of flat hierarchy where the headteacher manages a school of equal subordinates, and a pyramidal hierarchy where middle managers and senior management teams act as intermediaries between the teachers and a leader-headteacher (Campbell & Neill 1994b). Gunter (2005) claimed that in research the headteachers' role was too often labelled as administration, management or leadership. She urged researchers to recognise it as a pluralistic activity occurring in a complex setting. One reason for this, predicted by Blackmore (cited in Gunter 2005), was that representations of school leadership as a homogeneous performance, if insensitive to the

different dynamics of personal, situational and dialogic skills involved, might act as a barrier to gender equality.

The notion of school organisation as a means of state control was realised in cultural theory by Foucault (1979). He claimed that the schools were organised to divide and isolate teachers so as to facilitate the modes of discipline and control formed by the dominant powers. Therefore, the organisation of space was a means for state control of its labour force. According to Larson's thesis the proletarian worker experienced a restructuring of the workplace, whereby activities were compartmentalised and organised hierarchically. These educational studies engaged with the issue of state organisation at the level of school and curricula. However, they raised questions about if and how teachers might be coerced into cooperation at a local level. Robertson (1996) considered teacher-state relations when she claimed that policies on streaming and IQ tests make schools into reproducers of class inequality. She argued that more critical correspondence between teachers and the state would raise awareness of how the commodity form penetrates classroom practice and would ultimately enable a more democratic pedagogy. The implication was that more insightful and detailed explorations on the reception of policy would not only benefit teachers but also the broader interests of society. This supported Cunningham's (2001) belief that questions surrounding educational policy should revolve less around the origin of the ideas and more around the processes of disseminating and adapting those ideas. However, Robertson's thesis still depended on the idea of a dominating and undemocratic/ideological body

politic, which was not universally accepted. Floud & Halsey (1957) found that the abolition of intelligence tests as a basis for selecting children for Grammar schools did not necessarily improve access for working-class boys. Their findings suggested that the issue of social opportunity in schooling was complex, and inequalities could not simply be attributed to state or institutional control. It followed that research should move beyond simple conspiracy theories through better understanding of how knowledge is used, produced and shared on many levels and in various different circumstances.

The issue of democratic pedagogy was well-attended to in the field of cultural studies and cultural theory on education and schooling (Apple 1982; Althusser 1971; Bowers 1987; Dale 1982; Foucault 1979; Gitlin 1982; Giroux 1981). Bowers (1987) was an example of the Marxist tradition in cultural theory that drew on the work of Althusser and Foucault. He claimed that the curriculum and the language used in classrooms had become processes of a doctrinaire regime of socialisation which reinforced class and gender differentials and served to prevent students from forming counter-hegemonic discourses. Teachers, he wrote, tended to outmanoeuvre students who challenged authority, when they should have been encouraging them to participate in critical enquiry. An emerging critique of structural and pre-modern philosophy came to prominence in the 1960s, and introduced the hypothesis that meanings are circulated, negotiated and interpreted differently by individuals. Gramsci (cited in Gitlin 1982) was at the forefront of this post-modern movement with his conviction that ideology is the product of lived

experience as well as of dominant powers. He believed society to be formed through a process of hegemony, which organises and assimilates subversive and oppositional meanings. This implied that teachers oversee conflicting forms of control, such as the bureaucratic and technocratic, played out in schools, but that they themselves have limited control. A small collection of literature, centred on the work of American sociologist Giroux, highlighted the repercussions of this for schooling (Giroux 1981; Giroux et al. 1996; Giroux and Shannon 1997). Giroux theorised that the purpose of education is to resist the dominating structures and discourses, and replace them with a democratic system.

As educators who act as agents in the production, circulation and use of particular forms of cultural and symbolic capital, teachers occupy an inescapable political role (Giroux et al. 1996, p. 43)

Giroux described teaching as a performance, during which meanings are negotiated, made relevant and challenged. He highlighted the importance of understanding the relationship between teachers and culture, as well as the competing demands and values in politics, society and education. His work emphasised the potentially far-reaching influence of teachers operating independently from the state; a potential given less credit in education and policy sociology. He also reinforced the idea that researchers should query the process through which teachers learn and understand their continuous and changing responsibilities. However, it

was interesting that while the sociologists cited above recognised the significance of schooling as a cultural phenomenon, the role of the teacher was not explored in much detail. They made it the responsibility of teachers and researchers to challenge pedagogy, the use of knowledge and the process of schooling. If Giroux's theory was accurate, then through awareness of their vulnerability teachers would be better able to assess the risks and defend themselves from harmful messages. While illuminating, it seemed unreasonable and idealistic of theorists to impose the responsibility on teachers for counter-hegemonic and pedagogic revolution, which would require from them the knowledge of philosophers, researchers and politicians. An analysis of Gillborn's (1995) study of racist discourse in schools illustrated the implications of Giroux's socio-cultural perspective. Gillborn argued that education policy post-1988 marginalised the issue of race and perpetuated racism despite ostensibly claiming a de-racialised agenda. He urged for more critical awareness of the dangers of rhetoric on this subject.

In his thesis Gillborn demonised the state. He held policymakers responsible for the problem, but laid the solution largely with teachers and researchers, making diagnosis and cure irreconcilable. The study assumed the course of state to be single-minded, impenetrable and destructive and was therefore unable to offer any practical solutions for teachers' time management and the organisation of a de-racialisation agenda. In comparison, Gardner's (2001) exploration of multiculturalism in schools investigated teaching along an axis of local and general rather than state and subject. He suggested that a truly multicultural curriculum

could not be provided at a general level, but would always rely on the initiative of individual schools and teachers. He was able to provide guidelines towards the development of multicultural lessons and thereby move theory into the realm of practice. This was a less deterministic and more practical approach. Gillborn also attributed to teachers an emancipatory strength which belied the complex process of teaching and the existing demands on teachers. This compared with Alexander (1988) and Walkerdine (1986), who explored the pressures created by value-loaded demands on the construction of meanings in the everyday classroom.

These commentaries on the impact of political reform at the level of curriculum and pedagogy were a valuable reminder of the constantly changing nature of external pressures faced by teachers. The language and rhetoric used to describe reforms and responses to the reforms required further exploration.

2.1.5 Images: constructions in the media and culture

Symbolic and pluralistic manifestations

Morgan (2002) analysed how American sociologist Gerbner evaluated the press in the 1980s using the theme of teachers as a focal point because he thought they were symbolic of basic human values such as self-discipline, morality and power. Gerbner drew comparisons with other

countries and fictional texts, using qualitative and quantitative analysis to explain the situation of teachers within society and history. He concluded:

The figure of the schoolteacher is a central symbol of the uses and control of popular knowledge. Its most telling features touch upon questions of vitality and self-direction, social relations, morality and power.

(cited in Morgan, 2002, p. 111)

The symbolic potential of teacher images and related images in cultural texts captured interest in a wide variety of interdisciplinary studies (Lumley 1998; Macmillan 2002; Otto 2005). Lumley (1998) found that the press constructed teachers as immoral during a crusade against youth crime in the run up to the 1997 election. The intention was to divert attention away from the inadequacy of government policies. Otto (2005) theorised that American television shows and advertisements promote nostalgic images of the classroom because they obscure more complex current issues of inequality. Macmillan (2002) identified the teacher in relation to issues of yobbism and thuggery among youths. She employed discourse analysis to explore the front pages of the national tabloids from October to December 1996 and in particular The Ridings School affair, in which a pupil had been expelled for allegedly attacking a teacher. The work of Macmillan and the others above showed newspapers to be a source of living history that reflects and creates social meanings. The popular interest in teachers across disciplinary fields illustrated the

relevance and potential of a study of teachers' representation in the press. However, the focus of these studies was principally on media strategy, politics and news process (Macmillan 2001; Macmillan & Edwards 1998, 1999) whereas it was the intention of this study to contribute to educational theory.

The examples above showed teachers' cultural images to have been explored largely for their value to the public rather than to teachers. Among few exceptions (Dawes & Selwyn 1999; Gardner 1999; Jalonga 1997) was the work of Weber & Mitchell (1995). They collected 600 drawings of teachers done by children and teachers in Canada, Zimbabwe and Zambia, comparing the representations with themes identified in the Hollywood movie Kindergarten Cop and in the Barbie Doll. The findings showed that teachers defined themselves with images derived from numerous different influences in immediate, local, general and even global contexts. Contrary to expectations, teachers' preferred images denoted easy entry to the profession, isolated practice and a general rather than specialist knowledge base. The implication was that they considered established, often nostalgic, stereotypes more valuable than newer and, arguably, more representative images. The study highlighted how assumptions in theory about what are positive and negative images of teachers might not correlate with teachers' own needs. Gardner (1999) similarly found that the meaning of 'teacher' was overwhelmed with stereotypes. He blamed this on the wealth of political and social commentary on teachers' perceived characteristics and the reticence of teachers to talk about themselves. He attempted to

'reconstruct the teacher' of the 1930s, in other words to understand what it meant to be a teacher at that time, according to teachers themselves, rather than to common stereotypes. Dawes & Selwyn (1999) added to this ongoing conversation with an investigation of teacher representations in information technology advertising. They argued that images of passive onlookers proliferated while those of knowledgeable participators were altogether absent. They claimed that teachers may appear resistant to new technology when they are not, and that there is a risk of teachers internalising negative stereotypes.

In the above examples researchers looked for evidence of messages and stereotypes in images, thereby often situating those inside the teaching world in opposition to those outside. They raised interesting questions about social responsibility in representations and the broad and enduring significance of teacher images. However, Novoa (2000) found that due to the indeterminacy of their production and reception, images evaded definition. He collected a large number of visual 'public images' of teachers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and organised them according to their function and intention. From these he selected for intense analysis the 100 images which he thought best characterised teachers' status, discipline and gender. In doing so he acknowledged the role of the historian in constructing meaning from such observations:

It is not the facts but the historians who dominate the debate. (Novoa, 2000, p.39)

Novoa theorised that visual images have different properties than texts, and that re-representations in narrative form frequently distort and generalise meanings. This presented a challenge to the interpretative methodology adopted by Weber & Mitchell. The researchers may have projected their own interpretations onto the drawings observed so that images used by teachers for reasons of convenience, familiarity and habit were taken to be their preferences and choices. Similarly images that the researchers speculated would be new and challenging might not have been understood by audiences who did not know how to read them. Weber & Mitchell explored the artists' motivations with interviews and observations and were therefore likely to have minimised these biases. Nonetheless, Novoa's criticism showed some of the limitations of exploring imagery with interpretive research.

Weber & Mitchell went some way towards addressing the problem of biased interpretation with their concept of a 'cumulative cultural text'. They adapted the term, coined by Mitchell & Walsh in 1994, to mean an arena in which all meanings from all media coexist. They used it to explore the evolution of the teacher image; its intergenerational and timeless meanings. The cumulative cultural text recognised the identity of teachers to be a complex cultural form warranting further investigation. However, an emphasis on the 'ingrained prevailing stereotypes' in teachers' memories possibly highlighted the longevity of images at the expense of their variability and changing emphasis. Weber & Mitchell (1995, 1996) and Mitchell & Weber (1999) only explored teachers' self-image through one-off, static cultural events like the Hollywood

blockbuster. By comparison Giddens (1991) proposed that the increasing speed and accessibility of the media makes even remote and rare eventualities seem familiar and routine. Giddens's hypothesis withstanding, it would follow that the potential impact of repetitive images might be of equal or greater significance than static one-off events. The theory of a cumulative cultural text did not account for subtle changes in daily repetitions, and it removed cultural meanings from the specific context and processes which created them. Weber & Mitchell's work did not link personal images with political and educational issues potentially affecting teacher identity at the times of their investigations.

Literature on the symbolic and pluralistic nature of cultural texts showed images to be a site of contestation and struggle for meaning. However, the potential for investigations of teacher representations in cultural texts was, as yet, under-explored.

Misrepresentation and empowerment

Images of the teacher in cultural texts often arose within the context of theories of communication and culture. There were two viewpoints of particular relevance for this project. One was that the meanings in popular culture are predetermined by their producers (Crume 1988; Gitlin 1982; Morgan 2002; Philo et al. 1982; Smith 1999; Tinkler 1985; Thomas 2003; Wallace 1993). In his study of television Gitlin (1982) found that programming was organised around commercial imperatives. He proposed that audiences inevitably subscribe to the enforced ideology

regardless of their own beliefs. Similarly, an examination of BBC news coverage of industry and economy in the 1980s (Philo et al.1982) claimed that 'public' interests were misrepresented by artificial and one-dimensional pictures. Theorists in this field found evidence of ideologies in cultural texts in the form of dominant images and image patterns illustrating particular political or social orientations (Crume 1988; Gerbner cited in Morgan 2002; Smith 1999). Within this context teachers were often victims of misrepresentation and political agendas. Wallace (1993) observed the application of a progressive work ethic in a primary school, as it appeared on one BBC programme. He found that journalists used bullying and underhand methods to achieve their desired report, concluding that the programme makers and teachers occupied different ideological worlds and representations were consequently unfair and inaccurate. A similar angle was adopted by Thomas (2003) in her investigation of the *Sunday Mail's* coverage of a curriculum review in Queensland, Australia. She suggested that reporters generally construct a preferred discourse by ignoring contradictory views and adopting a position of privilege. Another example is Smith (1999), who claimed that images of school leadership in Hollywood films misrepresent 'reality' and that this impacts on the language used by parents, the expectations of teacher students and her own perceptions of work.

The other influential viewpoint was that consumers retain control of meanings in culture (Allen 1987; Fairclough 1995; Fiske 1995; Trier 2001). Allen's study on television soap operas illustrated how the absence of narrative unity in these broadcasts, the dislocated short

scenes and lack of closure, required the viewer to create their own meaning from a complex network of fragments. Fiske (1995) agreed that television viewers take pleasure from consuming undisciplined images. He claimed that no matter how precisely engineered the product, ultimately the power rests with the consumer to select and use it as they choose. Trier (2001) applied these ideas to the classroom. He found that pre-service teachers were more inclined towards oppositional readings of cinema than to conformist readings. He suggested that cinematic representations of teachers' poor work-life balance could be used with student-teachers to help them become more critically reflective of their own priorities. The notion of consumer power was not simply specific to certain media such as soap operas and humorous headlines, where meaning is, arguably, more open to construction. Fairclough (1995) also found evidence of 'marketization' and 'democratization' in the wording of news reports. He proposed that the commercial imperatives of mass media serve only to make relevant the consumer's choice and use of news.

The potential of images to misrepresent and/or empower teachers was relevant. Cultural studies had the potential to facilitate discussions on the constructed images of teachers existing outside the educational field. They also highlighted a gap in the knowledge of cultural texts in general and newspapers in particular in educational literature. According to Tosh (1991) if newspapers are low in the hierarchy of primary sources in education history, it is because they are not easily accessed and do not necessarily reveal much about the conditions and opinions of the writers.

However, this seemed inadequate justification for their neglect in research. It would follow from Gerbner's hypothesis on the symbolic nature of teachers' image, combined with the idea of contested and negotiated meanings, that newspaper representations would yield interesting insights into the value of teacher images. It seemed more rational to explore newspapers because they are commonly accessible than to avoid them for this reason; their public availability made the task ahead more not less urgent. There was a lack of knowledge in education history on how to handle the raw material of newspapers.

While culture theories and cultural studies lent themselves to the rationale of this project, their preoccupation with the politics of communication obscured the relevance of specific themes and concepts. They looked for universal problems and solutions rather than incongruities, contradictions and anomalies. The insights they provided were a starting place for investigating how this study should be approached methodologically, issues which will be addressed in detail in the next chapter.

2.2 Formulating the Research Questions

The researcher considered how, given the collection of literature on teachers, this study might effectively contribute to the research field. Bryman (cited in Silverman 2000) argued that qualitative research follows a theoretical rather than a statistical logic, in other words its aim is

generalising to theory rather than to populations. In this case the purpose of study was to inform educational research about what it means to represent teachers. The literature review prompted some preliminary thoughts on how this might be achieved.

Although teachers had long been a controversial and contested topic of enquiry, the subject seemed to have specific relevance in the context of recent education history. Campbell & Neill (1994) claimed:

... public discussion of the education service has become highly charged politically in the fifteen or so years since the speech by PM James Callaghan in 1976 (p. 6).

However, despite acknowledgement of the impacts of modernisation and political upheaval on teachers in the last 20 years, there was little comprehensive understanding of what being a teacher meant and was coming to mean in social and cultural terms. In recent years cultural commentators had acknowledged a shift in the production of education news (Baker 1994; Doe 1999) and the capacity and power of news to warp and deconstruct meanings (Macmillan 2002; Thomas 2003). Despite these insights there were few studies in the educational field on teachers in the media, even fewer with a specific interest in press representation and apparently none engaging in comprehensive empirical study of their socio-cultural identity. A study of the

representations of teachers in the British press during the 1990s seemed, from a theoretical standpoint, likely to yield relevant and interesting data.

At the time of the 1998 ERA a proliferation of literature intensified debates on the effects of the policy on the school workforce, the status of teachers, their recruitment and retention. There was a strong rationale for exploring what it meant to be a teacher at this time of policy reform and political upheaval. The intention was to cover national press so that the findings could be used by historians in discussions on the national education system and policy. Some of the changes during the 1990s earned more exposure in the literature review than others. Of these some were more relevant than others to the study proposed here. Therefore, *Table 1: The policy context of news in the 1990s* (below) gives a brief chronology of the key political/policy events mentioned in the literature and potentially affecting mainstream school teachers during the time period of this study, from the ERA in 1988 to 2000. It includes general information on the major policy initiatives and National Curriculum issues but not on sector, subject, location or stage specific initiatives. These areas of research, emerging from the literature review, were the ones to which this study was most likely to provide useful insights or contextual information. The number of significant happenings also highlights again the relevance of looking at representations during the 1990s.

Table 1: The policy context of news in the 1990s

1988 Education Reform Act

- Grant maintenance is introduced for schools wishing to remove themselves from local government control and be funded by central government. Secondary schools are given limited selection powers
- The Local Management of Schools takes responsibility for all school funds away from local authorities and gives it to headteachers and school governors
- The National Curriculum and Religious Education are made compulsory nationwide for primary and secondary state schools
- Standardised assessment and testing is introduced for students aged five to 16 in the form of four Key Stages
- The Local Government Act designates local authorities, regulating their functions and ensuring they act competitively

1989 The Children Act introduces the notion of parental responsibility and information on the rights and privileges of parents and children.

1991 John Major takes over from Margaret Thatcher as Conservative Prime Minister.

- The Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act outlines provision in terms of remuneration and other conditions of employment for school teachers.

1993 The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) is established following the 1992 Education (Schools) Act. It takes responsibility for monitoring standards in state and private schools and produces an annual report advising policymakers.

- A government-sponsored review of the National Curriculum, conducted by Ron Dearing, announces a reduction in statutory curriculum requirements.

1994 The establishment of the Teacher Training Agency is planned, with the aims of raising standards of teaching and promoting it as a career.

1997 John Major and the Conservatives are defeated in the general election by Tony Blair's 'New Labour'.

1998 The General Teaching Council in England is established with two aims: the improvement of standards in teaching and the quality of learning; and to improve standards of professional conduct among teachers.

2000 A thorough review of the National Curriculum is completed by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

The literature review showed the initial research question to be legitimate and relevant to the research field. The policy context of the 1990s, and the specific events tabled, had earned a substantial amount of coverage in the literature. Therefore the first research question was confirmed as:

1. How were teachers represented in the British press during the 1990s?

The review also showed there to be some aspects of the teacher earning greater exposure than others. The five features discussed encompassed a wide variety of different representations but underlying each of these, the emphasis was distributed unevenly in clusters of ideas. For instance, in representations of teachers' lives, sometimes statistical trends and general descriptions were prominent and at other times these were eclipsed by insights into the potential heterogeneity of teachers' immediate real-life experiences and opinions. Although explorations of teachers' work took into consideration a wide variety of scenarios and circumstances, some showed evidence of periods in educational history, while others revealed contemporary and individual teachers' engagement with their work. Similarly, some discussions of teachers' public profile and professional identity were informed by the evolution of relationships between media, government and unions, while others offered different insights into teachers' participation in, creation of and response to those agencies in specific working contexts. In studies of teachers' position in relation to the state, there were again, aspects around which ideas

clustered. Teachers were revealed to be dependent upon and determined by policy and politicians. They were also shown to respond to and interpret directions. Finally, literature on teachers' images could be observed and understood in terms of the issues relating to cultural reproduction and/or through issues of cultural consumption and choices.

It was as a result of the uneven distribution of emphasis that some characteristics of the teacher earned greater exposure than others. For reasons of 'theoretical logic', the researcher proposed to describe this distribution of emphasis conceptually with two continua: the first relating to commonality on the one hand and contradiction on the other, the second representing continuity on the one hand and change on the other. It was suggested that in cases of commonality, teachers were assumed to come from a certain class backgrounds, to have particular emotional dispositions, or to exercise free will and creativity in common ways. Here teachers were represented as a homogeneous group which allowed for discussions of the demands, pressures and influences affecting them. Some representations showed more contradictory characteristics, especially where the focus was on details of teachers' local, often individual, features. These revealed the choices and attitudes underpinning their careers, working lives, ideologies and identity. In this capacity teachers were a heterogeneous group showing contradictory and often conflicting features. Continuity was most evident in studies employing a long perspective to describe teachers. Some looked at teachers' lives, work, profile, position and images in historical texts and charted their characteristics in terms of an evolution towards the present

day. They looked to the past to find explanations and predictions for current and future events. They found regularity in teachers' characteristics. In other cases, there was a more narrow focus on a specific time period, often contemporary or in relation to particular policy events or current affairs. This focus on change seemed to enable more extensive exploration of teachers' identities. Unlike the other, it did not make the assumption of regularity, or find examples of irregularity. Rather, difference and variety were the bases of understanding. These findings usually translated less well into explanations and predictions at a general level.

The extremes for each continuum are described above for illustrative purposes but in reality emphasis was usually distributed along the continua. For instance, in representations of teachers' lives, teachers were rarely a population determined by statistics or simply individuals choosing their own intellectual paths, rather they might be individuals more or less exemplifying or conforming to statistical trends. The continua provided ways of analysing and understanding the emphasis underlying representations. For instance, a study on teachers' status might find an individual at a specific time in history to have different characteristics to the teaching population at that time or to other individuals at that and different times. Thinking about the literature this way allowed the researcher to look beyond the five distinguishing features and understand the terms upon which all representations of teachers depended. Using these continua it was possible to predict ways in which a study of the

press might contribute to existing theory. Subsequently three more research questions were suggested:

2. What commonalities and contradictions exist in representations of teachers?
3. What evidence is there of continuity and change in the representation of teachers?
4. What similarities and differences are there between representations of teachers in the British press and in educational literature?

The research questions were not developed in their final form before data collection and analysis and so they did not influence choices made in relation to methodological approach, project design and process. They were only provisional, and were to be refined after data analysis, when the researcher would have more accurate predictions about what the study might achieve. The next chapter shows how this happened.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In the previous chapter it was shown that a study of the representation of teachers in the press during the 1990s had potential significance within a large canon of literature on teachers. An extensive review identified four research questions, through which it was predicted the study might contribute to theory. However, since the literature review was not conducted in advance of this study but ran concurrently with data collection and analysis, the design of the project and the research procedures were decided on the basis of the initial research question only. It asked: 'How were teachers represented in the press during the 1990s?' This chapter therefore shows the development of a research methodology from this question.

At the outset of this project, representations were understood to have context-specific value insofar as they are determined by their creator (Barthes 1991). Therefore, it was intended that the newspapers would be examined empirically and meanings specific to them identified. The first section of this chapter shows why a grounded theory approach was suitable for this exploration. It was also understood that representations could take the form of observable phenomena, borrowing from Berger's (1972) definition of 'appearances'. To better understand the implications of treating representations as identifiable forms, the

researcher considered philosophy and research on the construction of meaning and the communication of meaning. These influences are discussed in turn followed by a proposition for bringing together the different strengths of each with a grounded theory approach. In the second part of this chapter the design of this project is outlined, specifically the rationale behind the sample and timeframe used. The third section describes the research process and suggests how an interpretive approach was made systematic and workable. It shows how a large volume of data was handled and organised. An important part of this process was clarifying the focus of analysis and the potential relevance and applicability of the data to the research field. The concluding section discusses how the research questions were refined for reasons of theoretical logic. This prepares the way for a presentation of the findings in the next chapter.

3.1 The Research Approach

3.1.1 The grounded theory approach

The study intended to use a grounded theory approach. Grounded theory was developed by Glaser & Strauss in 1967 to facilitate the empirical investigation of human action and activity. Their idea was to examine the actions of one case study looking for properties or categories, and then apply these to further case studies, in the process building the categories

into verifiable concepts. Their basic thesis was that theory should be generated from data rather than applied to data; that data collection and analysis should take place outside of a preconceived theoretical paradigm:

The initial decisions for theoretical collection of data are based only on a general sociological perspective and on a general subject or problem area [...] The initial decisions are not based on a preconceived theoretical framework. (Glaser & Strauss, 1995, p. 45)

The root source of all significant theorizing is the sensitive insights of the observer himself. (Glaser & Strauss, 1995, p. 251)

Accordingly, as the grounded theorist accumulates data they simultaneously analyse it through a constant process of comparison with other data. The researcher compares incidents applicable to each category of the data, in the process creating definitions which constitute working hypotheses. These are scrutinised and tested against each other leading to the integration of categories and their properties and the gradual delimitation of theory. Testing continues until it will no longer change or benefit the findings, otherwise known as the point of 'saturation'.

The introspective process was highly appropriate because it involved generating theory from the data rather than verifying existing theory. This study was predicated on the idea that representation does not copy 'reality' (Barthes 1991; Berger 1972; Potter 1996; White 1987) and therefore aimed to explore meanings for the teacher rather than assume a universal meaning. Grounded theory presented a means of generating theory specific to newspaper representations which would potentially offer a new perspective away from assumptions and pre-existing beliefs in the literature, and different from other media and sources. In a practical examination of grounded theory Pandit (1996) claimed that another major attraction of the grounded theory approach was its flexibility. Flexibility was essential if this study was to cover a large volume of material in an interpretive and explorative way. It would allow the researcher to develop ideas and familiarity with the data during its collection.

However, Thomas & James (2006) exposed three fundamental problems with using grounded theory for empirical enquiry:

1. The notion of 'theory': the confusion of vernacular and everyday reasoning with the ability to generalise and predict.
2. The notion of 'ground': that the researcher believes it possible to 'quarantine' themselves from their social selves and provide neutral insights.
3. The notion of 'discovery': that an empiricist can discover meanings underlying language which do not just illuminate but define the social world.

There were other concerns about grounded theory's essentially positivist rationale (Clarke 2005; Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Coolican 1990; Guba & Lincoln 1994). Clarke (2005) considered Glaser & Strauss's model of grounded theory to be positivist in its commitment to identifying a singular basic social process rather than multiple processes, and in its ultimate dependence on an objective view of reality. Guba & Lincoln (1994) also argued that Glaser & Strauss's (1967) commitment to verifying emerging theory rested on assumptions of a pre-existing 'real' world.

Strauss & Corbin (1990; 1998) attempted to rescue grounded theory from its positivist roots by refining its methods. They believed a solution lay in the sound execution of the constant comparative process. They urged that while accumulating phenomena, the researcher should subject them to constant comparison with other phenomena so that ultimately they would reach a point of saturation and yield findings. By drawing comparisons the researcher assumes a sceptical perspective, looking for negative as well as positive hypotheses, and occasionally stepping back from their data. Strauss & Corbin earned considerable support for this approach and some researchers recognised constant comparison as a method in its own right (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Charmaz 2000). However, Strauss & Corbin also used increasingly complex designs and techniques such as axial coding and conditional matrices, subsequently enduring criticism for their formulaic and prescriptive frameworks (Clarke 2005; Coffey & Atkinson 1996).

The constant comparative procedure was appealing for its emphasis on the data and the gradual process of extracting meaning

from texts. However, the researcher had to deal with the threat posed by positivism and its assumptions of truth and meaning. A literature search was conducted to see how other researchers addressed these problems. It was separate from that on teachers accounted for in the previous chapter, but some of the useful insights it provided on teacher imagery were later used there too. The search revealed that there were no previous studies of the media using grounded theory to understand the meaning of teachers. Studies tended to focus on specific media events, orientations or techniques, using discourse, linguistic and narrative analysis (Bernstein 1982; Fairclough 1995; Lumley 1998; Macmillan 1999). However, the problematic assumptions of truth and meaning were commonly felt and variously addressed. The different epistemological perspectives and methodologies prompted the researcher to reconsider how meanings were to be identified and extracted from texts. The next section describes the influences of these discussions and is followed by an explanation of how they were combined with grounded theory to suit the aims and intentions of this study.

3.1.2 Influential theories on the construction of meaning

In the formative stages of this project, it was affected by philosophies on the social, political and subjective construction of meaning. These were variably compatible with Glaser & Strauss's (1967) model of grounded theory and each is discussed in turn below.

1. Symbolic interactionism and the social construction of meaning

Symbolic interactionism was founded between 1860 and 1930 by Cooley, Dewey and Mead (cited in Blumer 1969 and Goulding 1999). Blumer (1969) described the fundamental tenets of the philosophy:

Interpretation should not be regarded as a mere automatic application of established meanings but as a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action. (p 5)

Blumer's vision was premised on the belief that human beings derive meanings for things through an interpretive process, on the basis of their social interaction with fellows. Therefore, human society and human actions form rather than just release meanings, and meanings are constantly subject to change as actions occur.

Symbolic interactionism provided a strong rationale for qualitative research in a study on social phenomena, and also for the avoidance of quantification. If scientific enquiry could not assume the 'real' world to be obdurate and apprehendable in character, it followed that scientists should not attempt to measure it, but should instead subject all concepts, schemes, questions and findings to critical scrutiny. At the same time Blumer did not surrender to extreme empiricism or the psychological view that all meaning is relative to individual perceptions. Instead, he saw

meanings as created social products; understandings which are shared and negotiated.

The study also borrowed from Blumer's view the basic idea that meanings propagated in cultural texts may have symbolic value. This recalled Mills's opinion that "communication is culture" (Mills cited in Denzin 1997 p.73). If meanings are not only reflected, but are created in the socio-cultural domain, then the media becomes a central component in the formation and negotiation of social knowledge. As Fairclough (1995) suggested:

Media language should be recognised as an important element within research on contemporary processes of social and cultural change. (p. 2)

This opinion rendered a study of national press highly relevant and prompted an understanding of the teacher as a social symbol. However, the symbolic interactionist view had greater potential for ethnographies on specific and local events than for research on a general theme or source. Ryle (cited in Geertz, p.7) defined ethnography as "thick description", meaning that it should seek to observe small happenings in great detail so as to make the experience not just the facts available to readers. Although this was to be a qualitative study it would take into account a large quantity of newspapers and it would not be sustainable to explore them at this level of specificity. The study was focussed on the possibility of meaning in observable forms and so the interactional properties of

meaning would be largely irrelevant. However, the ethnographic commitment to 'thick description' was taken seriously because it suggested that small happenings would still have significance in a large dataset.

2. Postmodernism and the political construction of meaning

The principal tenet of postmodernism, described by Foucault (1979), was its claim that knowledge does not exist independently of social life, but is produced and circulated with intention and purpose. He theorised that knowledge and power are inseparable and that research is always and inevitably a political enterprise. He was influential in his belief that unless research encounters preconceived visions of society and definitions of truth with a suspicious and critical outlook, it serves only to perpetuate existing structures, hierarchies and inequalities (Jameson 1984; Lyotard 1997; Foucault cited in Rabinow 1984). Foucault deemed it the task of the postmodernist to revisit and challenge existing narratives and assumptions which legitimate and institutionalise social prejudices.

Postmodernism met with an upsurge in cultural theory on the power of the consumer in relation to the state. It revealed the influence of the media and popular culture within the state (White cited in Allen 1987; Fairclough 1995; Giddens 1991; Giroux 1981; Fray cited in Hammersley 1993; McCarthy 1996; Morgan 2002). Like these studies, this one was oriented towards re-representing actions and processes in the social world. It aimed to deconstruct social meanings, examine them empirically

and embrace their instabilities, inconsistencies, variations and silences. In the process it would be self-reflective and self-critical. However, unlike the postmodern endeavour, this project was not focussed on the power structures underlying meanings, but rather the organisation of meaning specific to one theme. Husserl (cited in Bauman 1978) and McCarthy (1996) criticised postmodernists for marginalising the pursuit of truth. Although the concept of truth was not considered unproblematic, the postmodern agenda appeared restrictive for its emphasis on the problem and process of meaning formation. It neglected meaning as a thing worthy of exploration in its own right.

3. Constructivism and the subjective construction of meaning

Schwandt (1994) represented and challenged the constructivist belief that reality is created by the individual, that it is not only historically relative but also only ever local and specific.

To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer's construction of the constructions of the actors one studies. (Schwandt, 1994, p. 118)

This radical interpretivism meant that the researcher could only hope to contribute to the broader research enterprise with a series of context-specific working hypotheses. Coolican (1990) was a proponent of working

hypotheses, claiming that the value of research lay in its contribution to the knowledge pool and its illuminating insights. He also cited grounded theory as an example of objective empiricism that serves only to replace existing generalisations with new ones. He considered it a serious threat to the empirical endeavour.

This view was relevant for its sensitivity to the specific and particular. Constructivism appeared compatible with grounded theory because it made the researcher's own active participation in the research endeavour a point for critical reflection. It showed that the interpretative endeavour was at risk of bias and needed to be handled with caution. However, constructivism was also limiting. Clarke (2005) relied on a radical view of knowledge as existing only in the mind of the individual. She argued that the grounded theory should make explicit the specific situations within which analysis occurs. She devised a number of maps to help the researcher detail the location of their enquiry, their assumptions and discourses. However, her maps and structures showed the same prescriptive and formulaic tendencies for which she criticised Strauss & Corbin, Glaser & Strauss. At the same time as claiming there to be no stable properties in the world, she was pursuing objectivity in the form of fixed methods and strategies.

This approach was also problematic when it came to justifying and evaluating the research process. The difficulty of employing extreme post-structural positions was also encountered by historians White (1987) and De Certeau (1988), who argued that an account is inevitably informed by the narrator's own opinions of social justice and retrospective

knowledge. Although logical and coherent, the constructivist view did not provide any solutions for how research should progress. It was subsequently a frustrating option to work with:

Truth is a slippery business, but abandoning it altogether is surely perverse. (Fairclough 1995, p. 47)

I, for one, can find little comfort in a form of interpretivism that degenerates into nihilism (Schwandt 1994, p. 131)

This study aspired to more than working hypotheses and relativist insights. An alternative to constructivism put forward by Gergen (cited in Schwandt 1994) was social constructionism. Their theory of 'intersubjectivity' saw meaning as derived from a combination of subjective and shared understanding. It was relevant for ethnographers and sociologists searching for meaning in human action and interaction but it was not an objective of this study to observe construction, but rather, the constructed.

3.1.3 Influential studies on the communication of meaning

The previous section outlined some of the influential philosophies and methodologies on the construction of meaning. This one considers philosophies and studies on the communication of meaning. For the sake

of clarity and coherence they are described according to three distinctive emphases: critical linguistics, narrative/content analysis, and discourse analysis.

Critical linguistics and phenomenology

Beard & Easingwood (1989) claimed that grounded theory is positivist but could move beyond this by drawing on the methodology of phenomenology. Husserl (cited in Bauman 1978) described phenomenology as the idea that all perceptions are mental experiences whether or not they occur inside or outside the head. This represented a departure from the scientific perspective of Kant and Locke, which distinguished emotions and senses. Phenomenology therefore arose from the idea that social reality is perceived differently by each individual but that shared perceptions are created to enable society to function (Shutz cited in Beard & Easingwood 1989). Beard & Easingwood proposed that grounded theory could be used to identify an individual's experiences if the researcher treats these experiences as units of analysis. They categorised interview transcripts by distinguishing the object of each extract from its qualifying statements and coding it accordingly. In this way, critical linguistics was a means of identifying social phenomena. These phenomena/units of analysis were then subjected to analysis through the constant comparative method. The approach was relevant and useful to this study because it combined a regard for the multiplicity of meaning with pragmatism. The identification

of phenomena fitted with the emphasis on 'appearance' here. However, it was unclear how or why individual experiences should have existed in the object of an interview extract and not in its qualifying statements. The language was also only one aspect of the communication process; meaning might also have existed in the phrasing, vocal intonations, body language and the spatial and temporal situation of the speaker. Ultimately, applying definitions to experience at the outset of the project seemed counterproductive given that it was the purpose of the project to let definitions emerge.

Bernstein (1982) attempted phenomenological critical linguistics with his study on the process of cultural reproduction. He used the relationship between meanings and their contexts as the unit of analysis, developing a series of codes and rules to describe the formation of meaning from the origin in texts to the meaning taken from reading them. His work was influential for its original contribution to sociological knowledge of the communication process. He argued that more useful than the search for objective or relative 'truth', was the possibility of a middle ground in self-conscious realism. However, Bernstein's use of phenomenology appeared limited in one fundamental respect. While a cause-effect framework was a useful means of plotting the communicative process, it neglected the valuable potential of imagery, the unobservable phenomena in language and its unpredictability. In other words, Bernstein's interpretive method, like that of Beard & Easingwood, was severely compromised by a lack of insight provided on the contextual and experiential relativity of meanings.

Narrative/content analysis and correspondence theory

This issue of relative value was addressed effectively with more flexible approaches to linguistics. Holstein & Gubrium (1994) drew on the methodological precedents set by phenomenologists but they also believed that meanings correspond to specific contexts and to the subjective process of interpretation. They proposed that words might be apprehended through a study of language but that meanings have social and cultural value:

The accomplishment of order and meaning is highly localised, artful, yet contextually conditioned (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994, p. 270)

The roots of this approach lay in theories on the properties of language. Lackoff & Johnson (1980) believed that words and concepts do not have neutral or homogenous meanings, but depend for their definition upon the relationship between their physical and intended functions. Lackoff & Johnson used the example that a 'gun' is not a 'gun' if it is a fake 'gun' to illustrate how definitions rely on 'interactional properties', meaning the circumstances of the reader and their correspondence with the text:

... regulations of linguistic form cannot be explained in formal terms alone [...] The 'logic' of a language is

based on the coherence between the spatialized form of the language and the conceptual system, especially the metaphorical aspects of the conceptual system. (Lackoff & Johnson, 1980, p.138)

According to correspondence theorists (Fairclough 1995; Hoey 2001; Lackoff & Johnson 1980; Taylor 1984; Williams 1983) social meanings are constructed and shaped at the level of the individual word. This post-structural phenomenological enterprise appeared to be a popular approach for empirical studies of cultural texts outside of cultural theory (Burbach & Figgins 1993; Crume 1988; Efron & Joseph 2001; Elbaz 1991; Joseph & Burnaford 2001; Morgan 2002; Weber & Mitchell 1995). Efron (2001) looked for metaphoric qualities in images described by teachers in interview. She suggested:

Metaphors, as reflections in a mirror, may provide affirming images of teachers and their understanding of practice. Conversely, they can illustrate wide gaps between teachers' ideal selves and the existence of what they know daily. (Efron & Joseph, 2001, p.87)

Efron & Joseph claimed that metaphors were catalysts which helped the teachers to become more aware of and to reflect on their beliefs and practices. Like Clandinin (1985) they urged that metaphor enables the researcher to navigate and organise the complex terrain of identity. The

logic of understanding social meanings through metaphor cohered with the rationale of this investigation and seemed likely to yield rich and descriptive data. However, as was the case in critical linguistics, there remained a philosophical issue over the pre-designation of a unit of analysis before data collection. This project was topic-oriented and so the unit of analysis was no more clearly defined than the word 'teacher'. It was a concern that a commitment to metaphor might narrow the field of vision and compromise the grounded theory agenda. Another problem was the applicability of these subjective meanings. Elbaz (1991) and Weber & Mitchell (1995) believed that using metaphor was a way of abstracting explanations which could then be understood as part of a larger and more detailed story. However, Novoa (2000) argued that meanings retrieved from texts were subjective and that assumptions may not be made about their symbolic value. There appeared, therefore, to be limitations in the application of correspondence theory findings to non-corresponding scenarios.

Discourse analysis and cultural studies

In advocating media study, Fairclough (1995) urged researchers to abandon the singular use of textual analysis, critical linguistics or conversation analysis in favour of a combination of all three. He followed the lead of Van Dijk who took a multifunctional view of texts, looking at 'macro' structures such as the relevance and order of themes as well as 'micro' structures of language such as the cause-and-effect relations

between propositions. In this manner Fairclough claimed Van Dijk could specify exactly how values are produced in news.

Changes in society and culture manifest themselves in all their tentativeness, incompleteness and contradictory nature in the heterogeneous and shifting discursive practices of the media. (Fairclough 1995, p. 52)

Fairclough claimed that popular media have a central role in the formation of social knowledge which was a perspective compatible with symbolic interactionism. Fiske (1995) discussed the link:

Popular culture is the culture of the subordinated and disempowered and thus always bears within it signs of power relations, traces of the forces of domination and subordination that are central to our social system and therefore to our social experience. (p. 4)

Discourse analysis appeared a popular approach to media and communication (Blackmore & Thomson 2004; Edwards 1997; Philo et al. 1982; Lumley 1998; Macmillan 1995, 2001, 2002; Macmillan & Edwards 1998, 1999; Miller, P. M. 1996; Potter 1996; Surber 1998; Thomas 2003; Wallace 1993). These studies of the manipulative properties of communication took into account everything from the source of the

material, commercial imperatives, editorial slant, political and market forces, to the gender and hierarchy of the newsroom workforce. An example is Macmillan & Edwards (1999) who examined the factual status of a story on Diana, Princess of Wales, in a process called ethnographic discourse analysis. They found that news provides false and inaccurate information in order to win readers. They went beyond the study of language in terms of grammatical categories, lexical positioning and other linguistic strategies, and sought to understand the meaning of the words in their contexts. In this respect their agenda aligned with correspondence theory and it was illuminating for the insights it provided into the historical, social and cultural relativity of meaning. The study also fitted the empirical precedents of grounded theory and was sensitive to the notion of socially-constructed meaning. However, a significant problem with the discourse analysis tradition was that while its proponents keenly recognised trends, patterns and dominant narratives, they often generated theory unsystematically from cultural texts with the effect of vague and unstructured findings (Carey 2002). These theorists commonly showed no commitment to a specified unit of analysis or to demonstrable theory generation (Brodie et al. 1978; Lumley 1998; Miller, P. M. 1996; Thomas 2003; Wallace 1993). It was unclear, therefore, how constructions identified by the researchers could be used to form generalisations about social meanings. Insofar as discourse analysts were victim to the same problems of relativity as constructivists it seemed misguided of them to make general claims, and yet it was a common activity:

Media is complicit in the (re)production of privilege
(Blackmore & Thomson, 2004, p.314)

Mills's notion that communication is culture (cited in Denzin 1997) was interpreted by some discourse analysts to mean that the products of news, in terms of objective meanings, were inseparable from news process, meaning its contextually relative configuration (Jenson 1993; Macmillan 1995, 2001, 2002; Macmillan & Edwards 1998, 1999; Potter 1996). Cultural sociologist, Gerbner, (cited in Morgan 2002) described news product and process as phases within a single communicative event:

Someone perceives an event and reacts in a situation
through some means to make available materials in
some form and context conveying content of some
consequence. (p. 67)

This synopsis implied that process and product could be abstracted from cultural texts but that communication could not be understood without both. Gerbner's insight showed a more focussed and systematic approach than the cultural theorists referenced earlier, but was still limited. It was implied in the earlier examples of narrative analysis that other outcomes besides the theory of communication might be achieved through studies of culture but the potential for identifying news themes for

the purpose of topical rather than discursive enquiry had yet to be realised.

3.1.4 A methodological proposition

Grounded theory was under attack for its positivist notions and traits (Clarke 2005; Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Coolican 1990; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Thomas & James 2006). There was little merit in the conventional deterministic perspective diagnosed in grounded theory. More convincing and relevant to this study were theories which saw truth as problematic and meaning as a social, political and subjective construct. However, there was equally little to be gained from post-positivist positions which resulted in nihilism and extreme relativism. It limited the potential for theory generation and negated the aims of this study to identify representations of meanings in the socio-cultural domain. This study would not commit to either positivist or post-positivist extremes. This recalled the opinion that the real world is more complex and more subtle than paradigms allow (Hammersley 1993; Pring 2000; Silverman 2000). Nor were the distinctions of quantitative and qualitative approaches applicable. The analysis of symbolic interactionism showed that while this study was of the former type it was to deal with a large quantity of material and would require an analytic system. Hammersley (1993) argued that more important than the differences between qualitative and quantitative measures in methodological considerations were method, discovery and justification. Silverman (2000) added to this that,

"dichotomies and polarities in social science as highly dangerous [...] Ultimately, objectivity should be the common aim of all social science" (p.11). Therefore, instead of thinking about this project in paradigmatic or definitive terms, the researcher would aim towards objectivity and justifiable findings. The methodology would attempt to combine interpretive enquiry with systematic methods, assuming neither objectivity nor the elimination of subjectivity.

Studies of communication each differently addressed the issue of objectivity at a methodological level. Phenomenology was appealing because it shared with the constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin 1990; 1998) a systematic and pragmatic perspective found lacking in cultural studies. It also avoided an unnecessary reliance on restrictive matrices, with which users of the constant comparative method struggled. Using phenomenology the study could proceed with the simple idea that representations of the teacher would be identified, that an 'appearance' would constitute a phenomenon and that a point of saturation might be reached by comparing phenomena. However, studies in correspondence theory showed that the phenomenological reliance on a predefined unit of analysis denied the relativity of meaning. In this respect phenomenology contradicted the grounded theory commitment to preserving context-specific meanings and was a little too objective. On the other hand, the emphasis in correspondence theory on interaction provided no clues as to how specific meanings might be made available at a more general level.

Strauss & Corbin provided another useful insight here. They argued that objectivity need not mean control as long as the researcher 'listens' to the data. They believed that specific meanings could be made general if the researcher embraces rather than denies their subjective engagement with the data. They required that grounded theorists work through their assumptions and predispositions by asking questions of the data and themselves that expose and challenge their understanding. The researcher intended to acknowledge and make explicit the subjective process of observing the data. The criteria of an 'appearance', the process of identifying appearances, and ascribing meanings to them would be subjected to constant questioning, critical scrutiny and comparison. The methods of data collection and the units of analysis would only become clear by listening to and becoming familiar with the data. In this respect, the interpretation of data was a critical part of the analysis. Subsequently, the term 'appearance' evaded initial definition and from this point on in the thesis it is not referred to with quotation marks in respect of Berger's (1972) definition.

This view showed a commitment to subjectivism without surrendering to nihilism, and the aim of objectivism without control. It would allow for the possibility of generating theory without relying on positivist or post-positivist frameworks. A valuable precedent for this approach was set by Charmaz (2000), who believed that "a continuum can be discerned between objectivist and constructivist grounded theory" (p. 510). She argued that grounded theory could be 'constructed' by

researchers working anywhere along this continuum provided they explain the way they adapt its flexible framework.

[...] we can use grounded theory methods as flexible, heuristic strategies rather than as formulaic approaches. (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510)

The strategies of grounded theory, as Charmaz identified them, were: regarding data, coding data, memo writing and theoretical sampling. The meaning of each to this project is discussed later in this chapter. They are referred to as strategies rather than methods as a reminder that they were developed and not imposed.

With this rationale the researcher developed notions of 'theory', 'ground' and 'discovery' different from those used by Thomas & James. Instead of aspiring to form theoretical generalisations transcending everyday reasoning, the researcher aimed to yield justifiable findings. Their theoretical potential would be learned through an understanding of the source material. It was not assumed that meanings would be 'grounded' in a neutral and objective sense, but instead that interpreted meanings would, through critical reflection and rigorous testing, move beyond the hypothetical towards the general. As for 'discovery', the researcher was aiming to show "an image of a reality not *the* reality" (Charmaz, 2000, p.523). The conditions, meanings and process of theory generation would be illustrated extensively and the specific claims given sufficient contextual information to render the findings reliable. With this

approach the researcher repudiated Thomas & James's view that grounded theory could not be modified. They argued that using the name grounded theory "promote[s] the epistemological and theoretical precepts embodied in its name" (p.790). They criticised Charmaz and Clarke for attempts to retain its name in their otherwise progressive methodologies. However, this discussion suggested that as the relevance of grounded theory had changed since its inception in the 1960s, so too had its status and the value attributed to its name. Grounded theory was not denied by researchers for reasons of the definitions upon which it relied 40 years ago. Instead refinements and adaptations demonstrated the potential for exposing its strengths and weaknesses and leading researchers towards a better understanding of how the inevitable limitations of all empirical enterprise might be more effectively minimised.

The effectiveness of a grounded theory approach using constructed strategies would rely on the project design and details of the research process. As Robson (2002) said: "A good design framework will have high compatibility among purposes, theory, research questions, methods and sampling strategy" (p. 82). Therefore, this chapter now considers the practical decisions taken in designing the framework for this project, first in terms of sampling and then in its operational procedures.

3.2 Project Design

Since the intention was to analyse one source of the teacher concept, the project might have met the criteria of a case survey analysis (Yin & Heald and Ragin cited in Schofield 2002). However, it did not qualify because the research field was not known in advance and only the open-ended initial research question determined the project design. The task therefore became one of choosing newspapers that would represent the British press generally and articles that would allow for an exhaustive testing of the teacher concept.

The intention was not to compare appearances of the teacher in especially diverse or specific situations, but to identify a sample that was somehow representative of newspaper coverage in Britain at a national level. Schofield (2002) argued that non-specific relevance could be achieved by representing instances typical to a certain situation and so it was to his concept of typicality that this project aspired.

... the researcher [...] should try to select an instance
of this kind of situation that is, to the extent possible,
typical of its kind (Schofield, 2002, p. 182)

In pursuit of a typical sample, the project drew on a method of purposive sampling:

In purposive sampling, researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality. In this way they build up a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs.

(Cohen & Manion 2003, p. 103)

However, after handpicking a large sample of relevant cases they were refined and reduced using stratified and quota-based sampling techniques.

3.2.1 Choosing the newspapers

The project specifically needed a sample of national press so as to compare with literature on the national education system. However, Seymour-Ure (2001) argued that it was a mistake to define the national press by circulation or location because following the Second World War some Fleet Street publications had lower readerships than provincial newspapers and several had local offices and branches in Manchester and Scotland. He concluded that "the recipe for a national paper was thus a mixture of national reputation, geographical reach and breadth of content" (p. 20). He also added that the ingredients were constantly changing. In other newspaper histories there were ten national daily newspapers repeatedly cited as leading the market around the 1990s (Hetherington 1986; Leapman 1992; McNair 2000; Peak 2003). These were the *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Financial Times*, *Independent*,

Guardian, Daily Mail, Daily Express, Mirror, Daily Star and Sun. These newspapers were subjected to Seymour-Ure's three identifiers: reputation, reach and content.

1. Reputation

To attain the most typical picture possible, it was important to represent a cross section of the national daily market. McNair (2000) distinguished the press by three strata: 'elite', 'mid-market' and 'popular', on the basis of their readership and their coverage of political news. For details see *Table A1: McNair's characterisation of the leading national daily newspapers* (Appendix p. 276). He argued that the tabloid size of some newspapers was no longer a discriminating factor, and the recent tabloidisation of the *Times, Independent* and *Guardian* supported this. Nonetheless, the traditional broadsheets tended to fall into his 'elite' class, the *Daily Mail* and *Express* were 'mid-market' and the remainder were 'popular'. This was broadly coherent with Peak's categorisations in 2003.

2. Reach

Three different histories were referenced to identify the most widely circulated of the national daily newspapers from 1986 to 2001. The findings are illustrated in *Table A2: Circulation figures for the top selling daily national newspapers* (Appendix p. 277). However, circulation was not considered significant because popularity did not account for variables such as access to the newspapers, political affiliations, cost,

size and content. The geographical reach of the sample was particularly difficult to assess because Scotland, for example, had access to the leading titles in the rest of Britain as well as its own national press. The *Mirror* produced the *Daily Record* there, and the *Daily Mail* introduced a special Scottish edition, but the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* were poorly represented there in terms of circulation. It was not the aim to exclude Scotland from the sample but neither to focus on it as a separate entity. It was important that the reader should be aware that the findings presented here would apply to and be accessed by the Scottish, Welsh and Irish, but would not necessarily constitute their typical sample.

3. Content

McNair's Political Newsworthiness Rating (PNR) measured the amount of coverage given to politics in comparison with the maximum possible occasions for political coverage in each newspaper. A pilot study bore out his finding that the *Sun* was "highly politicised" compared with some "quasi-pornographic" others. While it was the aim of this study to represent typicality and not to focus on political spectrum, the PNR was a likely indicator of information and/or entertainment value of each newspaper. It seemed appropriate to discount the extremely political and non-political from the sample on the basis that this would leave a more aggregate representation of the informative and entertaining press.

In addition to assessing the quality of content, sampling took into consideration the quantity of content on teachers. This was tested using an online news database called LexisNexis Professional which is

described in the Appendix (p. 279). The number of articles mentioning teachers in each newspaper was counted by running a search on the word 'teacher'. Britain's eight most widely circulated newspapers were assessed in this way by recording the number of mentions made on five days in each of four months in 2003. The results are presented in *Table A3: Mentions of the word 'teacher' in 20 days of 2003* (Appendix p. 278). There were other ways that teachers might appear besides being actually mentioned, but this was a systematic way of discounting extremes in the quantity of coverage from the sample in order to achieve typicality.

Another factor relating to content was the size and manageability of the newspapers. Choosing six broadsheets would have increased the length of the study considerably and six tabloids might have provided insufficient material. It seemed responsible to opt for three of each.

The sample was thus initially selected on account of the specific focus of this study and then refined according to quota and strata criteria. The timeframe of the study, described below, meant that six newspapers were to be investigated and those selected were the *Times*, *Independent*, *Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror* and *Sun*. The other possible candidates would have been the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Star* but they represented the extremes in terms of reputation, circulation within their market, political coverage, and mentions of teachers. The effectiveness of sampling based on a concept of typicality is discussed in Chapter Six. Meanwhile a brief synopsis is given on each of the newspapers chosen. The synopses are based on descriptions given by four newspaper

historians writing before, during and after the time of the sample: Hetherington (1986), Leapman (1992), McNair (2000) and Peak (2003). This was in order to show various and changing opinions.

Times – Britain's longest running newspaper was founded in 1785.

Since 1982 it has been the second best selling broadsheet after the *Daily Telegraph*. It was bought by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in 1981. Hetherington said that the reporting at this time was "generally factual and news priorities are not evidently prejudiced" (p. 27). McNair concurred that in 1998 it still had no obvious political allegiance, but in the interim Leapman defined it as right wing. Peter Stothard, who was knighted by Margaret Thatcher for his ten-year editorship, was succeeded by Robert Thomson in 2002.

Independent – Launched in 1986 by the Independent Group, this was the youngest British daily newspaper and appeared to have comparatively low circulation. It was at its most popular in 1989 and in the early days it benefited from a number of successful journalists who were jumping ship during the strikes at News International. Leapman described it as politically centre-right and McNair discussed its allegiance with New Labour after the 1997 election - three years after the Mirror Group consortium took it over. Andrew Marr, who

was perceived as biased towards Labour, edited it until 1998 when he was succeeded by Simon Kelner.

Guardian – Founded in 1821, this paper started life as the *Manchester Guardian* but moved to London and joined the nationals in 1964. It belonged to the Guardian Media Group and the Scott Trust. The news historians unanimously described it as left wing and centre-left for the whole of the 1990s. Alan Rusbridger took editorial control in 1995.

Daily Mail – This paper began life in 1896 and became the first ever British tabloid in 1971. It was part of Daily Mail and General Trust, a member of the conglomerate Associated Newspapers. Hetherington said the *Daily Mail* was: "A partisan newspaper, appealing to middle class Conservatives, though inclined to take an occasional swipe at Mrs Thatcher's ministers" (p.28). Leapman and McNair said that the right wing, Conservative allegiance was a defining feature of the tabloid throughout the 1990s. Editor David English was knighted by Margaret Thatcher before he retired in 1992 after 21 years service. He was succeeded by Paul Dacre.

Mirror – Founded in 1903, it became a tabloid in 1935 and was owned by Mirror Group which, after merging with Trinity

Group in 1999, became the UK's biggest newspaper publisher. As the only mass circulation left wing title in the daily market it traditionally competed with the *Sun* for readers but had not equalled it in circulation since 1978. McNair blamed its diminishing reputation as a quality tabloid on the mismanagement of millionaire Labour MP Robert Maxwell who drowned in 1984. Piers Morgan edited it from 1995 to 2004 and before him was Richard Wallace.

Sun - This had been the best selling newspaper in Britain since 1980 (Seymour-Ure 2001). It began life as the Daily Herald in 1912 and was renamed in 1964. It was bought out five years later by the Rupert Murdoch. Leapman described it as right wing but it explicitly switched allegiances to New Labour on March 18, 1997 with the declaration that it was now "backing Blair". McNair commented: "The style and tone of its coverage is populist and partisan, as one would expect given the nature of its readership and the approach of its proprietor, but this should not by itself imply a qualitative inferiority," (p. 21). During the 1990s the newspaper was edited by Kelvin McKenzie, Stuart Higgins and David Yelland.

3.2.2 Deciding the timeframe and texts

Despite a clear rationale that the sample should represent materials and coverage typical of the national press in the 1990s, time restrictions meant the dates of the sample had to be selected. A pilot study in February 2004 was conducted to ascertain how many newspaper articles it would be reasonable to collect within the time remit of this study, which articles were most likely to provide material typical of teacher representations, and from when they should be drawn. The pilot showed that taking one week at a time of coverage in each newspaper was much more productive than observing more one-off days. A week-long sample allowed for time lapses in the breaking of stories and also helped the researcher become familiar with a story as it developed. There was great variation in weekend coverage, with some of the tabloid-size newspapers publishing nothing at all and some of the larger broadsheets carrying bulky supplements on Saturday and Sunday. It was decided, therefore, that the newspapers would be observed for five days at a time, Monday to Friday inclusive. Each set of five days therefore contained 30 newspapers, each of which took approximately 45 minutes to read. Calculations showed that if data collection was to take around nine months, three sets of 30 newspapers could be read for each year totalling 900 newspapers for the decade.

The timing of the three five-day sets within the calendar year was planned around those times and places which appeared most often to yield relevant material. Since it was the intention to study typical coverage

rather than special occasions or events, initially it seemed appropriate to avoid times around examination results, school admissions, budget days etc. However, events and occasions were found to be the habit not the exception, so this was not a reasonable criterion for sampling. Nonetheless, a pilot study suggested that school summer holidays yielded less data on school teaching and more on fieldtrips and teaching outside school. Therefore, it seemed sensible to choose a set in each term of the academic year, positioned about one month into the beginning of term when school was in full swing. February, May and October were selected for this reason and also because they were distributed evenly over the year. Within each month there were three but not always four full weeks. In order not to trespass into following months the sets followed the first, second and third full weeks of each month on a rotational basis. In other words the first full week of February, May and October were analysed in 1990, the second full week in 1991, the third in 1992, then the first again in 1993 and so on.

All the newspapers were scanned for articles representing teachers but restrictions of time also meant it was necessary to deselect unrelated supplements. The proliferation of lengthy supplements would have required several weeks or months of extended analysis. Supplements within or alongside the newspapers were included that had an education focus including the weekly *Guardian Education* and *Independent Education* sections as well as the weekly page devoted to the subject in the *Daily Mail*. The occasional special supplements produced on education or topical issues within education were also

included. However, supplements on unrelated topics, such as finance, sport, television and others were not. A topic was considered unrelated when it rendered issues or foci that were obviously intended for a specialist or atypical audience. The issue of how far time sampling may have distorted the data and removed the study from its broad objectives is discussed in Chapter Six.

3.2.3 Accessing original and virtual texts

It was insufficient to view the articles in text-only format online because pictures, formatting and position on the page were all potential contributors to the interpretative process. It was necessary that the newspapers should therefore be read in hard copy or on microfilm. Copies of the six newspapers for the duration of the 1990s were available at two libraries in the UK: the British Library in Colindale, north London and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The latter was the preferred choice because it was more convenient geographically for the researcher to attend. Many of the earlier newspapers were only available on microfilm and some later publications were available on microfilm and in hard copy. For the sake of consistency and because it was often more manageable, microfilm was used whenever it was available. The *Sun* was only available in hard copy throughout the decade.

It was often necessary to revisit the newspapers to check selections and references. Here again LexisNexis Professional played a key role in the study. Making checks between the library materials and

the online archive was an effective way of ensuring that no key articles had been missed in the microfilm readings. A vocabulary search was run on the word 'teacher' for each weekly set of 30 newspapers immediately after it had been studied on microfilm. Articles which were missed or hidden in the first reading were added and coded accordingly. LexisNexis Professional was especially useful because as the process of data selection evolved it was a readily available source of original text. However, there were limitations to the online database that justified the decision to read the full-text versions of newspapers:

- Not all newspapers were available on LexisNexis Professional. Up until 1992 only the *Times*, *Guardian* and *Independent* had online versions. The *Sun* was the latest newspaper to first appear on LexisNexis Professional, arriving in 1998
- There were occasional discrepancies between the microfilm versions and the web texts because not all supplements were recorded on the former and the page numbers were sometimes incorrect or not even quoted in the latter
- Teachers might appear in an article without being actually mentioned and so would not appear in a keyword search
- LexisNexis Professional was a text-only service so pictures and fonts were not shown and headlines made no visual impact. In the

hard copy newspapers, the pictures, adverts, coloured inks and page layouts all contributed to the process of reading and it was within this context that the study was attempting to explore the appearance of the teacher

- Reading from the source materials made the exercise more enjoyable, which was important considering the fieldwork took many months

3.3 The Research Process

To overcome some of the limitations of Glaser & Strauss's (1967) grounded theory, this study emphasised its constant comparative procedure and its flexible strategies. A review of previous grounded theory research revealed that Charmaz's (2000) view was most similar to this one because she suggested a developmental approach and avoided reliance on maps, matrices, units of analysis and formulae (Beard & Easingwood 1989; Bernstein 1982; Clarke 2005; Strauss & Corbin 1990; 1998).

Charmaz named four strategies, which she believed could be used by the grounded theorist to construct a framework appropriate for their perspective and specific to the data. The first, regarding data, she understood to be the process of selecting relevant material from the primary sources. Secondly, coding data, she saw as involving the

analysis of selected material. The third strategy, memo writing, Charmaz broadly defined as the intermediary stage between coding and drafting, in which the researcher takes notes and reflects on the selection and analysis. Finally, she identified the fourth strategy as theoretical sampling, meaning the process of refining the data categories and developing them as theoretical constructs.

The flexible and developmental approach was important because it allowed for the data, not subjective or theoretical meanings, to take priority. However, it took time to establish each stage in the process, and progress happened through trial and error. As Strauss & Corbin (1998) proposed:

The design, like the concepts, must be allowed to emerge during the research process. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 33)

The study used and modified Charmaz's strategies. Background information on how the strategies were developed in two pilot studies, are given in the Appendix. Charmaz added a supplementary strategy: 'computer-assisted analysis'. The use of qualitative data handling software was used here but it is included under 'coding data' because it was only introduced to help manage and organise the data after collection and analysis had begun. It was used to facilitate and not to direct the study and it was not a strategy separate from coding.

3.3.1 Regarding data

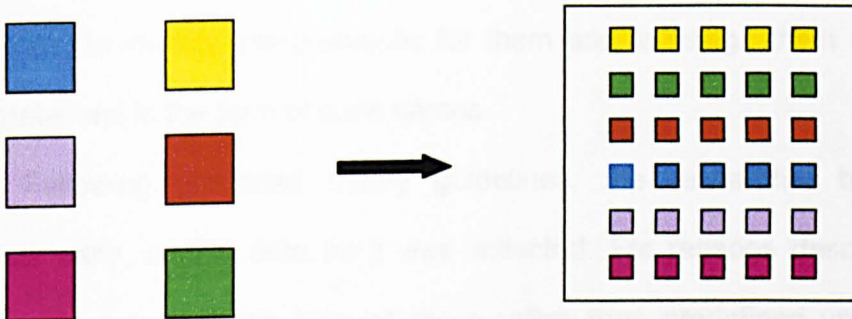
The study addressed the initial research question: 'How were teachers represented in the press during the 1990s?' Each appearance of the teacher identified in the newspapers would constitute a hypothetical phenomenon and be subjected to exhaustive testing. Charmaz (2000) and Strauss & Corbin (1990) advised that when the grounded theorist does not have a predefined unit of analysis they should use initial prompts in the form of specific questions about the data's general, positional, factual and personal properties. Strauss & Corbin referred to these assumptions as an 'initial conceptual framework', claiming that basic assumptions may be useful not problematic, so long as they are embraced rather than denied in analysis. A series of prompts and questions about the data's properties were used but even the most open-ended restricted and limited what counted as an appearance (see pp. 280-289). Following two pilot studies the researcher abandoned the idea of a framework and returned to the initial research question. Although simplistic and vague, a solution for using it lay in Glaser's (1995) technique of accumulating 'data slices'. He maintained that the grounded theorist should not judge the data in advance, but should just record and accumulate all informative statements and events for comparison with each other. In accordance, this study defined data as a situation wherein the teacher might have meaning. Each data slice therefore demonstrated at least one but more often several appearances of meaning. More data

was accumulated using this method than using prompts, but it was a more organic and simple process.

The researcher regarded one article at a time looking for data slices. Notes were taken of each article's date, location and position within the newspaper. A slice might constitute a headline, a picture, a caption or a whole page of text. Each text slice was transcribed exactly from the newspaper onto computer and notes were taken on the location of each slice within an article. Visual slices were described in prose and some were photocopied and kept for reference. Examples of finding and transcribing data slices are provided in the Appendix (pp. 290-293). The qualitative data handling computer software Nvivo was used to manage data selections after the pilot studies showed that it was easier to use than handwritten notes, especially given the increased volume of data. For each year of the data a separate Nvivo project was created. Within it were eighteen files, one for every five-day set of each newspaper's coverage. Therefore, later in the study it was possible to recall Nvivo project 1995 and a file for the *Times* in October or the *Mirror* in February. Within each file the slices were transcribed directly from the source materials onto blank screens. One newspaper for five days would produce around 12 relevant articles, each comprising any number of data slices, but on average from one to four. Articles varied considerably in length but for a particularly insightful one perhaps two-thirds or more of it would be transcribed into Nvivo. *Diagram 1: Managing data*, (below), illustrates:

Diagram 1: Managing data

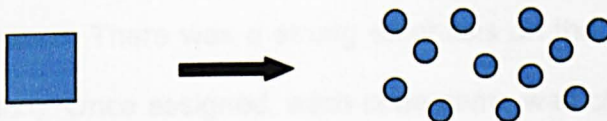
Organising data into Nvivo projects



Six newspapers e.g. *Sun*,
Times

A set of 30 newspapers
including one of each
newspaper for each of five
days e.g. February 21-25,
1992. Three sets = one
Nvivo project and one
complete year of data.

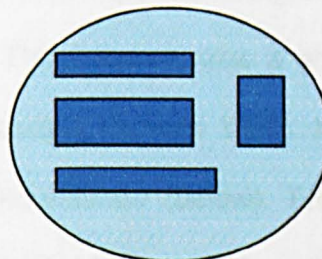
Selecting data from newspapers



One newspaper on
one day e.g. the
Times on Feb 21

Around 12 relevant
articles for each
newspaper in each
set of five days

Each article is
comprised of data
slices. Slices varied in
number and length but
on average there were
about one to four per
article, each with
around 50-100 words



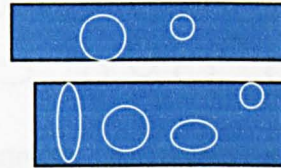
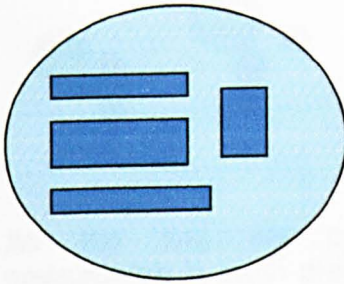
3.3.2 Coding data

Each data slice contained at least one appearance of the teacher and the purpose of coding was to analyse the appearances for possible meanings, to identify interpretations for them and to assign them these interpretations in the form of code names.

Following grounded theory guidelines, the researcher began analysis early, coding data as it was collected. For reasons described earlier, the data took the form of slices rather than predefined units of analysis. Codes were applied to one slice at a time; to individual words, sentences, pictures (re-represented in prose) and whole extracts, accounting for the location of the slice within the article where relevant. As and when a meaning for the teacher appeared in a data selection, a descriptive code name was given to it. Code names were hypotheses which in effect attributed a general, present-tense descriptor to each appearance. There was a strong emphasis on the constant comparative procedure. Once assigned, each code name was checked against codes already existing in the dataset, usually resulting in the modification of the name or the dataset, and this iterative process was repeated several times. The process is illustrated in the Appendix (see pp. 298-305).

As code names were created they were put into groups based on a perception of similar meanings. This process was a simple form of categorisation (Smith cited in Sternberg & Horvath 1995). It is illustrated in *Diagram 2: The process of categorisation* (below). From this point onwards in the thesis all codes are highlighted in bold for easy reference.

Diagram 2: The process of categorisation



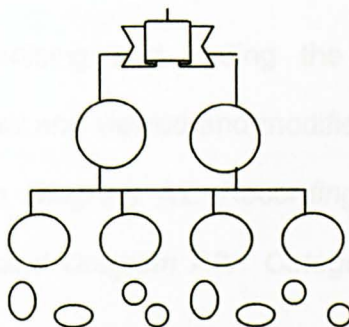
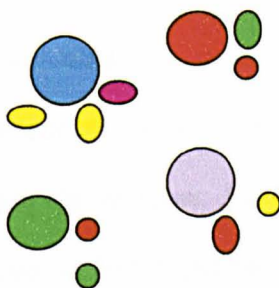
Each newspaper article is comprised of data slices varying in number and length, but on average an article yields around 300 words of relevant text and from one to four data slices.

Appearances within each data slice are given code names e.g. the teacher is **evil**, the teacher is a **bully**, the teacher is a **service provider** etc. Generally one to four codes may be applied to each data slice. Nvivo calls these codes 'free nodes'. Codes are named properties which may be extricated from the data slice and observed independently from it.



The terminology used for codes is not borrowed from the research literature or dictionaries in accordance with specific existing definitions; nor on the assumption that they exactly reflect the data. They are just given to the data on probation as it were, until they can be disproved or established through exhaustive testing. Absurd, obscure and inaccurate initial observations are gradually refined as they are modified, discarded or moved to other categories. Consistencies and patterns between codes establishes which are the most legitimate and reflective descriptors.

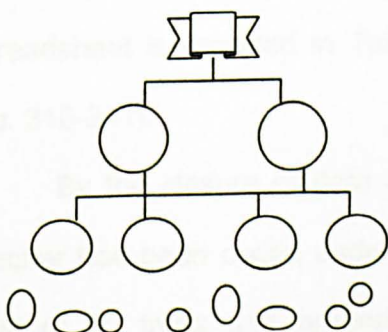
2a: Coding appearances of the teacher in data slices



As the first set of 30 newspapers in each project is coded the codes are grouped together according to common meanings, e.g. the **funny** teacher is similar to the **friendly** teacher. It is no longer important to consider from which newspaper the codes originated, although each is labelled with exact references in case they need to be checked.

Each group is given a name according to the common themes represented therein, e.g. the **funny**, **friendly** and **feminine** all represent the teacher as a PERSON. The term for these categories in Nvivo is 'trees' and the codes therein are 'tree nodes'. However, the **funny** and **friendly** are 'qualities' of the PERSON, while the feminine is a 'trait'. Therefore they form separate branches, each with their own name. In the initial stages of a project there are many free nodes which do not yet fit into trees.

Tree names are generally metaphors. Metaphors are broad and flexible descriptions which encompass several more specific and definitive words. The broader the metaphor, the higher up the tree it tends to occur.



As codes emerge from the data analysis they may fit exactly into a tree, contribute to the trees and modify the name, or remain free of the tree groups. Some codes which fit into a tree tip the balance of codes therein and result in the formation of a new branch or a lower subcategory. Prominent branches are tried as independent trees and either sustained or re-assimilated later.

2b: Creating trees of codes

Nvivo was an essential tool for organising and coding the data. Transcriptions were labelled in one window and viewed and modified in a separate window, for an illustration see *Diagram A2: Recording data slices in Nvivo* (Appendix pp. 294-295) and *Diagram A3: Categorising with Nvivo* (Appendix pp. 307-308).

In the initial stages of each Nvivo project there were many dozens of trees, but as commonalities and similarities emerged they were linked, incorporated and amalgamated. Towards the end of data collection each Nvivo project had between seven and 11 trees with up to six or seven levels of coding in each. The names of trees, branches and codes from each Nvivo project were plotted onto spreadsheets. Visualising the data on spreadsheets was another opportunity to reconsider the grouping of codes and trees. It also provided a permanent record of the original categories and patterns from the first reading before they were revisited and modified in Nvivo after subsequent readings. An example of one spreadsheet is provided in *Table A7: An overview of codes from 1990* (pp. 310-311).

By the closure of data analysis 36,000 different appearances of teacher had been coded under about 4,000 code names. There were a total of 90 trees and around 360 branches. The tree names were analysed and compared. With duplicates removed there were only 20 different names, otherwise referred to as 'initial concepts'. From this point onwards in the thesis all concepts are highlighted with small capital letters for easy reference. For an overview of these fact and figures see *Table 2: The coding quantities* (below).

Table 2: The coding quantities

Item	Quantities	Examples	Approximate totals
Newspapers	six different	<i>Independent</i> <i>Daily Mail</i> <i>Guardian</i>	900
One Nvivo project	one year of the decade/ 90 newspapers/ three sets	1990 (Feb, May, Oct) 1992 (Feb, May, Oct) 1994 (Feb, May, Oct)	10
One set	one five-day week/ 30 newspapers	February 1992 May 1995 October 1997	30
Trees	Nine per Nvivo project on average 20 different tree names in total, otherwise called 'initial concepts'	EMPLOYEE PERSON SERVICE PROVIDER	90
Branches	Three or four per tree and subdivided up to six or seven times	performer producer victim	360
Codes	Around 250-450 per Nvivo project/ One to four per data slice Each marking one or more appearances of the teacher	curriculum deliverer failing carer/caring	4,000 code names, on average each applying to nine appearances
Data slices	Three or four per article Each representing at least one appearance, usually several	Any number of words or pictures, in texts averaging 50-100 words each	8,540
Articles	Around 72 in each set/ One to four in each newspaper Yields around 300 relevant words in the form of three/four data slices	"Top School Tests For Drugs" (<i>Sun</i> , 02.02.93, p. 10)	2,160

3.3.3 Memo writing

According to Charmaz, the function of memos is to spark thoughts and give substance to codes. She believed memo writing should occur after coding and before the first draft of completed analysis. However, in the course of this study, accounts were made continuously throughout data collection. The interpretive exercise was complex and where there were many thousands of possible meanings available this method of critical reflection required the researcher to constantly justify theoretical and operational decisions. They explained the decisions and realisations of codes, linkages and relations between them. They also provided a context for the emerging codes, with details of any relevant and current politics, anecdotes, trends and beliefs.

Memos took the form of summaries, one for each set of 30 newspapers and an overview of each year/Nvivo project. At the end of the study there were thirty summaries, one for each week, each of around 300 to 800 words and ten year overviews of around 400 words each. The memos were an invaluable record when drawing comparisons between Nvivo projects to ensure consistency in coding. For illustrations of memos see the Appendix (pp. 312-315).

3.3.4 Theoretical sampling

Silverman (2000) described theoretical sampling as the means by which qualitative researchers choose their research materials and the focus of

their analysis, involving initial decisions at the outset and continuously throughout the period of study. Accordingly, theoretical sampling explains the treatment of the research literature in Chapter Two and the development of the four research questions. However, in the context of grounded theory theoretical sampling means something specific to the treatment of data. Charmaz understood it to be a stage in grounded theory, occurring after coding, when the theorist goes back to the field and collects data to fill any conceptual gaps and holes:

... we would seek comparative data in substantive areas through theoretical sampling to help us tease out less visible properties of our concepts and the conditions and limits of their applicability. (Charmaz, 2000, p. 519)

The newspaper data had been collected systematically from start to finish and so theoretical sampling did not involve acquiring new data. However, as patterns and relationships emerged in the form of initial concepts, theoretical sampling was the process by which the researcher checked the assignment of codes to categories, concept and code names to data. It was important that names were suitably flexible and inclusive. In the process of sampling the 20 initial concepts were refined and condensed into eight 'saturated' concepts, called the 'key' concepts.

The coherence and accuracy of the eight key concepts were thoroughly checked. A master spreadsheet was compiled from the

individual tables created for each Nvivo project during coding. It organised the codes, using the key concepts as headings and disregarding the year from which they originated. This provided an overview of the overlaps, gaps, emphases and outliers within and between the concepts. An example is provided in *Table A8: The master spreadsheet for the SERVICE PROVIDER* (Appendix pp. 319-320). On a second spreadsheet were plotted only the main concepts and codes, using the years of the decade as headings. This was primarily a way of checking the reliability of the relationship within and between codes on the master spreadsheet. The spreadsheets also helped the researcher look for deviant codes which would render the concepts unsuitable. Where deviants occurred, the positioning of the code was reconsidered and if it still belonged to that concept the name of the concept was reconsidered to include it. This process mirrored on a larger scale that of categorisation conducted during data analysis.

The above description attends to theoretical sampling as Charmaz described it but there were two additional activities which took place. There was theoretical sampling from external sources, which occurred during coding, and the development of the research questions, after coding.

1. Refining the emerging theory with external sources

The first involved theoretical sampling from external sources during data collection and analysis. This was a technique endorsed by Strauss & Corbin (1990; 1998). They insisted that the grounded theorist should constantly question their data with information from primary and

secondary sources. In this study literature on teachers was being reviewed concurrently with data collection and some of the ideas and terms were used to test meanings assigned to the data. There were also comparisons made against concepts occurring in the daily life of the researcher: in news, novels and conversation. The outside sources were a source of stimulation, keeping the investigation fresh and insightful and sparking new insight and trains of thought. Many ideas were borrowed, some prevailed and others were discarded for being too broad, specific or irrelevant. For instance, the term **apparatus** was borrowed from Althusser (1971) but proved inapplicable to the data because its implications were too numerous and far-reaching. Several more examples are available in the Appendix (pp. 316-318).

The correspondence of the data to the codes and the relationship between the researcher and the data were not compromised by theoretical sampling from external sources. Meanings were still being drawn from the raw data, but constant comparison with other materials helped to stimulate and challenge those meanings. Crucially, the definitions used in literature and other sources were not adopted unthinkingly; more being discarded than used. The codes still had meanings specific only to the data, but they had been exhaustively explored and were well understood by the researcher before the research questions were applied to the findings. The process was not thought to have modified grounded theory or Charmaz's definition of theoretical sampling because regardless of the origin of words, the meanings of the codes and concepts were specific and uncompromised.

2. Developing the research questions with theoretical logic

The other activity of theoretical sampling referred not to the treatment of data, as Charmaz assumed it should, but to its application. It involved the introduction of the research questions to the findings. Silverman (2000) argued that sampling in qualitative research is an interactional activity which may result in changes to the sample size and focus as the study progresses. As data is collected and analysed new factors of interest emerge which the researcher needs to address. They may find some parts of the sample more relevant and interesting than others, or some to have more obvious potential for theorising than others. The rationale for adapting the focus during the project was therefore 'theoretical logic' (Bryman cited in Silverman 2000); meaning the potential for relevant and generalisable findings.

On the basis of a literature review the researcher predicted the potential theoretical value of this study with four research questions. Using the eight key concepts and knowledge of the data, the researcher revisited and refined the questions, and the outcomes are described in the next section of this chapter.

3.4 Revisiting the Research Questions

The research questions were initially as follows:

- 1) How were teachers represented in the British press during the 1990s?
- 2) What commonalities and contradictions exist in representations of teachers?
- 3) What evidence is there of continuity and change in the representation of teachers?
- 4) What similarities and differences are there between representations of teachers in the British press and in educational literature?

The first question was applicable to the data. The eight key concepts provided a comprehensive response to how the press represented teachers at this time. However, the purpose of the question required slight modification. The concepts occurred during the 1990s but there was no evidence that they were specific to events in the 1990s. The relationship of press representations to policy affairs was inconsistently clear and ambiguous. Sometimes representations related to very specific events or incidents which were not covered in the literature. Other times they made inferences about national policies but only at a general and speculative level. Only some of the policy events cited in *Table 1: The policy context of news in the 1990s* (p. 75) were frequently mentioned but even then frequency was not an indication of relevance. Therefore, it was not possible to depend on the relationship between data and current affairs as a unit of analysis and there was limited theoretical potential in doing so. A response to the first question would have theoretical

relevance to the subject of teachers, the medium, and the decade, but not to the understanding of specific policy events.

The second research question was devised because the exposure of teachers in the literature appeared to depend upon the extent to which researchers considered them to have shared characteristics on the one hand and variable characteristics on the other. This question was also relevant to the data because some codes assumed shared or universal characteristics for the teacher, often forming links within and between concepts and years. Others revealed disparities, ambiguities and incongruities between individuals and/or groups. However, the logic underpinning this question required clarification. There was disparity in the specific contextual information provided by press and literature, often because of the different audiences and focus of each. For instance, researchers might make inferences of theoretical value from details of a teacher's age or geographical location whereas the use of these details by newspapers was ambiguously relevant and the outlook was consistently national. Therefore, commonality and contradiction could not be judged according to the amount and detail of contextual information or the number of teachers for whom the generalisation was supposed to apply. Commonality would simply mean characteristics assumed to be shared by teachers and consistent among them. Contradiction would mean representations showing variety or ambiguity within and between teachers; characteristics removing teachers from commonality.

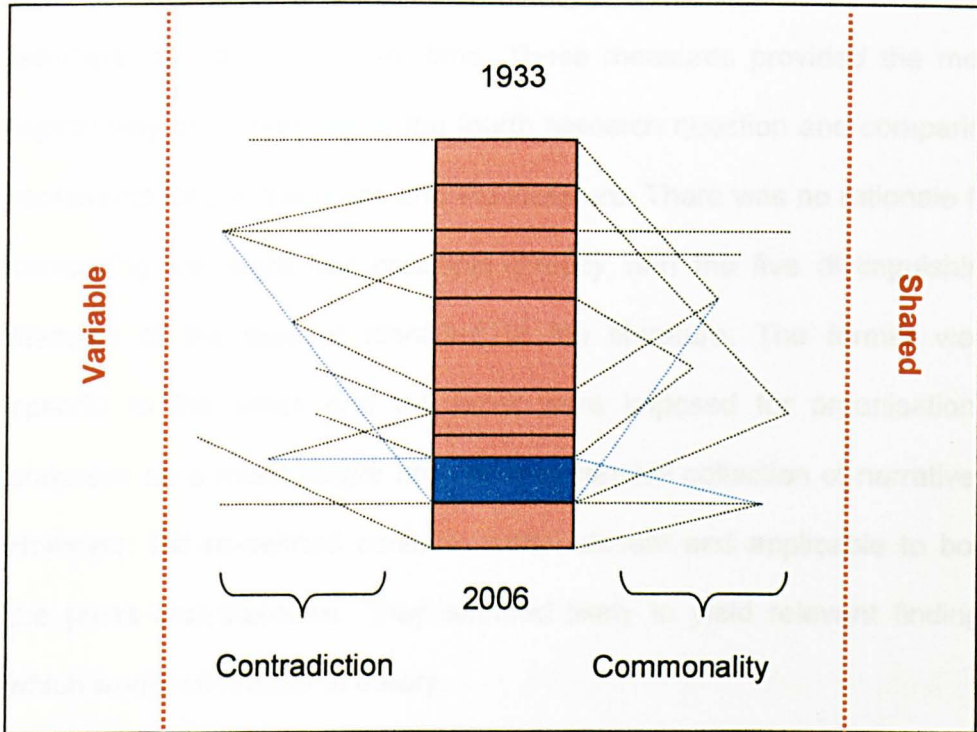
The third research question was devised because the length of perspective employed by researchers resulted in the exposure and

emphasis of different features of the teacher. For instance, a historical perspective might have seen teachers' identity as an evolving phenomenon while a study in policy sociology might have understood it in relation to specific dates and beliefs. The application of this research question to the press sample was problematic. The newspaper data showed that representations changed in nature with time, some codes gaining and losing emphasis over the years. However, the ten years of newspaper publications was not comparable with literature, which spanned roughly from Rich in 1933 (cited in Robinson 2004a) to Thomas & James in 2006. The press was also focussed on news and current affairs while some literature looked as far back as the eighteenth century. At the same time, as discussed, the relationship between representations and the specific social/policy context was variable. Although the initial basis for comparison of continuity and change was therefore undermined, an alternative interpretation was available. In some cases the newspapers identified teachers in relation to their current activities, policies, behaviours and choices, indicating new or emerging characteristics. In other cases they identified teachers by supposedly more habitual activities, prevailing and established norms and predispositions, with meanings residing in a sort of collective memory. There was a similar inclination towards past and present dimensions in the literature. Some researchers made generalisations about teachers' lives, work, profile, position or images irrespective of current contextualising factors. They assumed continuity for these characteristics. Others located them in relation to current and specific events, therefore

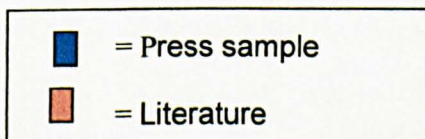
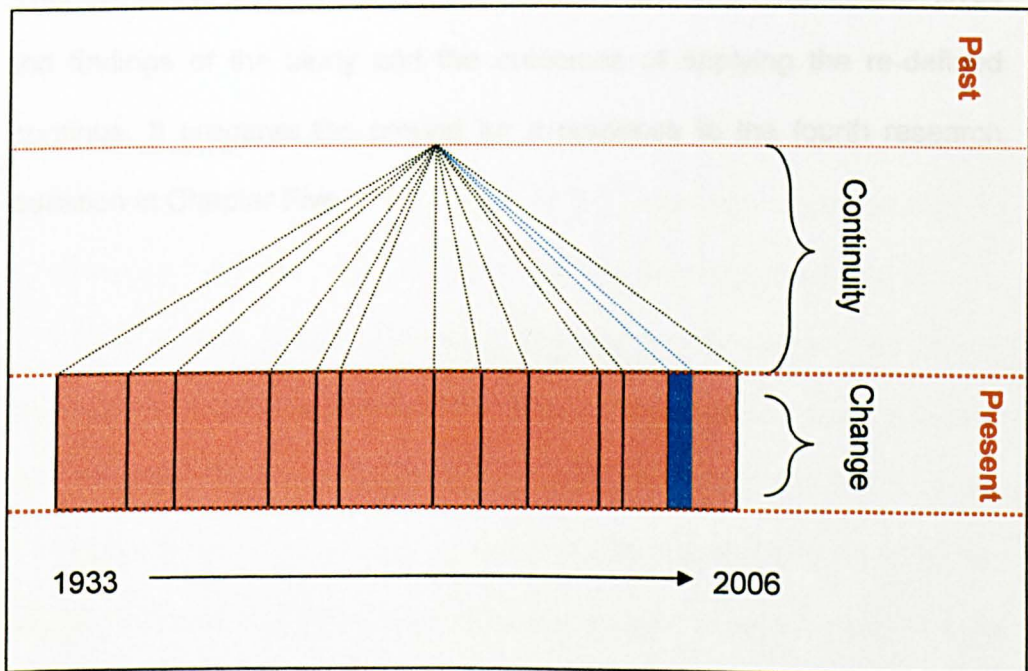
allowing that teachers' characteristics were or might be subject to change. This difference could not be called nostalgia because both sources ascribed positive and negative interpretations to continuous and changing variables. However, there was a simple distinction to be drawn between emphasis on the past and on the present. It was possible to proceed on the basis that continuity would mean representations showing ongoing, established or conventional characteristics, and change would mean representations portraying emerging, evolving, and present characteristics. The comparison could account for the relationship of a representation to policy, as a generic term, but not to specific policies or policy contexts, to culture and society, but not to specific cultural and social events. Again the spreadsheets helped the researcher identify instances of continuity and change, but there were also many trips back to the data and memos. Evidence was discernable in the extent to which codes had their origin in previous events. For instance, the **unionist** was commonly represented as having a long and troubled history, perhaps with its roots in the 1970s or a time unstipulated. It was referenced throughout the decade with a certain amount of regularity. On the other hand the **aggressive unionist** was a variation exemplifying unfamiliar and inconsistent behaviour relating to political incidents at the current time. It also increased in emphasis during the decade, which was an initial indication that the press might be treating it as a new phenomenon.

The meanings of the two continua are illustrated below in *Diagram 3: The Continua*.

Diagram 3: The Continua



3a: Commonality and contradiction



3b: Continuity and Change

In different ways the two continua measured the extent to which the press and the literature understood characteristics to be consistent; one among teachers, and the other over time. These measures provided the most logical way of responding to the fourth research question and comparing representations in the press and the literature. There was no rationale for comparing the eight key concepts directly with the five distinguishing features of the teacher identified in the literature. The former were specific to the press and the latter were imposed for organisational purposes on a much longer and more expansive collection of narratives. However, the re-defined continua were relevant and applicable to both the press and literature. They seemed likely to yield relevant findings which would contribute to theory.

This concludes a discussion of the methodology. The next chapter gives the findings of the study and the outcomes of applying the re-defined continua. It prepares the ground for a response to the fourth research question in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

The first purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the findings of the empirical study of 900 newspapers. Data collection was directed only by the initial research question, 'How were teachers represented in the press during the 1990s?' This chapter begins with brief definitions of the eight concepts emerging from data analysis. This explanation is essential because the terms used originated in this dataset and are specific and unique to this study. They have different meanings in other literature and contexts, and in the mind of the reader. Therefore where there appear to be gaps, inconsistencies and overlaps it is because there were gaps, inconsistencies and overlaps in the data. These definitions should also help the reader navigate the second section of this chapter, which provides a more detailed illustration of the meanings encompassed by each concept and the relationships within and between concepts.

At the end of data collection and analysis four research questions, designed on the basis of a literature review, were reconsidered in light of the findings. The re-interpretations were described in detail in the previous chapter. The second purpose of this chapter is to describe the outcomes when the re-defined research questions were applied to the findings. These outcomes were to lay the foundations for a comparison of the representations in the press and the literature.

4.1 Teachers in the Press

The EMPLOYEE: Teachers were identified by their position in relation to various different authorities, such as Government, the law courts, and training providers; and various different powers, such as policy, statute and salary.

The SYMBOL: The teacher was often generalised on the basis of assumptions of common values, shared characteristics or popular humour. These manifestations gave rise to a variety of extreme, fragmented and often controversial images.

SERVICE PROVIDER: Teachers were situated within an equation of supply and demand and judged on their ability to meet the requirements of society, the labour market, parents and employers.

INTERMEDIARY: Teachers' relationship with pupils compared and contrasted with teacher-parent relations and parent-children relations. At times teachers worked with or for parents, at other times against them.

SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY: Teachers' working environment was the school, and they were at least partly defined by and reliant on its boundaries.

CLASSROOM PRACTITIONER: Teaching usually happened within the vicinity of the classroom. It involved meeting demands through a combination of learned and generated, theoretical and practical skills.

SOURCE: The nature of teachers' influence was subject to constant scrutiny. More prevalent than their innate strengths and weaknesses were the choices which variously enabled and prohibited them from fulfilling their responsibilities.

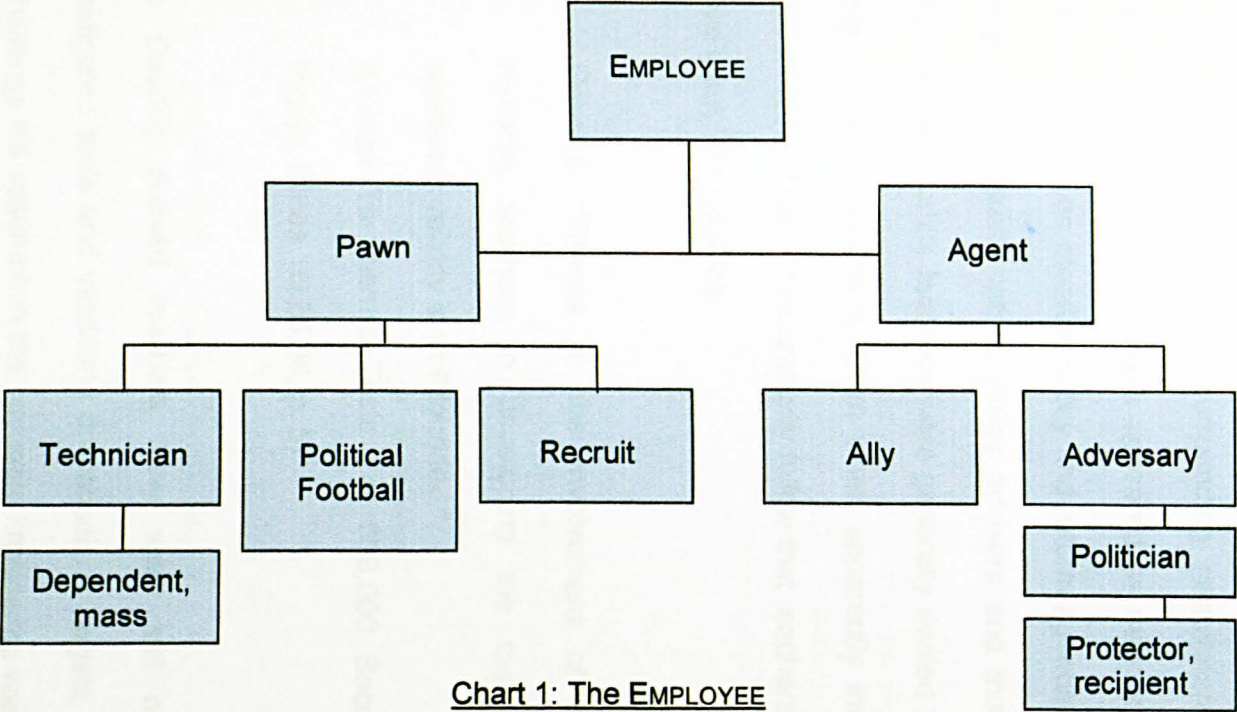
PERSON: Teachers possessed and used a multitude of characteristics, behaviours and actions in their private and working lives. Where these involved choices they were subjected to moral judgement.

4.2 The Eight Key Concepts

This section describes in detail the meaning of each of the eight key concepts. It was not possible to represent all 4,000 codes here, so each concept is described using a selection of those which illustrate the broader sample. This method of re-representation does not reflect the process of analysis, which in complete contrast allowed meanings to emerge gradually through careful and repeated examinations of the whole data set.

A formula is used for describing each concept. First, a chart provides a visual representation of the concept and relationships between its most illustrative codes. Only a small selection of codes is used for each so as to avoid over-complication. Secondly, a written synopsis of the concept and its main codes discusses why the codes were logical and how relationships between them were established. For each synopsis a small text box gives a brief explanation of the codes with immediate significance to the discussion. Throughout the synopses references are made to the news context because even though this did not affect analysis it helps illuminate trends and patterns in the findings. Along the way extracts from the collected data are also provided. Some shorthand rules, developed to abbreviate transcriptions, are reproduced and a glossary of them is provided in the appendix (p. 292-3). Finally the full newspaper articles for some of these extracts are provided at the end of each section. The layout and presentation of text and pictures were all part of the research experience and affected the assignment of code names. These articles illustrate the visual component of the data and the broader contexts within which individual codes appeared. They do not explain the relationships between codes and concepts because the concepts were identified after many months of categorising and over-viewing codes.

For ease of reference, the concepts are printed in small capital letters and codes are highlighted in bold, except in charts. Some codes are referenced in plain text where highlighting was more likely to confuse than clarify.



The EMPLOYEE

Pawn: A passive implementer of education policy and reform
Technician: A trained member of a homogenous and conformist workforce
Political Football: A passive recipient of political action and criticism
Recruit: A salaried worker who meets the criteria for admission
Agent: A worker who chooses to be active
Ally: An active participant in an education system led from above
Adversary: An activist leading from outside the education system

Throughout the decade there was constant coverage of education policy and reform, including issues surrounding recruitment, curricula and training. Through these, teachers appeared as salaried workers where the emphasis was on meeting policy and reform agendas. Decisions and initiatives were usually left to policy advisers and those ambiguously labelled 'experts', while teachers were generally denied the possibility of making useful contributions. Even when apparently involved in policy implementation, it did not necessarily follow that teachers had creative or intuitive input. For instance:

Dearing: "Thanks to the involvement of several hundred teachers in developing the tests, their academic validity is well founded."

(Unions To Disrupt Tests For 600,000 Secondary Pupils, *Times*, 09.05.94, p. 5)

While Dearing praised teachers, they were still only developing preconfigured tests and validating preconceived targets. The *Times* did not challenge his assumption that valuable knowledge was academic and

common. Elsewhere, there was sympathy for teachers enduring policy change. Some disadvantages of reform for teachers were recognised as heavy prescription, the compartmentalisation of work, increased workload and the repercussions of centralisation, quantification and bureaucratisation.

[...] too many external checks on teachers' work could de-skill the profession and undermine implementation of the ERA

(Pupils Get Raw Deal, Say Inspectors, *Guardian*, 06.02.90, p. 1)

The concern for deskilling did not preclude that teachers were simply implementers and not developers of the ERA. Coherent with this position, was the representation of teachers as a mass of trained deliverers. For instance:

Q1: Rising class sizes are making it impossible for teachers to deliver the National Curriculum

/ "Beyond 35 I would question whether you really are getting any kind of value for money"

Q4: Local authorities estimate that schools are 10,000 teachers short of the number needed

(Big Classes 'Hit Curriculum', *Guardian*, 16.10.95, p. 6)

The teacher as **technician** emerged from the common configuration of teachers as dependent and mass-produced workers drawing on a preconceived knowledge base. The issue of training often arose sporadically and it was commonly understood to be a process involving the transference of technical skills from an institution to an individual. The newspapers were unequivocally committed to the need for standardised training provision although the need for on-the-job training was debated. Generally there was no recognition of the different types of training available for each sector and stage of education, nor of teachers' experience of training or their relationship with training providers.

The extract above also showed the teacher as **recruit**. It generally emerged from coverage of selection and admission procedures, training and retention, but also appeared in stories of class sizes. The emphasis on supply and demand saw the **recruit** treated as a commodity or a resource to be measured in terms of value for money, suggesting tensions between the criteria of quality and quantity. The nature of the **recruit** changed throughout the decade. During pay debates in 1994 they were often quantified, but in 1998 there were more sensitive descriptions. Pay issues arose again but took into consideration the substantial pressures on teachers in terms of workload and time. Special qualities and characteristics were also attributed to those **recruits** who were able to meet these demands. Graduates were judged suitable on the basis of personal characteristics with the strongest showing endurance, caring, commitment, reliability and, importantly, a disinterest in financial reward.

Some reports presented low salary as a necessary hurdle to sort genuine from mercenary recruits, making the assumption that poor working conditions and low salary were trade-offs made by teachers who were finding fulfilment in a natural vocation. Gender was also a differentiating factor. A deficiency of men teachers was recognised as an immediate problem and blamed partly on the current market for graduates but also on current women teachers. They, it was suggested, exercised feminine characteristics which excluded men; they also dominated the occupation because the hours and holidays were compatible with motherhood.

The notions of cooperation and subservience were strong and consistent. Teachers were either considered gratefully dependent on or legitimately hostile towards government; exploited and overworked by the ERA or beneficiaries of change, responsible implementers of the National Curriculum or incompetent deliverers. The teacher was required to cooperate in, not affect, change and so was labelled as **pawn**; a powerless functionary of the state. Since they were also used to expose or excuse problems in the education system, a subcategory of this was the **political football**. The implication was that teachers were used as ammunition in government debates.

However, while policy and reform were driving agendas, the **EMPLOYEE** was not always a passive recipient of change.

A teacher who blew the gaff on 'trendy' history lessons
has been appointed as a Government adviser in the
subject.

(Expel Monty Python From History Says Enemy Of
Trendy Teaching, *Daily Mail*, 20.10.92, p.9)

The connotation here was that the teacher had a working relationship with the Government, and that this allegiance was an active choice. Where activity involved an element of choice, the teacher was labelled not as **pawn** but as **agent**. The example showed teachers participating with Government and the repeated observance of this arrangement led to the subcategory teacher as **ally**. However, sometimes the **agent** did not conform:

If the teaching unions talked more about commitment
and the Government talked more about cash, they
might be able to make common cause to prevent our
children from having to settle for second rate

(Do Not Settle For Second Rate, *Daily Mail*, 06.02.90,
p. 6) [*Article 1*, p. 150]

Teachers have been getting a bad press of late but is
that surprising, considering the antics of some of the
militant 'class warriors' teaching your children in
between calls for strikes and boycotts?

(Making Way For Moderates, *Daily Mail*, 14.05.91,
p.36)

The impression given by these articles was of a predetermined and impenetrable system of education with either Government or parents dictating its terms. Therefore, activity which did not concur with pre-existing objectives was viewed critically as oppositional; giving rise to the teacher as **adversary** code. The second extract was evidence of another trend; the alignment of unions with aggression and non-cooperation.

The **adversary** changed in emphasis as strike threats in 1990 evolved into union activity in 1993 and continued to gather momentum. The amount and detail of action introduced many complex and subtle codes, such as the aggressor and protector, recipient and suppliant.

English teachers remain passionately opposed to the Government's curriculum and testing reforms [... They] fear a transformation of their subject, a return to the Fifties when clauses were analysed and Shakespeare chanted by rote.

(To Be, Or Not To Be Creative? *Independent*, 17.02.94, p. 31)

[Patten] fulfilled his promise to give teachers greater responsibility for their lessons, and appealed to teachers to keep their side of the bargain by accepting the need for accountability through national testing and school league tables

(Patten Cuts Curriculum As Boycott Goes Ahead,
Times, 10.05.94, p. 1)

These extracts illustrate how the word union was used interchangeably with the word teachers, implying that they were one and the same thing. In the extracts, the *Independent* justified opposition to reforms on the basis of specialist knowledge, while the *Times* criticised opposition on the grounds that it compromised broader objectives. The polarisation of **adversary** and **ally** was continuous throughout the decade, but in these middle years there was also a greater awareness of teachers' ideological and political orientations. Reports of strikes and boycotts seldom took account of class tensions, labour division or socio-economic context, which had the effect of making the immediate political environment more relevant to teachers than craft ideals or long-running social injustices. Therefore, although politics had been a continuous theme, teachers came to be inseparable from these debates and were consequently coded as **politicians** in their own right from 1995. This did not alter the prevalence of **political football** codes. The juxtaposition illustrated how teachers' activity was not necessarily seen to address the problems they faced. It also suggested that newspapers embraced and enjoyed the tension.

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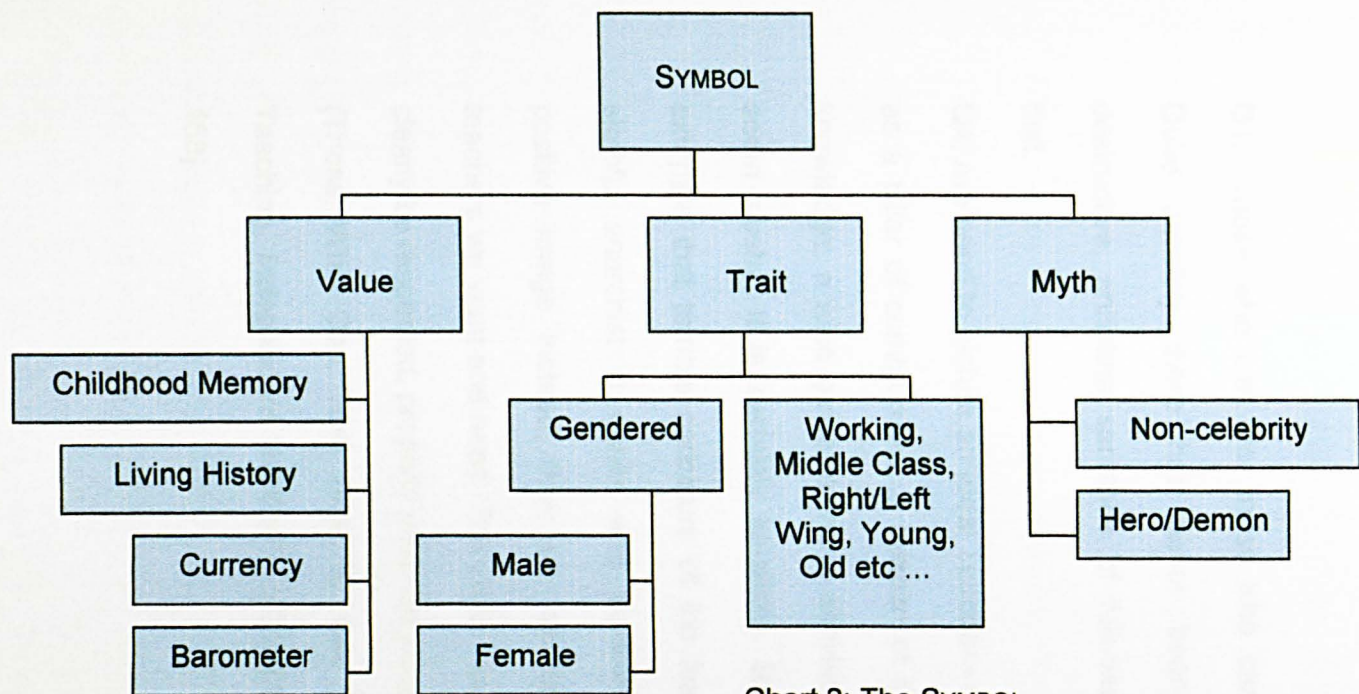


Chart 2: The SYMBOL

Value: Representing personal and public opinion Trait: A personal feature or characteristic made typical Myth: A fabricated or exaggerated image
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It was usual for the newspapers to make generalisations about teachers based on assumptions of common knowledge and public opinion.

Q1: "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach."

Quite possibly there has never been a more destructive, philistine sentence of folk-wisdom than that.

Q4: /we need to picture an Ideal Teacher - the teacher as a pillar of communities; a beacon of literacy and knowledge; a wise guide; a moral activist. This may seem slushy. It is certainly idealistic. But until we extirpate that terrible caricature of the teacher as a slothful anarchist in denim and replace it with a positive image instead, then we will not get the teachers we want and need. The Ideal Teacher would clearly be respected, properly paid and admired.

(Those Who Can, And How To Get Them Into Teaching, *Independent*, 15.10.97, p.20) [Article 2, p. 158]

This report was interesting on many levels. The assumption was that the meaning of teacher and teaching was simple and commonly understood. At the same time, this meaning was volatile as it rested on the collective beliefs, wisdoms and values of the public. Ideally, it was suggested, teachers stood for community, knowledge and wisdom; they had a cultural and social significance. The teacher was a **barometer**; representing the health and status of society. It possessed a value irrespective of the immediate time period and context, a value which commonly resided in the minds and memories of readers:

Headmaster Jimmy Greaves today dons his gown and mortarboard for his end of term report on the 20 first division clubs - and dishes out a caning.

(We're Second Class: Headmaster Jimmy Greaves'
End Of Term Report, *Sun*, 08.05.90, p. 30-31)

The headmaster, the mortarboard and cane symbolised discipline, authority and control. The *Sun* took great pleasure in constructing and undermining the symbols of authority and in so doing depended on the reader's prior knowledge of school. It also relied on the teacher as a memory in readers' own biography; constituting the teacher as a piece of **living history** and a **childhood memory**. The various codes which associated teachers with large scale issues and ideologies in society, culture and history gave rise to the teacher as **value** metaphor, meaning

that the teacher had significance beyond the immediate context; in the personal or public arena.

Teachers represented common values and knowledge, but were also used to explain, even personify, current issues. This was most obvious in 1996 when the Government's chief inspector of schools, Chris Woodhead, explicitly blamed teachers for pupils' low standards of achievement. In that year the word teachers was used interchangeably with schools, methods, results, sectors, regions and other general phenomena. There was no distant or metaphoric quality to these associations. Instead teachers constituted and were synonymous with these other agencies. In doing so, the teacher was objectified; treated like a form of **currency** with a value directly corresponding to output and standards.

As well as **values**, teacher **SYMBOLS** were constructed from insights or illustrations into personal dispositions specific in time or place such as gender, class, ethnicity, political allegiance, age, skill, physique and ability.

In smoke-acrid staffrooms in beleaguered inner cities,
they might well be muttering that they are being made
scapegoats – but not entirely with justification.

(How We Cheat Children, *Times*, 08.05.96, p. 17)

Moaning and resentful were presented as typical characteristics of the teacher. Many dozens of traits were consolidated in the **trait** category.

Some **traits** did not follow any particular trends but drew on personal, physical and emotional details seemingly haphazard and for random purposes. However, others were value laden: youth stood for inexperience and age for out-of-touch. One interesting case study was the appearance of a **gendered** teacher; arising from instances where gender appeared to be a determining precondition of the teacher's work and life. It was generalised with increasing ease as the decade progressed:

At A Time When Children Need Male Role Models ...

Could 'Sir' Very Soon Be Extinct?

Q2: [...] in a society riddled with family breakdown, many young people have no male authority figure in their lives.

(Daily Mail, 15.10.97, p. 16)

This coverage was typical at this time in that concerns around the domination of female teachers overshadowed and completely obscured their potentially positive impact. Black or ethnic minority teachers were not mentioned on a general level at any time. They did not appear incidentally or otherwise as **values** or SYMBOLS.

Often **values** and **traits** appeared to have been consciously fabricated by exploiting or exposing pre-existing stereotypes, partial or unfounded truths.

What makes people take up teaching? As the Government resorts to TV advertising [our reporter] analyses the character traits that drive people into this demanding profession.

(Who Are We? *Guardian*, 19.05.98, education supplement, p.6) [*Article 3*, pp. 159-160]

Teachers enjoy something of the honorary status of women: they are either revered or abominated; hailed as the prime mover in a child's life and simultaneously reviled for their inadequacies.

(No-hopers In The Classroom, *Times*, 15.10.97, p. 19)

The first report went on to stereotype different sorts of teacher in an act of conscious exaggeration. The second objected to the low status of teachers while simultaneously exploiting an association with female subjugation and labelling them no-hopers in the headline. This is an example of the teacher as **myth**; a fabricated or exaggerated image used to illustrate or entertain. That the teacher was mythologized in this way signalled that the teacher was a topic of common and popular interest. They were also subject to manipulation and fictionalisation.

These examples of exaggeration and reduction, built on the themes of inferiority and subjugation outlined by the EMPLOYEE. However, the SYMBOL metaphor revealed that teachers' profile was a site of negotiation between readers and reporters not just an imposition of state.

Public ownership of teachers' image was a topic of increasing interest and the issue of popularity gathered momentum with several stories: 1) the launch of a column in the *Guardian*, titled "My Inspiration" in 1996 involved feedback from celebrities on their favourite teachers; 2) Tony Blair's recruitment campaign for teachers used celebrity endorsements; 3) a poll of pupils in 1998 compared teachers' personalities with celebrities; and 4) the term 'superteacher' from 1999 described those who achieved advanced skills training or less specifically, those of exemplary conduct.

Comparisons with celebrities and metaphors of celebrity did not make celebrities of teachers. Sometimes the juxtaposition served to highlight teachers' lack of celebrity or otherwise low profile. The exaggeration of their actions and achievements as heroes was met with an increasingly popular inclination to criticise. The proliferation of myth codes at this time suggested not so much the heightened status of teachers, but the increased fabrication of teacher images and the use of extremes.

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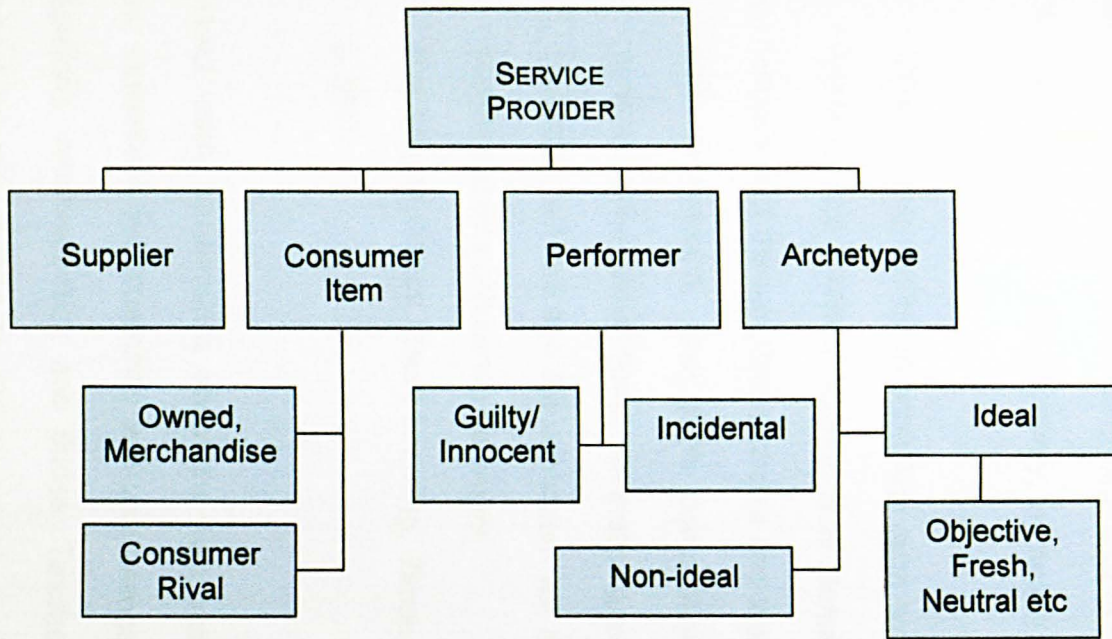


Chart 3: The SERVICE PROVIDER

The SERVICE PROVIDER

Supplier: Commissioned to meet demands Consumer Item: Owned and purchased by parents for their own purposes Performer: Subject to critical evaluation Archetype: An exemplary or ideal provider
--

Teachers' work was not simply defined by the requirements of policy; it was also part of a more complex network of needs, desires, resources and conditions. There were several contributors to this network, including parents, pupils, employers, the economy, the nation and the market.

Given a true market in schooling, with the customers (parents and children) making their demands of the service, and the suppliers (schools and their teachers) free to respond; and given competition between schools, their educational methods and teachers, standards will rise and the curriculum will reflect what society expects children to be taught.

(Let Market Forces Mould Learning, *Times*, 11.02.91, p. 25)

The extract made assumptions about the role and responsibilities of teachers. Objectives, predetermined and unchallenged, were expressed as obligations, responsibilities and duties. Teachers were generally represented as duty bound to deliver a wide variety of large-scale outcomes including national economy, the global environment,

employment, prosperity and national identity: they were part of a simple equation between need, policy and product and thus were labelled **suppliers**. There was little evidence to support teachers in the more creative role of producers.

The *Times* extract also showed how the potential for an equitable and collaborative working relationship between education's "customers" and teachers was not recognised. Coverage like this bore out the idea of the teacher as **consumer item**; as purchased for specific use. On face value this metaphor was highly compatible with the **pawn** and its depiction of a subjugated and inferior resource. Both drew on an underlying notion of ownership, which at times collided and at others concurred with each other. The **supplier** and the **consumer item** sometimes shared common ground and overlapped. In both cases teachers were under obligation to deliver certain outcomes and in the process subject to evaluation. There was a strong performance aspect of service provision.

School heads want to give Britain's 400,000 teachers star ratings of one to five – just like hotels and restaurants.

(Teacher, We're Going To Make You A Star, *Mirror*, 15.10.91, p.10)

Teachers are to be given exam-style grades just like their pupils – to weed out the dunces. New instructions

to school inspectors urge them to “mark” staff from one to seven for classroom performance.

(Teachers To Get Marks, *Mirror*, 17.10.95, p. 11)

[Article 4, p.168]

The *Mirror's* emphasis on dunces suggested inherent and irredeemable flaws in some teachers, while giving no account of the conditions or processes of education, of changes in methods, styles, expectations or goals. That certain results were required of teachers, such as information, skills and standards, was consistent and continuous, giving rise to the label **performer**. The emphasis on output was, however, subject to fluctuation. News of retention problems and union action from 1993 onwards prompted local insights and debates around the control and support of teachers rather than just output. Coverage of the Dearing Review in 1994 represented teachers as non-cooperative and was followed by a Parents' Charter, which raised questions about parents' rights and teachers' authority. At these times output was explicit and input less so.

Sometimes the blame for teachers' underperformance was shared with Government, politicians, training providers and the economy. However, a shift in emphasis was evident when in 1997 the *Daily Mail* argued that low standards could be addressed with a purge on bad teachers.

Roll up, roll up! Have a go at booting out the bad teachers. Target the failing schools. Test your parent power. Knock down your opponent.

(This Chalk Fight Can Help Children, *Daily Mail*, 12.02.97, p. 8)

In the wake of criticism from Woodhead, the metaphor of teacher as **consumer rival** appeared with its connotations of negligence and even wilful negligence. Performance, which had previously been characterised by extremes of good and bad, was here associated with guilt and innocence. The recurrence of the **guilty performer** usually involved ambiguous problems, such as negligence, incompetence, nonconformity and inability, with no concrete examples. Teachers were more often found guilty of pupils' poor examination performance than incidental to it, although they were also **incidental** to pupils' success. With increasing frequency underperformance was represented simplistically as the personal responsibility of teachers.

Concurrent with the focus on performance was an ongoing concern with what constituted quality teaching.

[The National Curriculum] might be irksome and irritating, but it has given teachers perceived expertise. Parents obviously have not experienced it and they haven't the time to read and understand file after file of material.

Like the previous extracts this one illustrated a gulf between teachers and education consumers, but it also accredited the former with specialist knowledge. However, it was noted that expertise still involved the reproduction of preconceived material rather than creative interpretation. Also, expertise was a theoretical preference not a real-life situation. Where preferences for good performance and pedagogy were made like this, the teacher was coded as **archetype**, in other words, an exemplary or **ideal** type. The **archetype** had a strong presence in 1992 during debates about performance-related pay where preferred qualities were under scrutiny. It was a way of equating preferences, which were not defined in law or policy, with duties and expectations. Therefore they were usually founded on hypotheses and projections antithetical to actual, **non-ideal** scenarios. Although **ideals** were categorical and unequivocal they were also discontinuous and sometimes contradictory because fresh possibilities and projections were introduced every day in relation to new stories and circumstances. For instance, various **ideals** constructing the **archetype** proliferated during attacks from the inspectorate in 1997.

The various configurations of the **archetype** drew on the use of terms like common sense, common purpose, moral integrity, objectivity and social conscience. They also varied in detail. The article above saw the **archetype** as a teacher who read and understood policy or academic

documents. Some preferences were much more detailed and involved specific skills, attitudes and characteristics in teachers such as neutrality, aspiration and freshness. The **archetype** prescribed personal and private dispositions with as much ease as it did social and political dispositions. It covered everything outside and inside the classroom from teaching ability to dress, conduct, social values and beliefs. The emphasis was much more on performance, appearance and end-goals than on teachers' needs, ambitions or intellectual capabilities; in other words, there was right or wrong, not potential or development. It thereby appeared to build on preferences for a homogenous workforce made by the **pawn**, while also enabling the discussion of personal qualities in general terms.

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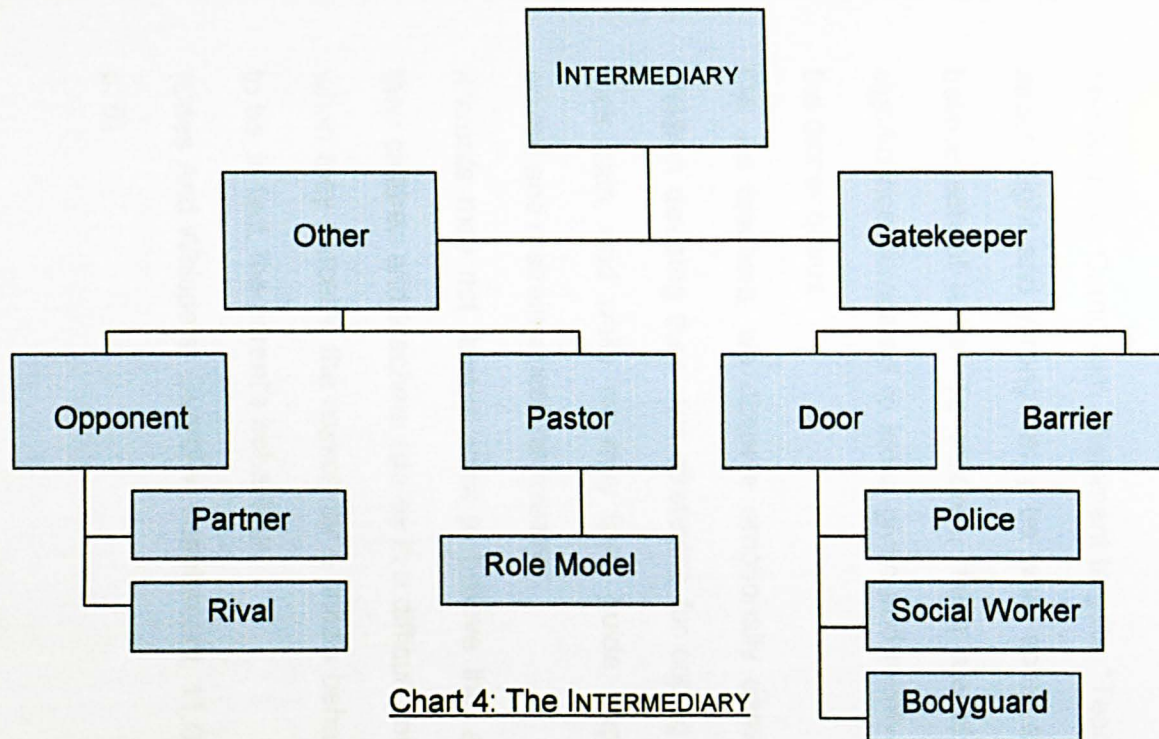


Chart 4: The INTERMEDIARY

Other: A non-parent

Opponent: Acting in opposition to either parents, pupils or both

Pastor: Responding to the non-academic needs of pupils

Gatekeeper: Intervening between pupils and education or their peers

The press required that teachers should attend to pupils' individual and collective needs.

The National Curriculum attainment targets, "Teaching about Right and Wrong", may be what some adults believe school is for. To children, these are of little significance compared to looks given and received in the dinner queue

Q4: As teachers, we observe emotionally damaged children devising their own strategies for coping with their pain, and while we may love, guide, support, advise and restrain where necessary

/Parents may not always want to believe this about their children and teachers can be in a difficult position when they perceive the reason for a child's behaviour to be, in fact, the parent's behaviour.

(Cries And Whispers, *Guardian* supplement, 11.02.97, p. 6)

The *Guardian* here emphasised the distinction and showed as admirable, teachers' ability to be objective, attentive and responsive. The balancing of individual and collective needs required a predisposition of teachers that was remote from parents. Teachers were witnesses of children's emotions and they had inside knowledge to which parents were not privy. They performed the role of friends, confidantes and insiders; they could represent children in discussions and provide access to information for researchers. This prompted the teacher as **other**; an alternative and distinct influence to parents. The newspapers showed an increasing observance of the gulf between parents and teachers in the second half of the decade, partly as a result of coverage on the new General Teaching Council. An emphasis on measurable performance and sackings in 1997 further limited the common ground with parents but increased the sense of teachers' servitude.

The difference between parents and teachers sometimes rested on an assumption of incompatibility. Evidence of consensus between them was infrequent, and the relationship was more commonly one of rivalry than partnership.

Teacher Shows Swearing Parents The Yellow Card

Foul-mouthed mums and dads have been shown the yellow card – for swearing on the touchline at school soccer matches.

(Foul Play Mum, *Mirror* 20.10.92, p. 13)

Over time occasional stories like this gave rise to the **opponent** code. Among them it was rare that teachers were assertive against parents without seeming critical, discriminative or competitive. This story found the teacher's objective perspective coherent with pupil needs. However, instances of detachment and influence were problematic as often as they were beneficial.

Q1: Scruffy teachers are being told to smarten up and set a better example to pupils.

Q4: 'It makes sense to encourage self-discipline in pupils but we have to acknowledge that they are influenced by the standards set by others.

(Smarthen Up And Set An Example, Teachers Told, *Daily Mail*, 13.02.92, p. 27) [Article 6, p. 177]

These examples showed how it was assumed that teachers should act as **role models**. They were expected to lead by example, which was part of a broader specification that they should act as **pastors** towards pupils; accepting responsibility for pupils' emotional, moral and spiritual wellbeing. Pastoral support of pupils was always expected from teachers but definitions and details changed during the decade. A few mentions of a Personal, Social and Moral Education (PSME) curriculum in 1990, had by 1999 snowballed into issues like discipline, socialisation and pupil-teacher relationships. It was important that teachers were morally sound

and emotionally capable individuals. This integrity and the effect of the **role model** on pupils was a constant and continuous source of interest.

Yorkshire policeman: "I was lucky enough to have one schoolteacher who told me to believe in myself and to work hard. I did, and education has given me the life I have now"

(Help Is On The Way, *Daily Mail*, 09.05.90, p. 20)

(I think the teacher didn't like me.) Because of that, I couldn't do English in the sixth form, so I couldn't do English at University, so I couldn't become a writer.

(Passed, Failed, *Independent*, 13.02.97, supplement, p. 7)

Teachers could perform the role of doors or barriers to opportunity for pupils, and as such were labelled **gatekeepers**. They controlled students' access to everything from self-esteem to knowledge, culture and employment. The **gatekeeper** was a variation on the **supplier** because while the latter required that teachers attend to the needs of parents, the former found that teachers' intervention also enabled or prevented pupils from achieving these, and sometimes intentionally. Public and personal stories more often than not represented them as barriers than doors to opportunity.

A physical aspect of the **gatekeeper** became apparent from 1995 and escalated in 1998 when there was news of a law on physical intervention to allow teachers to manhandle aggressive pupils. There were also stories on expulsions of unruly pupils.

Q1: [...] a nine-year-old girl can be allegedly gang-raped in a toilet at playtime by five boys her own age

Q4: [teachers] share the burden of guilt. If teachers can't protect an innocent nine-year-old girl who is in their charge, then they are in the wrong job

/ This school has failed her in the most tragic way imaginable.

(School Report, *Mirror* column, 12.05.97, p.11)

Stories like the above required policing and social work skills of teachers. In extreme cases the **gatekeeper** involved the behaviour of a **bodyguard**; enabling pupils by protecting them from each other. The **bodyguard** was not specific to primary schools or pupils of certain ages but the use of defence and force suggested it applied to teachers of adolescents as well as children. It appeared that teachers' pastoral duties had been extended and now also involved a gender dimension. The need for women teachers arose from stories about pupils' emotional needs while physical attacks between pupils at school and indiscipline prompted calls for more male teachers.

It was typical that in their social work role teachers were given credit for enduring their challenging work and sometimes it was suggested that they should be given more freedom to use discretion and decide their own priorities. However, credit was conditional upon teachers' objectivity and detachment in their relationship with pupils; the balancing of individual with collective needs. There were evolving concerns over teachers' ability to work objectively. The issue of trust was frequently raised, especially in the decade's penultimate years, but it was only sometimes alongside recognition of mounting pressures. Teachers received negative coverage when they were seen to be overly distant or overly close with pupils. They were not congratulated for being suitably distant or appropriately close with them.

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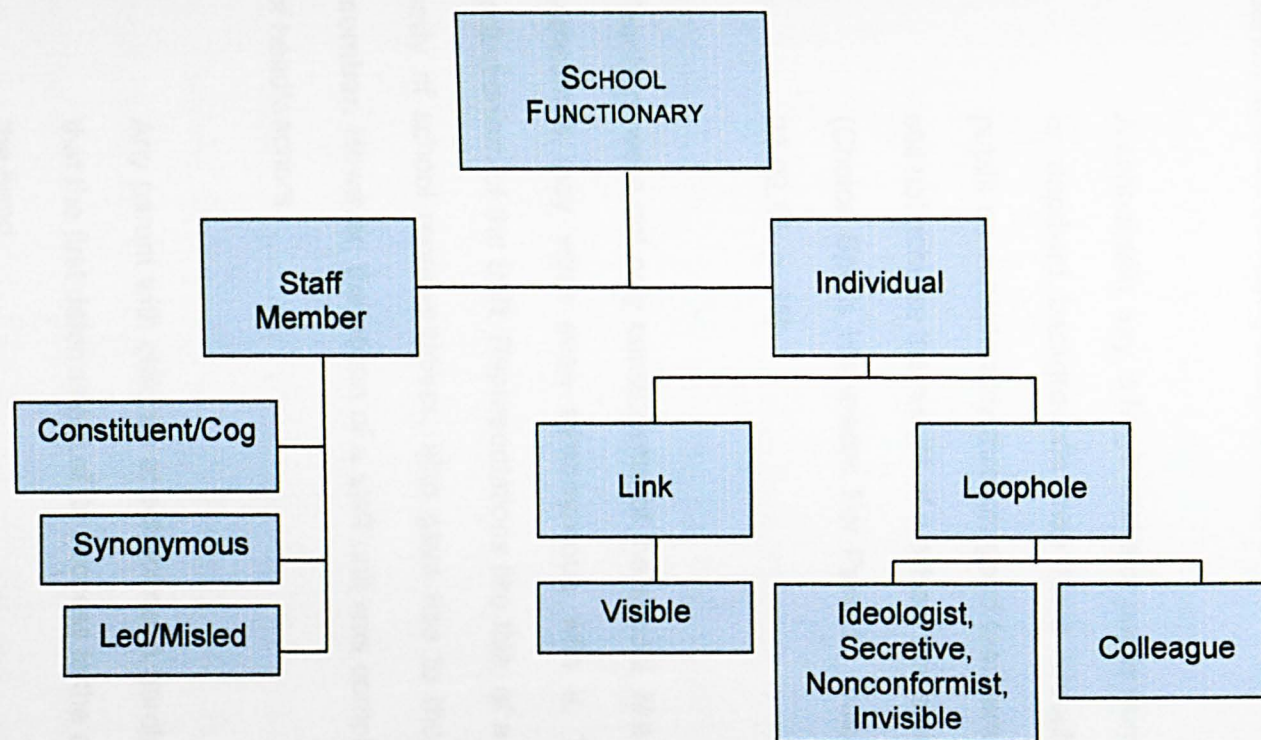


Chart 5: The SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY

Staff Member: Part of a single and united body of school representatives

Individual: Self-motivated and independent functionaries

Colleague: An individual acting collectively

The school was a defining feature of teachers' work and sometimes their identity seemed intimately bound up with it:

A school with, say, a large intake of pupils from difficult or deprived backgrounds may have brought these pupils on considerably through good teachers, but will still not achieve the results of a school that selects
(Choice Spells Homework For Parents, *Independent*, 23.02.95, p. 31)

Teachers were not only constituents of the school, like **cogs** in a wheel; sometimes they were even **synonymous** with it. This recalled the reductionism of the **trait**. Representations like this, of a single and united body of school representatives, also gave rise to the teacher as **staff member**. However, the notion of a staff unit was complicated by the role of headteachers.

Any parent with children at school need hardly be told that the first determinant of its success is the quality of the head.

Teachers had threatened industrial action unless scores of pupils they claimed were putting their own safety at risk were expelled.

/Since then, almost 50% of the teachers have been replaced, but only one pupil has been excluded. Exam results have improved along with intake.

/staff turnover had been essential to "contribute to the speed of change"

(Improved Ridings Is Taken Off Failure List, *Times*, 22.10.98, p. 6) [Article 7, p. 185]

It was frequently tacitly implied that headteachers acted in parents' best interests and teachers formed a separate body politic that was either with or against, but never equitable. The Ridings' headteacher allegedly found half the staff expendable and the hierarchy was explicit. It was teacher redundancies not pupil exclusions which affected improvements; an illustration of how remote the opportunity for collaboration between headteachers and teachers had become by the end of the decade. The word leadership was used frequently from 1997, especially around the time that the National College of School Leadership was established. Staff morale was linked with headteachers' qualities and training and by the end of the decade headteachers were almost always the sources or angles of stories on all school-related matters including discipline,

bullying, curriculum, resources, results, methods and pupils. Teachers were primarily **led** or **misled** constituents of the school.

The idea of a school unit and **staff members** was challenged with representations of nonconformity. Within the space defined by the parameters of the school, teachers had a sphere of influence, their classrooms, wherein they were given names and personalities. It was here that they appeared as **ideologists**, in other words creating and negotiating ideas and opinions.

The revised National Curriculum [stipulates ...] But it does not follow that traditional methods are being applied with enthusiasm or competence. Primary school teachers are the masters of their own classroom. Many still regard phonics as dull and old-fashioned

(Schools Fail The Key Test: The Roots Of The Problem – Where Our Teachers Have Gone Wrong
..., *Times*, 07.05.96, p. 14)

Isolation was a legitimate mode of practice provided it did not foster too much independence. The potential of nonconformity was also heightened by collective activities undertaken independently of school priorities.

The collegiate ideal runs deep in education, and it will take time for some head teachers to accept a system

which they fear will divide the staffroom. (Lifting
Morale With Pay, *Times*, 05.02.99, p. 43)

It was interesting that the staffroom, as a symbol of the collegiality "ideal", was not considered compatible with performance-related pay. The prospect of an ideology stood in contrast to the proposed system and implied that collegiality was not a function of work. The **colleague** metaphor was more often than not derived from coverage of staffroom gossip, leisure, petty complaints, strikes, false solidarity or irresponsibility.

And what of Eve's school, where she was nicknamed "Evil"? Colleagues talk now of the fear she inflicted on children and report a stream of complaints from parents.

Every day we are told that bad teachers are to be sacked. Surely someone could have suggested that Eve Howells – a cruel neurotic – was suspiciously ill-suited to teach Bible studies? They never did.

(Sharing Guilt For This Evil, *Mirror*, 14.02.97, p.9)

[Article 8, pp. 186-7]

Eve Howells hit the headlines when she was found murdered by her own children. The *Mirror* stated that Eve's colleagues shared responsibility for her cruelty because they did not blow the whistle on her. It did not entertain the notions of loyalty, ignorance or fear. The purpose of the

teacher was supposedly to meet the needs of parents and not the needs of other teachers. The **colleague** was a deviation involving **secrecy**, **exclusivity**, **conspiracy** and even **crime**.

The **isolated**, **secretive**, **nonconformist** and **colleague** codes illustrated how the role of teachers within schools was more complex than that assumed by the **pawn**, **symbol** and **trait** metaphors. They had the ability to sustain or undermine policy objectives, subsequently forming **links** or **loopholes** in the system. In both capacities these teachers were **individuals** who chose whether to act in line with school priorities. The **loophole** gathered momentum as the decade progressed. As with union activism, individualism was considered a form of conspiracy and potential mutiny motivated by emotions, which made teachers volatile, selfish and unreliable.

For years a conspiracy of silence has prevented any public discussion of how the education system fails too many young people

(Conspiracy of Silence On Failing Schools 'Must Be Broken', *Times*, 07.05.96, p. 2)

/in 10 years "the teachers' monopoly in the classroom will be brought to an end".

(Pay Fewer Teachers More, Says Hodge, *Independent*, 21.05.98, p. 9)

These extracts showed how the task of observing teachers had, by 1996 become an urgent and complex necessity, involving rankings, sackings, detective work and new ideologies. **Visibility** had become the antidote to nonconformity. Being observed hinted at the sort of supervision experienced by the **pawn** and positioned teachers as **passive** and **powerless** beings. However, this was combined with **exaggeration**. Teachers' had become **mutinous**, **secretive** and **conspiratorial**; extremes that recalled the upsurge in **myth** codes around teachers' status as **celebrities** and **heroes**. In effect teachers had become **hyper-visible** to counteract the prospect of **disunity**.

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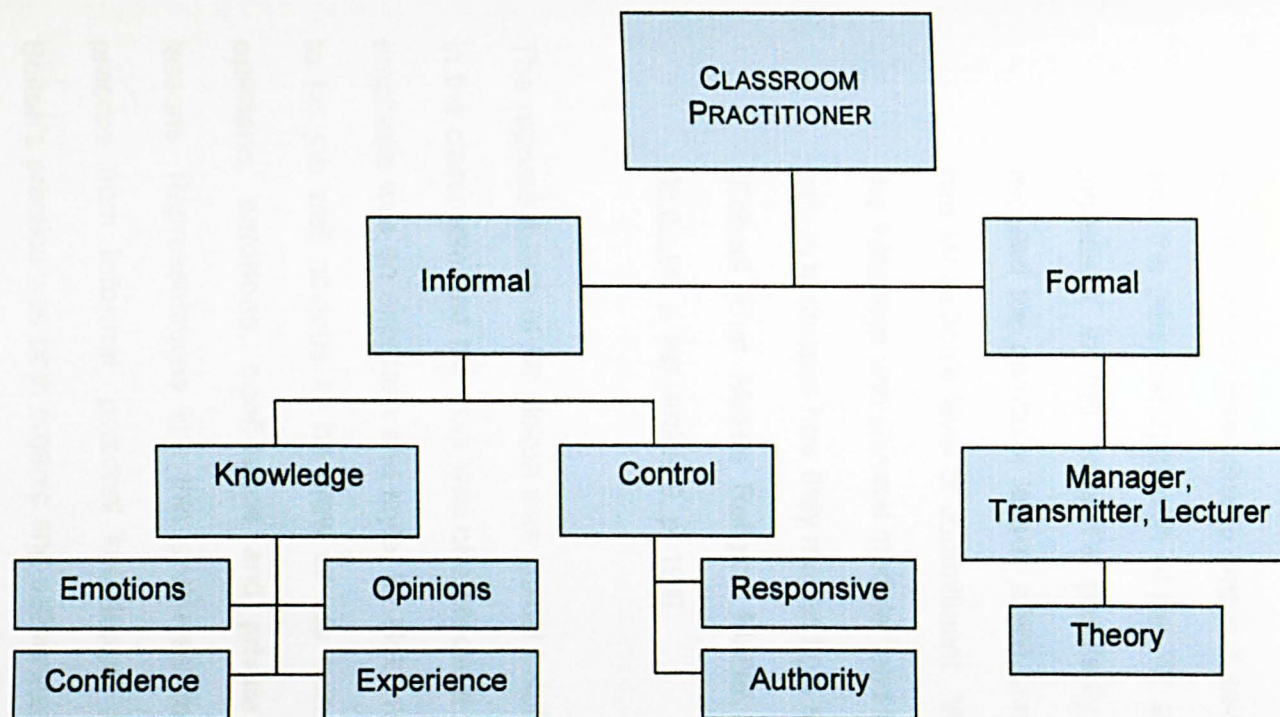


Chart 6: The CLASSROOM PRACTITIONER

Informal: Drawing on local knowledge and beliefs to make choices and decisions

Formal: Using theory and policy directives to shape practice

Representations of teachers at work generally positioned or imagined them in the classroom.

As you talk to Beauchamp pupils it becomes clearer that the personal approach of the RE staff is the key ingredient in the subject's popularity. Jon Raven recalled the particular lesson which demonstrated for him Mr Bolton's level of commitment. "We were doing the 'Marriage and Divorce module,' and he brought his wife in to discuss how they met and got together."

(School That Makes Religion Matter, *Independent*, 08.02.90, p 19) [Article 9, p. 194]

The representation of Mr Bolton was typical insofar as he was observed in the classroom and his work was of a practical nature. In this case the emphasis was on approach and style. Mr Bolton's personal commitment to his job was obvious as he drew on his own specialist **knowledge, opinions, emotions, confidence and private experiences** for his lessons. Representations like this portrayed the teacher as deriving practice from **informal, personal knowledge**. At the same time Mr Bolton's practice was both organic and deliberate; in other words he was

modifying guidelines provided by his local authority in response to the needs of his cohort. Although responsive to pupil needs, the overall impression of the article was of Mr Bolton as a controlling influence in the classroom. The agenda was to an extent pupil led but the learning process was not. Insofar as Mr Bolton appeared to be **lecturing, transmitting and managing** his class he adopted a **formal** aspect. The mixture of **formal** and **informal** practices combined an emphasis on standardised techniques, (recalling the **technician** and **supplier**) with the awareness of locally generated knowledge.

[I teach writing] as a seasoned practitioner. I don't just theorise.

/The issue is whether you can inspire others in something that you don't, can't or won't do yourself. I don't believe a teacher can.

/To be convincing role-models, teachers must practice the art they represent/ Children learn far more from a hands-on writer-teacher.

(Why Teachers Should Write, *Times* supplement, 07.05.99, p. 41)

Effective practice meant something different here than it did in the report on Mr Bolton. Here it involved beliefs, experience, integrity, opinions, values and personality. However, the **informal** nature of practice and the creativity it involved did not preclude the **formal** and ultimately

performative function it sought to achieve. Teachers' practice involved critical reflection, but the value of generated knowledge and theory was limited to a local level. They did not generate or participate in education at a formal theoretical level.

The newspapers principally recognised three established and **formal** theories of teaching which emphasised different outcomes: traditionalist, progressive and mixed. Traditionalism was not considered a choice made by teachers so much as a reflection of their circumstances or school-based rituals. The latter two were commonly thought to be 'trendy' alternatives.

[Major] touched in strictly tabloid terms on the need to restate the virtues of old-fashioned primary schooling and the need to rescue the training of teachers from the trendy theorists.

(A Striking Sense Of Déjà Vu, *Times*, 19.10.92, p.30)

In 1992 the *Times* simplistically pitched traditional methods of teaching in opposition to trends upheld by training providers, as it frequently did in the long-running debates on educational theory. If ever teachers possessed a philosophical perspective it usually originated with training providers. They sometimes perpetuated but rarely if ever critiqued theories and there was ambiguity around their academic potential. The word 'practitioner' was not reserved for teachers with specific

qualifications or experience and there were only basic requirements for knowledge, training and ability.

The difference between **formal** and **informal** practice became increasingly extreme as the decade wore on. Local knowledge was important but also more often considered insufficient and even dangerous. This was especially obvious in representations of teachers' use of IT.

[“...] Some are cautious and doubt the need to change from methods that have proved successful in the past. Others may suffer from technophobia - but we must encourage them all to see that they, as well as the children, can be enriched by using the new systems.”

(They're Getting The Hardware, *Times* supplement, 06.10.99, p. 2)

In the early years the use of computers was a local issue involving practical application but by the end of the decade it was commonly a site of controversy and conflict. The pivotal variable was choice; teachers could choose whether or not to institute IT and this gave them the power of **gatekeepers** and the power to thwart preferences, theories and requirements. “Technophobia” personalised the issue and also deflected from problems of funding resources and training. Local reactions were potentially dangerous when they transgressed into general domains. Consequently, **informal** knowledge was increasingly something to be

curtailed or eliminated for the greater good and an equitable balance of formal and informal practice was no longer desirable. Another symptom of this trend was the increasing identification of CLASSROOM PRACTITIONERS with specialist subject areas rather than pupil year groups. Teachers' work was becoming increasingly specific and goal oriented.

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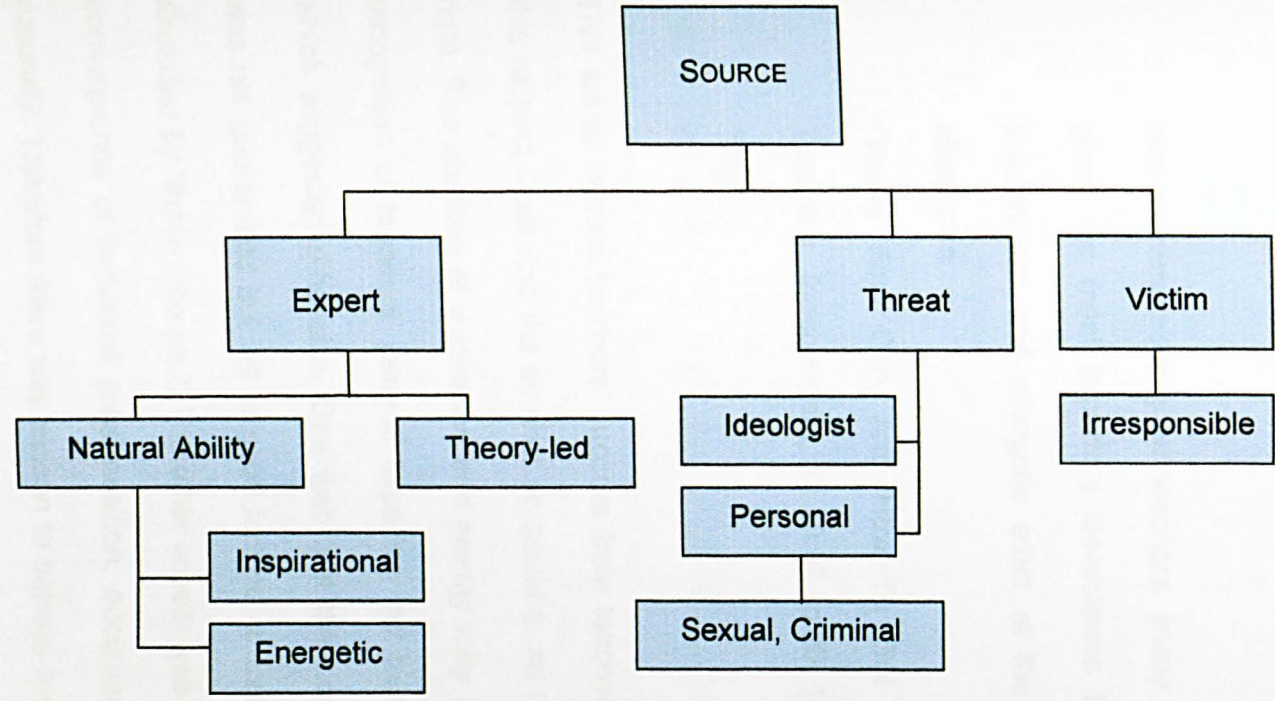


Chart 7: The SOURCE

The SOURCE

Expert: Exhibiting superior quality or specialist knowledge

Threat: Involved in or potentially capable of dangerous or subversive action

Victim: On the receiving end of mistreatment or abuse

In classroom practice and in other areas of their work and lives, teachers exhibited signs of limited influence.

/we do remember good teachers. Many of us were given our most important life-chances by a single inspirational and energetic adult at the front of a classroom.

(Those Who Can, And How To Get Them Into Teaching, *Independent*, 15.10.97, p.20) [Article 2, p. 158]

This article derived teachers' success from teachers themselves and in this respect illustrated the teacher as SOURCE; an influence in their own right. The qualities of inspiration and energy may have implied broader recognition of teachers' general expertise but there were two caveats which suggested otherwise. One was that the contribution of teachers was not guaranteed but fell to good fortune; it was only the opportunity exploited by "those who can". The other caveat was that inspiration was a consequence of individual predisposition, occurring spontaneously and naturally. Therefore there was reason to believe that if the teacher could

achieve the status of **expert** it was only in local and specific cases of **natural ability**. The **expert** was elsewhere dependent on other conditions:

Q3: Teaching is a mixture of art and science. Classroom research tells us about how different people teach and learn. It then needs intelligence and imagination to pick out what is relevant in what context.

/teachers should look at research evidence and then make an intelligent choice, relating it to the context in which they operate

(Most Children Like Teachers Who Are Slightly Strict,

Independent comment, 07.10.99, supplement p. 2)

Intelligence, imagination and interpretation suggested local expertise, but the tone of the article was characteristically prescriptive and viewed the **expert** as **theory-led**; selecting from a series of pre-existing ideas rather than generating their own. This recalls the inference in *Article 5* [p. 169] that specialist knowledge was something learned rather than generated by teachers.

Generally, it appeared that newspapers were more interested in constructing hypothetical **archetypes** of the ideal teacher than crediting individuals with exemplary practice. Even in the penultimate years when the teacher appeared as **hero**, the coverage was more self-consciously

promotional than genuinely investigative. While expertise was conditional and specific, the teacher was easily found to be the SOURCE of undesirable traits.

Teachers admit that one in five pupils is leaving school with poor English skills – yet they are unwilling to correct simple errors in children's work.

(Why Teachers Are Refusing To Correct English Mistakes, *Daily Mail*, 15.10.97, p. 16)

In this instance teachers were **ideologists** and nonconformists, therefore constituting a **threat** to the system. The extract was similar to the earlier example *Article 1* [p. 150], which also illustrated significant differences between the **threat** and the **expert**. First, threatening behaviour was typically not environmental or conditional but personal and ideological. The threatening teachers above were decisive, discriminative, subjective, and opinionated. Secondly, whether the **threat** was derived from actual or anticipated situations, it lent itself well to generalisation; the *Daily Mail* did not contextualise the issue of marking or refer to actual instances. Consequently, the **threat** was real and imagined in various scenarios: examination results, unionism, the underachievement of pupils, school violence and others were all linked with teachers' ignorance, inexperience or weakness. This finding corroborated the earlier one that the transgression of local knowledge into general practice was perceived of as dangerous. The **threat** was the possibility of ideological, invisible,

incompetent or nonconformist action and lay dormant in most of the concepts. It was, simply, an inevitable consequence of teachers' not quite total powerlessness.

Stories about fraudulent and sexually-offensive teachers and headteachers proliferated throughout the decade but the nature of the **threat** also became more complex and subtle.

A teacher caused outrage by handing pupils sick cartoons showing a gun being held to a boy's head.

Lisa Hickson gave the homework reminder to nine and 10 year olds in the same week as the memorial service for the 17 victims of the Dunblane school massacre.

(Finish Your Homework Kids .. Or Else, *Mirror*, 11.10.96, p.17) [*Article 10*, p. 203]

This coverage illustrates how mistakes and faults were framed as acts of **personal** betrayal. In neglecting to address the question of intent, and by later emphasising the teacher's inexperience, this report was accusatory. Lisa Hickson was the **SOURCE** of the disturbance but by linking this incident with a totally separate news event, Dunblane, the problem became cumulative rather than isolated. Around 1997 when laws on physical intervention were introduced to protect teachers from abusive pupils, reports of fraudulent and sexually deviant teachers increased too. Such was the interest in stories about **criminal** teachers that the one

about Eve Howells [*Article 8*, pp. 186-7] kept running for two years. Malicious intent was a hot topic, not least because it allowed for the interrogation of teachers' otherwise hidden personal and private lives. Differences between teachers' presence as **expert** and **threat** suggested that teachers' power and influence, in terms of ability and personality, were more often negative than positive. While the **expert** was conditional, specific and remote, the **threat** was immediate, general and prolific.

The nature of teachers' power and influence was tested with a negative hypothesis: the teacher as **victim**.

A headmaster has been forced to turn his school into a fortress to keep out violent parents.

/ "Some parents are very unstable. I have to watch my back/ I'm supposed to be a teacher but was having to spend time acting as a policeman and social worker/ Violent parents burst into class and go crazy in front of the kids telling the teacher how they'll 'get' them"

(Keep Out Of My School: Head's Ban On Aggro Parents, *Mirror*, 18.02.98, p. 8)

This extract described how teachers suffered physically and emotionally at the hands of pupils, parents and colleagues. However, news of the rising tide of violence in schools was met with a proliferation of stories on the physical and mental abuse exerted on teachers by pupils. There was a climate of mutual abuse between teachers and pupils throughout the

decade and it increased on both sides. Regardless, the newspapers were much more at ease with pinning blame on teachers than on pupils or parents. Judgements frequently deflected attention away from the latter.

Teachers must learn to tackle the 3 Rs - rudeness, riot and rebellion, an MP's report claimed.

Their inability to handle classroom tearaways was the major cause of poor discipline in schools, the Commons report said

(Get Tough Sir, *Sun*, 10.05.90, p. 2)

The *Sun* article found that teachers were victims of undisciplined youth but also a major cause of their own undoing. The alleged inability of teachers made them more **threat** than **victim**. They actively ignited as well as allowed rudeness, riot and rebellion. The *Sun* did not investigate the classroom rebellion but made victimisation an inevitable repercussion of **irresponsible** teaching. The inference was that abuse was an unavoidable consequence of the job. Another reason why the **victim** did not take hold was that the authority of teachers appeared to be a **SOURCE** of resentment.

Rookie teacher Roland Jarmann quit after just six months because teenage girls kept flashing their breasts at him.

(Sir Quit Over Girl Flashers, *Sun*, 11.02.97, p. 15)

This extract exemplified the occasional pleasure taken by newspapers in victimising teachers.

The negative hypothesis showed that teachers did appear as **victims** but not as innocent victims. Teachers were at least partly the **SOURCE** of problems in education and mutually responsible for the climate of abuse. Despite teachers' inferiority in relation to the state, parents and headteachers, they were never without the potential of power.

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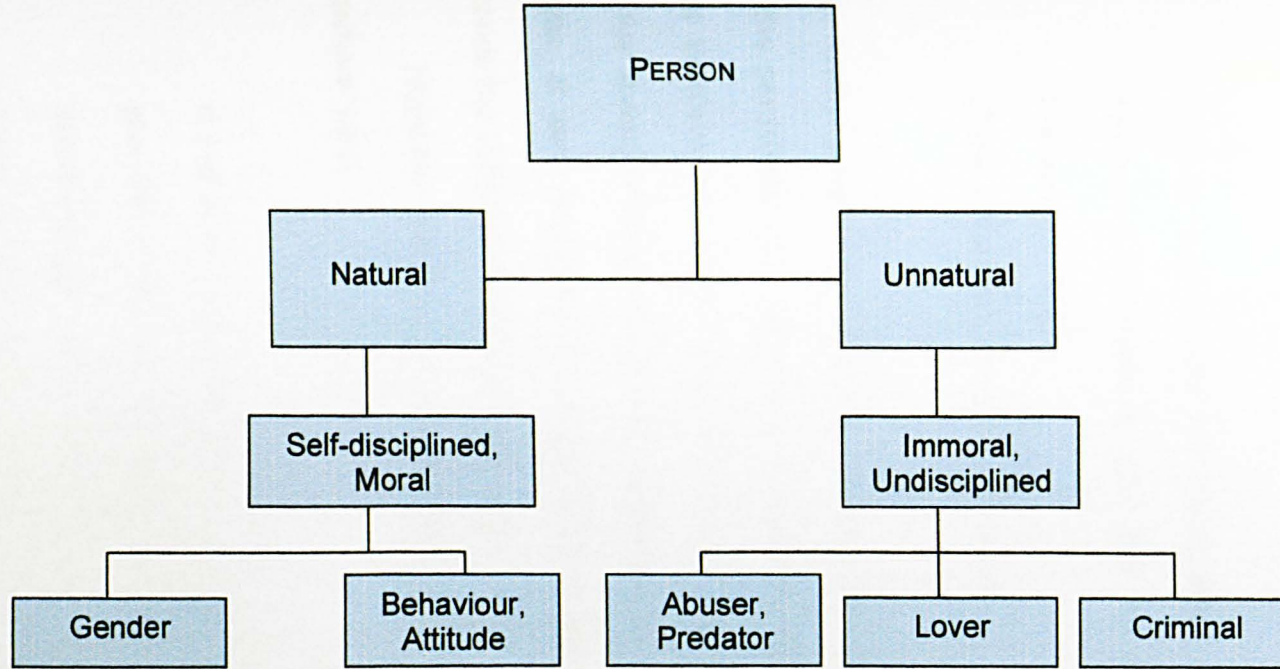


Chart 8: The PERSON

The PERSON

Natural: A moral and self-disciplined predisposition

Unnatural: Showing immoral or undisciplined instincts

Teaching was often mentioned in association with certain personality traits regardless of whether they were education related.

A young teacher killed her lover's wife ... then calmly freshened her make-up and met the unsuspecting husband for dinner.

(Fatal Attraction, *Mirror* 07.02.90, p 3)

The newspaper juxtaposed the passionate crime with the gender and job of the perpetrator because it was a shocking challenge to assumptions that teachers and women were moral and decent. This reinforced the earlier finding of teachers' symbolic **value** and the bias towards **feminine traits**. It also suggested that high expectations of teachers existed outside the classroom in their private lives.

However, there were characteristics and behaviours specific to teachers' work.

It was hard to tell who was more nervous, the 33 11-year-olds in Mrs Moss's class or Mrs Moss herself. "It's nerve-racking," she said. "I'm trying not to take it personally because it's a test of four years' work not just the year they've had with me, but its very

frustrating when they put down things which aren't quite right and I know they understand them really."

(Science Paper Not So Tough, Say Children, *Independent*, 16.05.95, p. 5)

The article showed the emotional and loving bond Mrs Moss felt for her pupils, as well as her vulnerability and sensitivity. Elsewhere there were other characteristics which affected teachers' work such as background, attitude, mental stability, looks, physique, sex, class and wealth. These numerous circumstantial and individual traits gave rise to the teacher as PERSON. In addition, specific and subtle details of **behaviour** and **attitude**, such as the adventurous, cautious, eccentric and compulsive teacher, revealed an emphasis on the teacher as **naturally** predisposed.

Representations of love, morals, beliefs, confidence and health might have reflected teachers' **natural** strengths had it not been the absence rather than presence of these predispositions that were commonly emphasised.

Teacher Jean Mangan ran from jail yesterday into the arms of the ex-pupil she seduced at 14, then said: "We're getting married."

The 45-year-old mum of two kissed and hugged Spencer Thomas, 19, and added: "I want his babies."

/Saucy French Mistress Jean Mangan yesterday gave her toyboy lover ten out of ten for prowess – but said

he needed to swot up on the historical details of their romance.

(French Miss, 45, To Marry Schoolboy, *Sun*, 15.05.95, p. 1-2) [*Article 11*, pp. 210-211]

The distraught family of a 15-year-old girl believed to have run away with a teacher from her school last night appealed to her to return home. Worried parents [...]

(Schoolgirl Of 15 Runs Off With Her Teacher, *Mirror*, 23.10.98, p. 15)

Neither of the two teachers represented here was in control of their **natural** inclinations and the man's instincts were different from the woman's. Jean Mangan occupied the role of **lover**, but as an overly emotional and flirty woman she was also a laughing stock. This contrasted starkly with the representation of a perverted sexual **predator** in the second extract. A proliferation of stories on abuse by private school masters and male headteachers suggested that sexual male teachers were a constant and continuous source of morbid fascination while sexual women were titillating and entertaining. It was apparent from stories like these that the inability of teachers to control their instincts branded them **unnatural**. Gender was presented as an inevitable and **natural** predisposition while sexual activity was an **immoral** choice founded on unchecked instinct. Similarly, the emphasis in fraud stories was less on

details of teachers' private lives and financial circumstances than on their lack of moral integrity and self-discipline.

Examples of self-disciplined and morally-sound teachers were increasingly less frequent and general than those of immoral and undisciplined teachers. For instance, cases of sexual abuse in private schools were constant and continuous throughout the decade but with heightened awareness of teachers' physical proximity to children from 1997 the **threat** was also projected hypothetically onto state schools. This grew in strength during these years and corresponded with the coding of teachers as **threat** under the SOURCE concept. The teacher came to be known as an **abuser**; someone who transgressed the boundaries of decent behaviour and assaulted children. The emerging message was that teachers could not be relied upon to regulate themselves. The idea of regulation was premised on an assumption of common beliefs and expectations of how teachers should act which was never explicitly detailed.

With repeated coding and the use of imaginary hypotheses, it became clear that race and ethnicity were considered largely irrelevant to the PERSON.

A music teacher sacked by a £4,200-a-year girls' school claimed yesterday that she was given untalented pupils and an out-of-tune piano because of her colour.

(Music Teacher Complains Of 'Orchestrated Racism',

Daily Mail, 11.02.97, p.20)

This report was one of few representations of ethnicity, and the details of this case were noticeably specific and local. The individual not the context was the point of focus in issues of race and ethnicity. Attitude and behaviour and not skin colour and origin reflected on the PERSON.

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4.3 Applying the Research Questions

The above analysis illustrates the eight key concepts but also shows how some aspects of each were given greater exposure than others. The research questions required that the findings were analysed as follows:

- 1) How were teachers represented in the British press during the 1990s?
- 2) What commonalities and contradictions exist in representations of teachers?
- 3) What evidence is there of continuity and change in the representation of teachers?

Responses to the questions are given in accordance with the rationale for analysis described in the previous chapter. The eight key concepts provided an answer to the first, and the second and third are addressed below.

The purpose of this study was not to give theoretical generalisations but to yield justifiable findings of theoretical value. It was therefore inappropriate to respond to the research questions with either working hypotheses or statements of fact. A solution for formatting these responses was provided by Bassey (2001), who argued that 'fuzzy predictions' are the best available outcomes for empirical enquiry:

A fuzzy generalisation is one that is neither likely to be true in every case, nor likely to be untrue in every case: it is something that *may* be true. (Bassey, 2001, p.10)

A fuzzy prediction claims that: if x happens in y cases then z may occur. Accordingly, patterns of emphasis for representations of teachers in the British press during the 1990s were identified here on the basis that the eight key concepts accounted for the press sample, and that the concepts may be defined as above in section 4.1.

The predictions are given below in response to the second and third questions using bullet points, each with one point per concept.

4.3.1 Commonality and contradiction

- EMPLOYEES did not contribute to discussions on the education system and they were inferior in matters of policy. Participation more commonly occurred through unionism than invitation, and while this was not necessarily negative, political activity was judged critically. Training was a technical matter but suitability involved a combination of personal and situational factors

- Teachers had a universal symbolic value based on assumptions of common opinions and morals. However, their characteristics and

behaviours were often distorted and fictionalised in ways that suggested an underlying moral ambiguity

- **As SERVICE PROVIDERS, teachers' work revolved around the needs of education consumers and was therefore defined by duty and output. Teachers were commonly blamed for underperformance and rarely praised for improved or sufficient service. Standards depended on universal ideals and exaggerations, not real-life situations**
- **INTERMEDIARIES fulfilled some parental-style duties but were fundamentally different from parents. They were expected to act objectively towards pupils even though their work involved social, emotional and physical interaction and gender-specific roles**
- **SCHOOL FUNCTIONARIES were duty bound by institutional priorities and the headteacher. They were required to act as a single unit and share responsibility with other staff even though their actual work was solitary**
- **The education process was described in terms of formula, function and technique. However, insights into actual classrooms revealed that teaching required the careful balancing of informal and formal processes. CLASSROOM PRACTITIONERS acquired knowledge at a**

local level but they were not expected to challenge established theories

- Evidence of teachers' positive influence was identified only in local and specific cases. However, local misadventures and personal choices commonly formed the basis of generalisations about teachers' actual and potential negative influence
- Teachers shared personality characteristics, but were also driven by different instincts which had a gender dimension. Paradoxically, they could overcome instincts through moral choice and self-discipline but the proliferation of crime stories suggested this was uncommon

4.3.2 Continuity and change

- The inferiority of EMPLOYEES in policy issues was long established but the political dimension of teacher activity was a recent and sometimes urgent issue. A wide range of motivations, processes and negative repercussions were emerging. Meanwhile, training and recruitment issues were ongoing
- Teachers' symbolic value transcended the immediate context, existing in memories and nostalgia. However, contradictory generalisations of individual characteristics and behaviours arose

as old and new formations. There was a history to teachers' reputation but their popularity was also in flux. It was a topical source of interest and entertainment

- **SERVICE PROVIDERS** were duty-bound to serve consumer interests, but current incidents and new trends among teachers towards irresponsibility and underperformance, meant duties were changing and expanding
- The gulf between **INTERMEDIARIES** and parents was a current issue and the chances of reconciliation were decreasing. Teachers were by duty and inclination committed to protecting pupils, but recent incidents of violence, crime and abuse brought into question the authority and morality of contemporary teachers
- Collegiality and individualism were topical issues relating to activities and practices occurring in the immediate. Hierarchical school structures were rooted in tradition but the need for **SCHOOL FUNCTIONARIES** to be monitored and organised, was becoming increasingly urgent
- General-level theory was conventionally a strong and reliable foundation for teaching but there were concerns that the informal methods being used by **CLASSROOM PRACTITIONERS** were increasingly resting on emotional bias and local-level

incompetence. An insistence on structured procedures was considered a time-honoured response to an emerging problem

- Teachers' ability to influence was no greater now than ever before, but recent evidence of their irresponsibility and misadventures was presenting a varied and complex array of unfamiliar and threatening behaviours. Teachers' positive influence was unchanging, as was the potential for their positive influence
- The PERSON'S unregulated behaviour, especially of a sexual and criminal nature, raised urgent concerns about teachers' moral integrity and self-discipline. The emotional demands made of them were long-established and unchanging, implying that the reason for these behaviours resided in current choices

These predictions were used to direct a comparison of representations of teachers in the press and literature, in response to the fourth research question. The discussed is reproduced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION PART ONE

Introduction

This study initially proposed the question, 'How were teachers represented in the British press during the 1990s?' A study of 900 newspapers was designed and conducted around this question. The previous chapter illustrates the findings, which took the form of eight key concepts: the EMPLOYEE, SYMBOL, SERVICE PROVIDER, INTERMEDIARY, SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY, CLASSROOM PRACTITIONER, SOURCE and PERSON. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the final research question, 'What similarities and differences are there between representations of teachers in the British press and in educational literature?'

The bases for comparison were initially proposed after an extensive review of literature on the subject of teachers. The suggested bases were two continua: commonality and contradiction, continuity and change. However, the exact focus of these continua was revised when analysis of the data found that, because of the timeframe and focus of the press, the current definitions were not applicable to both sources. The subsequent re-definitions of the continua were provided in Chapter Three. Essentially, they were to measure the extent to which characteristics were assumed to be consistent, among teachers and over time, respectively.

In the previous chapter the re-defined continua, applied to the research findings, yielded a series of predictions about press

representations of teachers. It was the purpose of this chapter to explore how the findings were therefore similar to and different from the literature. With this understanding, it followed that the representation of teachers as a subject of study might be better understood, and new avenues of enquiry opened up. The following analysis uses the eight key concepts as a framework, discussing the two continua for each case in turn. In the second section of this chapter the implications of this study for existing and further research are considered.

5.1 Similarities and Differences in the Press and Literature

5.1.1 The teacher as EMPLOYEE

Commonalities and contradictions

EMPLOYEES could respond to but not generate or participate in policy. This generalisation was replicated in the literature, especially where it focussed on the technical aspect of teachers work (Apple 1982, 1985, 1996; Larson 1980). However, the EMPLOYEE's inferiority in the process of policy making and decisions made government-teacher relations far less consequential than in literature. Teachers had presence on the political stage only insofar as they provided ammunition for political debates. The individual and nonconformist had no place on the political stage. The literature was far more inclined to represent a relationship between

government and teachers, albeit characterised by tension and conflict (Ball 1990; Day 2002; Lortie 1977; Ozga & Lawn 1981; Sachs 2001, 2005; Sieber 1976). There was less emphasis on placing blame and responsibility for immediate problems, and more on the mechanisms and impacts of changing modes of control.

There were also differences in the way union activists were treated in the press and literature. The former were at best non-committal and at worst openly hostile to them because with few exceptions they collectively challenged and contradicted the establishment. In the literature, the implications of union action for government, teachers and unions were up for debate (Evans 1963; Grace 1987; Ozga & Lawn 1981). The notion of 'unionism' was understood to be a form of rhetoric with advantages and disadvantages for all those involved. Actions were also kept specific to certain union groups and associations while the press made generalisations about teacher unions and union members.

The training of EMPLOYEES was fundamental but it was a utilitarian function, not a process as some researchers described it. Training involved the transference of technical skills enabling all teachers to meet basic requirements. This was contradictory to evidence in the literature that showed training to involve intellectual choices and experiences. The process of training, for which Robinson (2004b) provided so much detail, was not observed by the newspapers. Teachers were rarely associated with academia and the possibility of teachers' relationship with educational ideologists, academics and universities was not entertained.

The press considered the suitability of graduates for teaching on the basis of quality and quantity criteria which could be applied universally. Personal characteristics and workforce deficits were taken into account. In some literature, the decision to enter teaching was explored as a psychological and social choice from the perspective of the trainee rather than the employer (Gardner 1995a; Gardner & Cunningham 2004; Robinson 2004a, 2004b). Even when employment statistics were used (Apple 1985; Bergen 1982), the purpose was to understand teachers and the education system. Researchers, unlike the press, refrained from treating recruits as commodities with price tags.

Continuity and change

The inferiority of the EMPLOYEE recalled Larson's (1980) theory on the loss of control in the labour market experienced by the educated workforce. However, in the press inferiority was neither a recent nor a changing phenomenon, but only the inevitable and necessary consequence of an ordered and structured system. So too was teachers' technocratic role in the implementation of policy reforms. The need for the simple delivery of curricula as opposed to their creative interpretation was nothing new, and it was not subject to sustained challenge or criticism as had been the case in the literature (Apple 1985, 1996; Johnston 1989). Researchers understood that for teachers such changes might mean sacrificing their control and creativity, power and status.

Union action was an ongoing and predictable phenomenon to the press, but the problems caused were immediate, unfamiliar and often urgent. Action and potential action were likened to previous activities, which separated events from the changing policy and educational contexts, associating them instead with political and ideological goals. The press did not, like much of the literature, understand or explore the specific and changing conditions of government-union relations (Ball & Goodson 1985; Evans 1963; Lawn & Grace 1987; Ozga & Lawn 1981; Richardson 1995). An interesting point of contrast was Goodson & Hargreaves' (1996) theory that teachers are involved in a continual power struggle with government and might be exploited unless they actively assert themselves. They considered teachers' political power to be something negotiated and contested not a finite entity with a single origin and a simply negative force. However, for the press neither government-union relations nor the difficult conditions of policy reform, provided reasons or excuses for unionism, as they occasionally did in the literature (Cunningham & Gardner 2004; Grace 1987; Simon 1991). Policy was largely unchallenged and its immediate consequences were incompletely recognised.

The newspapers' treatment of unionism drew parallels with literature on the political nature of teachers' image in the media (Lumley 1998; Macmillan 2002; Philo et al. 1982; Smith 1999). In representations of union activity the teacher's political identity was a new and disturbing phenomenon. The severity and aggression of EMPLOYEES' defences and attacks were presented as freshly experienced and shocking. The range,

variety and complexity of actions were unknown and new ways had to be found for dealing with the repercussions. The disjuncture between long-running union activities and unfamiliar tactics, served to undermine the rationale and legitimacy of teacher activity.

The training and recruitment of EMPLOYEES was shown to be sporadically affected by ongoing events such as the budget, tax and salary modifications. They were to some extent inevitable; routinely disassociated from historical issues such as patriarchy and social inequality, which some of the literature used to understand and promote the need for change (Apple 1985; Bergen 1982; Grumet 1988; Simon 1991). Nor were recruitment and training linked with major changes in the conceptualisation of teachers and their status (Apple 1985; Rich and Gosden cited in Robinson 2004a; Tropp 1957). The press attitude was far less sensitive to these possibilities.

5.1.2 The teacher as SYMBOL

Commonalities and contradictions

The SYMBOL recalled discussions of teachers' symbolic value in literature (Evans 1963; Morgan 2002). The assumption that teachers should ideally have moral integrity and contribute to the moral infrastructure of society, aligned with Gerbner's (Morgan 2002) theory that teachers are moral paragons in society. However, unlike these positive hypotheses, the press undermined as much as it reified teachers, distorting, exaggerating

and fictionalising their behaviours in general terms to illustrate topical issues or to entertain readers. It almost always imposed blanket black and white judgements on individuals or the teaching population. In contrast, the majority of educational literature did not assume that teachers could be observed and judged in terms of value at a general/theoretical level.

The press formed generalisations about teachers' personal beliefs, gender characteristics and political ideologies, giving no indication of exceptions to these rules. In contrast, educational studies did not assume that teachers' characteristics, personality traits and social/political values could be identified as variables commonly-shared. In fact, the notions of 'natural' and inevitable characteristics were challenged as vestiges of social and political rhetoric which had little relevance for real teachers (Copelman 1996; Robinson 2003; Steedman 1982; Walkerdine 1986). The inclination to reduce characteristics to extremes and polarities met with criticism.

The press showed teachers' symbolic status to rely heavily on social values and public opinion but it was not inclined to recognise its own propensity for myth making. On occasion teachers' reputation was revealed to be the consequence of cultural/media constructions, sometimes involving unfair treatment, but such reflections were inconsistent, never self-critical and rarely deconstructed with contradictory evidence. In contrast the literature formed generalisations about media mistreatment of teachers in the form of 'teacher bashing' (Ball 1990), gerrymandering (Simon 1991) and hostility (Lawn & Grace 1987). Others

showed signs of a backlash specifically against the media's use and abuse of cultural stereotypes, some predicting the negative impact on teachers (Dawes 1999; Gardner 1999; Jalongo 1997; Otto 2005; Rousmaniere 1999). The press did not recognise the full effect of generalisations, nor did it share the fear that teachers might internalise them and be negatively affected.

Continuity and change

The SYMBOL relied on long-established and historical images. Some theorists emphasised the prevailing nature of teacher images in the media (Dawes 1999; Mitchell & Weber 1999; Otto 2005; Weber & Mitchell 1995). However, teacher images in the press took a variety of static, stereotypical, fictional and fragmented forms. Imagery surrounding teachers' morality established it as a strong and prevailing feature but immorality was also shown to be prolific and occurring on a daily basis. Evidence of immorality justified critical and humiliating representations of teachers' personal and professional characteristics.

The SYMBOL did not necessarily take account of real-life conditions such as funding, resources and oppression. Rather, it constituted a series of expectations and values which transcended context and fluctuated in relation to perceptions of public opinion. Public opinion was treated as an elevated realm, from where social ideals and common values derived and to which teachers were answerable. The inability of teachers to achieve a positive public opinion was sometimes divorced from the economic and

policy context and related instead to teachers' current personal values and political choices. The literature, by comparison, was far more likely to envisage public opinion as affected by broad but immediate political and economic contexts. Historians attempted to identify and judge public opinion of teachers at specific times of union action, policy events and social change (Ball & Goodson 1985; Cunningham & Gardner 2004; Evans 1963; Gould 1970; Helsby 1995; Lawn & Grace 1987; Lortie 1977). While for them, public opinion was often something government and teachers wrestled over, in the press public opinion was something neither teachers nor government could control but to which both owed a debt of allegiance.

Teachers' public/social status was treated as a current issue reflecting the opinions of readers. For instance, the representation of teachers' popularity involved complex compositions of fact, fiction and humour, drawing on generalisations of individual and group characteristics. Teachers were heroes and demons, villains and victims in relation to immediate topical events. Popularity was not perceived to be a serious and long-running concern potentially affecting teachers' status. This contrasted with literature which considered social status to be a highly significant and volatile issue for teachers and for the health of the education service, and at least in part a cultural phenomenon. Some researchers searched media images for evidence of teachers' status at specific times in history (Baker 1994; Burbach & Figgins 1993; Brodie et al. 1978; Crume 1988; Cunningham 1992; Doe 1999; Grace 1987; Phillips 1996; Novoa 2000).

5.1.3 The teacher as SERVICE PROVIDER

Commonalities and contradictions

An analysis of the SERVICE PROVIDER revealed patterns of emphasis underlying representations of teachers' roles and responsibilities. SERVICE PROVIDER needs were marginalised in favour of the needs of education consumers. Teachers and consumers formed a supply and demand equation which ostensibly transcended political wrangling and was shaped simply by social and economic need. There was no contradictory reading for teachers' role in the education market. In the literature, output, where mentioned, was a marginal and more complex factor in education success. Lortie (1977) understood output to be at least in part a consequence of input when he explored standards in relation to working conditions and personal rewards. Miklitsch (1997) considered output less significant than the process of learning. For others, the possibility that the role of teaching might vary between individuals rendered the notion of output overly simplistic and they dismissed it altogether (Elliott 1980; Croll 1996).

Performance was a central tenet of SERVICE PROVIDERS' status. The standards expected of teachers in the press took the form of unequivocal ideals, which recalled the trait method approach in research to exploring professionalism (Carr-Saunders cited in Bergen 1982; Greenwood cited in Biklen 1987; Etzioni 1969; Leigh 1979, Flexner cited in Ozga & Lawn

1981). However, in other literature expectations and standards were debated and challenged. Professionalism was understood to mean different things depending on cultural and geographical contexts (Edman 1968; Helsby 1995; Hoyle 1974, 1980; Judge 1995). The press generalised from underperformance in local and specific situations to illuminate and promote universal standards. Prolific attention was given to faults arising from any contradictory inclinations such as personal irresponsibility, emotional volatility, political affiliation, secrecy, collusion and individuality. This denied professionalism as a workplace responsibility and established it on the demand side of the supply and demand equation.

Continuity and change

The press and literature had different perspectives on the changing nature of service provision. For the press fulfilling policy requirements was fundamental. New needs and expectations were projected daily, but represented as elements of an ongoing response to broad social issues such as justice, the national economy, modernisation and youth violence as well as policy reform. Concerns revolved around teachers' immediate ability to manage demands rather than on whether those demands were changing in number and nature. In contrast, literature explored the consequences of policy change for teachers and it was a key variable in discussions of their roles and responsibilities (Aldrich 1982, Ball 1990, 1993, 1994; Gardner 1998; Mahoney & Nextall 2001; Simon 1991).

Recently, the ERA was of special consequence because of widespread changes to the National Curriculum, standardised testing and assessment (Campbell & Neill 1994a, 1994b; Croll 1996). The press similarly identified these but ultimately concerns about teachers' interests, usually given as recent grievances, were eclipsed by fears about children's supposedly long-running underachievement and the established priority of consumer needs.

The issue of trust was fundamental to understanding press representations. While Ball (1990) argued that polarisations in political rhetoric would provoke distrust, the press used polarisations prolifically and without concern. It frequently juxtaposed criticisms of current teachers with imagined archetypes. However, in addition to this, it was implied that teachers' role in the supply and demand equation was weakening. While the requirements of education consumers were embodied in official and commonsense demands, teachers' personal qualities were supposedly presenting new and unfamiliar challenges. The large number of responsibilities given to teachers won little coverage compared with that given to teachers' supposedly diminishing abilities. These findings suggested that distrust was presented as legitimate given the disjuncture between established demands and current teachers. In the literature trustworthiness was also understood to change. However, unlike the press it was also thought to be a matter of perception; depending on circumstances and events as well as teachers (Ball & Goodson 1985; Lortie 1977; Ozga & Lawn 1981; Simon 1991).

That ideals and expectations of teachers were supposedly ongoing but not yet achieved, made teachers' claim to professional status more tentative and illegitimate. In comparison, some educational historians considered teachers' professional status to be firmly rooted in education history. They analysed need in relation to the demands of different policy contexts (Gardner & Cunningham 2004; Gould 1970; Robinson 2004a; Simon 1991).

5.1.4 The teacher as INTERMEDIARY

Commonalities and contradictions

Teachers' relationship with parents was characterised in the press by extremes and uncertainties while in the literature it evaded definition. The INTERMEDIARY principally relied on an assumption that teachers were fundamentally different from parents. It was rare that they exhibited shared characteristics but usual for them to have conflicting interests and ideas. The potential Biklen (1987) identified, for a working relationship of mutual respect between teachers and parents, did not exist for the INTERMEDIARY.

The press assumed that teachers should relate to pupils on a personal level while in the literature the notion of relationship was challenged and scrutinised. The newspapers referred to a wide range of teaching situations and circumstances such as urban, rural, grammar, comprehensive, secondary, primary, religious and secular schools.

However, whatever limited attention was given to teachers' own ages, backgrounds and circumstances rarely had consequence for teacher-pupil relations. Therefore the possibility of teachers' fundamental incompatibility with pupils, while apparent in research (Steedman 1985), went unrecognised in the press. Furthermore, the newspapers did not explore the different pressures felt by INTERMEDIARIES in different working environments or the possibility that teachers might be exploited by the social work demands. Their participation in social work was an inevitable aspect of their work and rested on an assumption that they should work objectivity. The gains and benefits to teachers of working in their preferred settings or styles were not made explicit, nor was the relevance of setting and styles to parent-teacher relationships.

The social work demands recognised differences between the abilities of women and men teachers to meet requirements for objectivity. The difference also existed in the literature where it was an expressed belief that teachers and mothers share common ground in the organisation of their time and work and are united by the notions of womanhood and femininity (Biklen 1987, 1995; Epstein 1986). Some recognised a natural propensity for women to work around young children (Bergen 1982; Grumet 1988; Robinson 2004a). The press associated the physical and emotional aspects of teaching with men and women respectively, but unlike in the literature, these preferences were made as a simple reaction to pupil behaviour and not in acknowledgement of teachers' different strengths and interests. Teachers were not stronger for performing like parents or alongside them; they had only to apply their

intrinsic, gendered, strengths in an objective manner. Therefore, in portrayals of teachers, or at least their formal duties, the physical advantage of men was not fatherly, nor was the inclination to care, motherly.

The demand for objectivity despite the gendered nature of social work responsibilities was not recognised as paradoxical. However, the demand for objectivity was seen to be compromised by teachers' overly emotional and/or political persuasions and occasionally by their inability to handle pressure. These were deviations from a common standard, rather than inevitable incongruities. In complete contrast, some literature identified objective ideas in discourses, conventions and ideologies to be an imposition which put pressure on teachers and teacher-parent relations (Acker 1995; Biklen 1987, 1995; Casey 1993; Epstein 1986; Miller 1996; Nias 1989).

Continuity and change

The disintegration of common ground between teachers and parents was presented in the press as gradual and inevitable while in the literature it was variable and context specific. Gardner (1995) claimed that positive relations between parents and teachers in England in the inter-war years were based on a balance of autonomy with accountability. By contrast, the newspapers rarely identified a middle ground between rivalry and alliance. Tensions were not linked with the socio-economic climate or current affairs or challenged in light of a history of good relations, but

were instead often juxtaposed with these things for dramatic effect. Incidents of rivalry outnumbered incidents of alliance and drew on supposedly fresh insights into teachers' personal lives which lent to each a sense of inevitable latent threat. Parent-teacher relationships were apparently unsustainable.

The relationship between INTERMEDIARIES and pupils was shown to be changing in correlation with urgent requirements for socialisation. The well-known benefits of objectivity were juxtaposed with fresh incidents of discriminative, abusive, and incompetent behaviour. The physical aspect of teachers' role had the potential to become especially problematic because of the connotations of sexual and violent abuse. While social work demands were presented as legitimate and immediate for context-specific and historical reasons, there was no evidence in present cases of teachers meeting or being able to meet these demands. The changing nature of social work demands and responses to these demands, were also given little attention in the literature. Steedman did not consider the issue of socialisation beyond the 1970s. Her analysis was also specific to the official pedagogical ideologies of Froebel and Pestalozzi. Webb & Vulliamy (2001, 2002) recognised that problems of inequality and social exclusion were especially prevalent and widespread after New Labour made them a policy priority in 1997. They exposed an absence of research on the social work and childcare dimension of primary school teaching at that time and urged for further investigation.

5.1.5 The teacher as SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY

Commonality and contradiction

The press and literature both recognised that schools vary according to location, intake, sector and other variables but only the latter also emphasised the variety and diversity of staff within them. The SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY was a homogeneous member of staff, inferior and accountable to the headteacher. The success of the SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY depended on unity and conformity. The prospect of good school organisation commonly implied the absence of choice and managerial control for teachers. Similarly, Ball (1994) noted:

As the focus of appraisal, accountability, comparison and review, the teacher is very visible, as an expert professional actor and decision maker she is all but invisible. (p. 61)

In the literature conformity and unity were much less pronounced as ideal working scenarios than the theoretical possibilities of democracy and opportunity. However, there was no consensus on whether, in real-life situations, collaboration and teamwork were organic or imposed, for better or worse (Ball 1994; Campbell 1985; Mahoney & Nextall 2001; Nias 1989; Sieber 1972; Sachs 2001; Smyth 1991; Troman 1996; Wallace 1988; Webb 1996, 1998, 2002; Webb & Vulliamy 1996). Some

considered these words rhetorical devices which did not actually provide practical solutions for schools.

Although schools varied, teachers' roles within them were portrayed as generic and universal. Creativity, intuition and discretion were valued but independence, in the form of excessive individuality and collegiality contradicted the service-oriented rationale of education. The SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY therefore rested on the paradoxical requirement of independence within a conformist regime. In contrast, a prevalent view among educational researchers was that a teacher's immediate concerns arise from context-specific demands and that these require a certain amount of independence and autonomy (Clandinin 1989; Epstein 1986; Helsby 1995; McIntyre and Elliott in Hoyle & Megarry 1980; Johnston 1989; Ozga & Lawn 1981; Simco and Richards cited in Robinson 2004a; Weems 2003).

The newspapers only criticised rigid school structures when they contradicted the notion of parental or state control. Meanwhile, the SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY was directly answerable to the headteacher, and sympathy for the prospect of their restricted control was at best infrequent. This was a more inflexible view than that held by researchers supporting teachers' proactive engagement in school issues, management and research (Ball 1994; Vulliamy & Webb 1992, 1996; Webb 2002). The potential existed for teachers' promotion to specialist status as a curriculum or Special Educational Needs coordinator but these responsibilities usually required duties distinct and separate from the classroom, which had the effect of relegating classroom-based

responsibilities to a rank of lower prestige. There was no obvious way for classroom teachers to participate in school management.

Continuity and change

The press presented collegiality as an issue growing in strength and emphasis irrespective of influences outside the school. However, in the literature links were made between the changing meaning of collegiality and political rhetoric and policy upheavals (Smyth 1991; Webb & Vulliamy 1996). In the absence of such contextual links, the newspapers projected assumptions about teachers' own reasons for not cooperating, such as their thirst for power and freedom, trendy political ideologies and resentment of authority. Variables associated in the literature with democratic school organisation were dismissed by the press as faddish phenomena contrasting with long-established institutional hierarchies. The relationship between headteachers and teachers was complicated by democratic structures. A similar argument was made by Webb & Vulliamy (1996), who observed primary school headteachers. However, and crucially, they understood the use of directive styles for the purpose of time-saving rather than for ideological resistance. Generally the literature, unlike the press, did not condone hierarchy because it was an established or familiar form of organisation. Nor was it assumed that collaboration was a recent invention by teachers. On the contrary, terms such as 'collegiality', 'collaboration', 'teamwork' and 'whole-school

approaches' were identified in recent policy rhetoric and analysed for their influence on teachers.

In the literature, the issue of individuality in teaching arose in the context of discussions about teachers' personal investment in their work, and alongside concerns about the diminishing opportunity for it (Ball & Goodson 1985; Bell 1985; Lortie 1977; Simon 1991; Webb 1995). A number of impersonal demands were believed to be contributing to a gradual process of de-humanisation, the impacts of which were increasingly poor returns on teachers' personal investment, a decreasing sense of fun and spontaneity at work, and low morale leading to declining retention. The idea of de-humanisation, although not the word, was also recognised by the press, but the causes had less evolutionary history. They varied from consumer interests to market requirements and budgetary restrictions. The preferred solution lay not in teachers' individuality, but in protective policy for parents, the increased monitoring and stricter organisation of classroom activities.

5.1.6 The teacher as CLASSROOM PRACTITIONER

Commonalities and contradictions

The goal-oriented rationale of classroom practice recalled literature on pedagogical philosophy (Alexander 1988; Steedman 1985). However, while the newspapers reported difficulties experienced by practitioners in meeting standards and expectations, they did not empathise with

teachers' subsequent guilt and anxiety as did the researchers. Nor did they embrace any substantial reasons for challenging the rationale of teaching.

The notion of locally developed procedures and methods of classroom practice might have aligned with research on the variety and idiosyncrasies of teachers' work (Elliott 1980; Helsby 1995; McIntyre 1980; Talbert & McLaughlin 1996). However, because the emphasis was more on output than input, idiosyncratic work was always judged at a general theoretical level and more often subjected to critical scrutiny than praise. Neither acquired nor learned practice was exclusively sufficient, but nor was there a formula available for achieving the right balance. There was only criticism of practices which contradicted the supposedly commonsense rationale.

The value of locally acquired knowledge was recognised, as it had been in the literature (Acker 1995), but here only for its potential value to the local consumer. It was considered irrelevant and even dangerous outside of its specific use and location, constituting an irrational opposite to the rationale of teaching pedagogy. The relationship between individual and shared practice was unclear, resulting in fears that poor practice would create widespread chaos. In educational studies, there were theories linking shared experiences, practitioner research and critical reflection with teachers' professional development (Biklen 1995; Britzman 2003; Goodson 1992; Goodson & Hargreaves 1996; Grumet 1988; Helsby 1995; Hoyle 1980; Miller 1996). The potential for teachers' contribution to theory was also considered highly significant for the

furtherance of educational research and understanding (Ball & Goodson 1985; Vulliamy & Webb 1992; Webb 1996). However, CLASSROOM PRACTITIONER needs were not clear, obvious or important, and responsibility for the generation of theory was outside of their control.

Continuity and change

Classroom practices were related to policy structures in the press, as in the literature, but also to other consumer requirements and to teachers' personal practice irrespective of policy. The relevance of personal memories and experiences to classroom practice was explored by Clandinin (1989) but she recognised the specificity of her findings in time and location. By contrast, the press generalised from incidents of teachers' personal practice and local knowledge to suspicions of emotional bias and irrationality.

The press showed the use of local knowledge to be a time-honoured exercise, but at the same time being undermined by negative incidents of personal practice, specific to the current policy context. Teachers' compliance with policy changes was rarely described while incidents of non-compliance were given frequently as evidence of activities undermining established goals or needs. Some literature looked at teachers' practice within the context of policy reform, thereby understanding the impacts of change as conditional upon their responses to change (Campbell & Neill 1994a, 1994b; Croll 1996; Goodson & Hargreaves 1996; Johnston 1989; Sieber 1976; Troman 1996; Webb

1993). However, unlike in the press, it was not assumed that teachers' practical autonomy would necessarily result in resistance to policy or educational interests. Teachers were found to mediate, adapt to and comply with policy, which also benefited them in some ways and not in others. Therefore, it followed that autonomy did not necessarily compromise consumer needs. Indeed autonomy and accountability could coexist in certain social contexts (Gardner 1998). Teachers' personal/emotional investment in their work was therefore not assumed to be threatening and subjected to critical scrutiny as it was in the press.

For reasons of negative personal practice and the need for specialist subject areas, the knowledge base used by CLASSROOM PRACTITIONERS was shown to be in a state of flux. This recalled Robinson's (2004a) analysis of the move away from organic ideals of art and craft in teaching towards the more scientific model of methodical rules and principles. The potential advantage of this model was teachers' ownership of a specialist knowledge base, which, according to Bergen (1982), would command professional status. However, the press did not suggest that as a consequence of specialist subjects teachers were acquiring an exclusive knowledge base. Nor was the prospect of diminishing local knowledge associated with changes in the status of teachers. The press showed no awareness that the organisation of the curriculum by subject areas might be costing teachers in terms of fun and inspiration (Webb 1993), nor of the potential benefit for teachers of inspired and spontaneous dialogue (Measor 1985).

5.1.7 The teacher as SOURCE

Commonalities and contradictions

The negative potential of teachers' influence far outweighed the positive in the press. The prospect of expertise was remote and because it was associated with local/personal initiatives, and also therefore presented the prospect of wrongdoing or misinterpretation that, paradoxically, might contradict national goals. There was strong and vivid potential for wrongdoing among individuals. The literature was more eager to recognise expertise or at least its potential (Robinson 2004a; Sternberg 1995). As discussed earlier, for researchers, autonomy often had positive connotations and local enterprises did not necessarily have general/theoretical implications.

Among the potential threats posed by the teacher, political and ideological bias ranked high. Any political enterprise was subject to severe criticism on the basis that it was inevitably unsolicited and might influence pupils. In contrast, the only time that individual teachers were anything close to threatening in the literature was in their potential failure to resist undemocratic pedagogy (Apple 1982; Bowers 1987; Dale 1982; Foucault 1979; Giroux 1981; Giroux et al. 1996; Giroux & Shannon 1997; Robertson 1996). Gillborn (1995) even blamed them for perpetuating a false discourse of de-racialisation. It appeared that individuals would be at fault in the press for accepting the responsibility of change and at fault in some literature for not accepting it. In both scenarios individuals were

given responsibility for perpetuating or solving ideological problems in wider society.

Continuity and change

The SOURCE emphasised the importance of a teacher's intrinsic personal strengths and weaknesses over and above their training, development and learning. This recalled Britzman's (2003) hypothesis that experience is too often understood to be something possessed by teachers rather than an ongoing accomplishment. The press perspective disassociated teachers' strengths and weaknesses from the changing context and conditions of their work and often neglected to account for a teacher's experience. While this lent a sense of unpredictability to individuals, the situations and circumstances surrounding them were not shown to hinder more reliable and consistent commitment. Therefore strengths and weaknesses could easily be interpreted as matters of personal choice, and subsequently teachers' choices as potentially or immediately threatening. This contrasted with Nias's (1989) work. She argued for increased awareness of the emotional conflicts felt by teachers on the basis that national and local demands might contradict their personal principles. The newspapers simply condemned all subjective and emotional responses as signs of irrationality and refused to see teachers as victims.

The SOURCE's positive influence remained continuously remote but incidents of abuse provided evidence that their negative influence was

expanding. Analysis revealed that the notion of teacher power only ever had negative connotations, irrespective of their changing roles and responsibilities. In effect, power was freedom from the consumer. This starkly contrasted with Robinson's (2004a) work which, as described earlier, identified different and changing connotations of teachers' power. The possibility if not the enactment of freedom meant teachers in the press could always be implicated in cases of crime and disorder.

5.1.8 The teacher as PERSON

Commonalities and contradictions

The press judged teachers to be good or bad people according to a single but complex variable: morality. Teachers' personalities came under critical scrutiny frequently on an individual and general level, as well as their lifestyle choices and appearance. However, there was limited evidence of teachers' personal circumstances and dispositions, such as financial, racial and ethnic backgrounds. Race and ethnicity were occasionally mentioned as issues occurring for named individuals and not for the teaching population. In contrast, a multitude of variables were used by educational researchers to understand teachers' lives, such as class, marital status, ambitions, motivations, backgrounds and financial situations (Bergen 1982; Casey 1993; Copelman 1996; Dale 1982; Evetts 1986; Rich and Gosden cited in Robinson 2004a; Simon 1991; Steward, Meier & Englund 1989; Tropp 1957; Widdowson 1986). Difference and

individuality were embraced to varying extents, with some even making the subjective voice a priority above all else (Mitchell, Weber & O'Reilly-Scanlon 2005; Swindells 1995; Weller 1999; Woods 1990). The subjective voice was much less, if at all, present in the press.

Although gender played a part in the INTERMEDIARY's role and responsibilities, it was not immediately obvious in personality traits and natural predispositions. Preferences for all teachers to be self-disciplined, committed, self-sacrificing and asexual persons, recalled imagery of teachers' female attributes occurring in the literature (Robinson 2003), but here they were used to variably emphasise male and female characteristics depending on the story. However, the gender difference between men and women was striking for behaviour and actions judged immoral or irresponsible. Male immorality commonly involved sexual activity in an aggressive manner, while female immorality involved sexual passion, excessive love, or titillation. The patterns were all the more pronounced for the lack of contradictory evidence. This was noticeably different from the literature, where the teacher was not conceptualised as a sexual being, or as a sexual criminal. While the literature debated the possibility that gendered discourse might perpetuate gender inequalities, the press made no such correlation. Neither men nor women were exempt from blame or praise on the grounds of gender, and the effect of gender inequalities on teachers was more or less inconsequential. Gender was only relevant, as shown earlier, for its impact on pupils.

Continuity and change

Assumptions of fixed moral and immoral inclinations in the press differed from the literature where distinctions between teachers' working and private lives gave them more control over their moral choices (Pajak & Blase 1984; Wallace 1989). It also implied that identity was something possessed rather than used by teachers, a probability firmly repudiated by Maclure (1993). She claimed that teachers attribute meanings to identity which helps them make sense of their daily lives and work. The PERSON had no such control over thought and emotion, instead being determined by supposedly long-running and habitual drives.

However, stories of teachers' sexual and criminal inclinations were presented as illustrations of a growing problem, reflecting the increased freedom for teachers to enact their 'true' desires. What seemed to be presented as an emerging moral crisis among teachers was apparently unaffected by changes in the political and social context. The literature did not recognise that teachers' priorities and morals might be subject to change. Instead there were occasional allusions to declining standards of morality in society and the less factual and more critical and personal media reporting of teachers (Baker 1994; Lumley 1998; Thomas 2003). If teachers needed to change, it was in order to cope with more aggressive and critical media while in the press it was in order to control their suppressed natural instincts.

5.2 The Implications of these Findings for Research

This section considers the contribution of the above analysis to research on the representation of teachers and how these insights might be used and developed to broaden and extend knowledge of this topic.

The subject of teachers rested on a wide and varied array of possible meanings which showed it to be a complex concept and a fertile site for exploration. Despite this variety and diversity, there were discernable patterns of emphasis which affected the way teachers were conceptualised. These patterns were different in the press and in educational literature.

The press routinely assumed some characteristics of the teacher to be commonly shared. It also showed there to be a heterogeneity among teachers which was sometimes absent in the literature. Analysis revealed that by comparison with the literature, the press representations saw characteristics distributed at the extremes of commonality and contradiction significantly more than in the middle ground of the continuum. There was less chance of state-teacher relationships, minority group activities, teamwork, cooperation, shared ideas and other moderate positions. Further research on the representation of teachers could deconstruct the commonality-contradiction continuum and explore in more detail the aspects seemingly clustered around each extreme. For instance, 'How might the increased exposure of differences in age, ethnicity and class impact on the representation of teachers?' and 'On

what variables do representations assuming teachers' common morality/immorality rely, and how do they advantage or disadvantage teachers?' Addressing questions like these, teachers might come to expect and predict generalisations in some texts and learn how to avoid internalising the more distorted and potentially discriminative representations.

The press and literature also employed different perspectives on continuity and change. The press fluctuated in its acknowledgement of teachers' present and past. Analysis revealed that by comparison with the literature, the press gave less consistent recognition to the effects of immediate and long-term change on teachers. At the same time it gave equal or more attention to teachers' responsibility for change. Characteristics were clustered more around the extremes of continuity and change than the middle ground, resulting in less recognition of, among other things, the possibility of teachers' evolving identity, learning and professional development, participation in pedagogy, modernisation and policy implementation. Further research could explore in more detail the implication of these extreme constructions. For instance, 'How might the increased representation of teachers' participation in policy implementation advantage or disadvantage teachers?' It would also be interesting to compare specific variables for evidence of continuity and change in different timeframes to see if some are more susceptible than others to nostalgia or sensationalism, positive or negative interpretation.

The patterns of emphasis identified by the comparative analysis of commonality and contradiction, continuity and change were specific to the

1990s but not to policy events. A logical follow-up question is 'Were representations of teachers in the press different before and after the implementation of the 1988 ERA?' This might show how the distribution of emphasis in representations of teachers corresponds to their policy/news context and the role played by the press in mediating changing conceptualisations. By understanding the way representations of teachers have changed at times of social and political upheaval, historians may be able to predict future change, and to identify times that teachers might be especially vulnerable in terms of their status in cultural texts.

The distribution of emphasis towards extremes of commonality and contradiction, continuity and change allowed for newspapers to make certain characteristics of teachers seem more consistent than others. In other words, representations of consistencies and inconsistencies among teachers and over time were forms of rhetoric. It would be interesting to explore whether these extremes might also be recognised in other media and socio-cultural texts such as television, music, policy documents, political speeches etc. If the continua are inapplicable, it would be sensible to investigate how they might be modified or re-invented so as to establish a common basis for comparing different media. Representations may also have depended on circumstances which could not be studied here, such as the news or policy context, the readership and the time of publication. With a shorter sample these issues could be re-introduced to the analysis and the findings compared with those given here. The purpose would be to understand the rhetorical forms for representations

of teachers in various different media. This would equip researchers and teachers with a more sophisticated knowledge of the connections and patterns underlying the identity of teachers in the socio-cultural domain.

This chapter has discussed the findings, making claims about their relevance and potential value. The next chapter now evaluates the effectiveness of this project, in other words, the conditions upon which these claims depend for their value.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION PART TWO

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the effectiveness of this project in exploring the representation of teachers in the press. However, the means of assessing effectiveness is contested in social science. Some researchers claimed that judgements of effectiveness vary between fields and paradigms (Cohen & Manion 2003; Strauss & Corbin 1990; Winter 2000):

Every research study, qualitative or quantitative, must be evaluated in terms of the specific canons and procedures of the research method that was used to generate the findings. (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 258)

This study involved a modified grounded theory approach. However, the guidelines provided by Glaser & Strauss (1967) were as follows:

We have suggested that criteria of judgement be based [...] on the detailed elements of the actual strategies used for collecting, coding, analyzing and presenting data when generating theory, and on the way in which people read theory. (p. 224)

This advice was unsuitable given that this version of grounded theory emphasised the gradual development of a rationale and strategy. Judging this project on the basis of criteria, strategies and results, would have been insensitive and inappropriate. Therefore, more important than the paradigmatic criteria in assessing effectiveness, were criteria sensitive to methodological choices. Robson's (2002) insights were a helpful starting point for identifying different measures of effectiveness:

Validity is concerned with whether the findings are 'really' about what they appear to be about [... reliability is] the consistency or stability of a measure; for example, if it were to be repeated, would the same result be obtained. (p. 93)

These definitions distinguished between the relevance of the research findings and the research process. However, both concepts of validity and reliability were problematic in relation to this project. In terms of the latter, the study did not use any conventional measures or measurements in its process. Even if the conditions of the study, the development of a methodological rationale and the process of analysis, were given with a detailed chronology, it would not follow that another researcher could exactly replicate the study. Reliability was therefore about the process of research being theoretically rather than practically replicable. Validity was

problematic because of its implications of verifiable truth. Hammersley (1987) defined it as follows:

An account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise (p. 69)

The notion of verifying research through criteria and assessments of truth was rejected by social scientists conducting qualitative research who acknowledged the conditional and changing contexts of research (Denzin & Lincoln 1994; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Huberman & Miles 2002; Robson 2002; Winter 2000). As argued in Chapter Three, this study committed neither to extreme objectivist or relativist perspectives. Maxwell (1992, 2002) was also of this opinion. He urged that assessment should take account of the relative purposes and circumstances of an enquiry, but that validity should be applied at some level to data as well as to accounts of data. He devised five criteria which he claimed to be non-deterministic categories for assessing validity in qualitative research. Reliability formed a threat to these criteria and was intrinsic to them but did not exist as a separate issue.

This chapter briefly considers Maxwell's framework as a means of assessing the data and the account of the data in this project. On the basis of its strengths and weaknesses his notion of reliability is modified and tested according to problems which arose and were overcome during the study.

6.1 A Test of Validity

Maxwell's (1992, 2002) five criteria for assessing qualitative research were: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalisability and evaluative validity. The meaning and relevance of each to this project is discussed below.

Descriptive validity - This criterion referred to the accuracy of the research account in relation to the observable data, in other words, the extent of its exactitude. Here, the accuracy of concept names seemed likely given that they were derived from many thousands of codes and trees and their roots could be easily traced and checked against the data. However, description required choices and decisions, for which exactitude could not easily be established. The account of the findings relayed in this thesis also depended on the researcher's ability to illustrate the data and to retain and re-represent emphasis as and when appropriate.

Interpretive validity - This criterion meant understanding meaning in its original, unobservable, form. The 90 tree categories, 20 initial concepts and eight key concepts illustrated the relationship between the findings and a large quantity of source material. However, interpretive validity rested on the researcher's ability to

ensure consistency of coding and categorisation and to preserve the original meanings in the data.

Theoretical validity - This criterion highlights the explanatory value of the findings, in other words the legitimacy of concepts in relation to existing and established concepts. The legitimacy of the theoretical predictions made here rested on the way the researcher summarised and compared the data and the literature.

Generalisability - Maxwell claimed that it should be possible to generalise from the findings within the group studied to members of the group not observed, and that generalisability could be demonstrated by the chance of a cause-effect relationship between the research framework and findings. However, there were too many variables affecting the outcomes for the enquirer to establish cause-effect linkages, such as the process of sampling, assimilating data, reviewing the literature, drawing comparisons and other variables.

Evaluative validity – Here Maxwell referred to the value judgements, subjective and discretionary knowledge used in the construction of descriptions, interpretations and theory. The rationale and epistemology of this study were set out in Chapter Three. However, this researcher was not alone in finding that value judgements in the grounded theory approach were ultimately a

matter of integrity, discretion and confidence (Beard & Easingwood 1989; Goulding 1999; Pandit 1996; Sikes 2000).

Maxwell's realist and relativist model was broadly coherent with the commitment here to neither wholly realist nor relativist perspectives. However, in practice his notion of validity was incompatible with the notion of indeterminate truth. Winter (2000) also found that:

... the deconstruction of the concept of validity into separate types and then relating them to certain stages of the research process is an unnecessary conceptualisation which may lead one to think that as long as these parameters are considered, then the research could be said to be wholly 'valid'. (Winter 2000)

Bauman (1978) argued that qualitative research emerged in the late eighteenth century as a reaction against the quantitative techniques of natural science; that it replaced causal assumptions, common sense correlations and generalisations with an emphasis on the process of acquiring knowledge. Maxwell's emphasis on validity tests aligned with Bauman's definition of techniques in early natural science. Since all five of his tests above depended on the conditions and processes of the study, it made no sense to treat validity as the universal goal of research.

It was more appropriate to think of it as a matter of degree, significant in relative terms to the requirements and conditions of the study.

Despite this, Maxwell's definition of reliability as a threat to validity was much less problematic than Robson's emphasis on replicability. The reliability of this project rested more on theoretical than practical probability here since the conditions and processes involved were so complex and numerous. Reliability would be more effectively judged on the basis of how far validity was threatened in the process of the research, in other words, the conditions upon which the truthfulness of the findings depended. This perspective aligned with Pring's (2000) claim that it is not necessary to prove statements 'true', so long as the terms and conditions of the statements of 'truth' are known and understood. Denzin (1994) used the word verisimilitude to connote the likelihood of truth rather than truth as an achievable goal. This recalled the researcher's prior acknowledgement, as stated in Chapter Three, that the study would work towards objectivity not assume it to be achievable. Therefore threats to validity are explored on the basis that validity is a representation of probable truth and the threats were effectively the conditions upon which truth was compromised to a greater or lesser extent.

6.2 Potential Threats to Validity

A few potential threats to validity were raised in the above critique of Maxwell's validity tests. There were others besides which his categories did not reveal, again suggesting the inappropriateness of his approach. In total there were ten potential threats to validity during this project and they are categorised in stages: project design, research strategies, analysis and writing. Where the issues were addressed an explanation is given of how and to what effect.

6.2.1 Project design

1. Discriminative sampling

The newspapers were initially handpicked to suit the purposes of the study and were then selected according to quota and strata criteria. The dates of the publications and the sections studied were selected in the same way. Time restrictions determined the inclusion of some supplements and not others, some months and not others. It was a concern that this sampling would distort the data. However, the rationale for sampling was never inconsistent; there was a constant commitment to the notion of typicality (Schofield 2002) and to giving each newspaper and article adequate time. There is evidence of this commitment in the fact that data collection took much longer to complete than expected. The intention was to take around nine months but it ended up taking 12. The

newspapers grew in size as the decade went on and some routinely took longer than an hour to read. Analysis, which ran concurrently with collection, took nearly another year beyond. This was a predictable hazard of using a flexible research design and did not suggest a lack of control. Robson (2002) realised that usually it is very difficult for grounded theorists to specify a sample at all because the point of saturation in data analysis cannot easily be pre-empted. Importantly, the temptation to speed up reading was resisted. Therefore, although specific, the sample had relevance and significance to a study of British national press. It would be possible to extend and develop the study or to add to it using the same rationale for sampling.

6.2.2 Research strategies

2. Extracting data but preserving meaning

Data slices were carefully selected and transcribed so as to contain enough contextual information to make sense of the appearance of the teacher. However, pictures and texts that relied for their meaning on presentation were sometimes difficult to recreate away from the source materials. The difficulty in logging these data illustrated a more subtle underlying problem; that the process of transcribing and cataloguing interrupted and changed the researcher's experience of their meaning so that it would not be understood exactly the same way as it had upon first encounter.

To address this challenge to analysis the researcher took two precautionary measures. First, non-narrative data were transcribed into Nvivo using prose and coded like other data, but they were also often photocopied. Photocopies were reviewed frequently in conjunction with the transcriptions. Secondly, two Nvivo files were kept for each project: one recording the codes from the time of the first encounter with the text, and another recording the codes from the final stages of analysis. In this way it was always possible to refer to the original selections and analyses to see if and how the researcher was deviating from the original texts.

3. Retaining emphasis during coding

During coding, emphasis was acknowledged by using extreme and superlative descriptors. However, there was a temptation to quantify some representations. The following are examples:

- There were possibly fewer than five pictures of black or ethnic minority teachers compared with dozens of white teachers
- There were noticeably more representations of male headteachers than male teachers
- The teacher as a **service provider** was much more prevalent than the **heroic** teacher
- Codes relating to the teacher as **proletariat** appeared to cluster more around the metaphor of service provision than of classroom practice

- Memory and critical reflection suggested that the **service provider** code was more consistent in the early years of the decade
- Out of the 16 articles selected from the *Times* in October 1998, 11 made school leaders rather than teachers the source or angle

The use of superlatives and extreme descriptors did not always seem to do justice to emphasis in the text. The code descriptions were anecdotal, vague and unconvincing by comparison. However, there were ways of dealing with the problem. On the basis that counting need not mean quantification, it did not compromise the qualitative enterprise to record a few of the most illuminating numbers in memos. Those repetitions which did not translate numerically were also recorded in memos. These provided useful points of reference during the analysis while ways of representing them in code form were considered and tried. As and when extreme and superlative code names could be assigned they were of equal value to other codes. They came to form independent groups which eventually formed the basis of the SYMBOL tree. As such, these codes were a central feature of the study rather than outliers and minority groups as might have been their fate in a quantitative study.

4. Ensuring consistency of coding and categorisation

Consistency of coding was essential if the researcher was to explore the findings for patterns of emphasis *after* data analysis. However, ensuring

consistency within and between Nvivo projects across the years was sometimes problematic. For instance:

- The code of **catalyst** might have been applied to a segment of data in 1998 but a similar segment existing already in 1991 might have been given the code name **intermediary**. How could the researcher check that the meaning attributed to the term had not changed in the mind of the researcher?
- In some years the **intermediary** constituted a tree name while in others it was just a code. Was this a genuine shift in the data or did it reflect the researcher's changing understanding of the term?
- Data collection and analysis in October 2004 may have been more efficient than in June 2006 and may have been informed by accumulated as well as current experience. How could consistency in the treatment of data and codes be checked and illustrated?

The problem of consistency was addressed in several ways. During data collection and analysis constant checks and comparisons were made within and between Nvivo projects to ensure consistency in the wording of code names and tree names, as well as the meanings associated with these words. Detailed annotations were made in memos to provide a record of the interpretive process and to prompt critical reflection on the researcher's changing experiences, opinions and attitudes towards the texts. There was frequent reference to a large number of photocopies of the original texts to ensure that the experience of reading them could be

accounted for consistently. LexisNexis Professional was also checked regularly to ensure selections of data were consistent within and between Nvivo projects. After data analysis and as part of theoretical sampling, the consistency of code names was rechecked. A spreadsheet was compiled organising the codes by year, which gave an overview across and between the Nvivo projects. Compiling the master spreadsheet also meant reconsidering code names and categories.

5. Using computer software

Critics of computer software in qualitative research argued that it undermines the process of grounded theory and renders it illegitimate:

One can detect a trend towards a homogenization, and the emergence of a new form of orthodoxy, especially at the level of data management. (Coffey, Holbrook & Atkinson, 1996, paragraph 1.4)

Goulding (1999) identified a few more potential hazards for computer assisted analysis:

1. Data that is decontextualised and segmented make checks and returns difficult.
2. Interpretations are often myopic and mechanistic rather than intuitive.

3. Coding and retrieving techniques may be at odds with the idea of emergence.

However, in the absence of a predefined unit of analysis, Nvivo was extremely helpful in this study. Using Nvivo was much easier than trying to manage, view and assimilate data on handwritten proforma. It was also a useful tool for indexing and retrieving codes. It would have been possible to use the software to combine codes or perform Boolean analyses of related or approximate types but Nvivo was not used in that way. It was used to minimal effect so that it did not modify, inhibit or standardise the creative enterprise. Memo writing did not involve Nvivo and the notes provided a point for comparison with the computer logged data. Therefore, the computer did not compromise the creative and experiential nature of data collection any more than had the manual process of using proforma. Even if it was the case that through subsequent re-checking, re-ordering and grouping some reduction occurred, it was not a feature of the computer software, which if anything made it easier to revisit the texts and interact with them in their original form. Therefore, there was no basis here for the argument that computer software was at odds with the idea of emergence. It supported Lee & Fielding's (1996) more enlightened view that:

Qualitative researchers have gone beyond seeing the computer either as a panacea for analytic woes or as a devil-tool of positivism and scientism. (paragraph 4.5)

Nvivo did not encourage assumptions of objectivity. If anything it allowed the researcher to be more aware and critical of any subjective inclinations.

6. Achieving closure

Grounded theorists often find it difficult to achieve and demonstrate closure (Pandit 1996). Glaser & Strauss (1967) said that the grounded theorist should feel “in his bones” the worth of his/her final analysis. Although this was a salient explanation of the researcher’s experience, such a vague indicator might have compromised claims to theoretical validity. However, there were a number of other reasons to believe that closure had been achieved:

- The procedure of constant comparison was exhausted. Each article had been visited and read at least seven times, during a process of selecting from the newspaper, transcribing into Nvivo, coding in Nvivo, summarizing in memos, checking on LexisNexis Professional, re-coding in light of new codes, checking against earlier projects and reporting on spreadsheets
- At the end of data collection more than 2,000 relevant articles had been identified and newspapers were frequently re-checked in LexisNexis Professional using keyword searches. This helped ensure no relevant articles were omitted from the dataset and that

appearances of the teacher were comprehensively covered within the sample

- Each of around 4,000 codes had been applied around eight or nine times and new codes were rarely needed
- Of the 90 tree names arising from the ten Nvivo projects there were only 20 *different* tree names, which suggested coding had reached a point of saturation. These were further reduced to eight key concepts, each substantiated by around 1,000 data slices and 500 codes
- Memos had become repetitive, suggesting that analysis was no longer yielding new possibilities or insights

Theoretical sampling from external sources also helped the researcher identify the point of saturation. Nearly 300 books and articles on teachers were found during several literature searches in national and international library archives. There came a point when meanings presented in the literature no longer informed the research and instead words emerging from the data recognised with a fresh perspective, assumptions and generalisations made in the literature.

Charmaz (2000) believed that theoretical sampling throughout data analysis might make the researcher insensitive to generated meanings and lead to premature closure. The process would not have been sustained here had it been thought to affect data analysis. Outside influences were a valuable source of stimulation. However, it was important that they did not serve as a substitute for the data. Memos

testified that thought processes occurring throughout theoretical sampling were continually challenging not just reinforcing the data.

6.2.3 Analysis

7. Representing the literature

The effectiveness of the analysis relied on the literature review being comprehensive and representative. The literature was categorised according to features of the teacher emerging from an extensive collection, namely, their lives, work, profile, position and images. These categories were suited to the purposes of this project but they were not neat. There were overlaps and contradictions within and between the categories and there was some ambiguity in categories which covered a broad range of topics. For instance, 'position' incorporated teacher-state relations, power dynamics, roles and responsibilities. It was important that the researcher was managing the complex volume of material through categorisation, without obscuring the underlying details, ambiguities and contradictions. At times striking this balance was awkward and for reasons of space and time details could not be fully explored.

8. The bases of comparison

Silverman stressed the importance of flexibility in choosing 'sampleable' units. His logic was valuable and the outcomes of using it, rewarding. The

press and literature were compared using two conceptual continua accounting for differences in emphasis underlying representations of teachers. They were devised gradually over the course of the literature review, data collection and analysis so as to maximise the potential theoretical value of the study. This approach also minimised the threat to validity of subjective interpretation because the theoretical reasoning was made a priority throughout.

Although the study was found to have theoretical value, its potential use and applicability were still limited by the specificity of the comparative bases. The continua needed to be carefully defined so as to have clear purposes but also required sufficient flexibility that they could be applied to two very different sources. It was not possible to take into account issues such as the geographical location of teachers represented and those doing the representing, or the approximate relevance of the represented to current affairs and topical interests. Meanings may also have been determined by differences in style, technique, purpose and timeframe. However, the limitations of the findings were acknowledged and there were no spurious claims to their usefulness in settings beyond education and subject areas other than the representation of teachers. It was more important to contribute with predictions to a specific topic of research than to offer vague or overly-specific claims at a general level.

9. Descriptive accuracy

The findings were complex and therefore it was important to describe them accurately in this thesis. Glaser & Strauss (1967) acknowledged the difficulty of conveying abstract social phenomena vividly and extensively. They suggested using illustrations and summaries to show how categories were clearly structured and interrelated. To this end Chapter Four represented the eight key concepts in four ways: a chart, a written synopsis, samples of texts and full-text articles. It was sometimes difficult to resist quantification in the synopses. The number of repetitions and omissions gave weight to the explanation, seeming less anecdotal and vague than qualitative references. However, counted phenomena were rarely available, and never consistently. Also, resorting to quantities might have distorted illustrations of the findings, giving priority to the most common rather than the most interesting representations. This would have made later analysis of commonality and contradiction, continuity and change, difficult and unreliable.

A solution for illustrating extensively without quantification was found in quasi-statistics:

... the observer deals in what have been called "quasi-statistics". His conclusions, while implicitly numerical,

do not require precise quantification. (Becker, 1971, p.

31)

Quasi-statistics were used to describe the repetition, omission and strength of codes. They showed emphasis where it was intrinsic to the meaning of a concept or code.

The full-text articles were provided in order that the reader could become familiar with the raw materials, their visual and complex nature. This respected Denzin's (2002) opinion that interpretive researchers should bring alive the world of lived experience for the reader. However, the articles and code names did not enable the reader to challenge the research findings because these emerged from sets of data not from individual articles. Illustrations of ready-made concepts did not do complete justice to the complexity of their assimilation.

10. Development and chronology

The study developed out of an initial research question on a topic of personal interest. In the initial stages, the aims were vague. There was little clarity on what the approach had achieved and was capable of achieving until the final stages of analysis. This did not constitute a threat to validity but it highlighted the importance of demonstrating honestly and explicitly how the project developed.

Detailed accounts of the research methodology and strategies are given in Chapter Three and the Appendix in order that the reader should

be aware of the conditions upon which the findings depended for their verisimilitude. However, it was not possible to give an exact chronology of how the grounded theory strategies were developed because the process involved hundreds of small decisions, adjustments and re-evaluations on a daily basis. For instance, some of the solutions to the coding issues were found during data collection and data were revisited to ensure their successful application. The process of selecting data slices evolved with time and so earlier selections had to be checked as and when the process was modified. Charmaz's (2000) guidelines helped the researcher to recreate, as far as possible, the process of research, but ultimately it was a messy and non-linear exercise which could not be exactly reproduced in narrative form.

This analysis of the threats to validity suggested that the researcher had pursued objectivity by making minimal the subjective aspect of the research process. This was easier to achieve and to demonstrate in some areas of the project than in others. However, with awareness of these conditions, and on the basis that if they could be replicated the same outcomes would be reached, the methodology was considered reliable.

6.3 The Implications of this Study for Research

The first section of this chapter sets out the conditions upon which the effectiveness of this study relied. On the basis of these conditions and a claim to reliability, it was possible to recognise the contributions of this methodology to existing research and consequently the potential for further research in this area. This again recalled Bassey's (2001) notion of 'fuzzy predictions'.

The press was a complex medium to search on a thematic level. Using a constructivist grounded theory approach meant that strategies for data collection and analysis could be developed as the study progressed, in ways that suited the specific medium and data. Constructivist grounded theory did not require the assumption of objective truth or a commitment to extreme relativism. The approach was suitably flexible that it could be applied to a mixed perspective where the strategies were made explicit and transparent. With a focus on the specific theme of teachers and representation in identifiable forms, it was possible to explore cultural texts without becoming entrenched in issues relating to the politics of culture and communication. It was therefore realistic to enquire after the teacher as political and cultural construct separate and distinct from the process of construction.

Given the above, it was predicted that grounded theory could be usefully applied to analyse the representation of teachers in other media such as film, novels, music and games. Identifying meanings, at least

conditionally intrinsic to these texts, would enable comparisons within and between different media representations. This might later enable cross-cultural analyses on the representation of teachers. For instance, 'How do representations of teachers differ in broadcast, print media and policy documents?' With evidence of coherent and contrasting representations, the broad possibilities of meaning for the teacher and likely patterns of meaning could be further explored. This would add to researchers' understanding of the socio-cultural influences which potentially impact on how teachers formulate their identity.

This approach also demonstrated the potential for combining the theme of teachers with another theme in a dual focus, for instance: 'How are teachers represented when they appear in conjunction with headteachers/parents?' or 'How are teachers represented when they appear alongside other public sector workers?' Addressing these questions might illuminate distinctive features of the teacher and perceptions of teachers' relationship with non-teachers. Those relationships could also be treated as independent phenomena: 'How is the relationship between teachers and headteachers/parents represented?' and 'How do the working activities of teachers and public sector workers compare?' With questions such as these research could specific and under-explored topics.

The strategies used here could also be developed to benefit further study on the representation of teachers generally. For instance, it would be useful to explore the potential for applying a sampling rationale of typicality across socio-cultural texts, irrespective of geographical

boundaries, political and specialist orientations. Alternatively, typicality could be sought from within geographical boundaries or political/specialist publications and compared with the national sample. This would allow for representations of teachers to be collected with some consistency from a broad range of sources and materials. Other emphases besides commonality and contradiction, continuity and change, could be identified so as to build a more comprehensive picture of the influences and patterns affecting how teachers appear in various different scenarios.

This study did not touch on how teachers read and judge representations of teachers. However, the grounded theory approach, originally designed for the purpose of studying human activity, would allow for their views and preferences to be applied to the findings of this comparative analysis. For instance, 'How were teachers' opinions of themselves in the 1990s similar to and different from representations of teachers in the press and in the literature?' Subsequently, one could ask, 'By comparison with literature on teachers and teachers' opinions of themselves, in what ways did the press over- or under represent teachers?' It might even be possible to identify criteria for socially-responsible representation and thereby to equip teachers and researchers with the tools to challenge others and defend themselves.

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6.4 A Final Prediction

At the outset of the project the term 'outsiders' was borrowed from Mitchell, Weber & O-Reilly-Scanlon (2005) to describe the press in relation to teachers and those on the 'inside' of education. Assuming that educational researchers belong to the latter definition, this study also identified a conceptual gulf between those outside and inside the world of teaching and education. Not only was it a challenge to find ground common enough between the press and educational research to justify comparison, but also, the comparison revealed major differences in the treatment of teachers by the two sources. However, in this study it was not assumed that all educational researchers were 'insiders' or that 'insiders', whoever they be, would have a greater claim to understanding what it means to be a teacher. Nor was there an assumption that representations could or should be coherent and reconcilable. Instead, the dialectic was broken down and all those representing teachers were treated as equals, as presenters of truth where truth is conditional and contested.

Therefore, this study concludes with a final prediction. What makes teachers an especially interesting subject of study is that so many institutions, texts and individuals represent them and in doing so claim to know who they are. If the representation of teachers is understood to be a matter of degree relative to time period, context and medium, rather than a case of binary oppositions and extremes, then perhaps there should be more critical and sophisticated analyses of who teachers are

and who they become in different conceptual arenas. This might enable researchers and teachers to recognise and use their represented identity in the most effective and positive way possible.

APPENDIX

A.1 The Newspaper Sample

A.1.1 Choosing the newspapers

Table A1: McNair's characterisation of the leading national daily newspapers

McNair	PNR (November 1996)	readership	MORI poll of readers (%)		
			Cons	Lab	Lib
<i>Times</i>	69	elite	61	18	17
<i>Guardian</i>	73	elite	12	59	22
<i>Independent</i>	68	elite	31	40	26
<i>Daily Mail</i>	53	mid-market	66	17	15
<i>Mirror</i>	26	popular	19	59	10
<i>Sun</i>	46	popular	39	48	10
<i>Star</i>	15	popular	23	64	9
<i>Telegraph</i>	88	elite	71	13	15
<i>Express</i>	44	mid-market	66	19	13
<i>Financial Times</i>	64	elite	50	27	18

PNR = Political Newsworthiness Rating: the amount of coverage given to politics in comparison with the space available for coverage of politics, expressed as a percentage

	Circulation in millions							
	1986 (Jenkins)	1991 (McNair)	1992 (Peak)	1993 (McNair)	1994 (McNair)	1995 (McNair)	1998 (McNair)	2001 (Peak)
<i>Times</i>	0.47	0.41	0.39	0.37	0.49	0.65	0.38	0.71
<i>Independent</i>	0	0.39	0.38	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.39	0.23
<i>Guardian</i>	0.52	0.43	0.42	0.42	0.4	0.4	0.42	0.4
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1.8	1.72	1.69	1.78	1.79	1.78	1.69	2.42
<i>Mirror</i>	3.05	3.72*	2.87	3.44*	3.23*	3.27*	3.62*	2.13
<i>Sun</i>	3.59	3.69	3.56	3.52	4.07	4.08	3.59	3.44
<i>Telegraph</i>		1.08		1.03	1.08	1.07		1.01
<i>Financial Times</i>		0.29		0.29	0.3	0.29		

(* includes *Daily Record*)

Table A2: Circulation figures for the top selling daily national newspapers

Table A3: Mentions of the word 'teacher' in 20 days of 2003

Mentions of "teacher"	10- 14/02/03	9- 13/06/03	13- 17/10/03	8- 12/12/03	Average
<i>Daily Mail</i>	18	22	21	26	21.75
<i>Star</i>	6	10	1	8	6.25
<i>Telegraph</i>	20	16	13	28	19.25
<i>Express</i>	20	19	23	16	19.5
<i>Guardian</i>	48	74	57	45	56
<i>Independent</i>	27	25	31	24	26.75
<i>Mirror</i>	25	24	25	24	24.5
<i>Sun</i>	32	26	21	13	23
<i>Times</i>	40	52	33	58	45.75

A.1.2 LexisNexis Professional

LexisNexis is a company which publishes legal, business, government and tax information to customers in web, print or CD formats. LexisNexis was established in 1973 and is a member of the Reed Elsevier Group. It acts as an umbrella group for a number of leading publishers in the UK including Butterworths, TolleyPublishing and IRS Eclipse. It provides access to over 4.1 billion documents from more than 32,000 reference sources.

LexisNexis Professional is an online component of the company, and claims to be the world's leading source of news, legal, business information and market intelligence. It is a subscription only service, costing approximately £1,200 a month, although universities pay a discounted price of about £500 a month. For this researcher, like most students, there was no charge to access the online archive over and above the cost of university fees. LexisNexis Professional has two parts, news and legal, with 11,000 sources including national and local newspapers and newswires from across the UK. The news database contains published content and information on the publishing industry. News content may be searched using three criteria: search terms, source and date. The search allows for the selection of all sources in which between one and three words appear separately or together in the same extract. It is possible to specify where in the text the word should appear, such as in the headline, in the introductory paragraph or in the index, and to request that sources only be disclosed where the word appears three

times or more. Under the source criteria it is possible to include or exclude specific industries, subjects or countries from the search, including local newspapers and newswires. The date restriction allows for all available dates, certain time periods or specific days to be requested. When searches create more than 1,000 results, requests may be modified by extending or restricting the terms, sources or dates. It is also possible to choose how the results are viewed, such as the number displayed per page and the amount of information given for each. Search results may be saved and revisited at a later date. The copyright for all LexisNexis Professional material is owned by LexisNexis.

A.2 Developing the Research Strategies

A.2.1 The approach to data selection

Strauss & Corbin (1990; 1998) advised that the grounded theorist use an 'initial conceptual framework' comprising questions about the data's general, positional, factual and personal properties. Subsequently, a pilot study conducted in February 2004, used the following questions:

- i) Where in the newspaper and on the page does the teacher appear?
- ii) What does the article say about teachers and how does the style and tone contribute to the message?

- iii) What value and status are given to different pieces of information relating to the teacher?
- iv) How might this appearance constitute a representation?

These initial prompts were intended to help identify appearances of the teacher while not imposing structures or conditions on data collection. The pilot study of 30 newspapers yielded a series of rich descriptions in the form of extensive notes and quotes, which showed the subject focus to have potential. However, the prompts were too open-ended; not only was the sheer volume of hand-written notes unmanageable and time consuming, the following problems were identified:

- The careful ordering and referencing of each extract was fundamental because they often needed to be checked and re-visited in chronological order
- Greater precision was needed in the initial definition of teacher because there was too much relevant material. Teachers appeared in association with schools, universities, nurseries and local authorities as well as in private, vocational and special needs areas
- As well as style and tone, the meaning of the teacher also depended on delivery, construction and rhetorical/ideological configuration of reports

- The results did not translate well into tables. Key themes were extracted from the narratives, but even with this small sample, they were too numerous and variable to enable any links, comparisons or common denominators between articles. However, tabulation seemed to be the only way of managing the large volume of data

It was the purpose of a second pilot, conducted in August 2004, to refine the strategy for selecting data. It was decided that data should only be collected on classroom teachers of students under 18 in private or state schools. Information on headteachers would be selected and kept separately. To address the other three problems a proforma was designed.

One A4 proforma was used for each article. At the top was space for referencing information, such as the page and date of the article and its position on the page. Underneath was a section for 'Keywords', the purpose of which was to identify underlying themes which might facilitate the assimilation of data into tables at the end of collection. The penultimate heading: 'Organising principle', was a term borrowed from a study of television conducted by Glasgow University Media Group (GMG 1975). It referred to the style and tone, delivery and configuration of publications. Limited space was allocated in the final box for notes on the relevance of this and other construction issues. For an example of the proforma see *Table A4: The first proforma* (below).

The section headings were thought suitably flexible to allow for comprehensive but specific data selections. For instance, under 'Descriptions of teacher(s)' details could be recorded on an individual teacher's personality and actions. If a group of teachers was implicated the subheadings could be used or modified. The spaces for 2nd and 3rd Party were included because the first pilot showed there to be a wide range of authorities commenting directly or indirectly on teachers. Sometimes reporters themselves were commentators.

The second pilot commenced using data from the first set of the intended sample: February 5-9, 1990. There were no fundamental problems and so data collection continued on from there. It was only as data accumulated that the proforma became obviously unworkable. It was modified six or seven times and eventually discarded around three months into data collection during the 1993 sample. The two proformas below (*Table A5: A completed proforma from 1990* and *Table A6: A completed proforma from 1992*) show how complicated annotations had become.

Table A4: The first proforma

Reference	Paper	Date	Page	Status
Keywords				
Headline				
Picture				
Story synopsis				
Leading authority and angle				
Role of teacher (s)	School	Age	Gender	Appears Quoted
Descriptions of teacher (s)	Person (s)		Actions	
2nd Party				
3rd Party				
Organising principle				
Other comments and inferences				

Reference	Paper	Date	Page	Status
	Guardian	06.02.90	3	Lead.
Keywords	no autonomy. Complexity.			
Headline	Schools must do better, says HMI chief.			
Picture				
Story synopsis	Deals in turn with • standards • teaching • accommodation • teachers (for primaries and secondaries) • behaviour and truancy.			
Leading authority and angle	Authority - inspectors' report. Most info quoted it appears. Angle - "shortcomings" in primary and secondary sectors.			
Delivery				
Role of teacher (s)	School	Age	Gender	Appears Quoted
Descriptions of Teacher (s)	Person(s) Teachers. "Complex and worsening problems". Supply teachers problematic with "long standing shortages". "poorly qualified or not qualified".		Actions Teaching 90% satisfactory but "deterioration" "ill-prepared" for NC "despite rhetoric..." teaching and learning is shallow in some subjects. lacks coherence, fragmented	
2 nd Party	Entry routes should not be restricted. "Pay and conditions of service and many more intangible factors make up the complex brew referred to as job satisfaction" (Inspector). The NC may undermine some aspects of job satisfaction.		low expectations, mixed quality. Undemanding, unstimulating. Unduly limited. Fe: excessive spoon-feeding over-prescriptive. he: deficiencies in business+engineering.	
3 rd Party	Dangers of excessive assessment. "effective implementation of the Education Reform Act will depend on teachers' skills and experience".			
Organising principle	National curriculum a central facet in this story about standards Subjects will be affected by low standards, teachers may be affected by NC assessments.			
Other comments and inferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Schools have serious shortcomings including central subjects in the NC. NC not mentioned in some papers.- Teaching seen in relation to ability to produce curriculum.- Give impression of understanding teachers, refers to the complexity of job satisfaction - Seen to be affected by NC.- Does not challenge the report or the theory that it is up to teachers to make the NC work. No independent assessment of how assessment and reporting will affect morale.			

Table A5: A completed proforma from 1990

Table A5: A completed proforma from 1990

Reference	Paper Guardian	Date 06.02.90	Page 3	Status Lead.
Keywords	no autonomy. Complexity.			
Headline	Schools must do better, says HMI chief.			
Picture				
Story synopsis	Deals in turn with • standards • teaching • accommodation • teachers (for primaries and secondaries) • behaviour and truancy.			
Leading authority and angle Delivery	Authority - inspectors' report. Most info quoted is appears. Angle - "shortcomings" in primary and secondary sectors.			
Role of teacher (s)	School	Age	Gender	Appears Quoted
Descriptions of Teacher (s)	Person(s) Teachers. "Complex and worsening problems". Supply teachers problematic with "long standing shortages." "poorly qualified or not qualified".		Actions Teaching 90% satisfactory but "deterioration" "ill-prepared" for NC "despite rhetoric..." teaching and learning is shallow in some subjects. lacks coherence, fragmented	
2 nd Party	Entry routes should not be restricted. "Pay and conditions of service and many more intangible factors make up the complex brew referred to as job satisfaction" (Inspector). The NC may undermine some aspects of job satisfaction.		low expectations, missed quality. Undemanding, unstimulating. Unduly limited. Fe: excessive spoon-feeding over-prescriptive. He: deficiencies in business+engineering.	
3 rd Party	Dangers of excessive assessment. "effective implementation of the Education Reform Act will depend on teachers' skills and experience".			
Organising principle	National curriculum a central facet in this story about standards. Subjects will be affected by low standards, teachers may be affected by NC assessments.			
Other comments and inferences	- schools have serious shortcomings including central subjects in the NC. NC not mentioned in some papers. Teaching seen in relation to ability to produce curriculum. - Give impression of understanding teachers, refers to the complexity of job satisfaction - seen to be affected by NC. - Does not challenge the report or the theory that it is up to teachers to make the NC work. No independent assessment of how assessment and reporting will affect morale.			

Table A5: A completed proforma from 1990

Reference	Paper Sun.	Date 21.02.92.	Page 4.	Status Lead.
Keywords				
Headline	Schools Boss in 'Trendies' row is axed.			
Picture				
Story synopsis	Tony Ford, a chief inspector, made redundant by LEA.			
Leading authority and angle	A schools inspector who blew the whistle on trendy teaching methods has been axed by a Left wing council.			
Role of teacher (s)	School ?	Age ?	Gender ?	Appears Q3 Quoted Q3.
	One primary teacher said :			
Descriptions of Teacher (s)	<p>QUOTE. Its dreadful, they are shooting the messenger because they don't like the message. He had the courage to speak out against the trendy teaching methods which have resulted in a whole generation of kids leaving school without basic skills.</p> <p>(1960s... 'teachers talk'.) ↓</p>			
2 nd Party	<p>Furious supporters say he is being punished over a report in which he said there was "serious concern about lack of teaching in primary and secondary classrooms".</p> <p>Tony Ford said many teachers in Labour-run Islington were "reluctant to inform, interest, intervene or inspire pupils as a whole group."</p>			
3 rd Party	<p>Former teacher Mr Ford said the council had failed to recognize that "the teacher is the most important of all resources.... Teachers are now often unwilling to be heard doing more than outlining tasks and answering questions."</p> <p>his job of chief inspector of schools has been abolished.</p>			
Organising principle				
Other comments and inferences	<p>LEA quoted Q4 saying the post, not the person, had been axed.</p>			

Table A6: A completed proforma from 1992

The proformas presented several problems:

1. Each news article, forming a complete narrative whole, constituted one data selection. This set up would direct analysis around issues of narrative structure and coherence, while the actual intention of the study was to identify individual appearances of the teacher as having meaning when extracted from the longer narratives.

2. The categories highlighted written mentions of the teacher but not so much implications and images of the teacher befitting the notion that meanings take multiple forms.

3. The categories were too restrictive and never consistently applicable. Explanations sometimes did not fit in one box and spilled over into others. For instance, teachers' personalities and actions were rarely given equal attention and were also indistinct. Likewise, separating the '2nd Party' and '3rd Party' comments usually disrupted the narrative.

4. There was some confusion over the relevance of style and tone to interpreting the teacher. Issues of rhetoric and construction had some relevance for the representation of the teacher, but the study had become too preoccupied with news ideology and politics. This was perhaps predictable given warnings in the literature about the inseparability of news product and process (Jenson 1993; Macmillan 1995, 2001, 2002; Macmillan & Edwards 1998, 1999; Morgan 2002; Potter 1996).

5. The annotation of 'Keywords' did not provide a systematic and comprehensive solution for assimilating the data. There were several for each proforma and by the end of the 1993 sample it was very difficult to manage and compare them, let alone to identify common denominators and patterns from them. The researcher tried using mind maps, memos and tables but these quickly proved too unsophisticated, see *Diagram A1: A mindmap for 1990*.

Two actions were taken to address these emerging problems. First, all prompts, questions and proformas were abandoned. Instead, the researcher reverted back to the initial research question: 'How were teachers represented in the press during the 1990s?' The newspapers were still regarded one article at a time, but within them the researcher focuses on what Glaser (1995) called 'data slices'. The next section illustrates what this meant and how, as the approach developed, the researcher was able to keep in perspective issues of narrative coherence, style and tone. Secondly, qualitative data handling software called Nvivo (brand name QSRNvivo 2.0) was introduced to facilitate the process of categorisation. Information already collected from around 400 proformas was transferred into Nvivo and in order not to miss anything all these articles were revisited on LexisNexis Professional and checked against the original text. The check revealed that the researcher had not omitted relevant material, and that the experience of reading original newspapers rather than digital copies added significantly to the project.

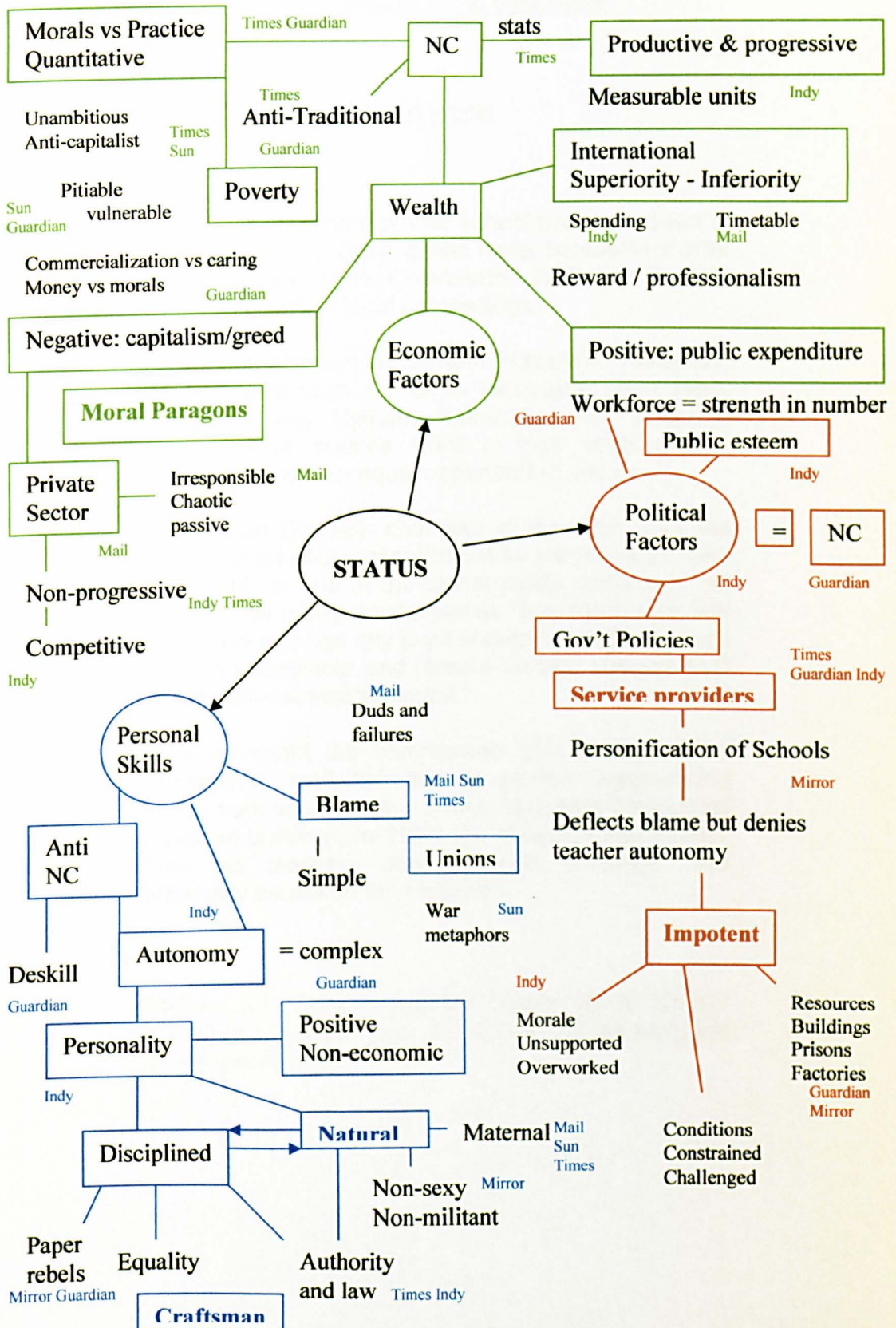


Diagram A1: A mindmap for 1990

A.2.2 The selection process using data slices

Stage 1: Reading the full text article

A LEADING Northern private school has apologised to a former pupil for bullying and racial harassment after the intervention of the Commission for Racial Equality and three years of legal proceedings.

In an out of court settlement disclosed yesterday, Dame Allan's boys school, in Newcastle upon Tyne, agreed to pay Hytham Hamad pounds 4,000 in compensation, pounds 4,000 in legal costs and to implement a written equal opportunities policy.

Sir Herman Ouseley, chairman of the CRE, said the level of racial abuse experienced by the teenager, who is now 18, at one of the oldest public schools in the country was totally unacceptable. "It is deplorable that in this day and age any pupil should have to face such appalling behaviour and receive so little support from an educational establishment."

In a statement the commission said Hytham, from Sunderland, and his friends started experiencing abuse from sixth formers, which frequently turned into "physical bullying", in 1993. He received little support from his teachers and, on one occasion, was physically assaulted by a teacher.

Etc.

(Article A1: School Racism Victim Wins £8,000, *Guardian*, 14.05.97, p. 6. For a copy of the complete article see below)

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Stage 2: Highlighting data slices

A LEADING Northern private school has apologised to a former pupil for bullying and racial harassment after the intervention of the Commission for Racial Equality and three years of legal proceedings.

In an out of court settlement disclosed yesterday, Dame Allan's boys school, in Newcastle upon Tyne, agreed to pay Hytham Hamad pounds 4,000 in compensation, pounds 4,000 in legal costs and to implement a written equal opportunities policy.

Sir Herman Ouseley, chairman of the CRE, said the level of racial abuse experienced by the teenager, who is now 18, at one of the oldest public schools in the country was totally unacceptable. "It is deplorable that in this day and age any pupil should have to face such appalling behaviour and receive so little support from an educational establishment."

In a statement the commission said Hytham, from Sunderland, and his friends started experiencing abuse from sixth formers, which frequently turned into "physical bullying", in 1993. He received little support from his teachers and, on one occasion, was physically assaulted by a teacher.

Stage 3: Transcribed selections

In the example above three data slices are identified. In the transcription of these slices, shorthand rules were used to help identify where they belonged in the article and where text was omitted. They were as follows:

- Q1-4 The quartile of a newspaper article from which an extract is selected
- :
- A division between paraphrase and borrowed copy
- [...] Where words are omitted from the original text

Using these rules the selections made from the extract above were transcribed into Nvivo as follows:

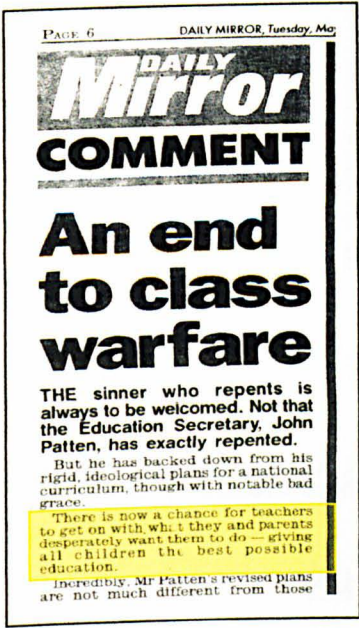
Q1: A leading Northern private school has apologised to a former pupil for bullying and racial harassment

Q2 CRE rep quote: "It is deplorable that in this day and age any pupils should have to face such appalling behaviour and receive so little support from an educational establishment."

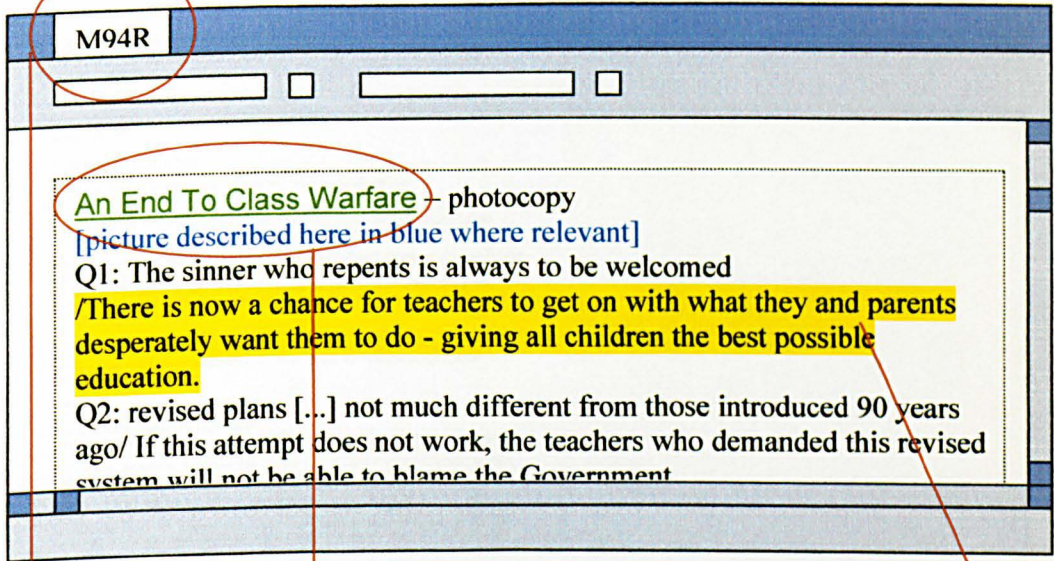
Q3: He received little support from his teachers and, on one occasion, was physically assaulted by a teacher.

In this story there was no visual component, but where pictures accompanied the text they often illuminated, expanded upon and even contradicted it. They were carefully described as separate data slices, and were identified with blue highlighter. Where they were especially complex, pictures were photocopied for easy reference. For an illustration of the how transcriptions looked in Nvivo see *Diagram A2: Recording data slices in Nvivo* (below).

Diagram A2: Recording data slices in Nvivo



Data slice

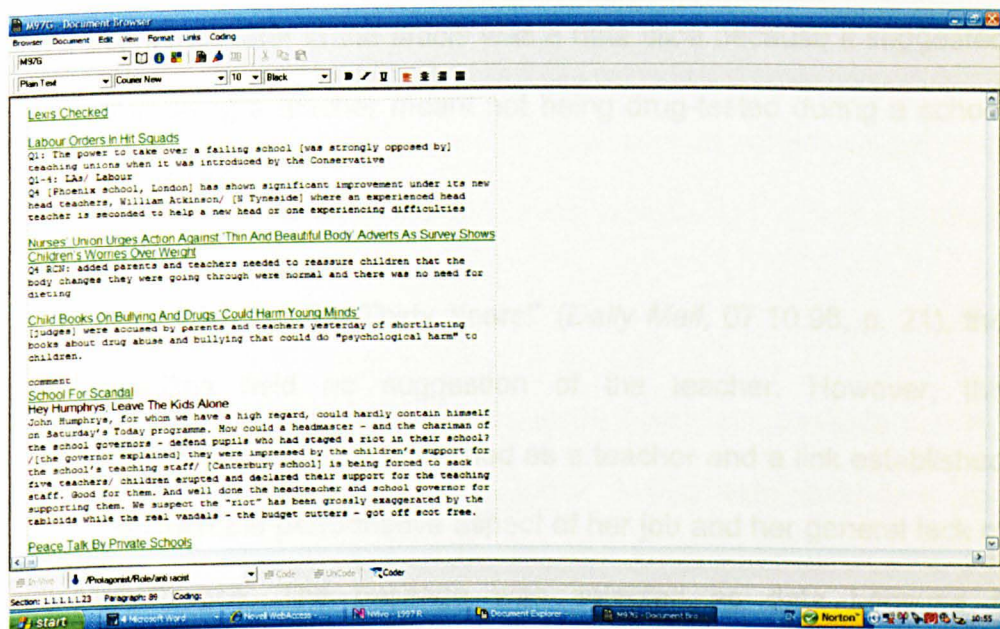
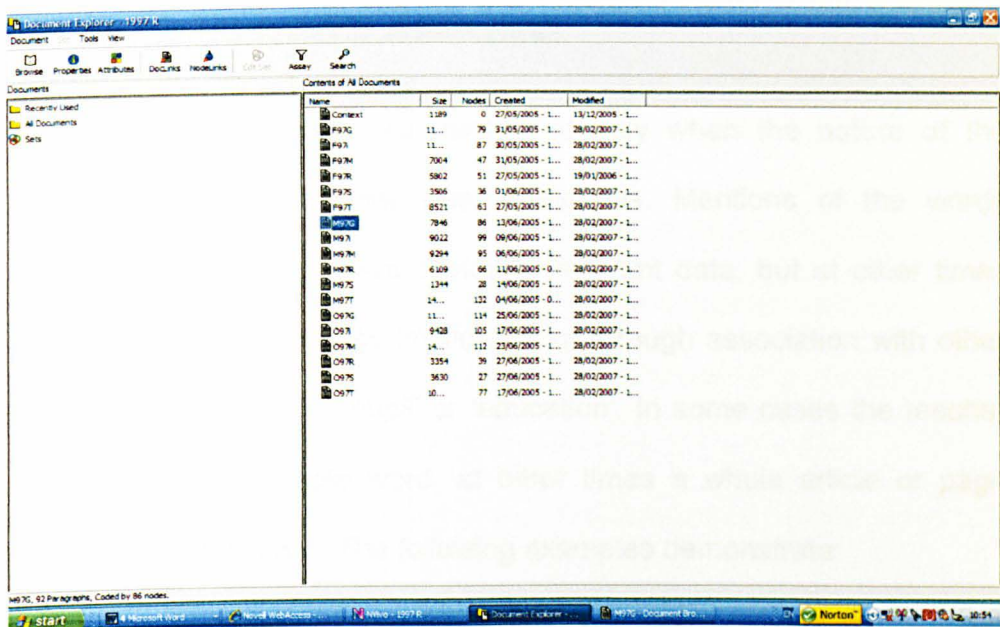


A data-bite: contains information on the article's location, date and any other relevant details

Data Slice

Project reference number: signals month, year and newspaper

A2a: Replication of the data selection process using Nvivo



A.2.3 The evolution of data slices

Data slices were sometimes hard to identify when the nature of the appearance of the teacher was ambiguous. Mentions of the words 'teachers' or 'teaching' were obviously relevant data, but at other times the teacher(s) appeared by implication or through association with other words such as 'school', 'pupil' or 'education'. In some cases the teacher was implied by a single word, at other times a whole article or page constituted a data slice. The following examples demonstrate:

1. In the headline: "Top School Tests For Drugs" (*Sun*, 02.02.93, p. 10), there was not enough information to identify teachers as school members or involved in the drug tests. However, a sentence later in the article was a data slice because it suggested that being a teacher meant not being drug-tested during a school drugs raid.
2. In: "I Was Fat For Thirty Years!" (*Daily Mail*, 07.10.96, p. 21), the headline held no suggestion of the teacher. However, the protagonist was later identified as a teacher and a link established between the performative aspect of her job and her general lack of confidence. The passage was selected as data because it suggested there was some meaning to being a teacher which involved personality and possibly appearance.

The following annotations, made during the initial stages of the study, illustrate the process involved in learning to recognise relevant material:

- *Advertisements are atypical and therefore irrelevant, because they are configured by external agencies with a specific agenda*
- *Obituaries do not yield useful data because the meanings are specific to individuals and again atypical*
- *Stories involving teachers where education is not an issue still yield data*
- *The absence of the word teacher from a story does not mean teachers are not represented. They may be implied, but also given the status of an incidental or irrelevant factor, which still constitutes an appearance*
- *A story may involve three differing perspectives of a teacher which relate to contradictory codes, but an overarching angle may incorporate or challenge these too, constituting a separate data slice*

Observations of this sort and increasing familiarity with the data and the research topic meant that the criteria for data selections evolved and grew in complexity. An example from mid-way through data collection demonstrates:

3. A headline claiming: "Scandal Of Old Textbooks That Mislead Schoolkids" (*Mirror*, 15.05.95, p. 15), constituted a data slice

because it contradicted analysis of previous years, which recognised teachers involved in a working relationship with schoolchildren. The remainder of the article repeated the implication in the headline and also provided different information. Therefore it formed a similar but separate data slice.

A.2.4 The approach to coding

Codes were, in effect, general-level, present-tense descriptors, and they were applied to each appearance of the teacher. The process of coding data slices is shown with illustrations, one taken from early in the decade and one from later on. They show how codes developed through an iterative process of comparison between the new data and the existing dataset so that analysis became increasingly sophisticated and complex as data collection progressed. As previously, codes are highlighted in bold.

Example 1: An extract from the second set of data

The following is an extract from a story in 1990 about discipline in schools:

Q1: Teachers must learn to tackle the 3 Rs - rudeness, riot and rebellion, an MP's report claimed. Their inability to handle classroom tearaways was the major cause of poor discipline in schools, the commons report said
(Get Tough Sir, *Sun*, 10.05.90, p. 2)

Stage 1: Looking for appearances of meaning in the extract

- Teachers' role is debated by MPs
- Teachers do not know how to tackle misbehaviour
- Teachers are unable to handle classroom misbehaviour

Stage 2: Reviewing the existing dataset for potentially relevant codes

- The **EMPLOYEE** tree already exists and has several data selections attached with various meanings. Some relate to policy and have been grouped under the heading **proletariat** because they generally take control of the curriculum away from teachers. Some relate to Government and politics, tending to fall under the heading **victim** or **ally**, and some share common ground for representing the teacher as a **unionist**
- The **SERVICE PROVIDER** tree relates to speculation on teachers' responsibilities; in a sense the repercussions of employment. There are several codes logged here but not yet subdivided into branches because the patterns are unclear
- Caricatures and generalisations are labelled under the separate heading **public symbol** because it does not add to codes about employment, service provision or performance. There are not yet enough codes to warrant making **public symbol** a tree

- Other trees are the PRACTITIONER, SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY and PROTAGONIST

Stage 3: Applying codes to the meanings identified in the extract

- MPs try to decide teachers' role which suggests they are Government **employees**
- The report assumes a **non-academic** responsibility for teachers
- That teachers are unable to discipline pupils suggests they are **failing** to meet expectations and are therefore **underperforming**
- The issue of discipline takes no account of parents' responsibilities which suggests **parental duties** may fall to teachers without challenge
- The article implies that MPs represent the interests of parents and public more effectively than teachers, who by comparison are possibly **public servants**
- The headline suggests this is an issue for **weak male** teachers

Stage 4: Adding to and modifying the dataset codes

- The first sentence of the extract suggests a new code: **state apparatus** which is coherent with the **proletariat** branch of the EMPLOYEE. It also fits with the pre-existing code **political football** under the **victim** branch

- The **non-academic** code is an aspect of service provision rather than equal to it so the **SERVICE PROVIDER** is promoted to the tree level and the **non-academic** is logged under it
- Failing to meet expectations does not cohere exactly with the notions of employment and service provision already established because it is more about the supply of teaching than the demands made of teachers. Therefore the **underperforming teacher** code is created under the new heading **processor** which recognises the process of teaching as distinct from the role of the **EMPLOYEE** and the responsibility of the **SERVICE PROVIDER**. For the moment the **processor** floats outside of a tree but may later be qualified with other, similar, instances
- The code **parent** is added under the **SERVICE PROVIDER** tree. It now occupies the same space as the **non-academic** but it is very different, relating to provision of service rather than style/delivery of service. Therefore the branch headings **provider** and **producer** are created to separate them
- The **public servant** code is added to the **EMPLOYEE** tree and is free-standing from the other branches
- The generalisation about **weak male** dispositions suggests support for the **caricature** code under the **public symbol**. There are enough adages here to make the **public symbol** into a tree. A **weak** code may add to the **personality** branch of the **PROTAGONIST** tree

Example 2: An example from the 23rd set of data

The following is the same extract as that used above to illustrate data slices. It covers the story in 1997 about Hytham Hamad, the victim of racist bullying in a private school:

Q1: A leading Northern private school has apologised to a former pupil for bullying and racial harassment

Q2 CRE rep quote: "It is deplorable that in this day and age any pupils should have to face such appalling behaviour and receive so little support from an educational establishment."

Q3: He received little support from his teachers and, on one occasion, was physically assaulted by a teacher.

Q3: The school then put pressure on Hytham's parents to withdraw him.

Q4 Quote from headmaster: "We must be well aware of that and learn any lessons from it."

(Article A1, page 291: School Racism Victim Wins £8,000, *Guardian*, 14.05.97, p. 6)

Stage 1: Looking for appearances of meaning in the extract

- The teacher physically assaulted a pupil
- The teachers did not support a bullied pupil
- The repetition of support links the teachers' neglect with the neglect of the establishment, positioning teachers as members of an establishment
- Teachers are implicated in the action of the school putting pressure on the parents but do not appear to have had contact with the parents
- Teachers share responsibility for the school's failure but do not appear apologetic or regretful

- The teachers' interests (not needs) are possibly represented by the headmaster. Teachers do not speak for the school

Stage 2: Reviewing the existing dataset for potentially relevant codes

- The ARCHETYPE tree has an **ideal** and **non-ideal** branch, each with various sub-sections relating to preferred and disliked characteristics and behaviours of teachers
- The SERVICE PROVIDER tree has various branches including the **producer**, the **consumer item**, the **non-parent**, the **pastor**, the **performer** and the **opponent**
- The SOURCE tree supports the branches **threat** and **expert** and codes where activities and behaviours are initiated by teachers
- The SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY tree includes codes relating to teachers' position and role within the school unit, the relationship between teachers and the head, and the **responsibilities** of teachers at a school level

Stage 3: Applying codes to the meanings identified in the extract

- The teacher appears to be **bullying** a pupil
- The teacher seems **unsupportive**
- No reason is given for the lack of support which implied that the teachers acted negligently and may be **negligent**
- Teachers appear to act as a **united staff body**

- Teachers do not share the responsibilities of the headteacher, meaning they are perhaps **underdogs** or **led** by the headteacher

Stage 4: Adding to and modifying the dataset codes

- Physical assault adds to the **bully** code under the **threat** section of the **non-ideal** branch of the ARCHETYPE tree. However the verb **bullying** brings an actual and immediate aspect to a previously hypothetical code, which furthers another hypothesis that the **threat** may be emerging as a tree independent of the **non-ideal**. If this trend continues the **threat** will form a separate tree
- That **unsupportive** teacher relates to the SERVICE PROVIDER tree and creates a new code within the **producer** branch. The negative connotation also aligns with codes expressing judgement logged under the **performer** branch. It may make sense to merge the **producer** and **performer** if production continues always to be judged positive or negative
- The **unsupportive** code may also link with the **non-parent** branch of the SERVICE PROVIDER tree. A lack of support does not necessarily mean a parent **opponent** but along with the implied lack of communication between teachers and parents later in the articles, the suggestion is that they are not working together and possibly that they have different priorities

- The new code **negligent** is added to the **threat** branch of the SOURCE tree, as yet to be substantiated
- The claims that teachers were unsupportive in a general or collective sense, recalls the **uniform action** of the **staff member** under the **unit** branch of the SCHOOL FUNCTIONARY tree. The ambiguous term 'we' used by the headmaster is an instance of the teacher rendered **invisible** by their position in the school, led by the headteacher and **distanced** from responsibilities of school management and parent relations

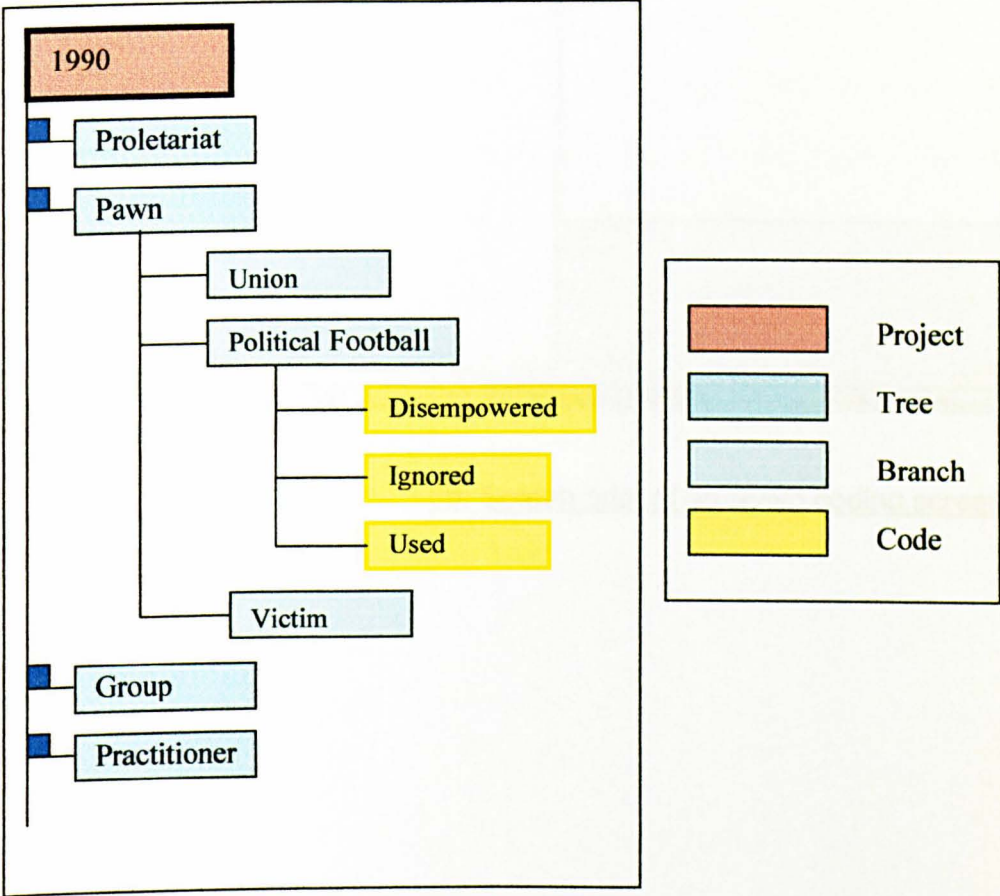
Stage 5: Adding to and modifying codes applied to the extract

- The implication that teachers should have supported the pupil links it with examples logged under the SERVICE PROVIDER's **pastor** branch and the codes of **guardian** and **carer** should be applied and checked again later
- Staff members are given a right of reply, suggesting they are removed from the public realm of this commentary. It is not possible to tell whether they are more removed because the school is a private one but the **independent** code under the EMPLOYEE could be applied

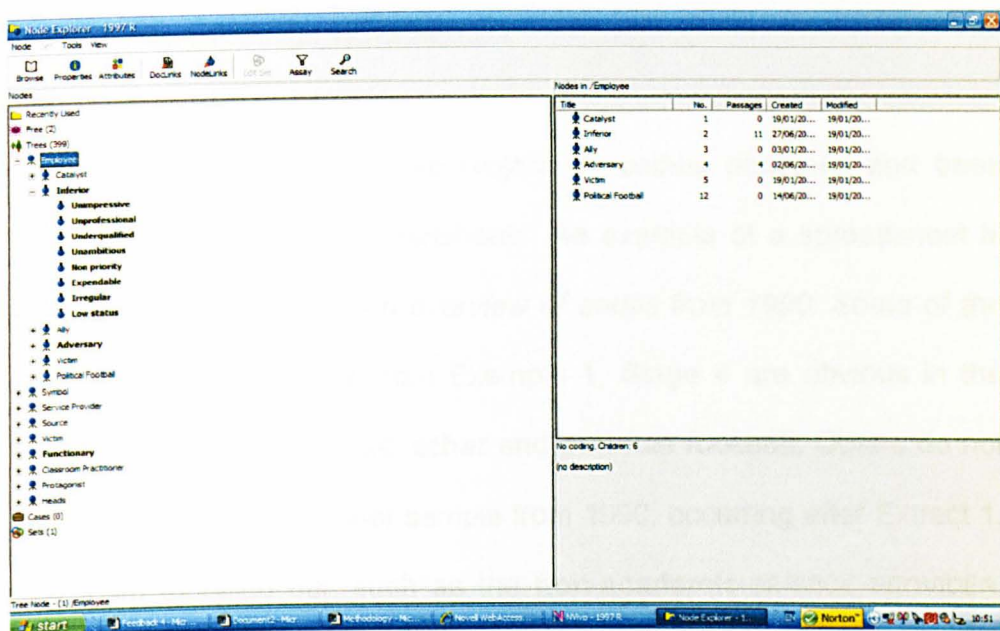
The coding process has been represented in stages for illustrative purposes but in practice it occurred more fluidly than this and involved anything from two to ten trips between the data and existing codes. In Nvivo the researcher could code extracts in one window and concurrently

organise them into categories in a second. *Diagram A3: Categorising with Nvivo* (below) illustrates:

Diagram A3: Categorising with Nvivo



3a: Replication of an Nvivo coding screen



3b: Screen print of an Nvivo coding screen

A.2.5 Compiling spreadsheets

After the coding of each Nvivo project, its codes, branches and trees were plotted onto Excel spreadsheets. An example of a spreadsheet is given below in *Table A7: An overview of codes from 1990*. Some of the adages and amendments from Example 1, Stage 4 are obvious in the table, such as the EMPLOYEE, **other** and **political football**. Others do not appear because the October sample from 1990, occurring after Extract 1, saw them modified out, such as the **non-academic-SERVICE PROVIDER**, which was probably admitted as the **provider-pastor** instead.

Table A7: An overview of codes from 1990

EMPLOYEE				
Proletariat	Victim	Ally	Unionist	Other
Implementer	Overwhelmed	Important	Misrepresented	Group
Incidental	Deskilled	Protected	Greedy	Inferior
Quantity	Undermined	Rewarded	Dangerous	Plentiful
Produced	Unprepared	Helped	Political power	Unqualified
Consumer Item	Mistreated	Beneficiary	Reactive	Needed
Basic/ equipment	Helpless		Uncommitted	Threatened/ Fragile
State Apparatus	Political football		Divided	Overpaid
	Underpaid		Ineffective	Gendered
	Exploited		Damaging	Unattractive
			Minority	Hierarchical
			Bullying	Discredited
				Elderly
				Young
				Public servant
				Defensive

SERVICE PROVIDER			SCHOOL FUNCTIONARIES	
Performer	Provider	Producer		
Results driven	Trusted	Quality	Invisible	
Poor	Loving	Manager	Monitored	
Failing	Pastor	Results	Unsafe	
Unknowing	Non ideologist	Adults	Pressured	
Unprepared	Counsellor		Handicapped	
Incoherent	Parent colleague		Levels	Pre-school
Handicapped	Parent guardian			Primary
Illiterate	Parent rival			Secondary
Incidental				Private
Satisfactory			Secondary importance	
Appraised			Abused	
Actor			Mercenary	
Defective			Obligated	
Duds			Team workers	
			Local	
			Law enforcer	
			Non collegial	
			Bullied	

Table A7 - Continued

PUBLIC SYMBOL	PRACTITIONER		
	Influence		Processor
Caricature	Local	Bully	Pupil
Cultural Object		On Self	Enthusiast
Non celebrity		On School	Fun
Authority		Valuable	Protector
International ambassador		Decision maker	Curriculum builder
Public standards	General	Dangerous	Communicator
Non professional		Fundamental	Socialist
Working class		Variable	Personal
Caring		National economy	Co-operative
Low status		International status	Knowledgeable
Stereotyped		Controlled	
Misrepresented			
Left wing			
Producer			
Professional			
Scapegoat			

	SOURCE		PROTAGONIST	
	Ideologist	Personality	Personality	Role
Disciplinarian	Democrat	Defensive	Caring	Mother
Expert	Subjective	Fearful	Socially conscious	Innocent
Esteem	Morals	Uncommitted	Sporty	Lover
Weed	Religious	Dissatisfied	Criminal	Victim
Talent	Trendy theorist	Unconfident	Talented	Insane
Natural born	Lefty theorist	Optimistic	Brave	Father
Inexpert		Responsible	Emotional	Disciplinarian
Non professional		Irresponsible	Non sexual	Falsely accused
Skilled		Committed	Informal	Former Teacher
Experienced		Successful	Humble	
Personal		Left wing conspirator	Spiritual	
Co-operative		Ideal		
Knowledgeable				
Dud				

A.2.6 Memo writing

The following is an extract copied from the original memo for the 30 newspapers in the October 1995 set:

It was helpful to read each article through once before identifying data slices. This made it easier possible to see any overall themes or trends and therefore to notice incongruities and contradictions within the article.

The Guardian noted that class sizes were impeding teachers which positioned them as **service providers** and suppressed **politicians**. The Talkback column was by now quite well established and there was mileage in the concept of the **celebrity teacher**. This time the article gave momentum to the **emotionally-attached practitioner** and raised queries about the relationship between this and the **person teacher**.

In the context of new HMI inspections, teachers would be marked by ability, and the Guardian's emphasis on the role of **school functionaries** eclipsed that of **service providers** answerable to parents. The school was acting as a kind of substitute for Govt and parents. However, teachers who were **excluding** parents from the classroom were criticised. The same paper was troubled by the notion of a teacher assessor (**intermediary**). They were more than a **service provider** and less than a **processor**. This paper also referred to the **implementer** with regret but on the other hand **secretive** and **exclusive** practices were considered an abuse of power by teachers. It described how teachers had not divulged to policy makers a gender imbalance in students. It later deflected attention on to schools, arguing that the remedy lay in school-wide structures. [...]

The Independent identified the **individual** distinct from the **constituent school functionary** in the context of a feature on new inspections. The unions were set up in opposition to policymakers, making teachers constituent parts of a school not individually accountable. The distinction between individual and group functions applied effectively to the **school functionary**. Another article in this paper raised the question of whether there was a trade-off between the **classroom practitioner** and the **intermediary**. The data related more to parent-teacher relations than to teacher-pupil relations. The process of delivery was less of an issue than the need to deliver and the agenda of delivery.

The Mail introduced the **instructor classroom practitioner** with an article on needing to alter the way children think about language. This aligned with the **tool** and **implementer**. The same

*paper said that Major was keen to hand power from bureaucrats to parents so that consumers would feel "ownership". The **merchandise** teacher was free to respond, that was all. The **mal-practitioner** was labelled again as the **dangerous intermediary** since most of the variables related to a teachers' engagement with pupils rather than their classroom practice per se.*

*On class sizes, the Mirror stated that large classes were not working. It did not recognise teachers at a school level, but accorded them power as **intermediaries** and **individuals** despite their status as **pawns**. It and the Times described teachers as **marked** and **performers**. It was difficult to know how to code this because the accusations were not specific. Teachers appeared as **gatekeepers** of culture in the Times' coverage of English language teaching. They were operating within a system but also had a responsibility to parents and Britain to **mediate** and **engineer** a controlled learning environment. At other times, in news on tests and class sizes, teachers were much less obvious.*

The example above shows some of the decisions made at the level of coding and categorising codes. For ease of reference two sections relating to operational decisions are underlined. These were more frequent in some articles than others but as data collection was refined they were less necessary. In this memo most of the insights were theoretical. The researcher dealt more or less with one newspaper at a time, the *Guardian* apparently yielding most insights. Other memos were directed by specific themes, stories or emphases. Some of the comments made in these memos were very specific and it was anticipated that they might not make sense to outside observers or after a long interval. Therefore, with the completion of each year of the sample, the researcher compiled a summary memo. The one below accounts for the 90 newspapers in 1995. Some but not all of the details in the first example are apparent.

There were some of the most illustrative and definitive codes in the sample to date. The main news was cuts in education spending, over-sized classes and HMI inspection of teachers (rather than schools).

The **politician** was introduced in place of the **pawn** because it specifically related to **agency** and **adversary** within the context of politics. This also made it easier to identify teachers' identity as **service providers** acting with more or less agency to satisfy parents and/or public. The space negotiated by these different types illustrated the tension between parental and teacher control of the curriculum. On the one hand the teacher acted as a **parent ally** and on the other they were denoted as **tools** involved in **instructive** teaching with a specific (productive) purpose.

A significant find was the **intermediary**. This node was an alternative to the **practitioner** because the focus was more on negotiating and controlling the contested terrain of education with parents than on the actual process of delivering lessons to pupils. While teachers acted as **buffers** between Govt and parents, they were also **gatekeepers** of knowledge, talent and other possibilities. There was a very active awareness of parental involvement in teaching. The **gatekeeper** drew interesting parallels with the **producer**. The difference between the **dangerous** teacher and the **expert** was largely to do with issues of **autonomy** and **responsibility** in relation and contrast to parents (rather than politicians). The **non-mediator** was in all cases a negative descriptor to be addressed with structures.

Another distinction was made between the **school functionary** and the **classroom practitioner**. The **invisibility** of teachers was coded and the tensions between group and individual control tentatively explored. This requires further attention. Meanwhile the **classroom practitioner** was relegated to the few descriptions of delivery, technique, style and remit. There was very obviously less emphasis on the **instructor practitioner** in this sample. There may have been a trade-off between the **classroom practitioner** and the **intermediary**, but previous samples need to be revisited to establish this.

Consideration was given to the **person** since many of the codes signalled private and irrelevant issues. It was hard to recognise if and how the teacher(s) was actually appearing in these contexts. This may become clearer with time. There was no longer an obvious space for the **pawn**, which represented teachers hard done by. It was not simply consequent of political or parental pressures and neither did it necessarily acknowledge agency/mediation. So, it was established under the ambiguous term **group**, alongside the **value** and **symbol**. An underlying theme might be described with the term **ownership**, although this might also be exaggerative.

This example shows how in summary memos the researcher was able to move away from newspaper-specific references and analyse the relationships within and between data sets.

As mentioned earlier, the researcher experienced a confusion of focus about three months into data collection. At this time memos referred to issues of news process rather than news product. An extract from a memo for the October 1992 set illustrates:

The Times introduced union warnings against the burdens of testing from a top-down perspective. One viewpoint contradicted its usually loyal Tory stance with an attack on radical right-wingers who wanted to devolve responsibility for schools to educational associations.

It continued to press the case for recognising individual merit: "blue chip" schools were concerned that league tables would mislead parents. There was evidence of disjuncture between Govt and the public. Major's squeeze on pay was predicted to cause problems [...]

The example illustrates how memos provided a terrain for thrashing out the problems and also a record of the researcher's focus and beliefs. The deviation may have occurred because of the researcher's participation in cultural studies seminars at that time. It may also have reflected the complexity of news analysis and the inseparability of news process and product. The memos subsequently provided useful material for discussing some technical difficulties of interdisciplinary studies in culture and education (Clark 2005a, Clark forthcoming). Once the focus had been redressed, the files relating to these memos were re-visited and re-analysed. The original memos were kept but new versions were added reflecting the re-analysis.

A.2.7 Theoretical sampling from external sources

Where the process of theoretical sampling from external sources yielded influential and relevant material, it was carefully documented in memos. A few examples are given below.

- In October 2004 a reading of the PACE project (Croll 1996) discovered the metaphor of **implementer** for teachers' role in the National Curriculum. The word was adopted in coding, but over time the single term was replaced with the two words **deliverer** and **producer** because they recognised the difference in emphasis between aspects of implementation that related to the unthinking dissemination of pre-packaged materials, and those relating to the goal-oriented activity of dissemination. The distinction was essential because with time the former came to suggest support for policymakers and the latter for parents and employers .
- The **classroom practitioner** code was identified first in the data and later discovered in Clandinin's (1986) study of two teachers. Like her study it had a personal practical element, but it was also complicated by subcategories such as the **instructor** and **mediator**. These belonged under the heading of classroom practice but also drew parallels with trees relating to service provision and parental relations. The meaning in the newspaper

therefore appeared different to that used by Clandinin and her terminology was not adopted

- For Nias (1989) the word **teamworker** appeared to have specific connotations which were not reflected in the newspapers. Therefore the code **teamworker**, which already existed in the dataset, was compared and contrasted with the definition emerging from Nias's work. The comparison highlighted that some codes were aligned with her definition of teamworker and others were more like **colleagues** and **staff members**
- The appearance of the **gendered** and **maternal** teacher in July 2005 recalled the work of Grumet (1988) and her theories about the 'natural' psychological status of teachers. **Natural** and **unnatural** branches were introduced to further explore the meaning of the codes and they sustained considerable testing
- The teacher was coded as **state apparatus** when data slices appeared to recall Apple (1982) and Althusser (1971). However, it was soon found to be too simplistic. There was also evidence of the **proletariat** as described by Ozga & Lawn (1981) and Larson (1980) but it too was found to be reductive, and was replaced with an range of descriptors including **cultural object**, **reproducer**, **producer**, **ideologist**, **politician** and **performer**

- The data were revisited in November 2005 for the purpose of presenting a conference paper on issues of gender, ethnicity and class in press representations of teachers (Clark 2005c). Gillborn's (1995) research on the superficial de-racialisation of education policy suggested the code names **synonym**, **invisible** and **gendered**, which proved to be useful and illustrative descriptors for the data

A.2.8 The master spreadsheet

Spreadsheets for each Nvivo project, like the one shown in *Table A7: An overview of codes from 1990*, were later assimilated at the end of data analysis into one master spreadsheet. It organised all the codes, irrespective of their year or origin, according to the eight key concepts. An example is given below in *Table A8: The master spreadsheet for the SERVICE PROVIDER*.

Table A8: The master spreadsheet for the SERVICE PROVIDER

Service Provider					
Consumer Item	Performer				Supplier
	Variable	Guilty	Good/ innocent	Pupil	
Merchandise	Quantitative	Regressive	Good quality	Uniformed	Standards
Accountable	Partial	Wrong	Successful	Chastised	Outputter
Expensive	Fundamental	Criminal	Satisfactory	Streamed	Results
Common tender	Variable	Incompetent	High quality	Students	Manners
Guarantor	Demonstrative	Poor	Fundamental	Junior	Citizen
Finite resource	Eligible	Unknowledgable	Positive	Suitability	Targets
Obligated	Differentiated	Unprepared	School member	Exam candidate	Basics
Inferior	Local	Incoherent	Individual		National economy
Producer	Measurable	Illiterate	Under-resourced		Adults
Facilitated	Monitored	Defective	Group		Consumer item
Pupil servant	Suitability	Detached	Sector		Culture
Controlled	Contributor	Unskilled	Quantity		Economic prosperity
Faulty	Visible	Partial	Local		National status
Second to pupils		Irresponsible	National		Society
Suppliers		Inexpert	Specific		Information provider
Abused		Neglectful	Competent		Workforce
Consumer rival		Ignorant	Invisible		Functioning child
Scapegoat		Faulty	Naturally capable		The elite
Currency		Negligent	Good		Incidental
Incidental		Incapable	Rare		Community
Popular		Inadequate	Majority		National standards
Template		Failing	Qualitative		National pride
Representative		Weeds	Undermined		Industry
Slave		Minority	Jointly responsible		Individual success
Servant		Fundamental	Incidental		Evolution
Parent adviser		Unsatisfactory	Handicapped		Quality
Partner		Shared	Skilled		Heritage
Trained labourer		Individuals	Condition dependent		Religion
Needed		Majority			Skilled labourer
Misrepresented		Unproductive			Standard bearer
Owned		Hypocritical			Economic stability
Merchandise		Non conditional			Family values
		Mass			Vocations
		Idler			Opportunity
		Visible			
		Bad			
		Local			
		Patchy			
		Duds			
		Soft			

Table A8 - Continued

Service Provider	
Archetype	
Role	Outlook
Super	Pragmatic
Mediator	Traditionalist
Specialist	Objective
Ideal	Focussed
Non ideal	Non theoretical
Selected	Common sense
Consumer plaything	Non trendy
Pupil toy	Conformist
Adult	Objective
Non teacher	Neutral
Non producer	Non ideologist
Voluntary pastor	Personally involved
Advisor	Natural
Parent colleagues	Fresh
Foster parents	Interpretative
Local	Valuable
Aspiring professionals	Effective
Promoted	Capable
Craftsman	Non conditional
Gatekeeper	Collegial
Restored	Shield
Override parents	Structured
	Powerful
	Quality
	Immeasurable
	Informed

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